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Ethnographic Explorations of Gender and Power in Rural Northwestern Iberia / Explorations ethnographiques du pouvoir relié à la position des sexes dans le nord-ouest rural de la péninsule ibérique

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Ethnographic Explorations of Gender and Power in Rural Northwestern Iberia / Explorations ethnographiques du pouvoir relié à la position des sexes dans le nord-ouest rural de la péninsule ibérique
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Guest Editors / Rédactrices invitées : Sharon R. Roseman, Memorial University of Newfoundland and Heidi Kelley, University of North Carolina at Asheville

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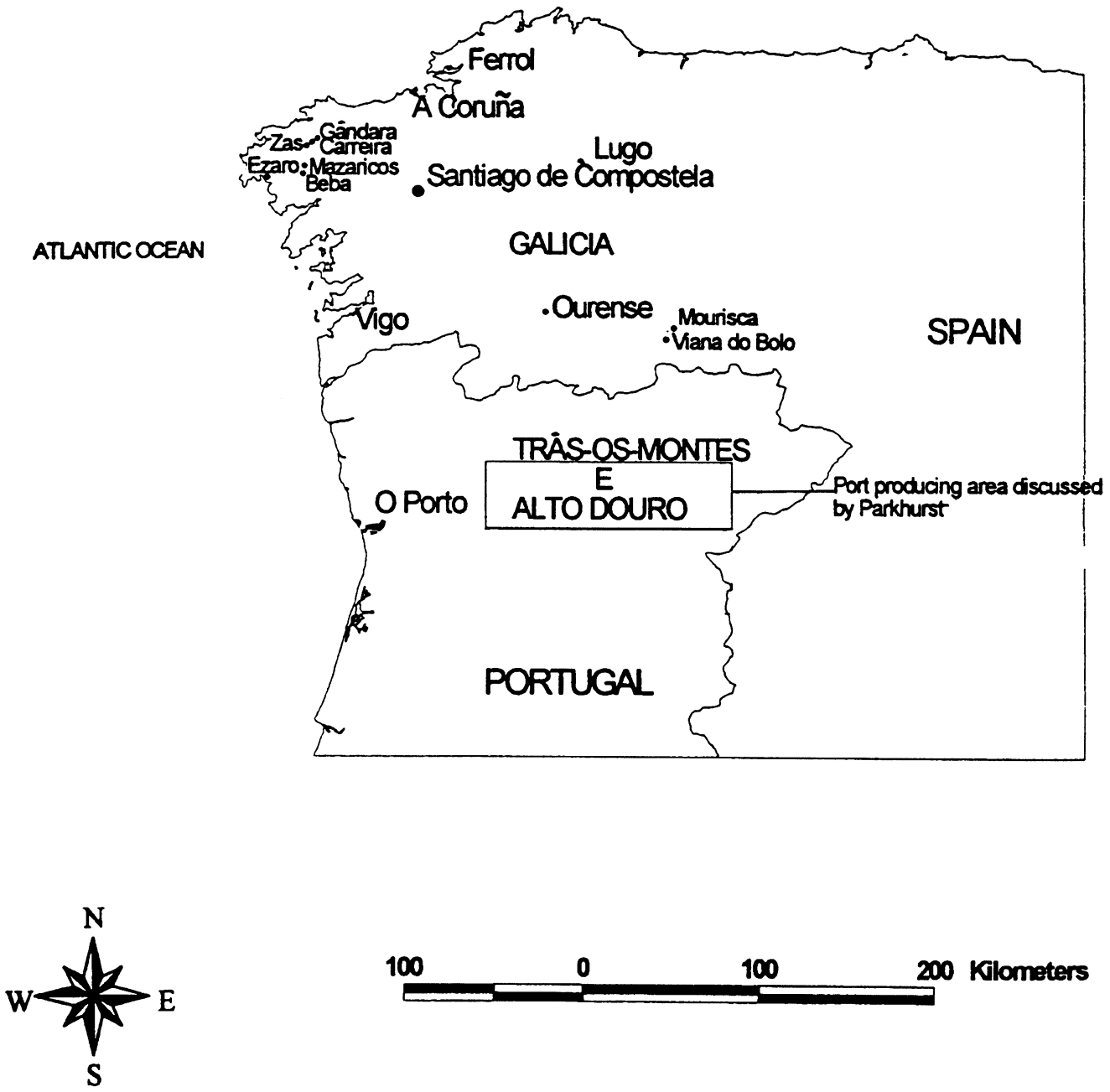
Photo by Shawn Parkhurst.

Location of Major Cities and Field Sites / Emplacement des principales villes et des sites étudiés



Source: ArcView 3.1 and Digital Chart of the world. Created in the Memorial University of Newfoundland Map Library.

Introduction

Sharon R. Roseman *Memorial University of Newfoundland*
Heidi Kelley *University of North Carolina at Asheville*

Two of the most debated issues in the anthropology of southern Europe have been about regional (or culture area) distinctions and about the gendered dynamics of relationships of power. We enter these debates in this special issue of *Anthropologica* by bringing together a series of ethnographic studies of gender, power and intrahousehold relationships in five different field sites located in the Spanish Galician provinces of A Coruña and Ourense and in the Alto Douro region of northern Portugal.

The main aim of our comparative project is to indicate the intraregional variation and complexity that characterizes relationships between women and men in the locales where we conducted field work during the late 1980s and the 1990s. In both academic and non-academic discourse,[1] parts of Galician Spain and northern Portugal have been constructed as territories in which women are relatively autonomous and hold unusual positions of dominance over men in both their own households and to some extent in the "public" space of their neighbourhoods and local communities (e.g., Brøgger, 1992; Brøgger and Gilmore, 1997; Kelley, 1994; Rey-Henningsen, 1994). In other ethnographic work, and in our contributions to this special issue, we step back from historical and recent overviews of gender and power in northwestern Iberia to explore how the individual agency of individuals living in rural communities in this part of Europe is both constrained and engendered in the context of changing social and economic conditions.

Since the 1970s, cross-cultural investigations of gender "difference" and the social body have been intertwined with an ongoing inquiry into the best ways to theorize the circulation of power in relationships. Comparative research by feminist anthropologists has demonstrated that, not only does the control and distribution of resources within households and domestic networks constitute political decision making, but also that kin, neighbour and friendship relationships affect and are affected by the shape of what had been conceptualized in an ear-

lier period as being a distinct realm of "public" political-economy (see, e.g., ethnographies by Cole, 1991; Collier, 1997; Hoodfar, 1997; and Tsing, 1993). Furthermore, the influence of the foundational work of Michel Foucault (e.g., 1979 [1977], 1990 [1978]) has led to the understanding that power is not an essence contained within individuals or fixed social locations but rather is disseminated through the operation of always emergent, multi-sided strategies (e.g., see Bordo, 1990; Bourdieu, 1990; papers in Terry and Urla, 1995; and in Gupta and Ferguson, 1997). Conversely, practices and discourses are always strategic and cannot be conceptualized as somehow standing outside the circulation of power.

Eloquent ethnographic innovators such as Lila Abu-Lughod (1993), Judith Okely (1996) and Kathleen Stewart (1996) have provided examples of how the circulation of strategies of power are discernible in the contours of everyday "moments" or in instances of "just talk." Individuals' subjectivities and relationships are thus imbued with instances of both domination and subversion as well as the possibility of slippages:

> Practices that are resistant to a particular strategy of power are thus never innocent of or outside power, for they are always capable of being tactically appropriated and redeployed within another strategy of power, always at risk of slipping from resistance against one strategy of power into complicity with another. (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997: 18-19)

This understanding of strategies of power as being neither monolithic nor fixed apparatuses reaffirms the significance of feminist anthropology's challenges to androcentric models of cross-cultural politics.[2] As Collier (1974), Friedl (1967), Nelson (1997 [1974]), Wolf (1974) and others argued over two decades ago, a model of politics based in the notion of a rigid distinction between domestic (private) and public domains had ignored the vital impact of women's social networks and authoritative practices. On the basis of androcentric assumptions, domestic or household arrangements and interactions were characterized as "natural," homogeneous and pertaining to the territory of the "private" and the "feminine" while examples of "formal" politics were laid out in elaborate comparative models. The critique posed by the early work on the "anthropology of women" completed during the late 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s challenged the private/public dichotomy, and in so doing, opened up the route toward a fuller understanding of cross-cultural variation in discourses of gender and power (e.g., Nelson, 1997 [1974]; Rogers, 1975; Wolf, 1974; and later syntheses by Dubisch, 1986 and Lamphere, 1997). More recently, by adopting a similarly complex approach to the delimited topic of masculinity or manhood, ethnographers such as Gutmann (1996) and Herzfeld (1985) have furthered in important ways the overall project of developing sophisticated understandings of gendered strategies of power.

Contributors to a 1988 collection on "Place and Voice in Anthropology" drew our attention to a close association between the inscription of particular "places" and the circumscription of particular bodies of anthropological "knowledge" (Appadurai, 1988; in relation to the present volume, see especially Fernandez, 1988; also see Cátedra, 1991). As Gupta and Ferguson (1997) make clear, however, a decade of theoretical and political inquiry into this association has resulted in the understanding that "cultural territorializations (like ethnic and national ones) must be understood as complex and contingent results of ongoing historical and political processes. It is these processes, rather than pregiven cultural-territorial entities, that require anthropological study" (ibid.: 4). Anthropologists working in Galicia and in northern Portugal have emphasized that their research does not fit neatly into broad regional geographical categories such as the "Mediterranean" or even "southern Europe" (e.g., see O'Neill, 1987; however, see note 3, chapter 5 in Cole, 1991: 158). Clearly, both the entire coast of Portugal and the western edge of northwestern Spain are bordered by the Atlantic Ocean rather than the Mediterranean Sea. Furthermore, aspects of the political economies and social histories of some parts of Galicia and northern Portugal can be more fruitfully compared to other formerly peripheralized Atlantic "fringe" territories—such as Brittany in France and the Republic of Ireland—as opposed to areas of central, eastern and southern Iberia.

In 1989, in a critical evaluation of culture area research on the "Mediterranean," the Portuguese anthropologist João de Pina-Cabral cautioned against an overreliance on "troublesome notions" such as "kinship" and "corporateness" that he reminds his readers were developed in the context of an initial preoccupation in anthropology with universalism and social evolution (Pina-Cabral, 1989: 403). However, rather than eschewing the dilemma of how comparative analyses can best be carried out by qualitative researchers, he issues a call for "historically informed and regionally specific processes of contextualization" (ibid.) and a "return to less ambitious modes of comparison that maintain greater respect for the cultural specificity of the data" (ibid.: 404).

As we note above, all of the contributions to this special issue are based on field work conducted in north-

western Iberia: in locations in the part of Spain known as Galicia and in the Alto Douro region of northern Portugal. The *Comunidad Autónoma* (Autonomous Community) of Galicia is situated in the Atlantic corner of Spain that lies above the state of Portugal. Since 1981, Galicia has comprised a regional government (the *Xunta de Galicia*) which has gained increasing levels of jurisdictional and fiscal autonomy over the last two decades.[3] The territory administered by the *Xunta* is divided into four distinct provinces: A Coruña, Lugo, Pontevedra and Ourense. Due to a history of linguistic, cultural and political distinctiveness, many Galicians and analysts of Galicia regard it to be a non-state nation like Catalonía and Euskadi (the Basque country) which were also incorporated into the Spanish state during the modern period. The southern Galician provinces of Ourense and Pontevedra share a border with the areas of northern Portugal known as Trás-os-Montes, the Minho and the Alto Douro (see Parkhurst's paper in this volume; also Brettell, 1986: 14-20). Although the same degree of decentralized governmental autonomy has not existed until now in Portugal, the district capitals of Viana do Castelo, Braga, Bragança, Porto and Vila Real are the seats of regional administrative power in the northern part of Portugal. Furthermore, we should also note that, although the results were negative, in November of 1998 there was a national referendum held in Portugal for the establishment of *Regiões Administrativas* (http://www.referendo.telepac.pt/) that would have resembled the 17 Autonomous Communities that have been instituted in post-Franco Spain.

Over the last three decades, similar to the concern voiced by Pina-Cabral (1989) about the importance of revising our approaches to comparative research, feminist anthropologists have also explored the best way to undertake comparisons of gendered lives in different societies through time. During the mid-1970s and into the early 1980s, there was a growing realization that much of the terminology employed by social scientists interested in gender had been based in a deeply rooted androcentrism, West European and North American cultural biases, and the heritage of a 19th-century preoccupation with models of change embedded in the notion of "progressive" social stages (for example, the self-critique in Rosaldo, 1980). Although one reaction to this problem was to focus on generating more detailed ethnographies of gender ideologies, discourses and practices that contained extensive transcriptions of individual narratives and dialogues (e.g., Abu-Lughod, 1986, 1993; Shostak, 1983; Tsing 1993), another response was to call for the development of more refined terms of comparison: "The first thing that becomes apparent is . . . the need for sharper, explicit, and cross-culturally applicable definitions of power, authority, influence, and status" (Webster, 1975: 154; also see, e.g., Harris and Young, 1981). Both of these types of exercises necessitate examinations of how gendered systems of stratification are processual and intersect with the circulation of strategies of power that are associated with other bases for inequality such as socioeconomic class (e.g., see di Leonardo, 1991a; Yanagisako and Collier, 1987; Zavella, 1988).

Other authors have emphasized that we should pay attention to how our informants employ generalizations about gender (e.g., Kelley, 1994) and that researchers' multiple and shifting positionalities frame both encounters in the "field" and analytical emphases (e.g., see papers in Altorki and Fawzi El-Solh, 1988; Bell, Caplan and Jahan Karim, 1983; Moore, 1994). Despite a widespread awareness of the need for these and other intricacies to be taken into account when undertaking gender analysis, anthropologists have developed a number of densely layered comparative projects which have led to renewed appreciations of both the complexity of "difference" and the pervasiveness of discourses of inequality and power; in light of Pina-Cabral's (1989) cautionary notes, in a sense it is revealing that many of these have been based in regionally delimited comparisons of different case studies (see, e.g., Dubisch, 1986; Nash and Safa, 1976; Ong and Peletz, 1995; and Weiner, 1992).

As Pina-Cabral (1989) indicates, intraregional comparison is not only a good first step towards the development of broader generalizations about interregional similarities and differences, it is also a crucial undertaking for critically engaging what have sometimes come to be overly rigid demarcations of the "key symbols" or central social institutions of particular geographical spaces and/or populations to which we refer above (Appadurai, 1988). These demarcations are evident in a variety of venues: in the everyday language of inhabitants and outsider observers of a region or group, as well as that of politicians and political activists with particular agendas, and in the academic discourse of anthropologists and others. The northwestern corner of the Iberian peninsula, by which we are including Galicia in Spain and the Trás-os-Montes, Minho and Alto Douro areas of northern Portugal, is one such "place."

In the historical, geographical and anthropological literature, this part of southern Europe is known for a number of historically long-standing patterns: a poor infrastructure and relatively little industrialization until recent decades (Bauer, 1992; Roseman, 1996); high rates of seasonal and permanent out-migration (Brettell, 1986,

1991; J-M. Buechler, 1975); *minifundía* land tenure systems and the continuation of subsistence agriculture alongside fishing and the production of agricultural and craft commodities (e.g., Bouhier, 1979; Calo Lourido, 1978; Fidalgo Santamariña, 1988, 1992; Fidalgo Santamariña and Rodríguez Fernández-Taboadela, 1988; Iturra, 1988; Rodríguez Campos, 1983, 1990; Roseman, in press); intraregionally variable patterns of uxorilocality, patrilocality and natolocality (e.g., Bauer, 1987; H. Buechler, 1987; Fernández de Rota, 1984; Lisón Tolosana, 1983 [1979]; O'Neill, 1987); and in the case of Galicia, a related separate regional legal code pertaining to some aspects of civil and family law (Albaladejo, 1979; Castan Tobeñas, 1964; Kelley, 1994: 73-74; Méndez, 1988). Furthermore, Galicia and some parts of northern Portugal have also been identified as a counterpoint to strategies of gendered difference characteristic of southern Iberia and other parts of Europe: women perform physically strenuous agricultural tasks such as ploughing and clearing land; women often organize and are the leaders of mixed gender collective work activities (see Gala González, 1995; Kelley, 1988, 1991, 1994; Roseman, 1993); in some maritime households in northern Portugal, women went out to sea to fish and even skippered their own boats (Cole, 1991); women have often controlled the sale of commodities produced in agriculture and in the fishery; in some areas, daughters rather than sons are the main inheritors of land and houses; and historically, there were significant numbers of unwed mothers who became accepted within their communities as respected household heads (see Brettell, 1985, 1986, 1991; Buechler and Buechler, 1981; Cole,1991; Kelley, 1988, 1991; Lisón Tolosana, 1983 [1979]).

The characteristics listed above point to women's relative equality in some circumstances and have thus been identified as unique in the context of European ethnography generally, and more particularly in the context of southern European societies. Any reading of gender, power and household in southern Europe is unavoidably conducted in light of the elaboration, by mainly English anthropologists, during the 1960s of what was identified as a generalizable moral code underlying differences in gendered behaviours, roles and identities throughout various regions of southern Europe and northern Africa, including southern Spain and Portugal (Campbell, 1964; Peristiany, 1965; Pitt-Rivers, 1965; for a non-anglophone contribution, see Caro Baroja, 1965). This "honour and shame" code was developed on the basis of what early British ethnographers highlighted as one of the most significant and pervasive cultural themes that they encountered in "Mediterranean" societies; it accounted for interhousehold competition between men for prestige and personal honour and an apparently corresponding emphasis on women's shame. Men were said to be responsible for protecting the honour of their households through their monitoring, and defense of, the sexuality and reproductive power (or fertility) of female relatives. Women who were not sufficiently protected and who engaged in pre- or extra-marital sexual relationships or in related activities also evaluated as being dangerous threats to their reputations, would experience unresolvable shame; the male relatives who pertained to these same women's households would have failed in their guardianship role and would also suffer from social dishonour. In this androcentric explanatory model, each woman's chastity becomes in itself an objectified quality over which men compete and women are portrayed as though they have no voice or individual agency. Although the "honour and shame" paradigm was widely accepted by many anthropologists after its elaboration, it has also been critically reevaluated. Cole (1991: 79), for example, underscores that any analysis of family ideologies, gender, and power in a state like Portugal must be historically situated and take into account the impact of the Roman Catholic church and the political impositions of authoritarian governments such as the Salazarean New State (also see Schneider, 1971). In addition, even though "honour" and/or "shame" may consitute significant emotional and moral frameworks for individuals' experience in parts of southern Europe, there are equally forceful sets of codes such as the importance of women demonstrating a strong work ethic as productive—in addition to reproductive—labourers and the weight given to both men's and women's hospitality (Cole, 1991; Herzfeld, 1981, 1987; Kelley, 1988, 1991).

As Kelley (1994) has highlighted in an earlier publication, in the case of Galicia, its presentation by some as being distinct from southern Iberia has at times led to an exaggerated inversion of the original formulations of the "honour and shame" paradigm. The most extreme inversion is to label societies like Galicia as "matriarchal," an identification that has been utilized in contradictory ways by some Galician nationalists who earlier in the century promoted the association of this peripheralized part of Spain with symbols of femininity (ibid.; also see del Valle, 1985 on the Basque country and the opposing view presented by feminist nationalists discussed in Roseman, 1997). In addition, when Kelley described the field work that she was conducting with women in the rural coastal community of Ezaro with both non-Galicians and urban Galicians, these individuals often voiced a popularly held stereotype of rural Galician women as being independent

and tough (Kelley, 1984: 71). The ironic and contradictory employment of symbols of Galician womanhood by Galician urbanites and other Spaniards is mirrored in the multiple self-identities constructed by women from Ezaro themselves who experience "a tension in their pride in their roles as strong-minded agriculturalists and shame at their failure to live up to urban standards . . ." (ibid.: 77; on this point, also see Cole, 1991 who problematizes women's "double consciousness").

Although it is unusual to see the term "matriarchy" itself utilized in contemporary anthropological (and folkloric) works about Galicia or northern coastal Portugal, some of us have emphasized the links between female inheritance and uxorilocality—often associated with male out-migration—and women's relative power to make decisions and control resources within their households (Brettell, 1986, 1991; Buechler and Buechler, 1984; Cole, 1991; Kelley, 1988, 1991; Roseman, 1993). However, the sources of these strategies of power are severely limited in their potential effects not least because many of these households are land-poor or landless (see Gala González, 1995; Kelley, 1991; on this general point, see Rogers, 1975). Furthermore, as Brøgger and Gilmore (1997) state, it can be argued that female-centred or "matrifocal" households are found throughout the peninsula but that does not imply that women from such households always have as much or more power than men over domestic, local or even translocal affairs.

The image of the existence in the past of "matriarchal" societies in which women rather than men dominated formal politics and economic distribution was popular during the latter half of the 19th century. Terms such as "matriarchal" and "matriarchy" were used in the context of the development of stage models of social evolution in which there was a presumption that human history had begun everywhere with a period of chaotic promiscuity, was later followed by organized matriarchies and then eventually resulted in patriarchal social arrangements and ideologies. One of the better-known texts that promotes such a model of successive stages is Bachofen's *Das Mutterrecht* (1967 [1861]). Not least because his argument is based on classical mythology rather than on empirical data, Bachofen's work was discounted and came to be regarded as indicating "the widespread Victorian effort to demonstrate that patriarchy was the logical culmination of civilization" (Webster, 1975: 143). In their search for evidence that male dominance was not universal, a few second-wave feminists such as Elizabeth Gould Davis (1971) did embrace the image of the prevalence of "matriarchies" in antiquity. Paula Webster (1975) indicates the close coincidence of these arguments with essentialist portrayals of women as possessing "innate" characteristics such as spirituality and cooperativeness that are the exact opposite of a destructive "male principle" which includes militarism and materialism (ibid.: 152-153).[4] According to this argument, although "matriarchy" is imagined to be the inverse of patriarchy, women rulers would presumably be "benevolent" rather than "masculist" (ibid.: 153). Webster highlights that this limited celebration of narratives of past matriarchies can be viewed as important Utopian visions that fueled some strands of feminist politics.[5]

In two recent overviews of the folklore and anthropology of gender in Galicia, Paz Moreno Feliú and Susana de la Gala González both emphasize that any accurate portrayal of Galician women must take into account the diversity of experiences of women living there during different historical periods as well as the existence of ambiguity and seeming contradictions in cultural constructions of gender. Through a careful examination of the influence of oral culture among rural Galicians and in early folkloric and ethnographic texts, Gala González concludes that "The ambiguity characteristic of the songs, refrains, legends and beliefs in which women are [somehow] represented can be explained as a result of the inevitable polarization to which human thought often reduces that which is believed to be understood: these ones are 'good' or 'bad,' 'pretty' or 'unappreciable' . . ." (Gala González, 1999: 307; translation ours). Among other points, Moreno Feliú argues that the cultural construction of concepts such as "work," "family" and "household" are ideological and embedded in particular juridical histories and political economies: "Nor does it make sense to assign gender to a domestic-private space in opposition to the public one characterized as male . . ." (Moreno Feliú, 1999: 282; translation ours). She proposes flexible frameworks for the analysis of gender in which it is recognized that "The division of labour according to the criteria of gender and age is very dynamic and tremendously adaptive" (ibid.).

The sophisticated arguments posed in these two essays derive from two intersecting bodies of literature: the rich and subtle ethnographic work on Galicia that has been carried out over the last few decades and a long history of complex evaluations of the various bases of power in research on gender conducted by anthropologists and by those in adjacent fields. Susana de la Gala González's (1999) and Paz Moreno Feliú's (1999) emphasis on the need for more sophisticated understandings of the "informal" realms of politics and on the reproduction of rela-

tionships based on unequal amounts of social power and authority echoes those posed almost a quarter of a century ago by anthropologists such as Rogers (1975). Why, then, have very different references to unitary "female dominance" in northwestern Iberia also appeared in recent publications (e.g., Brøgger and Gilmore, 1997; Rey-Henningsen, 1994)? Below, we sketch how the important connections that have been established to exist between unequal property divisions, postmarital residence patterns and men's and women's social locations in household arrangements and communities should not be extrapolated to support claims of global female control over men in this part of the world.

The Galician stem-family household system involves a preference for unequal and usually postmortem inheritance whereby one sibling in a family is granted the majority of parents' property after their deaths; in return for this future material legacy, after marriage, that sibling continues to reside in and/or formally pertain to her/his natal household. This main heir is known by a variety of terms that include "*millorado*" (the one who receives the major portion or the *millora*), "*meirazo*" (the one who merits), "*casado en casa*" (married into the house), or simply "*o de casa*" (the one who comes from the house) (see Lisón Tolosana, 1983 [1979]: 174), as well as other works such as Fernández de Rota, 1984; Iturra, 1988; Méndez, 1988; Rodríguez Campos, 1990). Lisón Tolosana (1983 [1979]: 174) also refers to their being called "*patrón de casa* " (the [singular] boss of the house).

In some stem-family households individuals may formally pertain, and financially contribute, to their natal domestic units while working over the long term in distant migrant destinations. From the mid-1970s until the early 1990s, increased employment opportunities for women in the service and manufacturing sectors of countries such as Switzerland, (then) West Germany and France resulted in a prevalence of young women joining their husbands in working abroad. Many of the children of these couples remained in Galicia and were raised largely by their grandparents.

In the comparative anthropological and social historical literature of Spain, parts of rural Galicia are known for the continuance of these multigenerational family households which are similar to those described as existing elsewhere in Europe (e.g., Douglass, 1988b). Brettell (1986, 1988) and Cole (1991) have described a similar combination of unequal inheritance and significant (but shifting) proportions of both extended and multiple family households in the northern Portuguese parishes of Lanheses and Vila Chã. For example, Galician stem-families and various forms of complex family households in northern Portuguese coastal settlements resemble the patrilineal, virilocal stem-families of western Ireland (e.g., see Arensberg, 1968); the rural stem-family households associated with the Basque *baserria* mixed farming economy (e.g., Douglass, 1988a); and the *ostal* household system of the Aveyronnais region of southern France (Rogers, 1985, 1991).

In 1964 and 1965, the Spanish social anthropologist Carmelo Lisón Tolosana (often accompanied by his wife Julia Cecile Houssemayne) undertook what would become one of the founding field work projects of a modernist social anthropology of Galicia. He visited approximately 300 villages in the four provinces of the Galician region and tape recorded interviews with approximately 1,500 informants, returning to many of these sites later to confirm with these individuals the accuracy of their transcriptions (Lisón Tolosana, 1983 [1979]: 11). The results of this impressive investigation are most fully described in the volume *Antropología cultural de Galicia* (1983 [1979]) but also appear in summary form in other Spanish and English-language publications (e.g., Lisón Tolosana, 1973a, 1973b, 1976). In his monograph, Lisón Tolosana focusses on the various levels of rural social organization: the municipality (or rural township), the parish, the village and the household. In this book and in other syntheses, he provides a detailed comparison of the variations of inheritance and postmarital residence patterns found in different zones. For example, he describes the prevalence of equal inheritance and neolocal postmarital residence in Galician cities and the southernmost province of Ourense as well as the existence of natolocality in some parts of Ourense (Lisón Tolosana, 1983 [1979]: 302-31). Most of the book is dedicated, however, to a discussion of the possible historical and current causes, social and economic functions, and characteristics of the system of unequal inheritance and stem-family households. In chapters 7 and 8, one finds a comparison of "patrilineal" and "matrilineal" inheritance, the former said to exist in a paradigmatic manner in the mountainous interior of the province of Lugo.

Of his work on Galicia from this early period, it is chapter 8 of Lisón Tolosana's book, and similar discussions in his related publications, which have perhaps had the most impact outside of the circle of Galician and Spanish studies' specialists. This chapter is entitled "*Manda matrilineal*," which can be translated as "Matrilineal Preferential Inheritance." In it, he describes matrilineal inheritance and uxorilocality to be an exact "inverse" of the preference for male heirs and inmarrying sons that he discusses in his previous chapter on patrilineality (Lisón Tolosana, 1983 [1979]: 243). He

tells his readers that the preference for female heirs and daughters "marrying into" their natal households exists mainly in coastal villages and is closely related to a fishing economy which was associated with women administering farms and with extensive male out-migration (compare with Buechler, 1987; Buechler and Buechler, 1981, 1984; also, importantly, with Brettell, 1986, 1988, 1991 and Cole, 1991 on maritime households in northwestern Portugal). Lisón Tolosana emphasizes that under these circumstances, there is often a less rigid preferential division of property than one finds in most instances of patrilineal *manda* (Lisón Tolosana, 1983 [1979]: 244). Nevertheless, as in cases of male heirs, the "first phase" of this household system is not the post-mortem legal inheritance of property but rather the preliminary process whereby men become members of their in-laws' residential units. How do men negotiate their social positions within households in which they are newcomers, for which there are strong female "lines" or histories, which were the natal houses not only of their wives but also of their mothers-in-law, and of which these mothers-in-law own most of the property?

In one section, Lisón Tolosana begins to answer this question with the statement: "If women dominate in social and relational life, the submission of the man to his wife and/or mother-in-law in the making of economic, agricultural, and familial decisions is absolute (*Si en la vida social y relacional domina la mujer, en las decisiones económcias* [sic], *agrícolas y familiares la sumisión del varón a su esposa y/o madre política es absoluta*)" (Lisón Tolosana, 1983 [1979]: 249; translation ours). Nevertheless, over the next few pages he goes on to qualify this statement at some length. First, in some cases this hierarchy is reversed; that is, when older people have to persuade their younger relatives to remain on the farm, it is the younger people who have a significant amount of social control over their elders (ibid.). This observation relates to some other sections of his work in which Lisón Tolosana recognizes the effect of wealth differences among households in rural Galician communities and also the impact of social changes during particular historical periods (e.g., ibid: 238). That is, landless and land-poor parents have always been at a relative disadvantage as compared with their wealthier neighbours because the prospect of inheriting their property has not been as strong a lure. It is always more attractive for younger people to seek the social status of being a major heir when they come from relatively affluent households. When social changes occur such as the opening up of attractive economic opportunities either in Galicia or in migrant destinations, the majority of peasant agriculturalists could find themselves having less authority and influence over adult children than they had previously. In the post-1950s period, for example, an increasing number of individuals have preferred to leave poor natal households as opposed to remaining there to fulfill the obligation of caring for elderly parents. Second, in the 1960s Lisón Tolosana found that men with specialized trades who earned steady wages outside of the household often had "primary authority, either completely or partially" (ibid.: 261). Third, the extent to which these men (and one presumes others as well) had some "independence . . . was relative and depended partially on the temperament of the mother-in-law and the son-in-law's willingness to conciliate" (ibid.; compare with the important discussion of the mechanisms of property transmission in northwestern Portugal by Brettell, 1991).

Despite Lisón Tolosana's careful qualifications of his portrayal of some households in Galician coastal villages as "female-dominated" and the qualifications of Brettell (1986, 1989) and Cole (1991) with respect to northwestern Portugal, in a recent article comparing gender and family patterns in different parts of Iberia, Jan Brøgger and David Gilmore (1997) cite this observation of Lisón Tolosana's regarding a limited number of communities in Galicia as extensible to the entire region of northwestern Iberia and emphasize both the "matrifocality" of households and female dominance outside the house. Brøgger and Gilmore (1997: 15) write that "In this corner of Iberia, the power and independence of women is more than pronounced; it is absolute." It is these latter characteristics which they argue distinguishes gendered relationships in Galicia and parts of northern Portugal from those in other parts of the Iberian peninsula. This evaluation reflects Brøgger's earlier publications on the Portuguese coastal settlement of Nazaré: "Even the casual observer would be struck by the dominance of women both in private and public Nazaré life" (Brøgger, 1989: 21; also see Brøgger, 1992).[6]

However, Brøgger and Gilmore (1997) are following Lisón Tolosana (1983 [1979]) and others in pursuing the general argument that there are significant regional differences with respect to gender equality and inequality in Spain and Portugal. The factors that they emphasize to underlie the greater degree of equality (or even dominance) for women in the Galician and northern Portuguese coastal regions are characterized in the first instance as ecological and economic: smallholding farms, extensive male out-migration, the continuing existence of matrilineal inheritance and uxorilocality and women's dominant role throughout the region in managing farms and businesses and in carrying out a full range of agricultural tasks.[7]

In accounting for the fact that Galicians live within a wider societal context in which they may confront individuals who do not comprehend the extent to which women have domestic and social authority within households and local communities, Lisón Tolosana explains that

> When they deal with people from the outside world, they always have the referent of superiority, authority, etc. as being masculine, that is to say, the exterior ideology,... but which neither has value nor makes sense behind closed doors. And here one touches on something that is fundamental in Galician culture, an interior/exterior duality that affects many other spheres of thought and action.... It is obvious that this double perspective makes anthropological fieldwork considerably more difficult [than elsewhere]. (Lisón Tolosana, 1983 [1979]: 259; translation ours)

Here, he highlights the importance of ethnographers addressing how individuals specifically negotiate their "presentation of self" (Goffman, 1959) with different individuals and in various contexts. In related work, Friedl (1967), Reiter (1975), Riegelhaupt (1967), Rogers (1975, 1985), Wolf (1974) and others exposed juxtapositions and interconnections between the public reinforcement of particular patterns of social prestige and the operation of power within intimate relationships in local communities. A number of ethnographers of rural Galicia and northern Portugal have already produced studies of gendered inter and intrahousehold relationships, work, parenting, marriage and widowhood that contradict any simplistic deductions about gender and power in this part of the world (e.g., Brettell, 1985, 1986, 1991; J.-M. Buechler, 1975; Buechler and Buechler, 1981, 1984; Callier-Boisvert, 1966; Cole, 1991; Fernández de Rota, 1984; Gala González, 1995; Gulevich, 1994, 1995, 1997; Gondar Portasany, 1991; Kelley, 1988, 1991, 1994; Lisón Tolosana, 1987; Méndez, 1988; O'Neill, 1987; Pina-Cabral, 1986; Rodríguez Campos, 1983, 1990; Roseman, 1999).

In this special issue of *Anthropologica*, each of the contributors presents an examination of ethnographic data compiled during the late 1980s and in the 1990s in five distinct locales, four of these located in the Spanish Galician provinces of A Coruña and Ourense and one in the Alto Douro region of Portugal. While Kelley, Parkhust and Roseman all focus on specific locales, de la Gala also provides her own explicit comparison of two Galician field sites that differ historically, ecologically and culturally. All of our papers focus on the gendered access to different political and economic strategies, and the complexity of cultural constructions of gender identities. Evidently, we are not claiming to provide a comprehensive coverage of the questions that surround the history and ethnography of gender and power in this part of southern Europe. Such an attempt would be counter to our approaches to furthering the comparative project in anthropology. Interestingly, as has been true until recently for the work done by many other anthropologists working in northwestern Iberia (however, see Gulevich, 1994, 1995, 1997), each of us initially conducted field work in rural settings and focussed largely on both subsistence and commoditized agriculture; the important impact of outmigration on sender communities; and the interpersonal negotiations that occur among relatives and neighbours in relatively small communities. It is this research that necessarily forms the basis for the ethnography that we present here. Notably, we refrain from generalizing beyond this data because our use of specific case studies of individuals, households and communities is closely tied to our theoretical approach which aims to advance our understanding of the circulation of power partly through contextualizing and highlighting subjectivities; the nuanced use of discourses; and examples of ambiguity and contradiction. However, we hope that as we and our students and colleagues continue to work in this part of the world, we will develop further comparisons of our field work data and analyses. We particularly look forward to returning to the task of comparing each other's findings once more material is compiled in urban Galicia and Portugal; on the operation of gendered strategies of power within contexts such as industrial employment, the civil service and the service economy; as well as on ideologies of masculinity, men's subjectivities and male perspectives of gender and power.

In his contribution to the present issue, Shawn Parkhurst carefully problematizes homogeneous connotations of "northern Portugal" through a comparative discussion of previous work on gender in various locales. He also contributes a detailed analysis of women's relative lack of economic power and personal autonomy in the context of the agricultural economy of Socalcos—the pseudonym for a wine-producing village located in the part of the Alto Douro that is called Cima Corgo. As part of his analysis, he disputes Brøgger and Gilmore's (1997) characterization of northern Portuguese households as uniformly "matrifocal." Heidi Kelley and Sharon Roseman both respond directly to much of the "classic" literature on gender and power in Galicia through their focus on emergent relationships between individuals pertaining to the same households. Kelley questions previous assumptions about "matrifocality" and the extent of female power in communities in coastal Galicia and demonstrates the value of analyzing the emotional conflicts,

discourses of power and assumptions about family relationships that inform individuals' household narratives. Roseman introduces her findings that authority politics in stem-family households in Zas are characterized by ongoing tensions between discourses emphasizing both egalitarianism and social hierarchy. She also underscores the importance of taking into account the impact of long-term seasonal migration on household dynamics. Susana de la Gala emphasizes the intersection of gender and class domination during the first half of the 20th century in the two parishes of Mourisca and Beba. In her analysis of these processes of domination, she draws on ethnographic and archival data to explore how work, migration, inheritance, courtship and marriage patterns affected women and men differently. She also includes the life story narratives of two elderly women, both of whom vividly evoke the personal experience of having been born into rural households in these Galician locales earlier in the century.

Our aim in this volume is to highlight that the dialogues advanced by the intraregional comparison of distinct field projects is one of the best ways to avoid the danger of academic metonymy—of presenting examples of particular locales as though they accurately represent a whole "place"—that can lead to anthropological territorialization (after Appadurai, 1988). The presentation and analysis of data from various field sites can clarify the extent of similarities and differences among locales within particular regions. The authors of the papers contained in this special issue of *Anthropologica* have the goal of furthering an understanding of how a broad series of shifting circumstances continually shape the circulation of strategies and discourses of power within intimate family networks. A main goal in having compiled this collection is to wed the currently prevalent focus in anthropology on the symbolic construction of individuals' multiple-faceted gender identities with a renewed consideration of the effects of power differentials. The examples presented by the contributors to the volume highlight how, as individuals from northern Portugal and Galician Spain endeavour daily to ensure and better their material circumstances, they also continuously evaluate the ways in which unequal access to economic and political resources affects their own gendered, classed and territorialized lives.

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Notes

1 An early reference to a discourse of women's power is found in the legend that surrounds the figure of Queen Lupa who is said to have been "*una poderosa matrona*" (a very powerful matron) (Alonso Romero, 1983: 227) and to have played a key role in ensuring the eventual development of the Galician city of Santiago de Compostela as a major pilgrimage route for Europeans from the Middle Ages onward. The legend—which has been repeated to researchers collecting examples of Galician folklore in the 20th century—recounts that, when the body of James the Apostle was miraculously transported from ancient Palestine to the shores of Galicia, the pagan Queen Lupa reversed her initial rejection of the requests for assistance from the disciples who accompanied the body of St. James. She is reputed to have converted to Christianity and provided land on which a tomb and sanctuary dedicated to James could be erected (see Alonso Romero, 1983; Llinares García, 1989; and Valentine, 1983). It is this tomb which it is said was later discovered in the 9th century A.D.

2 For an excellent overview of some of the tensions and possibilities that have emerged out of various feminist theorists' readings of the political implications of Foucault's work on subjectivity and power, see Sawicki (1994).

3 The 17 "Autonomous Communities" that now compose the Spanish state were established gradually following the passage of the new Spanish Constitution in 1978. Due to their special recognition as having been "historical nations," the first areas to gain regional governments were the Basque country (Euskadi), Catalonia and Galicia (see, e.g., Donaghy and Newton, 1987).

4 Among others, di Leonardo (1991b), has highlighted the way in which anthropological data—along with mythology and historical sketches of early city-states such as Crete—have been used by some feminists to promote an ideology of a "woman's culture." This construction most often consists of a description of a psychological, emotional, social, ethical, moral and spiritual unity among "women" from diverse time periods and societies. As Webster (1975) indicated, in earlier work on this subject such as that of Davis (1971), this unity is often overtly described as "innate" rather than the result

of socialization. The mix of biological and social metaphors is confusing and contradictory. For example, patriarchal social arrangements are said to be tied not to men's innate qualities but rather to "male" or "masculist" (sometimes "masculinist") principles. Clearly, the former line of argument would not serve the cause of gender equality because men could not change "innate" dominance behaviours.

5 Note that the work of Davis (1971) and others is very different in argumentation and in the use of evidence from that of feminist anthropologists such as Eleanor Leacock (e.g., 1981), Kathleen Gough (e.g., 1975) and Karen Sacks (e.g., 1979) who were interested in the link that Frederick Engels established between private property regimes, monogamy and lower social status for women. Rather than seeking proof of "matriarchies" in the past, these scholars carefully analyzed the data indicating relative gender equality among foraging populations that did not have a notion of private property.

6 The folklorist Marisa Rey-Henningsen (1994), whom we reference above, recently published her doctoral dissertation in which she utilizes Lisón Tolosana's work extensively to support her argument that there is a "matriarchal" cultural discourse operating throughout Galicia.

7 Although she is approaching the problem from the perspective of a different discipline and academic tradition, it should be noted that the folklorist Marisa Rey-Henningsen (1994) is the most radical in her claims. She suggests that a Galician culture of female dominance has existed for centuries and "accords with the cultural and economic female dominance and the matriarchal norms that prevailed until very recently among large parts of the population in Galicia" (Rey-Henningsen, 1994: 260).

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In the Middle of the Myth: The Problem of Power in Gender Relations and the Alto Douro Region of Northern Portugal

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Abstract: Recent ethnographic scholarship has divided Iberia into a south of male social dominance and a north of female social dominance or social equality. In this article I critique the sweeping character of these distinctions through a review of ethnographies which describe instances of male dominance in northern Portugal. The particular ecological/economic conditions linked to male power in the north lead me to ask if such conditions might define regions, and regional gender relations, at a level between the local settlement and the broad area designated "the north." Analyzing my ethnographic data from northern Portugal's Alto Douro region, I suggest that they do.

Résumé: La production ethnographique récente établit une division dans la péninsule ibérique entre le sud où les hommes dominent et le nord où on trouve une domination des femmes ou l'égalité sociale. Dans cet article, je critique le caractère absolu de ces distinctions au moyen d'une revue des ethnographies qui décrivent des cas de dominance masculine dans le nord du Portugal. Les conditions écologiques/économiques particulières reliées au pouvoir masculin dans le nord me conduisent à chercher si de telles conditions pourraient définir des régions et des relations régionales entre les sexes à un niveau situé entre l'établissement local et l'aire plus large désignée comme le «nord». Sur la base de données ethnographiques de la région d'Alto Douro du nord du Portugal, je prétends qu'on peut établir un tel niveau intermédiaire.

Introduction

Recent publications on local gender relations in Iberia attempt to retrace the lines of a cultural map that has become increasingly problematic. In this article, I question the sociocultural content and spatial contouring of this map both through a focussed review of ethnographies set in northern Portugal and an analysis of data drawn from my own ethnographic work in a small northern Portuguese region called the Alto Douro, world-renowned for its wine, and a puzzle piece for anyone interested in the regional character of economy and culture.[1] My purpose is not to do away with cultural maps. Indeed, the revival of notions of a "Mediterranean" culture area by Brøgger and Gilmore (1997) and O'Neill (1995) is worth attention because of the stress such a notion puts on cultural differentiation in space. In addressing this work, I mean, rather, to emphasize that approaching culture as a "distributive" phenomenon is so important as to demand great spatial precision (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997; Lomnitz-Adler, 1991, 1992; Rodseth, 1998; Wolf, 1999). Studying culture as distributed means trying to grasp how everyday practices, representations, understandings and identities depend both on localized space and extralocal spatial connections. Such an approach to culture demands close attention to regional differences, commonalities and boundaries. Our maps must be precise, and their dimensions specified. In this article I attempt to demonstrate the importance of one of these dimensions: economic organization.

Brøgger and Gilmore (1997) claim the presence of an honour-and-shame system across southern Iberia, and a mirror image of this system in northwestern Spain and "north/central" Portugal. In their view, the fulcral difference between the two cultural systems is the public power of women: in the south men dominate socially by controlling the public sphere, while in the north women control this sphere, and thus are dominant in local society as a whole. O'Neill's (1995) work, though more

focussed on a single ethnographic case, also opposes a northern to a southern cultural system.

Because these articles focus on gendered social dominance and geographical difference, various approaches can be made to their claims: We can explore the political functioning of "honour-and-shame" and "Mediterranean culture" as categories in the academy (Goddard, Llobera and Shore, 1994; Herzfeld, 1987; Pina-Cabral, 1989). We can investigate the role played by regional difference in the imagination of nation-states (for the Portuguese case see Medeiros, 1995, 1996, 1998). We can question the definitions and ethnographic portrayals of social dominance, its shifting local contexts, and negotiations (the productive enterprise of many feminist ethnographers, and the main focus of Gala González, Kelley and Roseman, in this volume). Finally, we can examine the geographical distinctions being made. This article attends largely to the latter task, though the third approach necessarily informs the undertaking.

I argue that a more regionally differentiated view of northern Portugal is required for an understanding of gender relations there. These gender relations may well involve dominance, but to see how, we must take regionally differentiated political economies into account and ask how they affect not only the relations between the public and private spheres, but also the very relevance of this distinction for women and men (Kelley, this volume; Lamphere, 1997). Here I lay out the claims made by Brøgger and Gilmore (1997) and O'Neill (1995) and problematize their concept of "northern Portugal" through a review of countervailing descriptions of "gendered" authority in local social relations there. This leads to a differentiated view of agriculture in the north, and an examination of gender relations in the Alto Douro region. In concluding, I indicate how regions like the Alto Douro not only warn against homogenizing portrayals of cultural space, but also raise questions about regional interconnections.

The Iberian Antipodes of Gendered Dominance?

Portugal may be merely one fifth the size of its Iberian neighbour, yet it is geographically, socially and culturally heterogeneous. One of the basic areal distinctions has long been that between the north and the south.[2] This distinction has largely been located in different land-holding regimes, with the rolling plains of the rural south carved up into large landed estates held by absentee owners and worked by landless proletarians, and the hilly north fractured into small parcels of land largely worked by their owners, with fewer numbers of rural wage labourers. This economic portrait remains accurate within limits, one of which is the Alto Douro region of the north.

Views of this north-south distinction vary by discipline. Thus sociologists consider the north-south split to remain important in terms of such social attributes as wage levels and educational attainment (M.V. Cabral, 1992; Medeiros, 1992). Anthropologists Brøgger and Gilmore focus more clearly on localized space. In their analysis, gender relations differ between what they refer to as the north and the south in terms of female or male dominance in the "private" and "public" realms. In both the north and the south, according to Brøgger and Gilmore, women are the authorities in households, which they consider "private" spaces. However, in "north/central" Portugal, they argue, women dominate public space to the extent that "in this corner of Iberia, the power and independence of women is more than pronounced; it is absolute" (Brøgger and Gilmore, 1997: 15). In contrast, village public space in the south is completely dominated by men. Thus, women's dominance in northern Iberia, in Brøgger and Gilmore's view, is dominance of local public space.

In bringing the local level into the broader notion of regional difference, Brøgger and Gilmore prompt two interrelated questions: how is "dominance" in this local public space defined, and how is this local public dominance mapped onto regional space? As my concern is mainly the portrayal of the "north," the sketch of life in the fishing village studied by Brøgger (1990) is worth some detailed attention. The work was conducted in Nazaré, a coastal fishing village 100 kilometres north of Lisbon, in the Estremadura region of central Portugal. Curiously, Brøgger and Gilmore not only use Nazaré to illustrate "northern" gender relations, but neglect coast-interior distinctions as well.[3] Following Brøgger's earlier work, Brøgger and Gilmore (1997: 21-24) outline a number of social practices that support their argument. In Nazaré there is, to begin with, a strong tendency toward matrivicinality, which contributes to women's power in the household. In addition, women also dominate public space, as they market fish caught by the village's fishermen. Men are largely absent, catching fish on the open sea and when present in the village display none of the "blustering or protective masculinity" found in the south. Instead, they haunt the bars because they need "refuge": their wives do not tolerate them at home during the day. Brøgger and Gilmore, emphasize, finally, that Nazaré women's public comportment is strikingly different from that of "southern" women, for they "possibly become even more dominating when leaving their houses," speaking in "stentorian" tones.

In summary, Brøgger and Gilmore argue that between the north and the south women's public presence differs radically. They consider the most satisfying explanation for this difference to be a combination of the presence or absence of the honour-and-shame code with "ecological/economic" variables. The honour-and-shame code, based in controlling female sexuality by confining women to "private space," is present in the south, but absent in Nazaré. Economic conditions compound the effects of the code's presence, as across southern Iberia proletarian men control public space as psychological compensation for their low-class status, while in Nazaré fishing provides men with social prestige (ibid.: 28).

A number of loose ends dangle from this model, two of which merit special attention. First, as anthropologists of gender will note, the association of women with a "private" and men with a "public" sphere has been problematized by ethnographic work since the private/public model was forwarded in the early 1970s (di Leonardo, 1991; Lamphere, 1997). Examining the complicated interrelations between such spheres in everyday practice would produce a more convincing depiction of gender relations. Second, the larger cultural map being invoked demands attention, for two reasons.[4]

First, the authors use "north/central Portugal" very loosely. At one point, the comparison is between "Andalusia and northern Portugal," with the latter quickly replaced by the fishing-focussed "Atlantic-fringe complex" (Brøgger and Gilmore, 1997: 26). The descriptive emphasis on the fishing economy further tends to conflate coastal, fishing-oriented Portuguese settlements with a "rural northwestern Iberia" which is only for one fleeting moment hypothesized as possibly distinct from the world of "fisherfolk" (ibid.: 26).

Second, O'Neill (1995) portrays gender relations in the northern Portuguese interior in a fashion consistent with Brøgger and Gilmore's vague use of "the north." O'Neill describes the lives of two "peasant women" from the Trás-os-Montes village of Fontelas, and the continuities and discontinuities in their experiences. These experiences are described, with impressive detail, to the partial end of demonstrating what O'Neill has argued in an important earlier work (O'Neill, 1987): that the life cycle of Fontelas women is different from that of women in "Mediterranean societies" (O'Neill, 1995: 112). The fundamental difference is that "marriage is . . . practically dissolved as a key biographical moment" (ibid.: 113) because of the character of property transfer: in Fontelas the transfer of agricultural property so important to livelihoods tends to occur after the death of the head of the family, while in "Mediterranean societies" property is transferred both at marriage (through dowries) and death.

O'Neill concludes that "this part of the North of Portugal presents a radically different feminine world from that of the South" (ibid.: 113). From the precision of "*this part* [my emphasis] of the North," he segues into generalization about northern Portugal as a whole, where "women are simply not repressed, devalued, subordinated or exploited by men or indeed by the overall society" (ibid.: 114). O'Neill opposes this north to "the Alentejo and Estremadura provinces of the South, [where] we find a much more radical subordination of women to men" (ibid.: 113). Thus, his study complements Brøgger and Gilmore's characterization of "the north" of Portugal. At the same time, he locates the Estremadura in the "south" of male dominance, in contrast to Brøgger and Gilmore's association of the Estremadura Nazaré's region with female dominance.

In summary, despite their lack of clarity on boundaries, both articles homogenize gender relations in the north and the south, and in doing so invite an examination of the ethnographic literature which finds intra-areal variation. The next section is such an examination. It uses the ethnographies of Brettell (1995; 1986), Cole (1991) and Pina-Cabral (1986) to illustrate variation in gender relations in the north, and the relation of this to differing class contexts and economic conditions.

Differentiating the North

Numerous ethnographic works on northern Portugal have depicted elements of both women's autonomy and male dominance. The work of Caroline Brettell (1995; 1986), for example, is highly instructive regarding power and gender relations in the north. In Brettell (1995) we encounter three women who emigrated to Paris from different regions of northern Portugal, and who speak clearly about male authority at home. Ricardina dos Santos, from the Beira Alta region in the Portuguese interior, tells Brettell that "A father has all the authority and if it is necessary to shout or to beat, he will" (1995: 52). Her father had persuaded her with threats of a beating to stop seeing a certain boy (ibid.: 58). Virginia Caldas emigrated from the rural Minho region, where, Brettell tells us, "the father or eldest male holds the reins of authority" (ibid.: 71). Ana Fernandes, who emigrated from Porto, emphasizes how parents should closely supervise young women's comportment because of the threat of "shameful" (sex-related) behaviour (ibid.: 97).

Brettell does not reject the idea that women in northern Portugal have social power. Rather, she offers careful descriptions of the circumstances in which power

is exercised by both men and women. Brettell's (1986) historical-ethnographic work on the consequences of male migration from a northwestern (Minho) parish is a model of contextual observation. Brettell cautiously concludes that in this agricultural region women's behaviour "was not totally controlled" (Brettell, 1986: 259) because of the combined effects of small holdings in land, an emphasis on the nuclear family and male absence through migration. However, control of women's behaviour varied with the social status of women's families of origin, for in wealthier families young women were not required to work outside of the home, and were thus kept under "the watchful eye of their fathers" (ibid.). Moreover, the force behind social control was associated with a patriarchal principle, so that "authority and castigation" were embodied by fathers (ibid.: 251).

Variability in the gendered embodiment of social power is further highlighted for the northwestern region in Cole's (1991) study of Vila Chã—a coastal fishing community. In this text Cole attends to the ecological, economic and social conditions under which female authority in local social life has expanded and contracted. Most important for fisherwomen's control over their lives was the ocean's character as a collective resource, the location of production in households and male absence through migration. However, Cole conveys how autonomy for women has been undermined by increasing involvement in wage labour. Moreover, she demonstrates how male authority has been exercised locally. Just inland from the fishing community is an agricultural system in which "male authority reigned over the farm enterprise" (Cole, 1991: 98). In these farming households, women were kept close to home by their fathers and husbands.

Finally, Pina-Cabral (1986) finds gendered relations of social power in the upper Minho region to differ between the small-town bourgeoisie and the peasantry (defined as subsistence-oriented landowners). Working alongside of his depictions of difference between these social groups is, moreover, a clear claim about how economic change has affected relations between the genders. Pina-Cabral sees increasing integration of peasant households into a market-based economy—effected both through agricultural production and non-agricultural activities—to be increasing "the power of men in the home" (Pina-Cabral, 1986: 86; see also J.-F. Almeida, 1986). More recently Pina-Cabral has argued that with the increasing bourgeoisification of Portugal as a whole has come increasing male power in households (Pina-Cabral, 1993a).

Taken together, the ethnographic works consulted in this section demonstrate that gender relations in northwestern Portugal vary with ecological setting, placement on a city-countryside continuum and the social class position of households. They also demonstrate, however, that one economic context seems especially likely to entail men's power over women: market-oriented agriculture. Given the agreement on this point among the studies considered, it is worth asking what kinds of gender relations might be found in a part of northern Portugal where agriculture is more heavily market-based than in the northwest, and has been for several centuries. The Alto Douro is just such a region.

As we enter the Alto Douro, we must keep in mind the complexity of the relations among the market integration of agriculture, gender relations and social change, usefully pointed to by Rogers (1985, 1991). Rogers' (1985) comparative analysis of gender relations in rural France posits that dominance in gender relations depends fundamentally on what she calls the "cultural system" that structures local everyday life. Rogers identifies two types of cultural system: the egalitarian and the hierarchical. The former is associated with northern France and the latter with the south of the country. A cultural system's logic is expressed in a number of domains, such as settlement pattern and inheritance practices, and Rogers convincingly details the interrelations among such domains.

Of particular importance to the Alto Douro case is Rogers' persuasive argument that these regional differences in cultural system preexist the development of capitalist relations in agriculture. Rogers shows how in the southern French village of Ste Foy increasing involvement in the market for agricultural commodities has worked to reproduce the local hierarchical cultural system, and thus male dominance (Rogers, 1991). Thus Rogers' work demonstrates that areal arguments about culture remain useful even while notions such as "honour-and-shame" have had their contents and geographical contours largely dissolved by research and critique.

While Rogers' object-lesson suggests we should always look beneath commoditized economic relations for the cultural substrata, the lesson's spatial logic entails the possibility that in some regions market relations may have exercised unusual power in shaping the basic structure of local life—either because of the structure of the local cultural system, or because of historical interruptions in that system.[5] In examining the question of gendered dominance within northern Portugal in regionally sensitive terms, then, we must attend closely to spatial questions, at different scales. The following section is a description of the Alto Douro which attempts to show

two things: First, that the spatial and economic features of the region are intimately intertwined; and second that this spatially specific economic organization has important consequences for three aspects of local social life, which in turn deeply inform gender relations in the region. These three aspects are property relations, the division of labour and the connections between household and "public" spheres.

The Alto Douro

Social scientists have long portrayed rural northern Portugal as regionally divided among the Minho, Trás-os-Montes, the Beira Alta and the Alto Douro. The Minho is a hilly, verdant region, with varied agricultural production and dispersed settlements. Trás-os-Montes, to the east of the Minho, is more arid, with an agriculture more focussed on grain crops and a settlement pattern of densely concentrated but widely separated villages. The Alto Douro is defined by the Douro river, lying in southern Trás-os-Montes region, where the river system has eroded steep slopes into the terrain. It begins some 67 kilometres east of the city of Porto, on the Atlantic coast, and stretches across 80 kilometres to the Spanish border. It extends approximately 16 kilometres north and an equal distance south of the Douro river. At its southern edge, the Alto Douro borders on the Beira Alta region, which is comparable to northern Trás-os-Montes in topographical and ecological terms.

The Alto Douro is sharply distinctive from the rest of Trás-os-Montes in economic terms, and subject to institutional regulation dividing it from both Trás-os-Montes and the Beira Alta. This distinctiveness is not deeply encoded in the terms people use to identify themselves; at the same time, all of the "Durienses" that I know consider themselves quite distinct from other "Trasmontanos," above all in terms of their economic system, which they see as almost completely cash-based as opposed to the more subsistence-oriented areas surrounding them.

Massive terraces have been gouged and carved into the steep schistous slopes of the river system for grape production. Dynamite has often been needed to blast apart the solid masses of schist found throughout the region, as the rock "does not break down into soils under normal conditions of the zone" (Stanislawski, 1970: 95). Until the 1680s, the Alto Douro's geology and hot climate[6] limited agricultural production to small harvests of wine, chestnuts and olives, and made the region one of the poorest in Portugal (Schneider, 1980: 33). Beginning in the 18th century, however, the region's wealth increased through the heavy export of its wines first to England, then to the rest of the world (ibid.; Martins, 1990). Since 1756, with some interruptions, the Portuguese state has maintained a demarcation around the region in order to regulate the quality and quantity of wine produced in the circumscribed space. Alto Douro wine—known the world over as Porto, or Port, after the city which long served as its exclusive point of shipment abroad—is a sweet wine high in alcohol content produced by halting the fermentation process with the addition of brandy. Portuguese economic historians associate the early demarcation with the fact that port wine was the first Portuguese economic sector to have been structured in capitalist terms (Martins, 1988: 392), and consider the Alto Douro a zone of precocious "agricultural capitalism" (Pereira, 1983: 126). Since its birth this region has depended on surplus labour from its surrounding regions (Enjalbert, 1949: 294; Monteiro, 1911: 50), and on extra-regional imports for the provision of food (Valério, 1993: 40).

In the Alto Douro, settlements are divided among large, somewhat self-enclosed estates, often owned by absentee landlords and tending to lie close to the river,[7] commercial towns, also often along the river, and villages and hamlets located high up on the slopes or plateaus above the winding river or its tributaries. The region is itself composed of three subregions. From west to east, these are the Baixo Corgo, Cima Corgo and Douro Superior. Rainfall, agricultural productivity, and settlement density all diminish from the former to the latter.

In 1993 and 1994[8] I carried out 15 months of field work in a Cima Corgo village I call Socalcos, which lies two kilometres up and away from the Douro, at the head of a small winding valley. On a sunny day, from the slopes above it the village looks like a heart-shaped island of whitewash gleaming in a terraced sea of vines. Most of the village's 155 houses are squeezed together onto two steep inclines, so that from the base of the village you seem to confront a misplaced patch of old city high-rises. Eighty-seven of these houses are inhabited for the greater part of the year by 270 individuals. The others are resided in only some months of the year by families having their main residences elsewhere in Portugal, or abroad. Among year-long Socalcos residents, there are 10 more males than females.

Gendered Property Relations

The grapes growing on the slopes around the village are ranked by the Casa do Douro (henceforth the CD), the regional regulatory body for port-wine grape production.[9] The CD confers a *benefício* on higher quality grapes—that is, it certifies them for sale to firms producing port wine,

thus allowing them to command a price about four times what local grapes earn for table wine. In such a regulatory context, differential ownership of vineyards must be considered if patterns of gendered dominance are to be understood.

In Socalcos, men overwhelmingly predominate as owners of vineyards. The CD possesses a register of *benefício*-holders for every parish in the Alto Douro. In one column the register lists the *benefício*'s owner.[10] In a second column the amount of *benefício* is displayed in litres. Of the 279 different owners listed for Socalcos parish, 223 (79.9%) of them are men and 56 (20.1%) are women. From interviews I determined that a grower needed to produce a minimum of six 550-litre barrels—called *pipas*—of wine with a *benefício* per year to live entirely from household wine production. In Socalcos village, only eight out of some 87 households attained this level of *benefício*.[11] The members of other vineyard-holding families were required to work for wages in the vineyards of wealthier families. This class differentiation, long a focus of writing on the Alto Douro,[12] seems not to influence gender-based *benefício* ownership significantly. The average *benefício* demonstrates this, as does the range in *benefício* held. In the parish, men own an average of just over four barrels of *benefício*, while women average just below three barrels. The range in *benefícios* is also comparable for women and men, stretching from 10 and 20 meagre litres among wage labourers with a smidgen of land to over 15 000 litres at the high end of the class scale. Thus poor women are as likely to own a *benefício* as wealthier women. Both wealthy and poor women, however, are much less likely to own one than men.

The gender imbalance in *benefício* ownership suggests an imbalance built into the forms of land acquisition. Land is acquired through inheritance and purchase, but in both cases cash mediates the transfer. Inheritance tends to follow a rule of strictly equal partibility. It involves calculating the cash value of property of various types, and dividing it into equal parts primarily on the basis of estimated market value. The distribution often takes place through picking numbers corresponding to parcels from a hat. Current law disallows the division of small parcels. Thus, in the case of small holdings, the heir who can buy out the others is in a favourable position; and men have greater access to cash than do women. For agricultural work in Socalcos, women receive 65% of men's wage rate. Throughout the Alto Douro, men's wage rates for agricultural work are 50-70% higher than women's (Rebelo, 1995: 93). This is rationalized by a belief that men's work requires more strength and skill than women's (see n. 18). Moreover, women work only half days for wages. Additionally, since the 1970s, returned emigrants have become some of the largest landholders, and men have moved abroad, and returned, at higher rates, and have earned higher wages in the receiving country, than have women.[13] In the Alto Douro economy, this greater access to cash explains a large part of the gender imbalance in the inheritance of vineyards.

Vineyards are also purchased by non-heirs for various reasons—ranging from disputes within families to a lack of cash or interest on the part of the heirs. Here again, men's greater access to cash helps them prevail among buyers of land. But among non-heirs, men have yet another advantage in purchasing land. Much of the land sold outside of families has been worked on a sharecropping basis, with the owner typically living in Porto. The active sharecropper is often a lone man. Yet even when a family unit sharecrops together, men always organize the operation.[14] When a property is opened to bidding, the sharecropper's bid is given preference among equal bids.

The Gendered Division of Labour

The cash economy thus favours males among both heirs and non-heirs; consequently, men are typically the owners of property. However, a full understanding of local social life in terms of equality or domination in gender relations requires viewing ownership in combination with local work practices.[15] In Socalcos a clear gendered division of property is accompanied by a gendered division of labour which we can glimpse through an examination of the yearly round.

In the vineyards, the fall and winter are devoted to loosening and fertilizing the soil around the vineplants, pruning the established vines and planting disease-resistant "American" rootstock. This is all men's work. Women pick up the pruned branches in the afternoon. In the spring, men strap 50-pound blowing machines to their backs, and tramp down the rocky rows spraying milky herbicide onto the ground. Women mix the herbicide, pour it into large jugs and carry the liquid down the rows on their heads to refill the machines. At the end of the day their hair is streaked with the blue-white weedkiller.

At harvest time there is a new wrinkle in the division of labour. On large estates with hired labour, workers are trucked in from the surrounding subsistence agricultural regions; on smaller holdings, the labour remains family-based. On both types of holding, women cut the grape clusters and fill small baskets with them. Women and children empty these baskets into 50-70 kilo-

gram baskets that men carry on their backs via the vineyards' schist stairways to trucks. From the trucks the grapes are emptied into mechanized wine makers or into troughs for treading. Women working in the estate harvests enter the troughs with men from their home region and tread grapes. Women from Socalcos make it very clear that it is husbands, fathers and sons who tread grapes in the troughs in the basements of their houses, because, they say, women should not expose their legs. The local view is that the women from the surrounding regions tread because in those areas people's notions of propriety differ from those proper to Socalcos.[16] Thus a key symbolic aspect of the local gendered division of labour depends on the inter-regional movement of workers into the Alto Douro. I will return to this point in the conclusion to the article.

To summarize, in Socalcos, vineyards are considered a masculine space in which what is seen locally as the most skilled work (pruning), the most arduous work (hoeing, the carrying of heavy weights) and the most "indecorous" work (treading grapes) is performed by men, while women's vineyard work is considered physically undemanding and unskilled. In contrast, the maintenance of the home is considered to be women's responsibility. Some kinds of work in the house are considered more strictly feminine than others, however.

Women typically work in vineyards for wages only in the afternoon, for they spend the morning doing laundry and preparing the afternoon meal. This might consist of pork chops, fried potatoes and peas mixed into steamed rice, accompanied by wine (for the men). Though some garden produce is used in meals, women buy much of the household's food—especially meat and fish—from trucks that come from Lamego and Régua, two of the region's commercial towns. On a normal workday, the women prepare the food, serve the men and eat after the men have gone to the café for coffee (and brandy, if they are wage-labourers).

Men sometimes cook during women's absences. However, there is no such flexibility when it comes to cleaning. Cleaning up after meals consumes much time, even now that piped water is common. Further cleaning of the house involves sweeping and mopping concrete and hardwood floors on a daily basis, or even more often. Though keeping the house clean is a time-and-energy-consuming business, cleaning the clothes of the household members consumes the greatest amount of time. Bright clothes on all family members is a measure of what is called a woman's "seriousness." Family laundry is often done in the public wash tank. On all days but Sunday, in all kinds of weather, women carry clothes in brightly coloured plastic basins either set against the hip or balanced on the head to the tank, which is set on a platform on the village's eastern slope. One woman I knew spent nearly 20 hours a week washing and beating and drying her family's clothes.[17]

Two general points can now be made about the division of labour in Socalcos. First, men view the division not as complementary, but as a distinction between "important" and "unimportant" work. The men's view is, moreover, hegemonic. When I commented that women worked very hard, men would agree, but then emphasize that women's work was unskilled, while theirs—especially grafting and pruning—was skilled. I observed wives arguing with husbands that women's work was skilled as well. They often emphasized the skill required to cook well, for example. While agreement was not reached in such arguments, there was a subtle hierarchy in the rhetorical positions taken: though wives might refuse to accept their husbands' disparaging evaluations of women's work, they would not belittle their husbands' skills (as their husbands did theirs). Rather, they restricted themselves to elevating women's work to the level of men's work, which seemed to be viewed as defining the upper limit of skill.[18]

Yet such a division of labour, and beliefs about it, in themselves give no clear indication of dominance or equality in gender relations. The second point to be made, then, is that when male ownership of property and dependency on market sales or wages by the majority of the local population is factored into the division, housework tilts the women's side of it toward dependency. Moreover, the spatial relations between houses and productive land promotes this. Alto Douro villages are comparable to the villages of the upper Trás-os-Montes region studied by O'Neill in being like islands agglomerated in expanses of productive land. Yet the Alto Douro village is different in being surrounded by highly commodified rather than subsistence-oriented land. In locating exchange value in grapes and in the work done in vineyards, far from the houses, commodification has boosted the power of both male farmers and male agricultural wage labourers over their wives.

The Household, Public Space and Gender Relations

In Socalcos, homes are not simply separated from production, however. Men tend to be registered as the owners of the houses with which their wives are symbolically associated. For example, when three adult women inherited a house from their father on his death, their hus-

bands soon registered as the owners of the third-shares of the house. Later, two of the husbands sold their shares to the third husband. This tendency puts women in a dependent position, at least as regards the legal rule of ownership, which provides homeowners with a resource for authority. Many women villagers shared the view of the young woman who told me that "men have the property in their name because in the village it is still the men who rule over women and in the home."[19]

This view of men's power in the household could be read as expressing a myth of male authority, especially in households in which women have some control over the purse strings. In some Socalcos households, women do have such control. However, in particular kinds of household, men's power has been real. Economic conditions specific to the Alto Douro have influenced the organization of these households. Just over 60 years ago Descamps (1935: 121) observed that in the Alto Douro landowners large enough to live on the income from wine sales held a strong "paternal authority" and a tendency toward virilocality and virivicinality. This pattern continues today. One son, typically, will reside in a separate residence a few steps from the father's house, and owned by the father. The son works in the paternal vineyards for daily or monthly wages toward the end of purchasing his own vineyard land, to be worked in combination with the father's land, which he will inherit at the death of his parents through cash-based negotiations with his siblings. The women in such landholding families are most tightly bound to the household space. Moreover, the male heads of these households generally control the purse strings.

In contrast, in perhaps half of the wage-labouring households wives have some control over the purse strings, to the point where in a few homes wives manage the household budget, doling out cash to their husbands when asked. This is not the only social class difference between households, however. Descamps (1935: 118, 120) considered proletarian families to differ from landholding families in exhibiting tendencies toward uxorilocality, but at the same time toward "wife battering." Most people in Socalcos see uxorilocal tendencies to have ended with the economic improvements following from emigration and return—improvements which began in the 1970s. Yet in proletarian families there is still a sense of greater affect among maternal kin, expressed by the adage: "The children of our daughters are our grandchildren. The children of our daughter's-in-law may be our grandchildren, and may not." The phrase might indicate a residual emphasis on uxorilateral kin ties associated with the now disappearing uxorilocal residence pattern among the poor.[20] Yet one should be cautious in drawing conclusions about resources for female power in proletarian families from this emphasis.

Two aspects of the wine-based economy urge this caution. The first of these I have indicated already: ownership of vineyard land is an important resource for male authority, even among those many families having access to land only through sharecropping arrangements.[21] The second aspect involves the product of the land: wine is thought to contribute to gendered dominance within landless households through its consumption. In Descamps' view, the "wife battering" he described in the 1930s was a product of the consumption of wine by proletarian men made desperate by their economic condition.[22] In the course of my work I discovered that numerous local people of all classes considered violent male behaviour toward women in poor families to be a continuing problem. Whenever I was told about this, the explanation given was consonant with Descamps': the wine poor men consumed led them to their violence.[23]

My research suggests that in the Alto Douro virivicinality supports substantial male power within landowning households.[24] Moreover, in Socalcos "matrifocality" may be present to some extent in poor households, but problematized by a sensed threat of male household violence. However, households are not all there is to local social life. Determining whether a public sphere is materially present and culturally meaningful and, if so, assessing how men and women relate to it are matters of considerable importance for any assessment of male and female power.

Yet here the evidence is ambiguous, as is worthy of this clearly bounded, but ambiguously constituted, regional space. A public sphere can be taken to be made up of different components. One of these is formal local politics. Women in Socalcos, and the rest of the Alto Douro, are very rarely elected to office. Another component of the public sphere is all of those spaces linking up the densely packed houses of Socalcos—the two cafés, the tavern, the two village squares, the public wash tank, the church, and the steep narrow streets. All are understood locally to be a public, community arena.

. Examining these component spatial parts, we see that some public spaces are considered more appropriate for women to act in than others. With the exception of the church, appropriateness depends on the association of the space in question with household tasks or family activities.[25] Thus, women, and only women, are found at the public washing tank, which is a space for reproducing the public presentability of the family. The cafés, in contrast, are considered male space, except for Sundays

after mass, when many women gather there with their families, and weekday mornings, when many women come to the cafés to pay household bills and purchase meat, laundry soap and other items. The tavern is more exclusively male, though here too women enter when fresh bread has been delivered for sale—for the tavern, like the cafés, sells a limited range of groceries. The streets and squares are used by both men and women with no apparent anxiety. However, the comments of Arminda, a middle-aged mother of five who is married to a small landowner, express a feeling shared by many women about the space of the house in relation to at least one kind of public space:

Arminda: Outside of Socalcos I'll go to a café, but here I won't. I don't like to go to the café [because] people talk about people when they go to the café. [But] it's like they say to me, too: "You don't even leave the house."

Shawn: They criticize you when you don't leave the house, and they criticize you when you do leave the house?

Arminda: That's exactly it. They criticize [women] for going to the café, being there with men drinking. That's what the criticism probably is.

Shawn: And a woman, what does she need to do to remain a woman of . . .

Arminda: Of respect. Not engaging in a lot of conversation. If she talks with young men a lot, they begin to treat her with less respect. It's better to stay in the house.

In fact, I only saw Arminda in the café when she went there to pay bills or to buy food. Yet I did see her and many other women working outside of the home. At least four times a week she joined other women at the public washing tank overlooking the village to do the laundry of the seven people in her household. In addition, I often encountered her in the streets, where she was doing errands. In the course of these she would stop to talk with women (more rarely with men, including myself), but only briefly. Arminda's movements show how, though "respect" depends on a woman's sticking close to home, there is a countervailing tendency to promote her presence in public, if household-related work draws her there (and if she exhibits efficiency in her errands).

To summarize, there are patterned gender relations which suggest a form of male dominance which is linked to the ecology and economy of the area. In Socalcos, males control land, are symbolically associated with the wine that defines the region and exercise various degrees and kinds of control in their households. Moreover, public space would seem to be less important in the maintenance of whatever gender dominance exists in Socalcos than is the space of the household.

Conclusions

In this article I have argued that the portraits of gender relations in "the north" of Portugal found in the work of Brøgger and Gilmore and O'Neill are overly homogenizing. The former authors see "the north" as a zone of female dominance, while the latter author argues it is a zone of gender equality. I have tried to show that male dominance is found in the area as well by drawing both on published ethnographic work on northwestern Portugal and my own ethnographic data on the Alto Douro region. The works of Brettell, Cole and Pina-Cabral have shown how in northwestern Portugal men have significant control over women, in particular ecological and economic contexts. My research is convergent with these ethnographic portrayals of northwestern Portugal.

Brøgger and Gilmore homogenize not just "northwestern Iberia," but also private and public space. In analyzing the Alto Douro village of Socalcos, I have tried to show how these spaces are configured in particular ways because of the specific articulation of market-based agriculture and a settlement pattern of dense villages separated by land devoted to commodity production. In particular, I have argued that this articulation has influenced property relations, the division of labour and the use of and symbolism of space in such a way as to contribute to real, though variable, male dominance. In the "private space" of Socalcos the matrifocality emphasized for the whole of Iberia by Brøgger and Gilmore is contravened by significant amounts of male control. "Public space" seems not to be controlled by one gender or another, as it is in those authors' accounts, partly because this space is heterogeneous. I conclude from this that the "private/public" distinction may vary regionally in terms not just of its character, but in terms of its salience (see Kelley, this volume; Lamphere, 1997).

Rogers' lesson, detailed earlier, about the resilience of some localized "cultural structures" in the face of increasing market integration is not irrelevant to the Alto Douro. Rather, the historical specifics of this regional space have made it open to social and cultural influence by market relations. In the Alto Douro, a zone of monocropping was created by market forces and the Portuguese state, and populated in significant part through a series of settlement waves beginning in the 18th century. This has made of this thin, reticulate region an interruption in whatever broader northern cultural-economic commonalities may exist.

The Alto Douro is not only "different." Its economic organization and spatial location connect it with its surrounding regions in various ways which will have consequences for gender relations. In this article I have been able to touch on these only briefly. Yet it is worth noting that the Alto Douro still attracts migrant labourers who provide Alto Douro women with a regional "other" against which they define themselves: these are the women who come down from the mountain areas, expose their legs like men in the treading troughs and, according to Socalcos women, also do "men's work" when at home, thus failing to be "good" housewives like themselves. Thus the economic character of regions like the Alto Douro not only has consequences for gender relations in the regionally "internal" terms I have detailed in this article. It also raises questions about economic, symbolic and other relations *between* regions (Kelley, 1994) which must be addressed if the distributed character of gender relations is to be fully understood.

Notes

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2 Historians date various economic and social north-south distinctions to the formation of Portugal as a nation in the 11th century (Marques, 1972; Mattoso, 1991).

3 The distinction between an urbanized, modernizing litoral and a rural, underdeveloped and "patriarchal" interior was a fundamental one in some of the groundbreaking Portuguese sociology of the 1960s (e.g., Nunes, 1969). It is revisited, and reaffirmed, with some historical qualification, in a recent collection of sociological essays on Portugal (Barreto, 1996).

4 Brøgger's monograph on Nazaré has also been criticized for its depictions of Nazarenos as somehow "medieval" (S.L. Cabral, 1992), and its emphasis on the "Mediterranean" as a cultural category (Brettell, 1992; Pina-Cabral, 1991; see also Herzfeld, 1992: 50-57). Callier-Boisvert's (1991) criticism of the book for paying insufficient attention to regional and national context is convergent with my criticisms of the article under discussion here.

5 See also Roseman's article in this volume, which discerns egalitarian and hierarchical tendencies in the same localized space. It is worth noting that O'Neill has made a similar observation for northern Trás-os-Montes (O'Neill, 1987)—though not with regard to gender relations.

6 The Alto Douro is also distinguished from the rest of Trás-os-Montes as the *terra quente* (hot land) from the *terra fria* (cold land).

7 Monteiro (1911) and Medeiros (1978) draw parallels between these and the latifundia of southern Portugal's Alentejo region.

8 These years are implied by the temporal references below.

9 Over the course of my field work the Casa do Douro began losing many of its functions to a newly formed institution called the Comissão Interprofissional da Região Demarcada do Douro, which operates somewhat differently (see Peixoto, 1997). The impact of the alterations on economic and social life remain to be seen. They had negligible influence on local social life during my stay, however.

10 The column of names includes the names of firms or unspecified heirs, but I attend only to the names of individual owners. It is worth emphasizing that the figures I cite are for the entire parish to which Socalcos belongs. Also worth emphasizing is that though these records do not precisely reflect the current legal reality of individual ownership (some of the named proprietors are deceased, for example), in a completely updated list the gender contours should remain basically the same.

11 In 1994, six such barrels would bring in approximately $4 320 U.S.

12 One of the earliest descriptions of the heavy presence of landless labourers in the Alto Douro as compared with the rest of Trás-os-Montes is a manuscript from 1796 (Mendes, 1981). The sociologist Descamps (1935) considers the Alto Douro to be rural northern Portugal's most proletarianized zone in the first half of the present century. Social historians have recently written on this proletarianization for the period observed by Descamps (e.g., Costa, 1996 and 1997), and ethnographers have followed suit for the present day (Bennema, 1996; Parkhurst, 1997).

13 Young unmarried women migrate heavily too, but mainly to the city of Porto, where many work as live-in "domestics."

14 Frazão-Moreira (1996: 50) reports similar findings in her study of an Alto Douro village not far from Socalcos.

15 The following analysis of the division of labour as an ideological underpinning for gendered dominance is informed in

part by Lem's (1988, 1991) analyses of women's subordination among winegrowing families in southwestern France.

16 Consulting earlier accounts of Alto Douro harvest work (such as Sousa, 1906), we get a sense of how durable Alto Douro women's avoidance of treading has been.

17 Riegelhaupt's observations regarding women's household work in an Estremaduran village in the early 1960s hold true for Socalcos in the early 1990s. "Within the household," Riegelhaupt says, "aside from child rearing, the majority of a woman's time is spent in clothes washing and the preparation of food" (Riegelhaupt, 1967: 117).

18 This portrayal of the male control of skill in the division of labour seems to be a long-standing one, as well. Describing vineyard and other work in the Alto Douro circa 1911, Monteiro (1911: 51) writes that "masculine energy is devoted to the most difficult, tiring and complex operations." Yet the ideological character of this assessment is suggested by Lamas (1948), who describes women carrying weights equal to those carried by men at harvest time. Today one can see women carrying loads on their heads equivalent to the weight of the grapes carried by men; the only real distinction between women and men here is the context or type of items carried. (Women carry enormous loads of potatoes and firewood, for example.)

19 In considering "women's equality" to be associated with city living, this woman shared the views of the Galician women interviewed by Gala Gonzalez (personal communication).

20 On this saying, see Pina-Cabral (1993a: 992-993).

21 Frazão-Moreira (1996: 50) points out that in sharecropping families living in a village near Socalcos "the father is the central figure in terms of holding knowledge about work and managing material and human resources. It is the father... who determines his sons are going to work for wages outside of the household, who receives the wages, and who distributes weekly allowances on Sunday; it is he who assigns tasks to the members of the domestic group, and who directs agricultural work."

22 In Descamps' words, there were to be found "maris ivrognes battant leurs femmes" (Descamps, 1935: 118). For an Alto Douro writer's view on drunkenness in the region, see Brasio (1983).

23 The conventional local phrasing of this is that some men "ficam bêbados" (become drunk) and "batem nas mulheres" (beat their wives). Understandably, this topic came up in conversations only after a certain trust had been developed. It remains difficult to write about because I think that a detailed discussion in print of what I have heard about and not seen would be a violent act (of representation) on my part. I am inclined to take the descriptions of violence as accurate, though I see the role of wine as much more problematical. (As Pina-Cabral [1986, 1993b] has pointed out, in Portugal, wine is a symbol of masculine power; thus the accounts I have been given, like those given to Descamps, might well be examples of "myths of male dominance" in a symbolic register, with the wine representing the principle of male potency rather than somehow physiologically "causing" male violence.) However, I prefer to report on people's sense that male violence is connected to regional particularity rather than to affirm the reality of that violence as somehow regionally systematic. Cole (1991) and Kelley (this volume) describe men behaving violently toward women in local contexts in which there seem to be more egalitarian relations between the genders than what I have been describing, and this is a strong caution about treating such behaviour as systematically related to regional conditions.

24 Comparable male power in households is found by Almeida (1996) in wealthier households in the Alentejo region of southern Portugal.

25 The space of the church is a complicated topic which I cannot address in the space allotted me. Here I can only record that typically twice as many women attend mass as men.

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¿Quen Manda? (Who's in Charge?): Household Authority Politics in Rural Galicia

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Abstract: This paper focusses on the intricate contours of household authority politics in Zas, a rural township located in the Spanish Galician province of A Coruña. My main argument is that individuals living in this part of Atlantic Spain draw on the discursive themes of both social hierarchy and egalitarianism in continually negotiating their own positions and those of their co-resident kin. I illustrate this dynamic by providing ethnographic examples from three stem-family households. My inclusion of the question "Who's in Charge?" as part of the title to this paper refers to my general challenge to overly structural models of authority politics for analyses of family relationships.

Résumé: Cet article se concentre sur les contours compliqués de la politique domestique en Zas, une commune rurale située dans la province de A Coruña de la région de la Galice (en Espagne). Je soutiens que les individus qui vivent dans cette localité de l'Espagne atlantique utilisent fréquemment les deux discours de la hiérarchie sociale et de l'égalité. Elles et ils emploient ces deux discours (apparemment opposés) pour négocier leur situation et celle de leur famille et leurs parents les plus proches. Je montre cette dynamique avec les exemples ethnographiques de trois familles souches. La question «Qui est-ce qui commande?» fait partie du titre de l'article parce qu'elle reflète ma contestation de l'emploi de modèles trop structuraux d'attribution d'autorité dans l'analyse des relations familiales.

In both Castilian Spanish and Galician, the noun *manda* refers to a bequest or inheritance and in some areas refers to the written testaments. It is closely related to the verb *mandar* which can be defined variously as meaning "to be in charge," "to order" or "to be in control."

> In all types of family the extent of co-operation and cohesion should be observed, whether there is an authoritative head of the family, and who this is. . . . It should be ascertained in which member of the family authority is vested and to what extent authority can be used. Has a man right of life and death over any members of his family, or can he sell or pawn any member of this family into slavery?
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> — Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1951: 72

Delfina "On Marriage"

One evening in June of 1991, Delfina took advantage of her husband Esteban's absence to talk to me about their marriage. In order to illustrate her statement that Esteban had done things that "not every husband does," Delfina returned to the time almost 40 years previously when they were first married and she was experiencing a difficult pregnancy. Unable to exert herself physically, Delfina had been disturbed by her reliance on her new husband to do most of the farmwork. As a single woman, Delfina had sought a certain degree of economic independence by borrowing money from a brother in order to buy some land that she could "plant" herself. Ever since receiving the loan, all that Delfina could think about was her desire to earn enough profit from the sale of livestock and crops so that she could pay back her brother, thereby owning her land outright. She had always been a steady, strong worker and had therefore been confident of her ability to liquidate the loan and also to grow enough food to support her own and her mother's daily subsistence needs. To find herself restricted to small tasks and dependent on another individual at the be-

ginning of her marriage was almost intolerable for Delfina.

Then, she explained, her mother died. Although Delfina was the main inheritor of her mother's small estate, the surveyor who oversaw the *partixa* or division of the property advised her and her brothers that they would pay fewer taxes if all of the land was transferred to Delfina at the time of her mother's death. This meant that Delfina would have to buy back the land that her two brothers had received as minor inheritance portions. Esteban had himself received some cash capital in this way when he sold his inheritance portion from *his* mother's land to two siblings.

In remembering this time, Delfina told me that, in the midst of her anxiety, she had acknowledged her incapacity for action, telling her brothers to talk to her husband about the *partixa*. Delfina's voice dropped in volume as she told me about the difficulty of having sacrificed so much of her personal autonomy in voicing those words. "I couldn't do anything, say anything," she whispered.

Esteban's response to Delfina's distress and her brothers' inquiries was to use the cash that he had received as his inheritance to both buy back his mother-in-law's land from his brothers-in-law and also to pay off the small debt that Delfina had incurred with one of them before marriage. In local terms, both of these actions were done in Delfina's name.[1] Esteban understood her desire to be free of all liabilities but he did not claim her inheritance as his own. Delfina had tears in her eyes when she told me that she would rather die than be caught saying that the house and land were "hers" for they were not: "*Esteban confió en min e eu en él*" (Esteban trusted me and I him).

Introduction

I relate this personal account of a particular period in one woman's marriage as a way of introducing the intricate contours of household authority politics[2] in Zas, a rural township located in the Spanish Galician province of A Coruña. According to a structural model of the unequal inheritance and stem-family residential patterns that are found in much of rural Galicia, Delfina would be characterized as almost certainly having extensive domestic authority over her husband: she inherited her mother's dwelling and agricultural property while her husband Esteban was a minor heir and an in-marrying spouse. I would contend that she herself has shaped her narrative partly in response to a local, vernacular, and antecedent version of the academic structural model.[3] Aware that others might perceive her to have more economic power than Esteban and thus authority over him, Delfina is motivated to explain to me why she would rather "die" than have people think that she regards the house that the couple lives in, and the plots of land that they have nurtured for four decades as solely "hers." Instead, as she concludes: "Esteban trusted me and I him."

The significance of the nuances and contradictions apparent in narratives like Delfina's can be assessed through an examination of the discursive context in which she makes decisions to act, and by which she evaluates her life and the lives of others. Here, I am using the sometimes slippery term "discourse" to refer to the everyday "just talk" (Stewart, 1996: 31) about household dynamics that is as much a constitutive social practice and strategy of power as are people's actions (Abu-Lughod and Lutz, 1990: 9-13; also see Abu-Lughod, 1990). As elsewhere in the world, Galician women and men reflexively conceptualize and negotiate their relationships with marital partners and other members of their domestic units. Most significantly, I found that discourses of hierarchy and egalitarianism are *both* mobilized as strategic resources by household members of both genders and all ages. Although these two discursive themes are oppositional and the discourse of hierarchy often predominates, their alternating coexistence in people's speech repertoires makes "cultural sense" in the context of individual narratives and group discussions about household and intracommunity relationships (compare, e.g., with Pina-Cabral, 1986: 88).

In this part of rural Galicia, moreover, the tension between the two opposing cultural emphases of hierarchy and egalitarianism within households does not appear to be new. It is as evident in the stories I was told about household authority politics in the 1920s and 1930s as it is in recent contexts. In addition, many of those aspects of relationships which are closely connected with long-standing local and regionally specific patterns of inheritance, postmarital residence and economic survival are also supported by those discourses about relationships between women and men, and between parents and children, that are found in mass media representations and other public culture sites to which rural Galicians and other Spaniards are exposed daily.

My aim to find a way of accounting for the variety of influences that affect gendered social positions, identities and strategies of power in Zas in the 1990s reflects a prevailing dilemma in much of contemporary anthropology and has thus been theorized in a variety of related ways over the last decade (see, e.g., Appadurai, 1991; Hannerz, 1992; and papers in Miller, 1995). In trying to account for the myriad of influences that are associated with both widespread social changes and representations

and the rootedness of the histories of "places" (Stewart, 1996), it is tempting to adopt the metaphors of "creolization" or "hybridity" and to emphasize processes of cultural heterogeneity and fragmentation that are often linked to postmodernist frameworks of representation and explanation. However, as ethnographers such as Barber and Waterman (1995) have discovered, this approach can be just as reductionist and essentialist as a former binarization of people's cultural resources into the "traditional" and the "modern" or the "endogeneous" and the "exogeneous."

For me, the key starting point is that one can see the emphasis on *both* hierarchy and egalitarianism in daily conversations as well as in almost every response to my direct "anthropological" questions (after Abu-Lughod, 1993: 170) about authority patterns within households. Here is an example:

Sharon:	Who used to be in charge in [the] houses?
Señor Marcial	(92 years old): Older people.
Sharon:	Men and women?
Señor Marcial:	Everyone worked.
Sharon:	Women were also in charge?
Señor Marcial:	Yes, everyone was in charge, each one . . . ¡*Bah*!

As Señor Marcial and other informants indicated to me, it is the older couple in a stem-family rather than individuals of either gender who can be generalized as "being in charge" (compare with Pina-Cabral, 1986: 37, 47-50, 87-88). One can characterize this aspect of his answer as referring to a hierarchical discourse which is generated mainly out of local and regionally specific household arrangements. However, as one can see through reading the latter part of his answer, there is a more egalitarian component to the dynamics of personal interaction in stem-family households: "everyone" is "in charge" to some extent because all (adults) "work" for the household. Along these lines, all contributing adults to a household should have some degree of authority and thus the dominance of the older legal owners of property is somewhat mitigated.

To elaborate briefly, in the context of this part of rural Galicia, in referring to discourses emphasizing social inequality, I am referring to those discourses which reinforce that households are hierarchized along the lines of age and gender as well as the basis upon which particular members are affiliated with a domestic unit. Since the majority of households in Zas continue to be reproduced as multigenerational stem-family households, in the abstract, older individuals who are household heads are defined as having more authority than younger individuals within the family; in addition, married individuals of any generational cohort who are born into a household and who will eventually inherit much of the parental property have more authority than either their in-marrying spouses or their unmarried siblings who are minor heirs. Clearly, this household type is not found in most areas of Spain (however, see Douglass, 1988a and 1988b for other exceptions). At times, though, the reinforcement of a social hierarchy associated with this regionally specific household system is echoed in verbal references to other, more macro-level discourses which also reinforce social, and in particular, gender inequality. For example, there is a widespread Judeo-Christian ethic that younger people should "respect their elders"; I have heard this ethic repeated by Spanish television and radio broadcasters when censoriously reporting on crimes committed against elderly individuals. In addition, as in other societal contexts, I have observed instances of both men and women in various parts of Galicia and elsewhere in Spain relying on an essentialization of gender "difference" as a way of explaining why men may insist that women listen to their viewpoints, follow their advice, act on their decisions, respond reactively rather than proactively to men's sexual advances or otherwise act in submissive ways.[4] Such a rhetoric of male precedence affects people living in Zas who, like other Spaniards, are exposed to the mass media and to powerful hegemonic institutions such as the Catholic church, schools, military service, government offices and employment posts both in Spain and in other countries.

However, as I have discussed elsewhere, a second and contrasting discourse emphasizes an egalitarianism that serves to counterbalance to some extent the discourse of hierarchy (see Roseman, 1993). Like the discourse of hierarchy, a rhetoric of egalitarianism is generated out of local household and intracommunity arrangements but is also reinforced by "talk" about social equality introduced from outside the area. In Zas, the age, gender, class and other hierarchies that characterize both intra- and interhousehold relationships are softened by a strong emphasis on each individual's ability to advance her or his personal autonomy. Even within multigenerational households based on unequal inheritance, local strategies of power specify that any member of a household gains a certain degree of personal autonomy through his/her contributions to that social unit, these contributions ranging from property to regular wages to unpaid labour (see Roseman, 1993, 1996a). The same notion of personal autonomy applies to interhousehold exchange relationships. Additionally, some inhabitants of Zas mobilize the notion that gender equality is tied to "modern" marriages that

should allow for the establishment and maintenance of positive, egalitarian "romantic" relationships between partners. Cole (1991: 144-146), Collier (1997: 100-112), and Pina Cabral (1986: 38, 48) have of course clarified that discourses of "romantic love" and "modernity" and "bourgeois" marriage arrangements, can disadvantage women. Moreover, as I describe below, the emphasis on the importance of the health of the marital relationship is not a new nor necessarily an imported concept and contributes to a tendency for people to refer to couples as units rather than consistently distinguishing between the in-marrying and the inheriting spouses. The power struggles which emerge within some households in the 1990s are therefore often either between younger married couples and their siblings or between these couples and one or both of their parents. Based on the descriptions of older individuals such as Delfina, I would argue that these lines of contest and the strength of the married couple's unity is also characteristic of the past. In the remainder of the paper, I briefly introduce Zas and then illustrate the mobilization of discourses of both hierarchy and egalitarianism through the example of two households. I end with a concluding statement about the project of intracommunity and intraregional comparisons of household authority dynamics in this part of Europe and elsewhere in the world.

Stem-Family Households in Zas

"Delfina" lives in a section of the Galician township of Zas where I conducted field work in 1990-91, 1994 and 1995.[5] The villages of Santiago de Carreira, Pedramaior, and Villaestevez all pertain to the township of Zas; Santiago de Carreira and Pedramaior together form the parish of Santiago de Carreira and Villaestevez, although adjacent to these two settlements, is officially part of the parish of Santa María de Gándara. Depending on the route one takes, the three villages are situated approximately 20 to 25 kilometres inland from the series of maritime villages strung along this part of Spain's Atlantic coast. Over the course of the last century, those residing in the inland valley landscape of Zas (or, as it is also known, the valley of Soneira) have made a living from varying combinations of unwaged subsistence agriculture, the sale of agricultural commodities and livestock, wage work performed both locally and in migrant destinations elsewhere in Spain and in foreign countries and from government remittances such as unemployment insurance and old age pensions (Roseman, 1993). In each generation, significant numbers of individuals have also left this part of Zas permanently; others have remained and a stem-family household system (or *familia troncal*) continues to be reproduced in the majority of cases. In 1990-91, 55% or 50 of the 91 inhabited households in these three settlements were composed of three- or four-generation stem-family households. Taking into account variations over the course of the domestic life cycle, this is a relatively high percentage for both Galicia and other areas with historical traditions of a stem-family system (H. Buechler, 1987; e.g., Douglass, 1988b: 8, n. 11).[6] At the time when I did my long-term field work in Zas, 68% of those 50 stem-family households were uxorilocal which implies that parents were granting more daughters than sons the major inheritance portions from their estates.

In Galician stem-family households like these that continue to be reproduced, individuals may formally pertain, and financially contribute, to their natal domestic units while working over the long term in distant migrant destinations. In Zas, until the 1960s most of these absent household members were men. However, from the mid-1970s until the early 1990s, increased employment opportunities for women in the service and manufacturing sectors of countries such as Switzerland, West Germany and France resulted in a prevalence of young women from Zas joining their husbands in working abroad (see J.-M. Buechler, 1975). Most of the children of these couples remained in Galicia and were raised largely by their grandparents. Despite their lengthy absences, unless they established an alternative household in a Galician city or elsewhere, the parents of these children were regarded to be full-fledged members of these households in Zas. For many households, the stem-family household pattern was not, therefore, fundamentally disrupted by this new wave of both male and female seasonal out-migration.[7] It is clear, however, that these migrants and their relatives were affected by even more external cultural influences than previously. How did they accommodate their own adherence to a system of unequal inheritance and stem-family kinship bonds with those nuclear family household models that both existed in abundance in migrant destinations (including Spanish cities) and were also represented in mass media venues such as television programs?

I now turn to an illustration of my general argument about Zas with the example of two specific stem-family households. Due to space limitations, to make the best use of the comparative method, I compare stem-family households that are at points in their developmental cycles when they include members from three generations. The first example deals with a household which is virilocal in the present generation but was uxorilocal in the previous one, while the second household is an

example of two successive generations of uxorilocal postmarital residence. Most of the details presented in these accounts derive from my 1990-91 field trip, with some updating as a result of later visits.

"Casa da Herba Seca"

> *Hai que luchar.*
> (One has to struggle [economically].)
> — Susana, in-marrying daughter-in-law in a stem-family household with five members.

Señora Concepción was a charismatic, garrulous woman in her 70s whose eyes sparkled when she saw a visitor approaching but who, like many of the middle-aged and older women I know in Zas, rarely chatted without doing something else as well. During the majority of my many visits to her home, she drew me into the family's stable which is attached to their present house by a short passageway and which used to be their dwelling. In the stable, Concepción would degranulate dried maize cobs[8] or do some other necessary task; on cold winter evenings, she would heat up a watery meal for her three cows in an old-fashioned heavy iron pot over the open hearth. Until the time shortly before her death, Concepción took care of these cows, as well as the family's other livestock and crops with the help mainly of her daughter-in-law Susana.

The other members of their household included Alberto, who is Concepción's only son and Susana's husband as well as the younger couple's children: María and Eduardo. During the time I lived in the area, Alberto was living at home and commuting to work on nearby construction projects whenever he could; previously, he had spent more than a decade working in Switzerland for 10 months of each year. María was attending university but was normally home during the weekends to help with the work and Eduardo was attending his last year of secondary school.

In contrast to his mother, Alberto was a quiet man who rarely spoke at length and often appeared shy. However, like her, his wife Susana and the majority of their neighbours, Alberto was a very hard worker who always completed tasks related to the farm in the evenings and on weekends after returning from his paid employment. Having often observed Alberto interacting with his mother and wife, I never saw him contradict them or take the leadership role in decision making. When the children needed money to buy clothing or other items, they frequently asked their mother or grandmother if they could have it. Susana and Concepción also decided how much of their home-raised food to send back to the city with María each week for her to share with her roommates. Furthermore, the two women frequently told Alberto and the two children what to do and how to do it.

The two women appeared to have a very close emotional bond. Additionally, as was the continuing custom in this part of rural Spain, Susana addressed her mother-in-law with the formal pronoun *usted* but she did not act as though she was subservient to her. In contrast, Concepción frequently asked Susana what she thought about decisions related to either the farmwork or domestic matters. Generally, however, they divided up the chores easily according to their own preferences as well as age-related patterns that were common throughout villages in Zas. Susana, for example, like many younger women in stem-family households almost always prepared the meals. One evening while I was chatting with Concepción in the stable, Susana joined us with a large basket full of potatoes that she intended to peel in preparation for the family's evening meal. Alberto came in from work and asked them if the cows needed to be fed or if he could do anything else. Susana suggested that he sit down and peel the potatoes which he quietly began to do. Susana herself got up and began to tend to the cows before going into the kitchen to begin supper. Concepción soon finished degranulating her basketful of maize and stood up to sweep the stable.

On another occasion, we were planting the family's rape, kale and potatoes and Alberto was driving the tractor to make the furrows. The work party included, in addition to myself and the three older adults in the family, several other relatives and neighbours. After those of us who were helping had been kept in anticipation for about a week, it was Concepción and Susana rather than Alberto who decided which day we would do the planting. In our planting party, there were three adult men present in addition to Alberto and a teenage boy. However, whenever the group paused to consider matters such as how much distance to leave between rows and where to plant the different species in the slightly sloping field, the women present addressed Concepción and Susana and waited for them to make the decision jointly. Relying on a structural model of Galician inheritance, an observer of events such as this one might have thought that Susana (rather than Alberto) was going to inherit the property, house and outbuildings from Concepción.

Given the consistent manner in which Concepción and Susana, rather than Alberto, seemed to be the ones who openly took credit for decisions related to the farm I was surprised one day to encounter the two women telling an animal trader that they could not agree on the price that he was offering to pay them for one of their calves without consulting Alberto. The animal trader

tried to insist that he was proposing a fair price and that they could surely make a decision that day; he was eager to close the deal and said that he might not be able to come back later in the week. The two women responded again that they could not know whether it was a good price without consulting Alberto and would need his permission to make the sale. The trader switched tactics and agreed with them: "*Claro* (Right). Of course you have to ask your husband," he said to Susana. When Alberto came home later that evening, I was standing with the women in the yard. Rather than asking for his advice or permission, they simply informed him that the trader had come by, that he had offered them a price for the calf and that they were trying to decide whether to sell it to the trader. I wrote in my field notes that night that individuals such as Susana and Concepción apparently employed notions of gender or age *hierarchy* as a discursive tactic when they did not wish to be forced to make a business or other serious decision. I noted other instances which I could remember when young couples had claimed that they had to consult their older parents and household heads before agreeing to a transaction that I was convinced the parents had left as up to them to settle.

Furthermore, although Alberto's wages were used by the family to install running water, a bathroom and otherwise renovate the house; to purchase the tractor, car and other large items; and to pay for the children's education, his wife talked about this process of saving and spending the funds as a collective activity. For example, she told me that she and Concepción ate modest meals made with home-grown products when Alberto and the children were away at work and school. These women's contributions to running the farm and in being thrifty were described by both of them as inextricably linked with Alberto's earning of steady cash wages and formed one theme in their articulation of an ethos of egalitarian contributions to the household.

On the other hand, on one occasion Concepción explained to me that Susana and Alberto had been thinking about redoing the kitchen for a second time and that she was not sure exactly what they wished to do. I wrote in my notes that Concepción "spoke about this decision as if she had little part to play in it, as if the kitchen isn't hers." However, it seems significant that Concepción's comment followed another remark in which she told me that she had told Susana and Alberto not to feel compelled to buy more land with some of their savings because she understood that the money had to be used for the children's education. My "reading" of her way of talking about the kitchen is that she might have been voicing her mild disapproval of the plan to spend money renovating it. If the savings were not needed for the children's education as all three adults had agreed, Concepción might have preferred to spend it on farm land. In this example, one sees that just as older household heads were able to assert their authority over younger couples in the past because they were the ones who had contributed property to a household, now younger couples can assert a reversed hierarchy whereby they have more right to decide what to do with cash income that they contribute (see Collier, 1997 for a detailed consideration of the impact of such an economic shift in Andalusia).

During evening conversations held in Concepción's stable, we were often joined by one or both of her brothers who are witty raconteurs. When they were present, Alberto was more voluble than usual and rather than holding the floor as they often did, the two women encouraged the older men to tell jokes and recount stories to all of us as well as to explain current political news. I noticed that whenever I appeared to disagree with the men or asked too many questions, Susana would try to encourage me to restrain myself. Her normally dominant personality seemed to have gone momentarily underground during these occasions. However, Concepción often watched the proceedings with her dancing eyes; on one occasion, she was eager to tell me to be quiet and said while winking quickly "*Non sabemos Sarón, somos mulleres*" (We don't know [about that] Sharon [because] we're women). The men were pleased with the statement, not having ever publically granted me any particular recognition for my knowledge of history and politics, despite my higher education.[9] Like the majority of women I knew in Zas, Susana and Concepción also voted for the political candidates that their husbands or sons indicated were the best ones. However, the two women did frequently ask me questions about such matters in an all-female audience; for example, in gender homogeneous contexts, they would ask me about birth control, Spain's economic crisis and the divorce laws.

I heard in Concepción's perhaps, but not necessarily, ironic comment the influence of translocal notions of men's superior knowledge about these topics; the women's silencing of me or of other younger, educated women such as María was familiar to me from my experiences in some middle-class families in towns and cities. However, in other urban families there was another translocal rhetoric employed to offset this one—that of feminist claims for gender equality.

My necessarily brief description of the authority politics in this household indicates that one might draw the conclusion that it fits Rogers' (1975) characterization of

gender relations in the French farming village of Grand Fault in the 1970s. She argued that a balance was maintained between women's informal power and men's publicly acknowledged prestige. The lives of Zas worker-peasant families also coincides with Rogers' argument that the apparent authority that peasant men had in "public" in this part of France, like peasant agriculturalists elsewhere, was relatively ineffectual given their subordinated position within the overall political economy. However, how does one reconcile a comparison of this one household with Rogers' village-wide example? And how does the importation of her seminal work combine with previous research on the connections between household form and gender relationships in rural Galicia? After all, the "Casa da Herba Seca" is virilocal, yet virilocal households such as this one are located within settlements in which uxorilocality is currently the dominant form of postmarital residence.

At first glance, the last few pieces of data that I include regarding women's promotion of men's superiority might seem to be consistent not only with what I argue is an aspect of a Spanish-wide discourse on gender "difference" but also with Lisón Tolosana's (1983 [1979]) description of the operation of authority roles in virilocal households in which a son will inherit the majority of the parental property. But how does one incorporate into these frameworks the frequent alternations between uxorilocality and virilocality that one finds occurs in many households in Zas through different age cohorts? Concepción herself had been a main heir to her own mother's estate and it had been her husband who had "married into" the household. Under these circumstances, according to some of Lisón Tolosana's (ibid.) descriptions, one might expect Alberto to defer to his mother. Furthermore, one would not expect Susana to have as much authority as she does within her husband's natal household. She is the *"nora"* or daughter-in-law who *"veu de afora"* (came from outside). Why, then, did the family's neighbours frequently remark that they wondered what *"elas"* (feminine plural) were intending to do about a particular household decision rather than utilizing the masculine, generic plural *"eles"* which would have included Alberto in the reference? Clearly, one of the most important factors to consider in this case is the fact that Alberto spent so many years labouring abroad and his mother and wife established a close working relationship in running the farm and raising the children at home. As we see in this example alone, it is very important for Europeanist anthropologists to develop better comparative ethnographies of the impact of long-term, temporary labour migration on household dynamics. What are the impacts of long separations on the relationships between parents and children, and those between spouses?

Another important issue that renders a structural model overly rigid are the effects of previous postmarital residence and inheritance patterns on the current and future trends for each household, and not just at local or regional levels. Although Concepción was herself a main heir and the daughter of a single mother and she frequently honoured her mother's achievements as a household head, she did not promote the idea of the household reproducing this pattern of the female line. Instead she talked about how her grandson, rather than her older grandchild María, would inherit the farm and house. In doing so, she referred to the estates of wealthy landowners in the area and said that patrilineality was *"millor"* (better). Concepción made such statements in front of her daughter-in-law Susana who would voice her agreement. There is another component to the association that these two women make between virilocality/patrilineal inheritance and "pulling one's household up" (or economic success): from their own experience, they must also value the solidarity that can be achieved through the development of a positive relationship between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law in such households.[10]

"Casa de María"

> *Antiguamente* [Castilian in original] *a xente chamaba ós seus pais 'a miña nai' u 'o meu pai'. Agora din 'mamá' e 'papá'. Foi mais formal antes pero tamén cariñoso.*
> (People called their parents "my mother" and "my father" in the old days. Now they say "mama" and "papa." It was more formal before but just as affectionate.) — María in 1990

"Casa de María" was a three-generation stem-family household composed of eight members that included the widowed *"patrona"* or household head María, her married daughter Encarnación, her son-in-law Perfecto, her unmarried middle-aged son Jesús and Encarnación and Perfecto's four living children who in 1990 ranged in age from a young school-aged boy to an eldest daughter in her mid-20s. Perfecto worked full time for a small construction contractor but helped out with farmwork whenever he could. However, it was María and Encarnación and whichever of the daughters was currently at home who cared for the family's cattle, poultry, pigs and subsistence crops. In 1990-91, the son Manolo and his sister Asunción attended school. The two older daugh-

ters María and Mercedes were often absent, working as housekeepers and babysitters for middle-class professionals in a nearby city. The farmwork was labour intensive and required María and Encarnación's full attention and any help that they received from other family members. Unlike many other households in the area, the women had not given up their small herd of cattle over the last few decades; nor had they modernized their stable or installed a mechanical milking system. The income that they received from selling milk to dairy companies and from selling calves to butchers was earned through intensive labour which included their cultivation of grains and pasturage to keep the animals through the long, wet winters.

In this household, María and Encarnación were overtly "in charge" of making most of the decisions dealing with the farm and the day-to-day running of the household. "Casa de María" is an example of a second-generation uxorilocal household since María also remained, in what she once called in Castilian Spanish (rather than in Galician), her *"casa de nacimiento "* (natal house or literally, "birth house"). The two women's administration of the farm included their asking Encarnación's unmarried brother Jesús to help out with chores under their orders. Despite this overall pattern of what appeared to be female authority, Perfecto and Encarnación seemed to be jointly in charge of the major renovations that they were making to María's old farmhouse. When the elder María talked about the various structural and decorative changes that they were planning, she often used the pronoun *"eles"* (them) instead of *"nós"* (we). María and her son-in-law Perfecto had an openly affectionate relationship and she was particularly pleased that they were renovating the house with the aim of retaining many of its old features, such as her beloved hearth in the old kitchen and the stone façade. The car that Perfecto used to commute to work was also referred to as "his car" (*o seu coche*) rather than as household property.

Perfecto also appeared to have a close relationship with his wife Encarnación with whom he enjoyed going out to festival dances and suppers at friends' homes during the holidays and on other special occasions. Whenever I was visiting the family at the time of day when he returned home from his wage job, Perfecto would invariably demand to know where Encarnación was and would go to join her if she was out fetching the family's cattle from a distant pasture. María was eager to give the couple time together in their busy schedules and would make a point of telling me that it was a very good thing that they had time to chat while walking to and from the pasture on such occasions. Her comprehension of the difficulties for married couples of living in a stem-family household undoubtedly arose from her own experiences as a young woman but also coincided with her granddaughters' references to the findings reported in popular women's magazines that "modern" marriages should be egalitarian (*igual*) and should contain an element of "friendship."

Despite María's having made the quality of her daughter's marital relationship one priority in the household, as one can see in the quotation with which I begin this section she preferred some of the formality that she perceived to have more commonly accompanied the position of older household heads in the past. One day she remarked to me that all of the younger individuals in a house used to say *"a nosa madriña"* (our godmother) to refer to the eldest (*"a mais maior"*) woman in a *casa*. Even the in-marrying husband of a granddaughter would have used the term, she emphasized. María's nostalgia for the internal household hierarchy that she perceives was associated with stem-family households in the past is juxtaposed by her commonly granting men social precedence. For example, she frequently referred to her husband as having been "smarter" than herself and as having commanded respect from the members of his famiy and others in the community. During holiday suppers at her house, I noticed that both she and Encarnación made a point of serving the men their meals and wine before women visitors and of making sure that they were pleased with the dishes. In rural Galicia, even when in restaurants, groups of men and women most often tend to sit at opposite ends of a table so this pattern of differential service is very obvious to either a participant or an observer. In addition, María frequently talked about her eldest son's successes in school and his other talents but did not comment on how skilful her daughter Encarnación was with the cows. María also made a point of praising the renovations that Perfecto had undertaken in her house and his reputation as a good worker in the construction circuit but did not highlight the wage work that her granddaughters María and Mercedes performed in the city.

These young women's preference for working as *"criadas"* (maids/domestic servants) as opposed to remaining on the farm full time perplexed María to some extent. She told me that this was an inversion of what was socially current during the period of her youth. Having come from a relatively wealthy landed peasant household, in the past it would have been unthinkable for young María and Mercedes to work in other families' households. In 1995, when their younger sister Asunción

decided to join them in the city to attend the local college, her grandmother and mother were less surprised than worried about how they would be able to do all of the farmwork and also take care of young Manolo. "They've been left all *alone*," relatives and neighbours said to me, implying that it was possible that none of the three sisters would "marry into" her natal household. Despite their living in the city, however, the three young women came home almost every weekend and gladly helped the older women with farm chores and housework. In return, their mother or grandmother would give them household produce to take back to the city on Sunday evenings.[11] This behaviour drew on both hierarchical and egalitarian strategies of power: the younger women paid attention to their elders and addressed their grandmother formally yet they also expected to be recognized for the labour that they individually contributed to the farm. Although understandably, María never discussed with me the process whereby she and her husband decided that Encarnación should remain in the house and inherit the bulk of the property, she did talk at length about her own experience of having been her parents' second choice. She introduced the topic by stating in general terms that it "Used to be the custom for the eldest son [to be chosen] but then [it changed]." In her family, it was her eldest sister who was chosen from among five siblings of both sexes to "marry into" the house. However, this sister "didn't have 'a family'" (meaning that she did not have any children) and later moved out with her husband. María's explanation of why this sister left indicates that the child who remains does it as a favour to the parents: she said that she decided that, given that she did not have children who would be future heirs to the farm, "why struggle with these ones [her parents]" and "she left them alone." María described how "I remained with my parents and later we got married" and that many families of her generation ended up with the youngest daughters rather than the eldest sons inheriting the land. After a long disquisition on the pros and cons of sons as opposed to daughters remaining with parents, María concluded that the most important thing was to have one of the children remain and for there to be a younger woman in the house, whether it was a daughter or a daughter-in-law. A young woman is necessary to help the older couple with the farmwork and also to take care of them when they are ill.

From this and other conversations, it became clear to me that María and Encarnación would like to have one of the young women in the family "marry into" the house. The eldest daughter, María's namesake and goddaughter, has now married and lives with her husband in a Galician city. It seems that the youngest daughter Asunción was perhaps being raised to remain.[12] After she completes her trade school course and/or gains work experience, she could of course eventually return home to either do farmwork or commute to a job in a nearby town or in the city. If she did the latter, her relationship with her parents and grandmother would resemble her father's more than her mother's given that she would mainly be contributing cash wages to the household as opposed to her daily labour in agricultural work. In addition, I observed Asunción consistently follow the older women's orders without complaint during her teen years; it is unclear how the dynamics of her relationship with them would change in the future if she returned as a married woman and a wage earner (compare with the discussion of similar changes across generational cohorts in Collier, 1997).

It is interesting that María's emphasis on the power that younger people have over their parents is not restricted to the present but also extends back to her own youth in the 1920s and 1930s. There is not enough space to explore this issue fully in this paper but it is very significant. This recognition on her part indicates the reversal or weakening of discourses of age and gender hierarchy associated with the unequal inheritance and stem-family household systems that were rooted mainly in an economy based on agriculture and animal husbandry. María's comment is especially significant given that her natal household was one of the more prosperous of the peasant farms in the area. Even if her daughter and son-in-law had not been interested in continuing to raise cattle and to farm, the financial reward of the house and land would seem to have been incentive enough for them to live with María and care for her as she ages. The relatively central location of Zas makes it possible for Perfecto to commute to work and for the couple's daughters to easily travel home almost every weekend. As I have indicated elsewhere in my discussion of households in which no child has remained with elderly parents (Roseman, 1993: 116-125), wealth differences have always been a key determinant of whether households are reproduced as stem-families. In addition, Lisón Tolosana (1983 [1979]) refers to this factor as a qualification to his overall description of the unequal inheritance system in virilocal and uxorilocal zones. Furthermore, his observation is echoed in more recent accounts of rural depopulation in mountainous Lugo by Joaquín Rodríguez Campos (1983, 1990) and Rainer Lutz Bauer (1983: 190-244; also see Bauer, 1987). The fact that María, who is from a relatively wealthy household, made this remark suggests that the interdependence

between children and parents should perhaps be considered to be as salient a metaphor for household politics as either an age or gender hierarchy which maintains older household heads and main heirs in rigidly dominant positions. After all, it is the pressing obligation for someone to care for elderly parents that is often most intertwined with heirship mechanisms and postmarital residence decisions (e.g., see Brettell, 1986: 44-47).

Conclusions

During the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, like other anthropologists working elsewhere in the world, Europeanists such as Friedl (1967), Rogers (1975, 1985), Dubisch (1986) and Herzfeld (1985, 1986) displaced more rigid, structural models of male dominance by drawing on ethnographies of everyday life to illustrate the complexities of gendered strategies of power. In particular, they highlighted the significant impact within households and local communities of the operation of what has variously been called women's "informal power," women's social networks and women's solidarity. Their work in European locations converges with the research of Weiner (e.g., 1976, 1992) on "women's wealth" in the Trobriand Islands and other Pacific societies as well as with the early work of Wolf (1972, 1974) and the more recent contributions of Kondo (1990), Tsing (1993) and others in research on gender in Asian societies. These ethnographic and theoretical interventions also parallel a focus over the last two decades on the "everyday forms of resistance" employed by subordinated people (compare Ong, 1987 and Scott, 1985) and on those daily practices that illuminate how ordinary people negotiate their place within constraining social institutions (e.g., de Certeau, 1984; Okely, 1996; Reed-Danahay, 1993; Roseman, 1996b, 1999).

It does not follow, therefore, that the older social structural models of patriarchy are the sole or main route that one would follow in developing analytical frameworks for the dynamics of power in locales where there is a relatively greater degree of gender equality. A clear link can be made, however, between relative gender equality in some parts of rural Galicia and northern Portugal and women's dominant position in the administration of subsistence agriculture and other income-generating activities, extensive male out-migration, women's frequent inheritance of major portions of their parents' estates, and uxorilocality (see Brettell, 1986; Cole, 1991; Kelley, 1988, 1991; Roseman, 1993, 1996a, in press). Furthermore, coincident with the work of Parkhurst in this volume, some ethnographers of Galicia have reported that women's position within households and communities can be weakened with the expansion of mechanized and commoditized agriculture (e.g., see Rodríguez Campos, 1983: 107-116). However, even if one does not use the term "matriarchy"—as does the folklorist Rey-Henningsen (1994) in her recent book—one has to be equally careful when applying the concepts of "matrifocality," "matri-centric," or "female-centred" to such households and communities (Brettell, 1986: 9; 1988; Brøgger and Gilmore, 1997; Cole, 1991: 62; Kelley, 1994). One of the most subtle early pieces on "female-headed" households is Carol Stack's (1974) account of the lives of African-Americans living in an urban neighbourhood in a city in the northern United States. In her work, Stack has demonstrated the complexity of gendered kinship relationships by illustrating that the households she studied were bound up in interhousehold "domestic networks" and that men were not absent from these households and networks (also see Stack, 1996). Her approach is similar to that of the authors I mention above, who have all emphasized the singular importance of carefully considering the many influences on men's and women's claims to be "in charge" in specific contexts.

In addition, in attempting to delineate how people conceptualize, discuss and make decisions strategically, anthropologists have begun to develop more sophisticated approaches to elucidating the specific impacts on individual discourses of wider cultural messages and social changes (see Cole, 1991; Collier, 1997). Ethnographers are well-placed to continue to develop influential explanatory frameworks (rather than models) that account for the operation of strategies of power and authority in relationships among individuals. In other words, detailed ethnographic work based on particular locales does not have to lead us away from the goal of comparison. In the case of authority politics within households, intracommunity level comparisons of individuals' social practices can be repeated at the wider intercommunity or regional level. As Pina-Cabral (1989) suggested several years ago, comparative work on gender in southern Europe should ideally proceed gradually outward in concentric circles to replace a tendency for anthropologists from "northern" countries to implicitly compare locally discrete observations that they have made in countries such as Spain and Portugal to their own personal class and gender-biased experiences in their home societies.

Comparison of two households in Zas thus reveals that authority politics can be examined through paying attention to both the material basis of relationships and the manner through which interpersonal strategies of power are shaped by daily actions and "ways of talkin'"

(Stewart, 1996: 29). My awareness of the layered nuances in peoples' storied accounts of their lives was piqued by my noticing—in the footsteps of others such as Friedl (1967), Riegelhaupt (1967), Rogers (1975, 1985), Wolf (1972, 1974) and more recently Moore (1994: 86-106)—various juxtapositions and interconnections between the public reinforcement of particular discourses of social prestige and the operation of power within intimate relationships in local communities. In making sense of the contours within which two oppositional discourses are articulated, an invaluable guide is found in Judith Okely's (1996) analysis of the distinction that can be drawn between structures of inequality and the "defiant moments" that occur when individuals take advantage of cracks in the structure: "Through careful examination and in the telling, we can discover that specific moments in individual lives inform us about both dominance and points of resistance" (ibid.: 214).

I have emphasized that both hierarchical and egalitarian cultural emphases constitute and reflect intra- and interhousehold relationships in Zas. Individuals' behaviours, and their ways of conceptualizing their own and others' actions, can be demonstrated to refer to one or both of these general orientations. In previous work, I have demonstrated that the age hierarchy that in part characterizes most postmortem and unequal inheritance systems is salient within rural households in the part of the province of A Coruña where I have carried out field work. Despite the evidence of the social authority of legal property owners within these households, though, this authority is neither absolute nor ensured. It is not ensured because parents who do not have much wealth to pass on to their children find that they do not have enough leverage (Roseman, 1993: 116-225) and even those who do own substantial dwellings and relatively large expanses of agricultural property may find it difficult to lure children to remain in a rural community (compare with both de la Gala Gonzalez's paper in this volume and with Gulevich, 1997). As the case studies of Casa da Herba Seca and Casa de María illustrate, parents' authority is never absolute because the labour and other inputs that are contributed by younger household members can be viewed as outbalancing their eventual legacy. In cases in which labour migrants or other wage earners contribute substantial cash to the "building up" of a household estate, these younger members may have a basis for a great degree of social authority over their parents.

It is clear, in parts of rural Galicia such as Zas, not only that age and gender hierarchies are intertwined but also that the weakening of age hierarchies is applicable to the case of gender hierarchies. If women are in many instances situated as having less authority than their husbands or fathers-in-law (for example, in a virilocal household), they also have a claim to authority through their ongoing bestowal of labour to their residential unit. Furthermore, gender hierarchies in this part of rural Galicia are not constituted solely as a result of which spouse is the main heir in a local and regional inheritance system but are also affected by those discourses of male superiority prevalent throughout Spain and Europe.

A number of ethnographers of rural Galicia have produced important studies of gendered inter and intrahousehold relationships, marriage and widowhood that guide us toward a careful consideration of ambiguities and apparent contradictions. I am thinking here particularly of the work of Gala González (1995; this volume); Gulevich (1994, 1995, 1997), Kelley (e.g., see 1988, 1991, 1994), Gondar Portasany (1991); Moreno Feliú (1999); Valentine and Valentine (1992) and Lisón Tolosana's work (e.g., see in particular his compelling 1987 [1979] study of "witchcraft"). I maintain that their collective example demonstrates that, rather than attempting to facilely reconcile such contradictions and ambiguities, we can pay attention to the variety of discourses that individuals adroitly employ in negotiating and describing their relationships. For an excellent discussion of the generation of ambiguous and contradictory images of power relations between women and men that are found in the refrains or proverbial sayings collected by early folklorists and ethnographers, see Susana de la Gala González (1999). She cites, for example, Moreiras Santiso's recording of the following refrain that is still heard in Galician communities like Zas:

> *Hai tres crases de matrimonio: varón, varela e varicuna; varón, manda el i ela non; varela, el non manda e manda ela; varicunca, manda ela i el nunca; e éste é o que máis abunda.* [There are three types of marriage: *varón, varela e varicuna*; *varón* (male) when he is in charge and she is not; *varela*, he is not in charge and she is; *varicuna*, she is (always) in charge and he never is; and it is this last type which is most common]. (Moreiras Santiso, 1978: 71 in Gala González, 1999: 303; bracketed translation into English is my own).

In Zas, however, I found that in households such as Casa da Herba Seca and Casa de María, both inegalitarian *and* egalitarian discourses simultaneously pervade people's experience of age and gender "difference."

In most branches of anthropology, micro-level research is inextricably tied to the goal of comparison. The production of subtle analyses of the relationships of

individuals living in particular locales is successfully achieved through long-term field work and ethnographic portrayals. These portrayals and analyses are the starting points for wider comparisons both geographically and longitudinally. Solid intra and interregional comparisons can only be achieved, however, if the complexity of this data is accounted for rather than being submerged under abstract generalizations.[13]

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Notes

1 In contrast to this local understanding that Delfina had inherited her mother's estate, according to the property laws instituted early in the Franco period, Esteban likely would have had the legal authority to buy and sell his wife's property. See Sponsler (1982) for more information about the impact on women of changes to such laws.

2 Due to space limitations, I have chosen to write an article that consists of a specific response to the lineage of work in Galician ethnography on the subject of gender, power and intrahousehold dynamics. Clearly, a full account of gender and power in any ethnographic setting would require an analysis of local, regional, national and transnational political and economic relationships and processes. For example, activist women have developed full analyses of the operation of gender marginalization within Galician language politics (Roseman, 1997). And women's and men's labour activities must be viewed within the context of regional political economies that have historically been based largely on insecure wage opportunities and unpaid subsistence production (e.g., Bauer, 1987; Buechler and Buechler, 1984; J.-M. Buechler, 1975; Iturra, 1988; Kelley, 1991; Rodríguez Campos, 1990; Roseman, in press).

3 Evidently, this "local" or "vernacular" model is one of many that originally informed scholars' development of the structural model. However, interestingly, these "local, peasant" arrangements can be traced back to feudal prescriptions for rented land to be maintained intact through parents' bequests of usufruct rights (Lisón Tolosana, 1983 [1979]: 273-302). It is difficult to be certain about the specific types of inheritance systems that existed in different parts of Galicia prior to feudalism.

4 For a more detailed consideration of the operation of male precedence in one part of A Coruña, and women's responses to it, see Roseman (1999). In her dissertation based on field work data gathered in the 1980s, Heidi Kelley notes that "Alternatively, in concert with cultural notions of the inherent superiority of masculinity (nurtured by the frameworks of male precedence provided by the Catholic church and the Spanish legal-political system), male work is seen as more valuable than women's work" (Kelley, 1988: 271). She goes on to say that "Notions of inherent male superiority are frequently expressed in Ezaro . . ." (ibid). In particular, her comments about the way in which most women cater to men's tastes and timetables when planning meals and make sure to serve them the best parts of a meal (ibid.: 273-274) are confirmed by my own observations in Zas. Furthermore, this is one of those daily enactments of female subordination that urban feminists have highlighted to me as problematic for them and as proof of Spanish "patriarchy" operating full-force in all parts of rural Galicia (see Queizán, 1977, 1980, 1989).

5 Please note that all of the names of individuals and households used in this paper are pseudonyms. Rather than using pseudonyms for the names of locales, I have described the area of Zas to which I am referring and have then disguised the settlements in which each of the three households mentioned is located by not using nomenclative indicators in my focussed discussions of them.

6 There is a long list of relevant ethnography on Galician communities that includes, among others, work by Bauer (e.g., 1983, 1987); the Buechlers (e.g., 1981, 1984); Fernández de Rota (e.g., 1984); Fidalgo Santamariña (1992); Iturra (e.g., 1988); Méndez (1988); Moreno Feliú, Fernández de Rota y Monter and Santamariña (1987); and Rodríguez Campos (1983, 1990). Also, refer to the introduction to this volume where we outline Lisón Tolosana's impressive corpus which includes his early publications that all deal with households and community in rural Galicia (1973a, 1973b, 1976, 1983 [1979]).

7 Clearly, some households were dramatically altered as a result of both out-migration and a stem-family household

system that meant that their children could "marry into" their spouses' natal households. For example, several elderly couples and widowed individuals lived alone because all of their offspring had established themselves either in in-laws' households or neolocally. In the latter case, most rented or purchased apartments in Galician cities or in other parts of Spain. A very small minority of individuals from this area settled permanently abroad in migrant destinations such as Switzerland.

8 Both maize and potatoes are staple crops in much of Galicia, having been successfully introduced there as a result of the Spanish colonization of parts of Latin America (see Bouza-Brey Trillo, 1957; Brandes, 1992). In the 1990s maize continues to be planted by almost every household in Zas as fodder for cows, pigs and poultry. Earlier in the century, it was also grown as a staple for human consumption in the form of bread and dumplings (Roseman, 1993).

9 During revisits to the area in both 1995 and 1998, I noticed that some men have begun to treat me differently on such occasions by referring to my possibly having "authoritative" knowledge and opinions (for example, with the use of the phrase: "She knows" [*Ela sabe*]). They know that I have a teaching post at a university, and have therefore begun to identify me as a "professor" rather than as a "young female student."

10 One of the anonymous reviewers of this article asked whether Concepción would have had a very different relationship with her daughter-in-law Susana *if* she (Concepción) had had a daughter of her own. Although that is of course possible, I do not think that this is likely, given the number of times that people in Zas and other parts of rural A Coruña have explained to me that they are often closest to those with whom they live. Although there are cases in which co-dwelling kin do not get along at all and there are many instances of interpersonal tension between in-laws, many women and men of all ages described to me the concern and compassion that they developed for their in-laws after years or even decades of companionship. These positive feelings were evident in the warmth that characterized their interactions and in the way in which choices were made about household affairs.

11 For comparison, see Gulevich (1997).

12 As far as I am aware, the important topic of how children might be raised as preferential heirs has not been dealt with in any breadth in European ethnography, notwithstanding the very important examples of Douglass' study of Basque migration (1971, 1975) and the attention paid to this issue by Rogers (1991) in her investigation of the *ostal* system in southern France.

13 This general argument has been made by Europeanists such as Caroline Brettell who is a leading scholar in the areas of anthropology and demography; household, inheritance and migration patterns; and historical anthropology. For example, in 1991 she writes: "If a broad regional pattern is no longer sustainable, how are comparison and generalization possible? The myriad local variations that I have just described provide an answer. These variations are different solutions to the common problems faced by families.... Rather than emphasizing property first as the determinative factor organizing kinship relations and domestic group structures, we should begin with social relations and cultural values and determine how they shape decisions about when property is transferred, what is transferred, and to whom it is transferred. In the context of property transactions, of which the bestowing of dowry is merely one, the rights and obligations among kin and between men and women are both expressed and negotiated" (Brettell, 1991: 349). Jane and Peter Schneider (1995, 1996) similarly demonstrate the value of drawing on historical and ethnographic detail on birth control practices in one Sicilian town to develop comparisons of the way in which Europeans of different regions, social classes, occupations, genders and religious traditions experienced broad social and economic changes of the late 19th and 20th centuries. Judith Okely (1996) provides one of the most eloquently argued general arguments we have for the vital necessity of the anthropological focus on individual "moments."

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"If I Really Were a Witch": Narratives of Female Power in a Coastal Galician Community

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Abstract: In this paper, I call into question anthropological connotations of coastal Galician women's power as "absolute" and as based on the "matrifocal" family. My problematization of the main assumptions that underlie unambiguous theoretical assessments of women's power is drawn from the complexities and paradoxes revealed in five women's own accounts of the making of their *casas*, what I am calling their household narratives. The details and reflections contained in these narratives lead me to develop alternative conclusions about the relationship between kinship practice and gender politics in the coastal Galician village of Ezaro.

Résumé: Cet article met en doute les assertions des anthropologues qui laissent entendre que le pouvoir des femmes de la Galice est «absolu» et qu'il provient d'une famille «matrifocale». Mon traitement des principaux postulats qui sous-tendent les évaluations théoriques catégoriques du pouvoir des femmes s'appuie sur les complexités et les paradoxes révélés dans les récits de cinq femmes qui racontent l'établissement de leur *maison*, ce que j'appelle leur *narration de maisonnée*. Les détails et les réflexions contenus dans ces récits me conduisent à des conclusions différentes sur les relations entre les pratiques reliées à la parenté et les pratiques reliées à la position des sexes à Ezaro, un village de la côte de la Galice.

"If I really were a witch . . ." Ana, a woman from the coastal Galician village of Ezaro where I have conducted field work since 1985, would often exclaim to me. "If I really were a witch," Ana would sigh agonizingly, "then my husband and son would not be working in London. They would be here with me, where they belong!"

Ana, a former emigrant who returned to her natal village of Ezaro after working in England for 12 years, might be seen as the head of a "typical" coastal Galician matrifocal household, or *casa*. While her husband, Pepe, and older son continued to work in England, she maintained her *casa*'s investments in rental properties and developed a small *horta* (garden) behind the new house her husband had built with their emigrant earnings. All through the 10-odd years of her husband's absence, Ana struggled to interest him in the future of their *casa* in Ezaro, but he stubbornly argued that the family would be better off in England. Eventually Ana did persuade her husband and son to return from England and to comply with her plan of starting a family business in a nearby town. But Ana's *casa* continues to be racked with problems. Although Pepe speaks with cautious optimism about the family's new business, he still criticizes Ana about her preference for living in Galicia. Ana and Pepe's sons, now young men, both struggle with problems of adjustment, following the divided paths of emigrant children raised not really in one place or the other.

The view that Ana is a witch stemmed from those villagers who accused her of killing a woman after that woman denounced Ana of stealing. Ana asserted her innocence and reacted indignantly at the suggestion that she actually killed the woman. She explained that the other villagers were envious about the money she made in England. But at other times Ana would not be so confident. She commented to me that a lightening bolt would strike her down if she were really guilty of witchcraft. Ana felt conflicted about the whole issue of witchcraft and the question it raised—how much power did she have over her future?

Likewise, Ana would scoff at authoritative anthropological connotations of Galician households as "matrifocal" and "female-dominated." She is much more likely, in intimate conversations, to describe herself as powerless, as rendered impotent by circumstances out of her control—by unexplained death, by jealous villagers, by a stubborn husband, by troubled sons.

I was originally (1985-87) drawn to do field work in coastal Galicia because of the degree of power rural women were reputed to yield there.[1] In coastal Galicia, high rates of male emigration, the importance of female agricultural labour in the subsistence economy, a preference towards daughters as primary heirs and a tendency towards uxorilocality and matrifocality in household organization all seemed to be related to the reputedly unusual power of women in this region.[2] Over the course of my field work, however, I came to understand that many factors militated against any unambiguous understanding of women's power, and that such power was better understood as paradoxically constituted and situationally negotiated (Kelley, 1991, 1994, 1999).

In the pages that follow, I call into question anthropological connotations of coastal Galician women's power as "absolute" and as based in a "matrifocal" family, by exploring the ways in which five Ezaro women talk about the making of their *casas*. I begin by problematizing the key theoretical assumptions underlying these characterizations of female power. I then consider the value of looking at women's household narratives as a particularly productive vehicle for understanding gender and power dynamics from an emic perspective. The rest of the article is devoted to the household narratives of Ezaro women themselves, from which I derive some alternative conclusions about the relationship between kinship practice and gender politics in Ezaro.

What Is More Natural than the Mother-Daughter Bond?[3]

As explained in the introduction to this issue, the "anomalous" power of Galician women has been highlighted in a recent review essay by Brøgger and Gilmore (1997) on the "matrifocal family" in the Iberian peninsula. Female power in Galicia, as in other parts of northwestern Iberia, is "anomalous," according to Brøgger and Gilmore, because, while it is based in the matrifocal family, it extends beyond the boundaries of the "domestic sphere." Brøgger and Gilmore find a partial explanation for the power of Galician women in what they characterize as the dominance of the mother-daughter dyad in Galician families, a dyad whose strength is seen as rooted in its "endurable ties of emotion" (1997: 25).[4] Stevan Harrell (1997), likewise, explains the uxorilocal residence that he sees as characteristic of coastal Galicia with reference to mother-daughter ties. Harrell argues that with high rates of male absence due to emigration, it "makes sense" for women to form the "domestic core."

> Since a domestic core of mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, where it exists, inevitably generates friction, and since the house, inhabited by the women, is not intimately tied to the sources of income, brought in mostly (though not entirely) by men, it makes sense to form a female core of mothers and daughters, and this is just what is done. (Harrell, 1997: 433)

These two explanations of coastal Galician "matrifocality" or "uxorilocality" share two linked flaws: they are both based on an assumption of a "naturally" harmonious mother-daughter relationship and the concept of a "domestic sphere" (or core). In recent years, feminist anthropologists[5] have pointed out how anthropological understandings of "kinship," "the family" and "the domestic sphere" have proven especially resistant to the kinds of epistemological critiques that anthropologists have so fruitfully applied to other areas of ethnographic inquiry. This resistance appears to be related to a persistent tendency to associate women with "nurturance," which, despite the widespread acknowledgment of "gender" as a cultural rather than biological construct, is frequently still presumed to be both a universal human need and a function that is "naturally" performed by women.[6] Collier, Rosaldo and Yanagisako trace such persistence to the origins of "our" concept of the family as "an ideological construct associated with the modern state" (1982: 25) which has made particularly impenetrable the understanding of the idea of "nurturance" as a product of capitalist society, as a conceptually necessary "symbolic opposition to work and business—in other words, to the market relations of capitalism" (1982: 34).

Likewise the opposition between "the domestic sphere" and "the public sphere" is found to be an artifact of capitalist society. Especially to be noted is the linking between the "natural" and the "domestic sphere."

> The domestic as a category is then defined in relation to a set of other concepts which mutually reinforce each other as natural, universal and not amenable to social analysis. These unspoken associations are important in that they continually reproduce the domestic as a separate, readily-identifiable domain. (Harris, 1984: 63)

My argument is that Galician mother and daughter relationships must be broken free from the constraints of the

"domestic sphere," that the character and content of these relationships is not limited to the "natural" but given the whole range of human expression possible.

Evidence of another set of cultural assumptions, here about gender and emotion, may be seen in Brøgger and Gilmore's formulation of the "endurable ties of emotion" between mother and daughter, and Harrell's assertion of the "inevitable friction" of mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. Brøgger and Gilmore, for instance, contrast the "emotive" demonstration of power among Nazaré (northwestern Portuguese) women with the "authoritative" display of power among Andalusian men.

> Judging from the observations in Nazaré, female authority is, like that of the male Andalusian, expressed through a domineering manner and a loud voice, but these do not constitute the authority of, for example, commanding officers issuing orders. The women of Nazaré rather express their will through a show of powerful emotions—emotions that are not permitted public expression in Fuenmayor [Andalusia] because of the honor-shame complex. (1997: 27)

Lutz (1988, 1990) has pointed out the implications of emotion language for gender politics, noting our cultural tendency to associate women with emotion, both in the negative sense of the opposite of "male" rationality (e.g., the assumption of the destructive potential of mother-in-law/daughter-in-law friction) and in the positive sense of the antidote to estrangement (e.g., in the assumption that "endurable ties of emotion" between mother and daughter serve as the cornerstone for the household). In the above quote, women's emotions are characterized as powerful, but the source of this power is understood as rooted firmly in ties between women in the domestic sphere. The understanding of emotion as the opposite of estrangement is clearly linked with the positing of nurturance as the necessary opposite of the cold-hearted rationality of the market. Both understandings pivot on an assumption of a conceptual distinction between "domestic" (warm and nurturing, albeit potentially conflictive) and "public" (cold and instrumental, although inevitably most important to our survival) spheres.

Household Narratives

Arguments that invoke a clear division between "domestic" and "public" spheres, a "naturally" harmonious mother-daughter relationship and "endurable ties of [female] emotion" ironically "naturalize" (Yanagisako and Delaney, 1995) female power in a way analogous to that of authoritative scripts of "natural" male dominance. These kinds of arguments ultimately may tell us more about our own cultural scripts of power than they do about coastal Galician perceptions of engendered power. Such formulations, by fetishizing female power, obscure an awareness of the agency of individual women. To understand emic perceptions and to see women as individual actors, we must step outside of our own cultural assumptions and attempt to understand how Galician women themselves understand and experience power.

First of all, some clarifation will be needed about the concept of power. Brøgger and Gilmore, for example, conceive of power in that men in the public sphere or women in the domestic sphere (except the "anomalous" Galician case) "hold" it. Writing from a Foucauldian perspective, Bordo argues that power is not in fact "held" by anyone, "rather, people and groups are positioned differentially within it" (1997: 347). But cultural scripts "naturalize" power, often in ambiguous ways, so that we think, for instance, men and women, "hold" power.

To see the process of naturalization of power from an emic perspective, Yanagisako and Delaney suggest that anthropologists attend to narratives of origin that "tell people what kind of world it is, what it consists of, and where they stand in it; [that] make it seem natural to them" (1995: 1). I think that in Ezaro, household narratives—stories about how *casas* are built up and divided and then built up again over the generations—play much the same role for families as origin stories do for larger social groupings, "as *representations* of origins. Stories of origin are told to every generation and thus affect how people imagine themselves to be" (ibid.: 2). As the *casa* remains an integral unit of identity in Ezaro, attention to household narratives should bring to light central power dynamics and dilemmas experienced by individuals in the community. In Ezaro, I have found, household narratives naturalize relationships of power in complex and dynamic ways that call into question assumptions about the absoluteness and the "domesticity" of female power, as well as about the foundation of such power in a key mother-daughter kinship dyad.

In this paper, I explore the household narratives of four Ezaro women in addition to Ana, whose experiences in "making" her *casa* have already been introduced. Every woman in Ezaro is faced with this process of making her *casa*, whether she begins with a household inherited from her parents, marries into an established household or begins a new household with her husband. The four narratives that follow capture the experiences of women with uxorilocal, virilocal and neolocal residence, as well as the trajectories of women from two different generations and at various positions in the life

cycle. The narratives suggest that while the independent inheritance of productive resources gives Ezaro women a good deal of potential control over their destinies, the uncertainties of inheritance practice in Ezaro, experienced in the context of oftentimes contradictory discourses of power, mean that women must negotiate power situationally and that female claims to precedence are subject to varying evaluations. The narratives of Ezaro women "speak against"[7] authoritative connotations of Galician female power in three main ways.

First, while daughters are often chosen as principal heirs, i.e., *milloradas*, sons, at least in the recent past, have been just as likely to have been selected as *millorados*.[8] The local concern in making inheritance decisions has much less to do with the gender of the principal heir than with negotiating the moral expectations that parents select an heir who will best ensure the future success of the *casa*, while at the same time treating all children as equally as possible, an equation that is nigh impossible to achieve with even a semblance of balance. While both Spanish law and local custom set certain boundaries around the inheritance process,[9] there is a great deal of variation from *casa* to *casa* as to exactly what kind of balance is struck. Hence, rather than a simple relationship between female inheritance and female power, uncertainty and moral ambiguity are key characteristics of household narratives in Ezaro.

Second, the most relevant emic distinction in questions of precedence is not one between domestic and public spheres, but rather one between alternate gendered understandings of the *casa*, each perceived as equally "natural." On the one hand, the *casa* is seen as defined by "female" agricultural work; on the other, it is understood as pivoting on "male" cash provided by emigrant or other wage labour.[10] This tension between alternative understandings of the *casa* has been exacerbated in recent years as the importance of agriculture in the local economy has been declining. Today Ezaro households are more likely to invest in small businesses, urban rental properties and the renovation or construction of houses, instead of in the purchase of more agricultural land.

Ezaro household narratives thus draw on scripts for defining the *casa* in female terms, but also alternative scripts in which male contributions are perceived as more powerful. From an emic perspective, neither is the "domestic" defined in simply female terms, nor is a domestic-public split perceived as uniquely pertinent to power relationships. Instead, alternative understandings of "female" agricultural work and "male" emigrant or wage labour, further complicated by ongoing changes in the nature of emigration, define the contours of household power conflicts in Ezaro.

Third, while people in Ezaro frequently themselves cite the "naturalness" of the mother-daughter relationship as an explanation for female inheritance, just as often household narratives are peppered with stories of mother-daughter conflicts of legendary proportions. The uncertainty of the inheritance process as well as of the moral expectations guiding this process, coupled with conflicted understandings of the *casa*, create a context for much potential conflict among household members. I think that such conflict—and the burden of resolving it—is particularly likely to fall upon the shoulders of women[11] who are also paradoxically seen as "standing for" the idealized unity of the *casa*. Despite alternate engendered notions of the *casa*, there persists a strong expectation among villagers that however the household is defined, women are supposed to hold it together.[12] Thus, it is in women's narratives about the "making" and "dividing" of their *casas* that tensions in household identity and power differentials are particularly evident.

Ana's plea—"If I really were a witch"—captures the ambiguous sense of empowerment expressed in the narratives of other Ezaro women as well. "If I really were empowered . . ." their stories seem to say. Building upon my brief introduction of Ana's household-building dilemmas, I explore the narratives of four other Ezaro women: Carmen, Ana's aunt, who inherited her parents' *casa*; Preciosa, another of Ana's aunts, who married into her husband's *casa*; Engracia, Preciosa's daughter-in-law (a woman of Ana's generation); and Francisca, a woman of Carmen and Preciosa's generation, who developed a new *casa* with her husband with a house and property given to her by her father. These women's narratives speak to the complexities of empowerment in Ezaro and to the particular conflicts women may experience as they, in their roles as female household heads, live out tensions in household identity.

Carmen's *Casa*

Carmen, one of Ana's maternal aunts, is the second youngest in a family of six siblings. As a young adult, her inheritance still undecided, Carmen emigrated to South America, working first in Argentina and then, after her marriage to a young man from a *casa forte* (well-off household) in Ezaro, joining her husband in Uruguay. Several years after her marriage and the birth of her only child, Carmen's parents wrote to her and requested that she come home to care for them and to be the *millorada*, the principal heir, of their *casa*. Against her husband's protests—he was content with his life

and secure employment in Uruguay—the family returned to Ezaro.

Carmen is clearly proud of having been chosen as the *millorada*, but the stories she told me about her *casa* also reveal considerable conflict. Carmen says with bitterness that her parents chose her as the *millorada* only because they had perceived her, with her presumed emigrant savings and good marriage, to be the best off of all their children. When her father died, Carmen relates, and the inheritance process began, conflict erupted among the siblings. As Carmen's parents had made the house together (*fixeron a casa xuntos*), half of the house still belonged to his wife. The other half was to be divided among his children, with the larger share going to Carmen. The negotiations that ensued between Carmen and her siblings as to how much she was to pay them for their shares,[13] burst into an ugly conflict that persists until this day, some 20 years later.

To restore "peace" among her offspring, Carmen's mother told her that if she would pay her siblings what they asked, then she would give her her half of the house as a "donation."[14] This decision, according to Carmen, while solving the inheritance stand-off, both furthered suspicions among her siblings that she was getting more than her rightful share as the *millorada* and soured her mother's impressions, already skeptical, that her daughter and her husband were not the wealthy Americans she thought. In time, Carmen's mother ceased speaking to Carmen and her husband and daughter, even though the four of them continued living in the same house until her death some five years later. Carmen's conflicts with her siblings continued after the death of the mother, and culminated in a violent confrontation in which one of her brothers struck her in the head with a hoe. When Carmen filed a suit against her brother, her other siblings ceased speaking to her in outrage at her breach of family unity.

Chosen by her parents as the *millorada*, Carmen has faced an adult life full of conflict with her siblings and shadowed by bitter memories of her mother. While Carmen clearly played the dominant hand in her own family's household-building process, one certain result of her dominance is an ongoing contentious relationship with her husband that has left her little peace. The two argue constantly over how best to spend their time and money: Carmen arguing for working in the *casa*'s fields, her husband, for renovating the house. Likewise, in the mid-1980s, Carmen found little to be satisfied with in her relationship with her daughter who, although in her mid-20s, was still unmarried and although university educated, neither had a paying job nor was willing to devote herself to working with her mother in the *casa*'s fields. Carmen perceived herself as fundamentally disempowered by her mother's betrayal, her brother's violence, the jealousy of her other siblings, her husband's lack of co-operation with her plans for household success and her daughter's lack of commitment to agriculture, marriage and motherhood.

Preciosa's *Casa*

While Carmen's unyielding commitment to the promotion of her parents' *casa* has provoked bitter rifts in her relationships with her siblings, husband and daughter, her sister, Preciosa, gave up an opportunity to start her own *casa* in order to struggle her way to the head of her mother-in-law's *casa*. Preciosa, one of Carmen's older sisters, married into her husband's house. To call this a simple case of virilocal residence would be to miss the fact that Preciosa has been actively negotiating the composition of her *casa* since the day she married. Preciosa and her husband Teodoro lived with Teodoro's mother, but they also built a house together on a plot of land on the river that Preciosa had inherited from her parents. While they built this house to be a *casita de mar*—so that if they had a son who was a fisherman, he would have a place to store his equipment—it could also have served as a *casa* for Preciosa and Teodoro. In fact, Preciosa would have preferred to have lived in the river house, but she conceded to her husband's wishes and stayed in her mother-in-law's *casa*.

Preciosa's mother-in-law eventually died and Preciosa and Teodoro's two children, Manola and Tomás, grew up. When Teodoro fell ill in his early 40s, he selected Tomás as the *millorado* but only with the provision that Tomás would care for his mother. Consequently, when Tomás married after his father's death, he brought his wife, Engracia, to live with him in his mother's house. Tomás and Engracia lived in Ezaro for seven years. But like Preciosa before her, Engracia was not satisfied with her relationship with her mother-in-law. Unlike Preciosa, Engracia opted not to stay. She and Tomás and their son moved back to her natal mountain village where they built a house on a plot of land that her father had given her.

As Preciosa's daughter is married into her husband's *casa* in a nearby coastal village, Preciosa today lives alone in her husband's family house. It is Preciosa with whom her mother-in-law's *casa* is now identified in the village, a fact that has been a bitter pill to swallow for Teodoro's siblings. Preciosa has been embroiled in extended disputes with her brothers- and sisters-in-law over the ownership of plots of land that were inherited by

her son Tomás from his father. She has had to go to court to demonstrate the rightful ownership of some plots. Preciosa claims that her husband's siblings continue to torment her, stealing and destroying her crops. Preciosa wants Tomás and Engracia to come back to live with her, reasoning that if they did so, they could save even more money and buy even more apartments in Santiago. She does not understand why they want to live in their own house in another village.

Engracia's *Casa*

Engracia herself has been having little luck in establishing the household that she desires. Her goal has been to develop a *casa* with family lands in her natal village. She perceives her husband's earnings from his job on a cargo ship as facilitating this goal. Engracia's decision to leave her mother-in-law's house in Ezaro was motivated by the opportunities she perceived for inheriting in her own village where she had both her parents and a childless uncle, who had intimated to Engracia that she was his choice of heir. Things have not, however, worked out as Engracia planned. Her uncle died, but his wife who, according to Engracia, is very insincere, persuaded him to leave the *millora* to one of her nephews. Engracia was thus left with much less than she had expected from the inheritance. Then she learned that she is not to receive as much as she had hoped from her own parents either. Tomás tells her jokingly that first she has gotten a kick from one side—because things did not work out in Ezaro with his family—and now she is getting a kick from the other side—from her own family. Engracia retorts that she only hopes that she does not get a kick from the middle—from him.

Francisca's *Casa*

Francisca is a widow in her late 60s. Her father, who had emigrated to the United States, was able to give each of his four daughters a house when she married. Francisca was given an old house near the beach with the idea that she and her husband would fix it up as they were able. Francisca and her husband decided to first work at building a new house on an adjoining piece of property, also given to Francisca by her father, and then renovate the older house later. Unfortunately, Francisca's husband died an untimely death—at the age of 46, after 23 years of marriage—from silicosis.[15] Only the lower floor of the new house had been finished when he died. Francisca's oldest daughter (who was 19 when her father died) emigrated to Switzerland and sent the money she earned back home to her mother. With this money and the help of two younger daughters, Francisca was able to complete the new house, and that is where she lives today.

Francisca is one of the kindest and most mild-mannered women that I know in Ezaro. When she began to describe the inheritance of her father's property, I was thus surprised by the causticity of her statements. Though her father had given a house to each of his daughters, the money that he had earned while in the United States had not been mentioned in the will (in order to avoid taxes) and it was not clear to whom this money was to go.

Francisca expressed extreme repugnance at the thought that her father's hard-earned money would go to her brother-in-law, the husband of her sister, Victoria, who was chosen as the *millorada*. With added bitterness, Francisca described to me graphically how she, her sisters and her mother had suffered while her father was abroad. He had left when she was four years old and did not return until after she was married. She worked hard throughout her childhood, helping her mother to make ends meet.

Francisca felt so strongly about this injustice that she refused to sign the document signaling agreement among all of the heirs with respect to the division of the estate. She says that her other siblings look at her as *a mala* (the bad one) for refusing to be co-operative and sign, but she does not see herself as bad. By refusing to sign, Francisca asserts, she is protecting the interests of her family, and particularly those of her mother, who she feels is particularly prejudiced by the agreement, against the greed of her brother-in-law. Francisca avows, *"Entre as de casa veñen os de fora"* (those from outside come to divide those of the household).

According to Francisca, Victoria is not so much to blame in this affair; she simply did what her husband told her to do. Francisca explained to me, only half ironically, that we, as women, do what our husbands tell us to do because from our perspective, the husband is God. Her sister's husband *"quería ser galo"* (he wanted to be the rooster, the cock of the roost); he wanted to be a millionaire with the money that her father had earned in America. That money, Francisca exclaimed angrily, could have united the family. Instead, her brother-in-law's selfishness drove the family apart.

Contours of Power

The narratives of Carmen, Preciosa, Engracia, Francisca and Ana all speak to the complexities of female power in the process of household-building in Ezaro. These narratives are also revealing about what is perceived as "natural" in this process, and how such "naturalness" may be

alternatively empowering and disempowering. These five women think about and strategize actions with reference to their *casas* at the intersections of overlapping discourses of power (Rosaldo, 1989; Yanagisako and Delaney, 1995: 18).

These narratives resonate, first, with the uncertainties of inheritance practice in Ezaro and the particular ways in which such uncertainties weigh upon women. Carmen made the decision to emigrate to South America, her inheritance uncertain. Preciosa balanced her individual inheritance of river property with her role as daughter-in-law in her husband's *casa*. Engracia juggled several different strategies with respect to her future *casa* in both her husband's and her own natal villages. And the money unmentioned in the will provoked a bitter dispute in Francisca's family. While legal restrictions on inheritance are sufficiently general to allow for a good deal of conflict at the local level, women, like Carmen and Preciosa, do not hesitate to use the judicial system if they feel it can further empower them in the making—and defending—of their *casas*.

The female burden of holding *casas* together in Ezaro is exacerbated by male absence, whether through death or emigration, at the time of crucial household decisions. It was Carmen's mother who tried—and failed—to keep her children content and her *casa* strong. It is Carmen who continues to bear the brunt of her mother's failure to this day. It is Preciosa who has been left fending off angry in-laws, on the one side, and trying to appease a hard-to-please (in her mind) daughter-in-law, on the other. The absence of Francisca's father during her childhood still reverberates powerfully in her adult life and the untimely death of her husband left the responsibility for finishing their *casa* entirely on her shoulders. Engracia's and Ana's husbands, both while working abroad and at home, have left decisions regarding their *casas* up to their wives, much to the chagrin of these women. Engracia perceives a "kick from the middle" as imminent, and Ana expresses constant frustration at her husband's lack of involvement in important decisions regarding their *casa*.

The experiences of all five of these women, taken as a whole, remind us that neither uxorilocality nor matrifocality can be assumed to be "typical" of coastal Galician households, and that even in uxorilocal households, female power is always contested rather than absolute.

Secondly, these narratives ring with conflict among female household members. While Preciosa and Engracia's narratives may illustrate an "expected" tension between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, and Francisca's story may highlight villagers' suspicions about in-marrying outsiders, Carmen's relationships with both her mother and her daughter suggest that such conflict is not unique to "in-laws." As the making and dividing of households is so intimately implicated in the identity of individual women, the potential for conflict among female household members is particularly high. There is no reason to assume that a mother-daughter dyad is more inherently stable than a relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, and in the context of Ezaro, where the *casa* is so integral to individual identity and reputation, and the stress on female adults so high to insure (or at least maintain the semblance) of household unity, many good reasons for assuming potential mother-daughter conflict. Paying closer attention to emic fault lines (frequently paradoxical), rather than making essentialist assumptions about kinship relations, ultimately gives us a more complete understanding of the inheritance process.

But power struggles also exist among male and female household members, and particularly between "male" and "female" understandings of the household. Thus while Carmen may have inherited her *casa*, her claims to precedence are constantly challenged by her husband's invocation of his wage-earning power. Likewise, Ana built up and maintained her *casa* during her husband's absence in England, but could never truly score a moral victory over his argument that their lives as emigrants had been better than life in Ezaro. Arguments about "domestic" vs. "public" power are thus meaningless in the emic context. Debates drawing on alternative discourses of power pay no heed to etic divisions of domestic and public but are carried out in and across the *cociñas* (kitchens), *leiras* (fields) and *corredoiras* (paths) of Ezaro. These debates, wherever they occur, deeply imbue the fabric of women's household narratives.

Ana's ongoing debate with her husband over the value of their *casa* in Ezaro, points to how the long-standing dislocation between two alternative scripts of household precedence (long-standing due to the long involvement of Ezaro men—and women—in emigration and other sources of wage labour) has been intensified in recent years by the movement away from agriculture in household economies. A shift is occurring in some households in which women "tend" the household's rental properties or small business in addition to, or instead of, the household's fields. While the long practice of emigration in this community has rendered disruption and discontinuity familiar processes, recent transformations in the nature of emigration—in which husbands and wives more frequently emigrate together, in which

the ideal of return to Galicia is increasingly challenged by both economic circumstances and children born and raised abroad, and in which new values of consumption call into question subsistence ideals—have further complicated long-standing debates about gendered contributions to household identity.

That Ana was accused of being a witch by some of her fellow villagers seems to have had a lot to do with her rejection, as a returned emigrant, of a return to a role as a full-time agriculturalist. A powerful woman who challenged fellow villagers' conventional understandings of female power, she was rendered a witch. Yet, from her husband's perspective, Ana tirelessly defends what he perceives as an outmoded understanding of the *casa*. As the terrain on which villagers debate gendered notions of power continues to shift, more and more women like Ana will be faced with negotiating their identities—and their power relations—in continually new discursive spaces.[16]

If Ana "really were a witch" today, she would erase England from her husband's mind and render her two sons healthy and productive members of the *casa*. She would find wives for them who would be good companions to her in her old age and she would fill the house that she and her husband have already built for their sons (and which now stands gloomily empty) with grandchildren. But Ana is not a witch, nor does she hold "absolute power" in her *casa*. Ana is in many ways a "typical" Ezaro woman, one with many dashed dreams and an everyday life filled with conflict with family members who do not share her vision of her *casa*. Listening to the ways in which Galician women like Ana, Carmen, Preciosa, Engracia and Francisca talk about their power, allows us a more complete understanding of the complexities of their experiences of both empowerment and disempowerment.

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Notes

1 My 1985-87 field work was supported by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, a Fulbright-Hays/Spanish Government Grant, the National Science Foundation and the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies. I have made return visits to Galicia in 1988, 1990, 1996 and 1997.

2 This characterization of coastal Galicia was first developed by Lisón Tolosana (1979). Similar patterns have also been noted as characteristic of at least some zones of northwestern Portugal (Brettell, 1985, 1986, Cole, 1991, O'Neill, 1987, 1995). See, however, Parkhurst (in this volume) for a critique of homogeneous characterizations of northern Portuguese gender politics.

3 I paraphrase from Yanagisako and Delaney's subtitle "What Is More Natural than Sex?" (1995: 5).

4 They also, however, characterize this dyad as a "hidden relationship" (Brøgger and Gilmore, 1997: 26).

5 See, in particular, Collier, Rosaldo and Yanagisako (1982), Ginsburg and Rapp (1995), Yanagisako and Collier (1987) and Yanagisako and Delaney (1995). This line of analysis builds upon David Schneider's insights into the cultural assumptions underlying the anthropological study of kinship (e.g., Schneider, 1968, 1984).

6 This argument is elaborated by Collier, Rosaldo and Yanagisako (1982) and Harris (1984).

7 I paraphrase here Abu-Lughod's concept of "writing against culture" (1991, 1993).

8 In Ezaro in 1987, 41% of the *casas* had been inherited in *milloras*, i.e., by principal heirs. Of these, 53% of the *milloras* had been granted to male heirs and 47% to female heirs. In recent years, however, there has been a trend toward favouring daughters with the *millora*. With respect to the transmission of property to the next generation, in 62% of the cases in which the selection of the *millorado* appeared clear in 1987, a female had been designated as heir; in 38%, a male had been selected.

9 Two types of *millora* are practiced in Ezaro, *a millora vella*, in which a relatively smaller portion (usually one third of the estate) is given to the *millorado*, and *a millora nova*, in which almost all of the estate goes to the *millorado*. This distinction roughly corresponds to a historical difference in the quantity of the *mejora* (the Castillian term for *millora* that is used in all legal documents) before and after the institution of the Spanish Civil Code in 1880.

10 Compare Roseman's characterization of alternative emphases of hierarchy and egalitarianism within households in the rural Galician community of Zas (in this volume).

11 See de la Gala's Gonzalez's characterization (in this volume) of the burdens shouldered by rural Galician women in Mazaricos and Viana do Bolo.

12 See Micaela di Leonardo (1987) for a discussion of the "kin work" done by women as broadly characteristic of American kinship.

13 The custom in cases like this in Ezaro has been for the other siblings to set the price that the *millorado* must pay them for their shares in the house. This is deemed to be fair because it is the *millorado* who has been favoured with the ownership of the family house and the others deserve to be compensated for their loss. Fairness is expected in this process, as all siblings are ideally supposed to desire the unity of their natal *casa* and thus to support the *millorado*. The fact that all of the other siblings must agree upon one price together is also said to help insure that the price will not be outrageous. In practice, this custom often results in conflict.

14 Today it is more usual for the house to be given outright as a donation to the *millorado*. Other siblings are compensated with an extra plot of land or a cash payment. It was ex-

plained to me that parents choose the donation as a way to avoid fighting among their children.

15 People in Ezaro reported an unusually high rate of death from silicosis in their community. Many villagers contracted silicosis while working on a dam project in the parish in the 1940s.

16 See Collier (1997) for an ethnographic analysis of shifting gender politics in an Andalusian community.

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Day Workers, Main Heirs: Gender and Class Domination in the Parishes of Mourisca and Beba

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Abstract: In this article, I focus on class and gender domination in the rural Galician parishes of Mourisca and Beba during the first half of the 20th century. My ethnographic and archival data demonstrate that the broader socio-economic context that affected women's and men's lives is similar in both parishes but that there are also significant personal, familial and regional differences that must be considered with respect to both the two field sites and the lives of distinct individuals in each locale. The two life stories that are incorporated into my discussion of the two parishes illustrate only two possible life trajectories for rural Galician women born during the first half of this century: Pepita's effort to earn day wages and to be a *labradora* (landed peasant agriculturalist) in Mourisca and María's failed attempt to marry a main heir in Beba.

Résumé: Cet article explore les différences reliées à la classe et au sexe dans les provinces galiciennes de Mourisca et Beba dans la première moitié du XX^{e} siècle. Mes données ethnographiques et historiques établissent que le contexte socio-économique dans lequel se déroule la vie des femmes est le même dans les deux paroisses, mais sur le plan personnel, familial et régional, on trouve des différences significatives dont on doit tenir compte tant du côté des deux sites que des individus dans chaque endroit. Les deux histoires personnelles insérées dans ma description des deux paroisses n'illustrent que deux trajectoires de vie possibles pour les femmes de Galice nées dans la première moitié de ce siècle: les efforts de Pepita pour gagner un salaire journalier et être une *labradora* à Mourisca et l'échec de María à marier un riche héritier à Beba.

Introduction

I thought that I would begin my article by mentioning that Sharon Roseman and I have been talking intermittently about gender and power in rural Galicia for more than 10 years. Sharon's second period of residence in Galicia coincided with the beginning of my field work in the parish of Beba. I also had the opportunity to meet and be a student of Heidi Kelley's when she gave a seminar on the Anthropology of Europe at the Universidade de Santiago de Compostela during the academic year of 1985-86. At that time, Heidi was doing her field work in Ezaro while I was planning to initiate my own preliminary experience of rural Galicia during my summer vacations. In 1987, I completed this first project in the hamlet of San Martiño in the province of Lugo. In this article, I only refer to the field work that I did in the parishes of Mourisca and Beba, which lie at 300 kilometres distance from each other.

Mourisca is located in the township of Viana do Bolo which is in the province of Ourense, in Galicia's southeastern corner. My main field work in this area took place between the summer of 1988 and the summer of 1989. Beba pertains to the township of Mazaricos, which is situated in the province of A Coruña in northwestern Galicia. I began my field work there during January, February and March of 1990 and did not return again until January of 1991. During 1994, I divided my time between the two parishes in order to complete my data collection.

In the case of the parish of Mourisca, my main argument is that the experience of both men and women is tied to their positions in a system of class domination. Scanty day wages and hard work, the practices of political reprisal and loans with high interest rates were all documented in my informants' accounts of the past. The majority of the men dreamed of emigrating or otherwise increasing their familial resources, and for that reason, they were said to not have been "suited" to agricultural

work and to not have concerned themselves sufficiently with the difficult economic situations of their households in Mourisca. The women, however, as is related in the accounts of both women and men assumed the main responsibility for taking care of the children and/or contributing their work and wages to their natal households (see Pepita's story below).

In the case of Beba, one of the most characteristic aspects of the data that I present in this article is the manner in which the preference for choosing male children as the main heirs affects women's lives. I include María's story in order to illustrate the intrafamilial tensions that are connected with a patrilineal inheritance pattern in this part of Galicia. At times, as is true in María's case, intrafamilial conflicts can result in ruptures which can affect men as much as women. For María's suitor and other men like him, if they did not marry women who brought some land to the marriage they could lose the possibility of becoming main heirs to their natal households and even thereby remain single. On the other side of the equation, a woman's possibility of marrying or remaining single often depended on whether her parents ceded to a suitor's request for a prenuptial agreement that included a promise of their daughter inheriting a particular amount of land.

The Parish of Mourisca (Township of Viana do Bolo, Province of Ourense)

To visitors, except during the months of July and August, Mourisca looks like a deserted village. During the winter, the only activity that one normally sees is a few elderly individuals chatting in the *plaza*. Half of the 29 houses that pertain to this parish are only occupied during the summer. This is an indication of the very significant population decline that Mourisca has experienced since the 1960s. The decrease in the number of inhabitants living in the township of Viana do Bolo as a whole was registered to be 51.7% over the course of the period 1963 to 1991, the main cause being out-migration (for more detail, see Gala González, 1995: 640-648). Another very visible sign of the widespread emigration that took place is the presence of return migrants who are no longer involved in agriculture and who have used their savings to build new houses in the style of those that they saw in the countries such as Switzerland where they worked during the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s.

The majority of my informants from the households of medium peasants and poor day labourers talked to me consistently about the conflictual relationships that characterized their relationships with the families of wealthy landowners until the onset of the large-scale out-migration to other parts of Europe and Spain in the 1960s. In addition to owning significant portions of farmland, during the course of the 20th century and earlier, rich families frequently counted among their members physicians, lawyers, priests or individuals with political and civil service positions at the township level. The poor were dependent economically on both the rich who lived in their own parishes as well as on those who lived in Viana do Bolo itself (the administrative capital of the township of Viana do Bolo).[1] This is due to the fact that the only access that the members of peasant and landless households had to earn a day wage, or even to work solely for their meals, was in the households of the wealthy (e.g., Roseman, in press). Today, this dependency is interpreted by most people from Mourisca as having comprised unforgettable personal and class humiliation. This experience is described with phrases such as the following: "It was necessary to lower oneself to them [in front of them]" or "*Estaban por encima de nos*" (They were on top of us). Moreover, in addition to depending on certain families for some wage work, older people talked about how in their youth the wages were miniscule, the work was very hard, and the food (which formed part of the day wage throughout rural Galicia) was scanty.

Like men, women did agricultural day labour for the wealthy households of the parish. However, as is described in Pepita's account (below), women could also opt to do indoor domestic tasks for the wealthy families who lived in the capital of Viana do Bolo. And women described how the class domination and conflict that pervaded their relationships with wealthy families was not limited to their experiences of working conditions. As one elderly woman explains, in referring to her mother-in-law's mother's experiences with a rich man who lived in the township: "*A nai tívoa dun rico*. (Her mother had her 'from' [a sexual relationship with] a rich man). Since they (the poor) didn't have anything, for a piece of bread, you can see why. . . ." Or, as this other comment indicates in describing the general behaviour of the rich men of Viana do Bolo: "Those from Viana, they were pigs. Because they were from the *villa*. They came [to the dances] but they didn't dance. . . . They were like that. They just came to play around. They wanted to use you and then they would drop you." Like many others, these two commentaries highlight how poor women from this part of rural Galicia were sexually dominated by the men from rich families, a gendered power relationship inextricably tied to differences of socio-economic class.

During the first half of the 20th century, the main obligations of both married and single men from the

households of the poor and of medium peasants were to seek out day labour opportunities, to haul firewood, and to do physically arduous agricultural tasks for their own households. Moreover, it was interesting that many of my informants, both men and women, told me that their fathers, fathers-in-law or brothers did not "*valían*" (were not suited to) work the land, or that they were ill.[2] From what I was told, it seems that the aspiration of the majority of the men from this parish has been to emigrate. And in many cases, some of them were able to emigrate by selling the small parcels of land that pertained to their inheritance portions.

The patterns of work and emigration that I have summarized above indicate the conditions that resulted in poor women from this part of northern Spain having been the ones who often carried the full burden of the precarious economic situation of their households: in many cases, it was women who remained in Mourisca and who alone were obliged to continue as peasant agriculturalists and/or to secure wage work (compare with Brettell, 1986).

In some cases about which I was told, the emigration of men from particular households was related to specific instances of domination on the part of the wealthy of Viana do Bolo. Two common examples of such domination follow. One method was the practice of political reprisal, whereby politicians and other civil servants from landowning families who worked for the township would arbitrarily assess heavy property taxes on individuals as a punishment for not openly supporting the officials.[3] Carmiña explained to me how this form of abuse affected her family:

> Because at that time, it doesn't exist now, we had to pay the *consumo* [her way of referring generally to the taxes that existed during her youth] and a lot had to be paid. And since there were always "politics," and my father wasn't part of the mayor's [group of supporters] and didn't vote for him. Because of that, he had to pay a lot and they sold some cows. And with all that they sold, it wasn't enough to pay the *consumo*. Twenty or thirty *duros* [five pesetas] they had to pay, and that was when they [her father and other men in her family] left. That the capital [the land] remained, thanks be to God.

A second common form of domination, which was described to me in field work interviews, was for the rich to lend the poor and medium peasants money and thereby to hold the mortgages on their property. As an elderly woman named Josefa explains, many families lost their land when the rich purposefully suggested that there was no need to pay back the loan immediately:

> The rich were involved in many things, because they took what was other people's in order to make themselves [even] richer. We were living in poverty then and, in order to support your children, you would go up to them [the rich] and they would give you ten or twenty *duros*. Later, they would take your land. There would be a large piece of land and for ninety *duros* they would take it for themselves. When [a person] went to pay the rent, the money that he or she owed, [the rich person] would say "Leave it be, take care of your children. I'll get by. I don't need it [the money], leave it be." [The rich person] wouldn't take it [the money] from the other one and after two days had passed, the [rich person] would make off with the field.[4]

To sum up what I have said thus far and as is described in Pepita's account below, during the first six decades of this century, the difficult situation for women (both married and single) from Mourisca was not only the result of the absence of men who could have helped with subsistence agriculture and wage work. In this rural parish, both the experience of the women who remained and the absence of men who had migrated (after Brettell, 1986) were both tied into the class domination that pervaded the lives of the day labourers and peasant agriculturalists. These individuals were faced with pitifully small wages; difficult living conditions; and a constant pressure to behave in a subordinate manner to their employers—of whom they were afraid but from whom they were still often forced to ask for loans.

Pepita's Story

When I knew Pepita, at 85 years of age, she was one of the oldest women in Mourisca. She lived in a large stem-family household with her husband, her son, her daughter-in-law and her grandchildren. It is interesting to note that, although stem families were not that common in this part of Galicia when I did my field work, Pepita belonged to a generation that was familiar with the preeminence of the stem family household and unequal inheritance system (whereby one child is given the majority of the estate, the *mejora*) and the then relatively less common situation of neolocal postmarital residence and equal inheritance.[5]

Pepita's household ran a tavern and dry goods store which, when I did my field work in the late 1980s, was the only place in Mourisca with a telephone. Pura—one of Pepita's neighbours—and I often went to the tavern to visit Pepita. We would sit outside and she would tell us about both her youth and her current situation, often alternating between the two time periods as she does below:

Pepita: I married when I was 37 years old.[6] By then, my parents were both dead. The house, they gave it to my brother. . . . [When I was 13 years], I was alone in the house. With my father and my siblings. I had bad luck because at 13 years of age I had to carry the whole weight of the household. There wasn't a mother. . . .

They [My brother and his family] have cows and have everything. After he got married, he had a son. Now the son has this tractor. The son is [also] married now and he [my brother] has grandchildren. . . .

[When I was a young girl], we went out to the fields. The days when we worked as day labourers and we were able to go, we would go to Viana for the day wage, to earn five *reales* [a Spanish currency still used during Pilar's youth]. To Casa Manuel, we went to [plant or harvest] potatoes, to the Casa of Don José we went a *vendimia* (to harvest grapes). For Señora María, for Lucía's mother, for Lucía's mother-in-law, for that household, we went to wash [clothes] in the Edroso River. To do the wash in that water, we [also went to work for] the household of Doña Ramona. I went to do the planting: first to cut the potatoes and then to plant them. To the [rye] harvest, men went. The women from here didn't go, only men went. The women went to Viana to [work] harvesting potatoes, washing [clothes] or doing housecleaning. I went to the household of a physician, Don Marcial Soria and [also] to Eva's house, [rather] her mother's household. [Elvira's mother] lived in Viana, she was already widowed. . . .

A poor person eats better today than the rich did in the past. Poor us, we went out to work. There wasn't [anything] and we had to go down to [work]. Did they pay? It was all free. For nothing. I went to work many times and didn't take away even a *céntimo* [a cent]. They paid us little. To work. To [prepare] the meals, to [work with] the potatoes, to dig over the land for the vineyards, to do the haying, to do the threshing, to do the grape harvest, to [harvest] the *castañas* (chestnuts), to do everything. And on top of everything, you would owe [your employers] the favour [of their having given you work]. *Era posible porque era así a cousa* (It was possible because things were like that [then]). *Hoxe non se fai eso* (Today, this isn't done). . . .

They [brides] didn't go [get married] in white [clothes]. Each one did what she could, with what she had. The men "went" [to the church] with a borrowed overcoat [to hide their worn suits]. Ties, they would have had. But anything else . . . [The women wore] everyday skirts or dresses. *Non tiñan mais nada* [They didn't have anything else]. . . .

I remember Carmen's children, I, we didn't go around without shoes. I still remember how Carmen's children went around barefoot. Carmen's daughters went around without shoes. And also Señora Rosa's children and [many] others. And Señora Ana's children. It was when she went [to the pasture] with the sheep. And all of them barefoot. I remember Suso, I remember Antonio, I remember Ita [some of Señora Ana's children]. I remember lots of children going around barefoot. And some of them were already grown up (*mozos*). It was when Papá made wooden-soled shoes [*zocos de madeira*]. Our father made *galochiños* [another way of saying wooden-soled shoes] and we never went barefoot. He was good at it [he didn't do it to make a living]. He was a *labrador* [peasant farmer]. Fine. Of course he had to do the work of planting, ploughing. We ploughed with two donkeys. At first we didn't. But later on we planted rye. *Agora, sí, nos estamos ben* (Now, yes, we live well).

In her account, Pepita talks mainly about the poverty and class differences that existed during her youth as well as providing a detailed description of some of the work that poor women did for the families of the rich as day labourers. She also mentions the fact that it was her brother, rather than she who was her parents' choice as the main heir of the house and land that pertained to her natal household.

It is evident from what Pepita says that not only individuals from the poorest families but also those of medium peasant households like her own natal household had to work for day wages. From her enumeration of the households for which she worked and the tasks that she did there, it is clear that she worked for day wages frequently. And when she says "A poor person eats better today than the rich did in the past. Poor us, we went out to work. There wasn't [anything] and we had to go down to [work]," she does not hide the resentment that she and others felt toward their employers.

However, despite this necessity for some of the members of medium peasant households to work for day wages as the landless, Pepita points out that there were socio-economic differences among them. She mentions, for example, that some of the children went around barefoot, whereas she and her siblings wore the *galochiños* that her father made. However, with a few important details she also signals that a shift took place in her family's position: she mentions that at first they ploughed with two donkeys instead of with two cows and that they were later able to plant rye. Not having cattle (or oxen) to pull the plough is a sign of extreme poverty in rural Galicia whereas if your family plants rye (instead of only maize), that is an indication that you belong to the group of landed peasants rather than landless "day labourers." At the very end of her narration, Pepita concludes "*Agora, sí, nos estamos ben*" (Now, yes, we live well).

Pepita's friend Pura was my main informant in the parish of Mourisca and it was she who drew on the details of her own life story, that of Pepita and of others to emphasize that they experienced domination to a greater extent than did men of their generation. In summarizing people's accounts of the past—and in particular those that women told—she most often used the following two sentences: "*As mulleres de antes eran moi esclavas. Que non teñan as de agora que pasar o que pasamos nós*" (Before, women were very enslaved. Those [young women] today don't have to experience what we experienced). When I asked her whether men had also been enslaved, she would say that, in general, "*Antes era a vida moi dura*" (Before, life was very hard) but that "*A vida das mulleres non era dura, era esclava*" (Women's lives weren't hard, it was slavery). In addition, I noted that the men of Pura and Pepita's age did not refer to themselves as having been "slaves"; instead, they would say "*Aquelo non era vida*" (That wasn't a life).

The emphasis that Pura and others placed on the women's hardships coincides in many ways with their negative comments about men in their families. When they said that their male relatives were not suited to work the land, that they were ill, that they were weaker than women, or when they also mentioned how much men went to the tavern, these characteristics contrast sharply with descriptions of how hard women worked and about how much they were dominated by rich families.

In any case, much of my field work data affirms that up until the 1960s women were more consistent than men in taking care of subsistence agriculture and their children as well as in making sure that they took advantage of every opportunity to earn wages. There seems to be a strong connection between this gender difference and the widespread aspiration of men from Mourisca to emigrate. Some men may have decided to emigrate after noting how little they were doing in comparison with their wives and daughters to maintain their households. In contrast, it is also possible that the men were less active than the women because of their plans to leave the area.

For in my data, some men talk about the frustration of having planned to emigrate but never having done so. I did not find that women expressed the same emotion. It is possible, therefore, that men were described as having not been hard-working because they spent much of their time in seeking out opportunities to emigrate, thinking about the wage work that they would have in the future and that would be much better than that which they could obtain in Ourense, in fantasizing rather than concentrating on the present. And from what I was told, it seems likely that this was a collective activity that took place in the taverns where the men would go regularly to exchange information and possibly also their fantasies about leaving Mourisca.

However, I do not mean to imply that this was the case for all of the men of Mourisca. Pepita's father, for example, who was raised in a parish that neighboured Mourisca and others like him worked hard and planned for a future in the township.[7] These other men were viewed as having been solid representatives of their families.

The Parish of Beba (Township of Mazaricos, Province of A Coruña)

The parish of Beba is surrounded by green pastures and an omnipresent aspect of its landscape is the grazing cattle. In this part of Galicia, the autochthonous rust-coloured Galician cattle were replaced with imported Swiss dairy cattle in the 1970s. During the same time period, farming households began to construct modern stables or to renovate those that they already had in place. None of this activity would have been possible without the income that was introduced to the area as a result of the long-term seasonal emigration to European countries such as Switzerland and (what was then) West Germany that began in the 1960s. In the 1990s, it is clear that the majority of the families from this parish have oriented their main household economic activity towards dairy production. And although there are evident socio-economic differences between different households, based largely on the fact that the number of cattle that each can maintain is linked to the amount of pasture land that they own, these differences are not the subject of a pervasive cultural discourse as they are in the parish of Mourisca.[8]

The agricultural task most connected with animal husbandry is the annual harvest of grass, which takes place in the month of June. In the 1990s, the practice in most households is to leave some of the grass to dry in the sun as hay and to conserve the rest in silos. The silos used in this part of Europe are created by compressing a mixture of the fresh grass and salt underneath the cover of plastic sheets. Every morning in Beba, the first sounds that one hears are the mooing cows and the sounds of the electric milking machines. Various dairy co-operatives—such as Feiraco, which is situated in the neighbouring township of Negreira—operate in the area. Trucks from the co-operatives travel throughout the area, collecting the milk from various households. The

vendors are paid after the co-operatives have analyzed the milk for, among other things, its degree of fat content. The price paid for the milk varies according to its quality. The dairy co-operatives also sell seeds and fertilizer in addition to advising their members on questions of hygiene and the health of their herds.

The township of Mazaricos, to which the parish of Beba belongs, has experienced a halt in the demographic decline that began with the initiation of the migration to other parts of Europe in the 1960s. This demographic stabilization began to emerge in the 1980s, when dairy production began to be profitable. As a result, in Beba, the natural population growth rate was not negative during the 1980s; during this decade there were 100 births and 60 deaths (Gala González, 1995: 651). This situation contrasts with the population pattern in Mourisca, which at present has an inverted population curve with far more older people than young people (ibid.).

In the Spanish population census of 1991, 40 of the 116 of inhabited households which belong to the parish of Beba consisted of between five and six members (ibid.: 637). And these individuals made up 220 of the total number of 630 (ibid.: 635). There was also a large number of households (13) which were inhabited by only one person and 16 households which were comprised of two or three residents.

As in other parts of Galicia, the main tendency in Beba is for patrilineal *mejora* or, in Galician, *a millora patrilineal*. This is an unequal inheritance pattern whereby mainly male children have been chosen as the main heirs of their parents' property as well as to be the ones invited to "marry into" their natal households (*casar na casa*). However, an important exception during the course of this century was the 1920s. Through the information on household composition in the population census of 1924, it seems as though 15 women under 35 years of age are main heirs. This amount is double the number of women who are main heirs and are more than 35. In contrast, in the census of 1935, while there continues to be a relatively large number of women over 35 years of age who are main heirs to their natal households (20) there are just 10 women less than 35 in this situation (ibid.: 702). This difference can be explained by the fact that many men who had emigrated to Latin America before 1922 returned to the area in the 1930s, due to the economic depression which began in 1929.

The data contained in the population censuses of 1929 and 1935 (as well as in other archival sources) indicate that earlier in the 20th century, a certain number of women from Beba were able to obtain the favoured position of being named heirs to the majority of the property belonging to their natal households. This situation was related to the large-scale emigration of men from the area to different parts of Latin America that took place from the end of the 19th century until the 1920s. For example, between 1898 and 1922, 60 men from Beba who were less than 18 years of age are registered as having emigrated (ibid.: 501). For the entire township of Mazaricos, the number of male teenagers under 18 who left for South America and the United States is listed as 594 for the same period (ibid.). Aside from the fact that they left for economic reasons, the specific explanation for so many men having left at such a young age was to escape having to serve the obligatory military service.[9] According to what people told me, these young migrants hoped to be able to return to their homes. The severe economic depression of 1929 sparked a massive return of many of the Galicians who had left Spain during the previous several decades. This significant return migration as well as a natural population growth that took place in the 1920s resulted in a total population increase for the parish of 150 persons out of the 725 inhabitants listed in the 1935 census (ibid.: 711). And among the returned inhabitants is a large number of single men who have returned from abroad to rejoin their natal households (ibid.).

Compared with the census of 1924, in 1935 one sees an increase in the number of households with more than five members. In 1935, there were 42 households with eight or more members which is 30% of the total of 140 households in the parish (ibid.: 637-638). The households with more than eight members stand out as having as part of their list of inhabitants, one or two single men under 25 years of age. For households of this size, the number of single men in the 1935 census is similar to the number of single women registered. However, the shift from the 1924 census is notable; in 1924, in large households with more than eight members there were 44 single women and only 16 single men.

I have briefly discussed the male migration pattern of the early part of this century because of the impact that the massive return migration had on both the structure and social dynamics of households in this parish. From the 1930s onward, parents went back to choosing mainly male children to be the main heirs. When I arrived in Beba in 1990, almost all of the families had a single brother, uncle or brother-in-law living with them. The explanation that I was given for their presence was that they were "*tolos*" (were not clever) or I was simply told not to pay attention to them. In exchange for being allowed to live with married siblings and other relatives, these single men spent their days working almost invisi-

bly in agricultural chores and often at some distance from the residential nucleus of the parish (Lisón Tolosana, 1983 [1979]: 235; Roseman, 1999). The silence of these men, to whom people barely spoke, is an indication of their almost being hidden in the households in which they lived. In María's account (below), she is talking about her youth which coincides with the post-1930s period when there were many single men living in the parish. And I think that it is very possible that the proliferation and presence of bachelors in this area was one among many factors that influenced the behaviour of men such as María's boyfriend (described in her account below). He, like other men, courted more than one woman simultaneously in an attempt to assure himself of a marital arrangement that would be satisfactory to his family and would thus result in his both getting married and becoming the main heir to his natal estate (see Comás D'Argemir, 1988 on a similar process in the Pyrenees).

The shift back to the historical inheritance pattern of patrilineality would have also affected women from peasant households since those who did not own enough land on which to survive would have had the goal of marrying a male heir. Therefore, in Beba, one of the themes which was prominent in individuals' accounts of their youth was that of the impact of gender and class differences on the dynamics of courtship and marriage. In particular, some women talked about the difficulties that they had in securing the loyalty of their boyfriends.

Below, María describes in detail how the boyfriend that she had when she was a young woman was a main heir and courted more than one woman (there were four in total although she only mentions two in this account) before he married one of them. Moreover, even though he was the father of her daughter, he ended up marrying another woman because of María's parents' (but really her mother's) reluctance to cede some of their property to her. It is important to note that María's case was not unusual and occurred frequently in rural Galicia in the past.

> For six years, I was in love with a man. Then, he got me pregnant and I remained single. I would have gone out with other men, but I liked him [most of all]. And after that he turned his back on *me* (*me deu a cara a min*), he married another woman. I remained in my brother's home [her parents' home]. We began to argue about the land, but after that he [my brother] did not want to pay for my Social Insurance and I said that I would see where I could work [where they would pay]. Then I went to the home of a family physician in the [nearby] township of Serra de Outes to work as a domestic servant. After that, I went to [work in] the house of a priest. I got sick then. Since I couldn't work, I had problems with my physical mobility, I got my disability pension and came back here.
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> I remember going to primary school. I was from a family that had some land. My parents wanted to provide me with some education and sent me to Noia [a nearby town], but I did not want to continue my studies and came back home. The boyfriend I was in love with, his mother, came to my home one day and said: "Your daughter is good for my household."
>
> My father said that I was a good partner for her son [the heir]. She answered that women mature early. But she did not want [the marriage]. This boyfriend was a cousin of mine [on my paternal side]. He wrote to me from the place where he was fulfilling his military service, saying that he wanted to be my boyfriend. I did not answer him.
>
> His father had had a daughter when he [the father] was single. His daughter's mother died and they brought the girl to live in her father's family's household. It was then when my boyfriend fell in love with the aunt of his half sister. But the half sister, when he left her aunt and came back to me, began to say bad things about me. His family did not want him to be my boyfriend. He said that there wasn't any problem and we continued to "talk." I thought that as he was a member of my extended family, I did not have to worry about it.
>
> My father talked to him about whether he had promised me anything and said that I did not need him. He responded [to my father's question] by saying that he would not be disrespectful to a cousin.
>
> My boyfriend and I were together a lot of the time. My father said to him that he often followed me when I went places and also said that he did not approve of that because it seemed that he [my boyfriend] was not keeping his word: "If you do not leave my daughter alone, I am going to send her away from here." He again responded that he loved me.
>
> While this was happening, I got pregnant. I was frightened about my parents finding out. I told them and my boyfriend said that he would marry me. But the following day, he came and said that he would marry me if my parents would give me some land [that used to belong to his family]. That if my parents did not want to do that, that he would marry me but not so soon. Then, my mother said that she would not give him these fields because people would be saying that they had done what my boyfriend wanted. But he talked with my father a few days later. But he could not really do what he had said [he would] because one of his sisters was not in favour of our marrying: one of his sisters said that she would leave the household if he married me, and the other sister said that she would leave if he did not marry me. The problem was that both sis-

ters had [decided to] make him the main heir when their mother died [by contributing their own inheritance portions to the farm, which in this region is called *millora de nai morta*]. So, either one of them could revoke this decision.

Therefore, if he did not do what one sister said, the other one could take away what she was going to give him. Then, he would need my fields. My parents took his request to be a way of shaming them. But my father had been talking in secret with him about giving him "my" fields. But my mother didn't want that [to happen]. But "my" fields were from my father's inheritance portion, because these fields had belonged previously to my boyfriend's household. My mother did not think about the consequences of my being pregnant. Then he began to say that he would not ever come to my household again and that I must beg my parents to give me my fields.

While this was happening, he began to go out with another woman. But he and I continued to go out together. But he asked her parents for land and they gave it to him. Then he signed a lot of papers in secret while he continued saying to me that I had to ask my parents, to beg them, to cry in front of them. One day, he said to me that he would talk with me [come to see me] in the afternoon. My mother said that she knew that he had been signing these papers, that I must not waste my time with him. I went to our appointment and he was there. A few moments later, a number of young men approached us. Then, he felt that these young men were going to retaliate against him [for how he had treated María] and he left. [But] if he had wanted to come back, he wouldn't have stayed away. . . .

This is a good life story because it demonstrates several things. The children who wished to be chosen by their parents and/or siblings as main heirs had to deal with the conflicts that surrounded their choice of a spouse. María's story also shows that it was not uncommon for male heirs to negotiate to get a marital partner who would contribute the most land to these men's natal households. In this example, the man has two girlfriends simultaneously. And he promises to marry both of them, knowing that he will not be able to fulfill both of these promises and that his future depends on the other members of his household approving of his choice of a wife. In cases like these, the most important factor was the quantity and quality of land that the women could bring to the marriage. For example, María explains that her boyfriend was interested in her inheriting particular fields—those that had belonged previously to his father's family. In the end, he signed a prenuptial agreement with another woman because her family was willing to give her land that would her ensure his position as a main heir.

After her boyfriend married her rival, María kept living in her parents' household until they died. She suffered the tragedy of losing her daughter who died when she was only two years old. Then, her brother married and she found it to be impossible for her to remain in her natal household. Her brother was the main heir and he not only refused to grant María the small inheritance portion that she had been promised by her parents but he also refused to pay for the social security benefits that would ensure that she would eventually receive an old age pension. So María left and worked as a domestic servant, contributing to her own social security. By the time I knew María, she was an elderly woman in her 70s and was economically independent because she had paid for the construction of her own house and was receiving a pension from the government.

A number of times, María told me that if her daughter had not died, as a young woman she would have formed a household separate from her brother's. Then, she would have lived as a *labradora* (female peasant agriculturalist) like her neighbours. However, because María's daughter had died, she did not have someone who could help her do the agricultural tasks.

The example of María's life illustrates how gender and class differences are intertwined in rural parishes such as Beba. The preference for patrilineal inheritance places women in a difficult situation. The majority either marry or leave their natal households. It is very difficult for single women (with or without children) or men who continue to live in their natal households that are headed by a sibling and his (or her) spouse (see Lisón Tolosana, 1983 [1979]: 235-236). Or, as a fourth option, women who are minor heirs or who do not inherit any property can attempt to live as agriculturalists (*labradoras*) with the help of a child (or children) who can help them do the work associated with farming. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of María's account is that it was her own mother who was opposed to their reaching a prenuptial agreement with her suitor, and this despite the fact that the land in which María's boyfriend had a particular interest belonged—through inheritance—to María's father. Even though this type of negotiation is common in parts of Galicia where there is unequal inheritance (Lisón Tolosana, 1983 [1979]: 210-216), it is also true that in the parish of Beba people told me that in marriages which are the result of such prenuptial agreements, the women are not as valued and respected by their in-laws. Along these lines, it makes sense that María's mother said that she did not

wish people to think that she was doing what her daughter's suitor wanted. However, in the end, María's mother's behaviour was also against her daughter's own interest in marrying her suitor who was a main heir.

A further detail provides an even more specific context for the reaction of María's mother. She herself had married a man even though he was not a main heir. And part of the land that he brought to the marriage consisted specifically of the fields which María's suitor had an interest in possessing. One might deduce that María's mother's hope was that the household property would be not have to be divided, without María having to renounce the possibility of getting married. For it is important to note that, although it is not mentioned by María in this account, during the time when her suitor was negotiating with her parents, the date of her brother's wedding was approaching and he had been chosen as the main heir of the household. Clearly, her pregnancy was not as significant a factor in this story as it might be in other sociocultural contexts and under other familial circumstances (see Kelley, 1991 on Ezaro).

However, we are also told that María's father negotiated behind his wife's back in his attempt to arrange for his daughter's marriage. This image suggests to me that for María's father, it was important for his daughter to be united with one of his nephews. Thus, he possibly shared the desire of his daughter's suitor in restoring to his natal family the land that he was given as a minor inheritance portion. And it is more than plausible that María's father considered this reintegration of the property to be fully justified on the basis of the condition that his nephew marry his daughter (see a related point in Lisón Tolosana, 1983 [1979]: 321-322).

As I hint above, María's mother was not only protecting the land that she did not want to become divided due to her daughter's marriage. She was interested in maintaining the integrity of the household's property with the view of securing it for the son that she and her husband had chosen to be the main heir. It was very important in these situations for women such as María's mother to establish a position of power prior to the marriage of the sons and the entry into their homes of daughter-in-laws who would become the mothers of a new generation pertaining to the stem-family. In María's case, her mother arranged for the integrity of the household's property when she halted the possibility of her daughter marrying her suitor. María's account can thus be viewed as a drama in which two of the main protagonists are women from the same family who are both fighting in different ways to ensure the patrilineal inheritance of two different men. However, only one of these women can win. In the end, María finds herself losing her young daughter, giving up her life as a peasant agriculturalist and never gaining access to the portion of the inheritance portion that was owed her.

Conclusions

Despite being at 300 kilometres distance from each other and having different economic and social histories as well as different patterns of inheritance, residence and migration, my data indicate that there were many similarities in the life circumstances of women and men from the parishes of Mourisca and Beba. I have not attempted to undertake a systematic comparison of the two field sites but rather have focussed on the analysis of gender and power that I could develop on the basis of the ethnographic and archival data that I include here. These data deal mainly with the first half of the 20th century, a time period that was characterized in most of rural Galicia by a scarcity of monetary means, large-scale emigration to South America, and the extraordinary value that the members of peasant households placed on even the very smallest of the *leiras* (fields) that they owned.

Moreover, it is not my intention to argue that clear links can be made between the situations and characteristics that I describe above and the inheritance systems which are preferred in each area, or with any other classificatory category. Rather, I want to indicate that women's lives depended partly on class and gender power differences and also on the way in which each woman reacted to the possibilities that presented themselves to her within her social and family context. And included among those relevant personal, familial and socio-economic circumstances are the following: the number of siblings in one's family; the type and quantity of the fields owned by one's parents; one's inheritance prospects; and the possibility of marrying a man who would or would not be a main heir.

In the case of women, the life stories that I include in my discussions of Mourisca and Beba demonstrate two possible routes: to make oneself independent of one's natal family and to leave behind the life and social ascription of being a *labradora*, as did María in Beba; or to slowly increase one's household's social and economic position, but always within the rubric of being a family of *labradores*, as did Pepita in Mourisca. But there are also other life stories and possibilities that I did not include here: to work for a day wage throughout one's life, first in agricultural labour and then as a domestic worker, as did Pura—my key informant in Mourisca. Or, to work very hard on the land as a result of being a main heir and to count on being able to hire day labourers to assist with

the heaviest tasks and seasons, as did Bonifacia—my hostess in Beba. In rural Galicia, there are stories of women of modest backgrounds, stories of wealthy women, stories of submissive women and stories of women who were dominant.

Notes

1 It is important to note that, like other township capitals in this part of Galicia, Viana do Bolo's population increased over the course of this century as the families of relatively large landowners moved into the administrative capital from their individual seats of power in the various parishes. Despite this general pattern of changing their place of residence, it is clear from the archival data and oral history that—through various means—these rich families continued to dominate the poor and medium peasants in the manner that I describe below.

2 There is an interesting comparison to be made with what Sharon Roseman has told me with respect to the township of Zas where she also found that similar comments were made about men; however, unlike the case of Mourisca where people spoke about particular men in their own families, in Zas the statements took the form of a description of "men" in general.

3 At the beginning of the 20th century, the taxation system was organized so that each province owed a particular amount of tax to the central government in Madrid; and, in turn, each township and municipality would have to pay a certain amount of tax (*contribución rústica*) to the provincial government to which they pertained. The total amount owed was divided locally among all of the landowning families (both wealthy and poor) living in the township or urban municipality. Theoretically, the amount owed by each individual was supposed to be based on both the quantity and quality of land that he or she owned. However, as is described by Carmiña in the body of the article, at least in the case of my data from Viana do Bolo the local responsibility for assessing and collecting taxes was one means by which officials could reward and punish inhabitants of a township.

4 Normally, peasant households mortgaged some land in order to make it possible for the father or for one or more of the brothers to emigrate. These were loans with very high interest rates attached to them with the result that—with the paucity of the cash wages available in this area during the first half of the 20th century—very few families of medium peasants could save enough cash to return the total amount owed. In order to return the money on time and to not lose the mortgaged land, peasants often had to borrow the rest of the debt from another rich person. If the first lender came to know that the peasant had done that, he or she would certainly not allow the second lender to come into possession of the land. He or she would instead take the land for himself or herself. The rich were always in competition with each other, in both economic terms and also in the arena of local politics. In their accounts, peasant agriculturalists state that the rich were able to continue to dominate the poor in this part of Europe until the 1960s because of the peasants' "poverty," illiteracy and naïvete.

5 Carmelo Lisón Tolosana (1983 [1979]: 346-347; also see 336) explains the shift from a stem family and *mejora* inheritance system to neolocality and relatively equal inheritance in southeastern Ourense.

6 Note that Pepita's having married at 37 years of age was not unusual for this time period. During the first four decades of this century, the average age at which both men and women married was 31 from 1900 to 1910 and 38.5 from 1910 to 1929. During the 1930s, the average age of marriage for individual of both genders was 34. The late average age of marriage is connected to the general practice of post-mortem inheritance and also the related tendency for minor heirs to often not receive their inheritance portions until after several years after both of the parents had died.

7 And what happened to the descendants of men such as Pepita's father? As Pepita mentions in her account, it was her brother who was the main heir to the their natal household. As for the household into which Pepita married, it has been transformed completely but only over the past few years. After Pepita died and her son retired, he and his wife gave up the business that he had inherited and tore down the old house as well as the stables and small tavern that were attached to it. They have built a new house and like the houses of the returned migrants whom I mentioned in my initial description of Mourisca, this new house is large; is very dissimilar to the style of the peasant house that it replaces; and is not designed to accommodate agricultural activities.

8 The economic differences between different households was not emphasized by inhabitants of Beba because all of the inhabitants of this parish referred to themselves as belonging families of "*labradores*" (landed peasant agriculturalists). In contrast, the term "*labrador*" is rarely used in the parish of Mourisca, both with respect to the past and the present. It is possible that, one term could be used to refer to all of the families living in Beba because, since the 1970s, migrant remittances have made it possible for a large number of families to attain the position of owning substantial amounts of land. When people referred to the period prior to the 1970s, they rarely alluded to class domination or to the fact that day labour was the most common means of making living for poor families in the past. However, I recognize that another reason why my informants may have been hesitant to emphasize their experiences of day labour was that I was living with one of the families who used to employ their less wealthy neighbours.

9 These men had to stay away from Spain for at least 10 years in order to avoid being arrested and charged with desertion by the military authorities.

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Once Upon a Time . . . : Comments on the Myth of Female Dominance

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Abstract: The author shows how the articles in this special issue are representative of the new trends in women/gender studies. Reviewing the general orientations in that field for the last 25 years, she points out that more recent studies abandon broad generalizations on dominance attributed to human nature and emphasize more localized analyses of the distribution and use of power.

Résumé: L'auteure montre comment les articles de ce numéro spécial font partie de la nouvelle orientation dans l'étude de femmes/rapports sociaux de sexe. Passant en revue les grandes orientations qui ont marqué ce champ dans les 25 dernières années, elle signale que les études plus récentes abandonnent les généralisations catégoriques sur la dominance attribuées à la nature humaine pour favoriser des études plus localisées et plus spécifiques sur l'exercice et la distribution du pouvoir.

A French version of this article follows (p. 161).

It requires a considerable stretch of the imagination to remember that 25 years ago, the anthropology of gender was barely emergent as a legitimate domain of inquiry. The ethnographic record included very little information about the activities and experience of the female half of humanity, and the elaboration of an analytic apparatus to justify and guide the study of women or gender was a somewhat subversive exercise with respect to some of the well-entrenched assumptions and beliefs then shaping our discipline. Since then, of course, the landscape has changed. Ethnographic attention to gender has become more *de rigueur* than *osé*, and by now, an overwhelming quantity of data on women and gender have been generated, and considerably more sophisticated analytic tools have been developed to treat it.

My own research interests have shifted elsewhere since those heady days of the 1970s when we were trying to invent a new field of inquiry. I nonetheless find it interesting to glance from time to time at the state of the field in its current mature state, as the papers in this collection allow. In an effort to make a virtue of necessity, I propose to cast a backward look, framing my comments with reference to some of those old debates of a generation ago, as these seem salient to the work presented here.

Several ideas that were considered more or less self-evident within anthropology as it was generally taught by the 1960s made the study of women and gender relations either uninteresting or outside the purview of ethnographic investigation and analysis. One of these was the notion that relationships between men and women are determined to a significant degree by considerations that are not amenable to social scientific—or at least anthropological—analysis. Rather, they were considered to be primarily determined by "imponderables" in Evans-Pritchard's (1965: 42) subsequently notorious, throw-away term. These were understood to include individual personalities and psyches, the powerful force of sexual

relationships, the very specific circumstances of individual lives and so on. In other words, gendered relationships were thought to be determined less by social arrangements or cultural beliefs than by other kinds of factors, and therefore were considered to be among those phenomena that cannot be adequately explained or understood through social or cultural analysis (1965: 56).

Another precept that braked the development of gender studies was the notion that male dominance is among the few universals of human society. That is, in all places and times, men have controlled most of the important areas of life that are susceptible to human control. As a universal, this feature could best be understood as a function of human nature or human society (singular), although it was generally treated as a basic fact, hardly meriting more than passing reference in introductory lectures or textbooks (e.g., Evans-Pritchard, 1965: 54; Fox, 1969: 31-32; Richards, 1972: 70). Whatever cross-cultural variation might exist in gendered patterns of dominance was not generally considered especially significant or interesting, nor did the basic universal fact of male dominance seem to require much explanation or illumination.

The emergence of gender or women's studies as a legitimate domain of anthropological scholarship required the elaboration of alternative conceptualizations. First, drawing heavily on the reasoning developed in the context of the Women's Liberations movements of the time, we rejected the idea that women's status and gender relationships are simply inscribed in "human nature," arguing instead that they are significantly determined by particular social or cultural arrangements. By the same token, although it was obvious that relationships between men and women, like practically anything else, are at some level unique to each individual and shaped by a complex welter of particular circumstances and sensibilities, we discovered (often in the context of the women's movement) that in this domain as many others, people's experience, expectations, judgments of themselves and others are apt to fall into discoverable patterns, explainable to some significant degree with reference to social arrangements and cultural beliefs. Understood as neither simply "natural" nor entirely individual, issues relating to the status of women and gender relationships could not only be the stuff of a social movement, but also comprised a domain having social and cultural dimensions consequential enough for anthropological investigation to be both worthwhile and feasible.

From this premise, it followed that we could expect to find considerable cross-cultural variation in gender systems and patterns of gender relations. The study of women's status or gender relations in particular societies could be expected to illuminate important social dynamics or cultural characteristics of those societies, while cross-cultural comparison of gender was likely to help sharpen our understanding of the social and cultural dimensions of this domain in human society (singular) as well as in particular societies.

The question of whether or not male dominance is a human universal was for a while a hotly debated one, at the centre of much of the anthropological literature on women and gender as we struggled between redefining or rejecting that formerly uninteresting old saw we had all been taught (cf. Quinn, 1977; Rapp, 1979; Rogers, 1978). Much of this debate involved the elaboration or reconsideration of the truisms conventionally serving as evidence of universal male dominance: a pan-human pattern of female confinement to domestic or private spheres, and of male monopolization of positions of power or prestige in public spheres. Some scholars accepted this description of a hierarchical division of the human condition, but sought to problematize it, searching for explanations in the human biological, psychic or cognitive apparatus (e.g., Ortner, 1972; Rosaldo, 1974). Others questioned whether such a dichotomy was in fact empirically well-founded or, even if it were, what cross-cultural generalizations it permitted about gendered distributions of power. Was the (scanty) ethnographic data on women sufficient to conclude that they have everywhere and in all times done little more than run—or be run by—families and households? Is the domestic sphere necessarily so clearly distinguishable from or marginal to consequential or definitive spheres of activity in all societies? How reliable is the evidence that men universally monopolize formal positions of authority, and what other forms of power might be significant in given settings? Might claims about the greater prestige of male activities simply be a reflection in some cases of the biases of anthropologists or their male informants? What, in any case, are the relationships among prestige, power and dominance?

Europeanist research contributed substantially to the latter line of argument. Working almost exclusively in rural settings organized around a domestic mode of agricultural production and largely isolated from important centres of formal political power, a number of Europeanist anthropologists argued forcefully that in such settings, the domestic sphere constituted a key locus of economic and symbolic power (e.g., Friedl, 1967). Further, access to formal political power was apt to be severely limited for the men as well as women in such settings, so that various forms of informal—often do-

mestic based—power were generally more consequential (e.g., Riegelhaupt, 1967). In this kind of setting, it was argued, the domestic sphere was by no means marginal, close association of women with household activity was not necessarily a symptom of powerlessness, and analysis of gendered distribution of power could reasonably focus on domestic loci (cf. Chinas, 1973; Wolf, 1972). In this line of argument (in which I would include my own work on the topic [Rogers, 1975, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1985]), adequate understanding of the gendered distribution of power required careful consideration of the loci and forms of power relevant to a given setting; a priori assumptions about the centrality of the domestic sphere were considered no more legitimate than a priori assumptions about its marginality.

Another line of argument, sometimes accompanying that sketched above and sometimes challenging it, served to render compatible the claim that male dominance is a widely shared characteristic of contemporary societies and the assertion that it is not a timeless or inevitable product of human nature. In this work, apparent cross-cultural similarities were explained with reference to the impact of such historical processes as colonization, state formation, industrialization, urbanization, capitalization or globalization (e.g., Boserup, 1970; Hafkin and Bay, 1976; Mintz, 1971; Nash and Safa, 1980; Rapp, 1975). Following this line of argument, understanding women's status in a given time and place required careful analysis of processes of change, and promised new insights into the dynamics of such processes.

Never resolved, the debate about the universality of male dominance was eventually abandoned on the flabby shoals of the concept of "dominance," increasingly apparent as the ethnographic record filled out. As suggested by most of the papers in this collection, there are myriad ways to define and measure power. Further, it seems quite clear that in human relations, there is no such thing as an absolutely powerless individual or category of persons, just as there is no such thing as an absolutely powerful individual or category. If what we mean by dominance is absolute power, then it is easy enough to demonstrate that a given person or category is not truly dominant or dominated after all. In the end, such demonstrations easily degenerate to facile parries against a straw man, of little interest or use. If, on the other hand, we are not so concerned with claims about absolute power or powerlessness, but rather with the various kinds of power relationships that exist among and within particular categories of persons—as is the case with the authors here—then rather more complicated and engaging questions may be posed.

The disappearance of interest in arguments about the universality of male dominance, however, seems to have been accompanied by a move away from questions about power distribution as the central issue in the anthropological study of gender. This is undoubtedly consistent with more general shifts in analytical fashions within the discipline over the past decade, including the waning of a vision of human social relations in which power maximization is necessarily a central dynamic. In light of that impression, the concern in all of the papers in this collection with the kinds and amounts of power wielded by women is particularly striking. Although the treatments of this issue here are generally more sophisticated than those found in the earlier "male dominance" literature, there are some clear parallels.

As Roseman and Kelley suggest in their introduction, the ethnography of Galicia and northern Portugal played an important role at least through the 1980s in the development of anthropological thinking about the gendered division of power. Partly because this region is one where women seemed to have access to more power than elsewhere (notably in comparison to Mediterranean societies), it drew considerable attention from anthropologists interested in this domain, yielding a body of literature that stretched our imaginations and provided considerable insights about the dynamics of gender and of power distribution. Fresh work on a topic that has been particularly associated with this region then, is certainly welcome and perhaps not so surprising. Whereas much of the earlier work was concerned to show how and why women had more power in this setting than simple-minded claims of male dominance might suggest, however, the authors here are concerned to respond to claims—no less simple-minded, I would argue—about the "absolute power" wielded by women in the region (Brøgger and Gilmore, 1997). The reintroduction of the straw man of absolute domination/subordination models of gender relations—albeit in curiously transposed form—carries the risk of leading back to ultimately banal demonstrations of the limits on any kind of power. The authors here offer instead nuanced analyses of the ambiguities and contradictions inherent in the various kinds of power to which women in the region have access. It is interesting to note that while the earlier literature generally aimed to undermine the notion of absolute male dominance by considering the forms of power available to putatively subordinated women, most of the articles here aim to challenge the notion of absolute female dominance by considering the constraints experienced by the putatively dominant gender.

A more novel strategy is consideration of the long-standing popular stereotype in Spain, referred to in several of the articles here and treated in more detail elsewhere by Kelley (1994), of Galician women as unusually powerful and their menfolk as especially weak. The question of why scholars and others make (and challenge) such claims strikes me as a fruitful one, partly because it offers a stimulating corrective to the somewhat flat-footed empiricism characterizing our scholarship of a generation ago.

The focus of most of these papers on women's lives begs questions about the relationship between older "women's studies," and more current "gender studies." It seems to me useful to distinguish the study of gender as a principal of social organization or order from the study of one or another social category defined in terms of gender (e.g., women), just as the study of social class stratification is not quite identical to the study of the working class. Our field of inquiry began as "women's studies," because, we argued, our understanding of more general issues relating to gender was necessarily limited until we knew as much about women as about men. The more recent shift in nomenclature to "gender studies" would seem to mark the end of that old absence of women from the ethnographic record, and the resultant possibility of thinking in more sophisticated ways about gender, as well as a perhaps less salutary loss of interest in the study of specifically women's experience. In this collection as elsewhere there has been a curious conceptual slide such that "gender" seems most frequently to be used as a synonym for "women." Gender studies often turns out to be primarily concerned with the study of women; despite the new name, it would appear that interest in the study of women has not, after all, been displaced, but that the study of gender remains illusive. As the papers in this collection demonstrate, it certainly remains valuable to learn about the changing experience of women in the various northern Iberian settings considered here, the kinds of constraints they perceive, and some of the ways they negotiate these. If their male counterparts remain in the shadows, appearing primarily as the fathers, husbands, sons and brothers of the women of primary interest, there is no doubt that the insights we gain into the texture of women's lives is useful indeed. The study of women's experience of power and powerlessness, however, is not quite the same enterprise as the study of how gender works as a principle of social classification and order. The latter, it seems to me, would require comparable illumination of men's perceptions of themselves and others, the constraints they experience as men and their ways of managing these. My point is not that gender necessarily *should* finally displace women as a focus of study, but that it remains useful to distinguish between the two.

The focus on family relationships, household economies and agriculture evident in this collection of papers, also seems to be a characteristic shared with earlier work in women's studies. Part of the argument we elaborated a generation ago has, it would seem, become self-evident: the domestic sphere is not necessarily marginal or uninteresting with respect to social relations of power, and may in fact be a key locus for understanding women's lives and the gendered division of power. Equally important, however, are the ideas that the significance of the domestic may be variable across cultural or social settings, and that in some settings women may not be engaged primarily in domestic matters. That is, it cannot be taken for granted that either women's lives or patterns of gendered power distribution can necessarily be adequately or best captured through a domestic lens. The papers in this collection offer insight into the ways that women's experience within their families and households has been shaped by such significant processes of change in Galicia and Northern Portugal as the decline of subsistence agriculture, the increasing importance of cash and extra-domestic labour, new forms of migration, urbanization. But precisely because such processes are shown here to impinge upon family relationships and on the significance of the household as a social and economic unit, it is important to situate the domestic sphere with respect to other loci in terms of its relative importance to the experience of women and other actors in these settings, and perhaps to attend to interactions and experience in other arenas of significance.

Finally, a number of the papers in this collection draw on life history material, offering an effective corrective to overly formulaic or categorical claims about the sources of women's power and contours of their experience. The stories they tell of individual lives remind us that the normative rules governing social relationships—including those shaping women's status and power—are themselves ambiguous, subject to multiple interpretations and manipulations in practice. They also remind us that real life is a great deal more complicated than simple recital of such rules might suggest. The actual experience of the women we meet here does not fit neatly into clear patterns explainable by simple reference to inheritance patterns, the division of labour, or other variables that have conventionally been used to explain the gendered division of power in this region. Consistent with current styles of analysis emphasizing the multiplicity of human experience, the lesson is a valuable one. It is also

reminiscent of the passage from Lowie's *Primitive Society*, quoted (with the exception of the final sentence) in Evans-Pritchard's comments on the imponderables shaping gender relations:

> The conditions involved in the relations of men and women are many-sided and it is dangerous to overweight one particular phase of them. Least of all should excessive significance be attached to theory. Theory may and does affect practice, but often only in moderate degree . . . [I]t is important to ascertain what customary or written law and philosophic theory have to say on feminine rights and obligations. But it is more important to know whether social practice conforms to theory or leaves it halting in the rear, as it so frequently does. The exaggerated weight often ascribed to abstract propositions and legal enactments is part of that perverse rationalism which has so often befuddled the understanding of students of human institutions and human psychology. (Lowie, 1961 [1920]: 188-189)

And indeed, pushed to its logical limits, this line of argument leads us back to Evans-Pritchard's "imponderables": if gender relations or women's experience are ultimately determined by the infinite details defining the specificities of each individual's life, then these domains are not, after all, amenable to social or cultural analysis and we as anthropologists have little legitimate claim to address them. The challenge remains to capture the complexities of women's power and experience, without returning to a conception rendering the tools of our trade irrelevant for understanding them.

Particularly because the papers in this collection return to an issue of central importance to the anthropology of women as it emerged a generation ago, they offer impressive testimony to the dramatic development of this domain in the interim. This development is marked in part by changing ideas about which premises can be taken for granted and which require explication or challenge. As the field continues to move in new directions or profitably revisit old ones, its underlying premises will no doubt continue to be reshuffled. A backward look from time to time may help to sharpen and refine the questions asked in the present. This look back leads me to suggest that it may now be useful to carefully reconsider the close associations that have come to be habitually drawn by scholars in this field between gender, women and family. Without a doubt, some kinds of questions (e.g., about women's experience of power) can best be addressed by focussing on one or another gender group, but other kinds of questions (e.g., about gendered patterns of power distribution) require analysis across gender lines. Similarly, it is certain that the domestic sphere is everywhere a consequential and potentially interesting locus for expressions and experience of power within and between gender groups. At the same time, in the contemporary world, it is arguably less likely than ever that either women's experience or gender relationships are necessarily fully—or even principally—contained in that domain. Finally, a word of caution may be in order about travelling too far down the road toward those imponderables that would dissolve the field in quandaries beyond our competence or interest as anthropologists. And to be wary of straw men along the way.

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Il était une fois . . . : commentaires sur le mythe de la dominance des femmes

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Traduction de Anne-Catherine Kennedy et Jean Lapointe

Résumé: L'auteure montre comment les articles de ce numéro spécial font partie de la nouvelle orientation dans l'étude de femmes/rapports sociaux de sexe. Passant en revue les grandes orientations qui ont marqué ce champ dans les 25 dernières années, elle signale que les études plus récentes abandonnent les généralisations catégoriques sur la dominance attribuées à la nature humaine pour favoriser des études plus localisées et plus spécifiques sur l'exercice et la distribution du pouvoir.

Abstract: The author shows how the articles in this special issue are representative of the new trends in women/gender studies. Reviewing the general orientations in that field for the last 25 years, she points out that more recent studies abandon broad generalizations on dominance attributed to human nature and emphasize more localized analyses of the distribution and use of power.

Il faut un certain effort pour se souvenir qu'il y a 25 ans l'anthropologie des sexes – de leur vécu social – émergeait à peine comme domaine légitime d'enquête. Il existait peu d'information ethnographique sur les activités et les expériences vécues des femmes, qui constituent la moitié de l'humanité. De plus, l'élaboration d'une méthode analytique justifiant et dirigeant l'étude des femmes – et du vécu social des sexes – était une entreprise qui minait les suppositions et les croyances qui étaient à la base de la discipline de l'anthropologie à cette époque. Depuis, ce domaine a connu de grands changements de statut. L'intérêt ethnographique pour l'étude des femmes est devenue plus normal qu'audacieux et de nos jours des outils analytiques considérablement plus perfectionnés ont été développés pour traiter ce sujet.

Mes champs de recherche ont changé depuis cette époque transformatrice des années soixante-dix, alors que nous étions occupées à la construction d'un nouveau domaine d'enquête. Quoiqu'il en soit, je trouve toujours intéressant d'examiner de temps en temps l'état de ce domaine maintenant bien établi, comme nous permet de le faire cet ensemble de travaux réunis dans un numéro spécial de la revue *Anthropologica*. Faisant de nécessité une vertu, j'ai construit mes commentaires en me référant à certains de ces vieux débats d'il y a une génération, dans la mesure où ils me paraissent pertinents au travail présenté dans ce numéro.

Plusieurs idées considérées comme évidentes selon les normes de l'anthropologie enseignée jusque dans les années soixante ont fait de l'étude des femmes et des relations entre les sexes soit un sujet sans intérêt soit un sujet extérieur aux limites de l'analyse et de la recherche ethnographique. Une de ces idées est la notion que les relations entre les hommes et les femmes sont déterminées en grande partie par des facteurs qui ne sont pas sujets aux règles de l'analyse sociale scientifique ou du moins aux règles d'analyse en anthropologie. Ces relations étaient considérées déterminées, dans le langage

d'Evans-Pritchard, par des «impondérables» (1965: 42) et étaient censées inclure les personnalités individuelles et les psychés, les relations sexuelles, les circonstances de vies individuelles et ainsi de suite. À cette époque il était entendu que les relations entre les sexes étaient moins une question d'arrangements sociaux ou de croyances culturelles qu'un phénomène lié à d'autres facteurs et elles étaient donc considérées comme faisant partie de ce genre de phénomène qui ne s'explique que très mal par l'analyse sociale ou culturelle.

Un autre précepte qui ralentissait le développement de l'étude des relations entre les sexes est la notion de la dominance masculine comme un des rares traits universels de la société humaine: c'est-à-dire que partout et toujours les hommes ont contrôlé les domaines d'activité susceptibles de l'être. Dans la mesure où elle était considérée universelle, cette caractéristique était perçue comme résultant de la nature humaine ou de la société (au singulier) humaine, ne méritant pas plus qu'une référence passagère dans les cours et dans les livres d'introduction à l'anthropologie (e.g. Evans-Pritchard, 1965: 54; Fox, 1969: 31-32; Richards 1972: 70). Les variations culturelles dans les modèles de domination n'étaient pas considérées importantes et le simple fait de la dominance masculine ne requérait que peu d'explication ou d'éclaircissement.

L'émergence de l'étude du vécu social des sexes ou des femmes comme domaine légitime d'étude anthropologique a nécessité l'élaboration de concepts nouveaux. Premièrement, en nous fiant au raisonnement développé dans le contexte des mouvements de libération de la femme à l'époque, nous avons rejeté l'idée que le statut de la femme et les relations du vécu social des sexes soient inscrits dans la «nature humaine», soutenant au contraire qu'ils sont déterminés en grande partie par des arrangements sociaux ou culturels particuliers. Il est évident que les relations entre hommes et femmes, comme toute chose, sont à un certain niveau uniques à chaque individu et formées par des circonstances et des situations complexes et particulières. Par contre, nous avons découvert (souvent dans le contexte du mouvement féministe) que dans ce domaine, comme dans plusieurs autres, les expériences, les attentes et les jugements que les gens ont d'eux-mêmes et des autres sont susceptibles de présenter des régularités qui s'expliquent en grande partie en référence aux arrangements sociaux et aux croyances culturelles. Compris comme n'étant ni simplement «naturelles», ni entièrement individuelles, les questions reliées au statut de la femme et des relations entre les sexes peuvent non seulement servir de matériel à un mouvement social mais peuvent aussi former un domaine comportant des dimensions sociales et culturelles assez importantes pour en faire un sujet de recherche possible et rentable pour notre discipline.

À partir du moment où cela est accepté, nous pouvons nous attendre à découvrir des variations interculturelles considérables dans les systèmes de relation sociale et les modèles de comportement entre les sexes. L'étude du statut de la femme ou des relations qu'évoquent l'appartenance à une catégorie sexuelle, dans des sociétés particulières, pourraient éclairer d'importantes dynamiques sociales. L'étude du statut de la femme ou des relations entre les expériences sociales vécues des sexes dans des sociétés particulières pourraient éclairer d'importantes dynamiques sociales ou des caractéristiques culturelles, tandis que les comparaisons interculturelles du vécu social des sexes ont le potentiel d'accroître notre compréhension des dimensions sociales et culturelles dans ce domaine de la société humaine et des sociétés particulières.

La question de la validité de la dominance masculine comme attribut universel de l'humanité devint un énorme débat au centre de la littérature anthropologique sur les femmes et le vécu social des sexes pendant cette période où nous tentions de redéfinir ou rejeter l'ancien bobard qui nous avait été enseigné (Quinn, 1977; Rapp, 1979; Rogers, 1978). Ce débat se concentrait largement sur l'élaboration ou le réexamen des dites «vérités» qui servaient à prouver l'universalité de la dominance masculine: un modèle pan-humain d'isolement des femmes à des tâches domestiques et aux domaines privés ainsi que la monopolisation des positions de pouvoir ou de prestige dans les domaines publiques par les hommes. Certains chercheurs acceptaient cette description de la division hiérarchique de la condition humaine mais tentaient de la problématiser, cherchant des explications dans la biologie de l'être humain, dans sa capacité psychique et cognitive (e.g. Ortner, 1972; Rosaldo, 1974). D'autres se demandaient si cette dichotomie était fondée empiriquement ou, même si elle l'était, quelles généralisations interculturelles elle permettait quant à la distribution sexospécifique du pouvoir. Était-il possible que le peu d'information recueillies sur les femmes puisse être suffisantes pour conclure que les femmes ont en tout temps et en tout lieu dirigé ou été dirigées par les familles et le domaine privé? La sphère domestique peut-elle être toujours si facilement distinguée ou si manifestement séparée des sphères d'activité importantes dans toutes les sociétés? Quelle évidence avons-nous que les hommes monopolisent de manière universelle les positions d'autorité conventionnelle? Quelles

autres formes de pouvoir pourraient-elles être importantes dans des contextes donnés? L'idée que les activités masculines commandent plus de prestige reflète-elle dans certains cas les préjugés des anthropologues ou de leurs personnes-resources mâles? Quels sont les liens entre le prestige, le pouvoir et la dominance?

Les recherches européanistes ont contribué de façon substantielle au développement de cette nouvelle problématique. En travaillant presque exclusivement dans des régions rurales organisées autour d'un mode domestique de production agricole et largement isolées des centres importants de pouvoir politique conventionnel, certains de ces anthropologues européanistes ont établi que, dans ces situations, la sphère domestique était un lieu important de pouvoir économique et symbolique (e.g. Friedl, 1967). De plus, l'accès au pouvoir politique conventionnel était très limité pour les hommes autant que pour les femmes dans ces contextes. En conséquence, dans ces sociétés le pouvoir non-conventionnel, souvent à base domestique, devint le pouvoir le plus important (e.g., Riegelhaupt, 1967). Dans ces genres de contexte on contestait la marginalité de la sphère domestique et on ne considérait pas l'association des femmes aux activités domestiques comme étant nécessairement un symptôme de manque de pouvoir. On maintenait que l'analyse de la division du pouvoir entre les sexes pourrait se concentrer sur la sphère domestique (Chinas, 1973; Wolf, 1972). Dans ce genre d'argument (dans lequel j'inclurai mon propre travail sur ce sujet: Rogers, 1975, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1985), une compréhension adéquate de la distribution du pouvoir entre les sexes requiert une considération attentive des lieux et des formes de pouvoir pertinents dans un certain contexte ou dans une société donnée. Des jugements *a priori* concernant l'importance de la sphère domestique n'étaient pas considérés plus légitimes que les jugements *a priori* concernant sa marginalité.

Un autre genre d'argument qui parfois accompagne et parfois conteste l'argument mentionné ci-haut servait à associer l'assertion que la domination masculine est une caractéristique partagée par la majorité des sociétés contemporaines et l'assertion qu'elle n'est ni un produit intemporel, ni un produit inévitable de la nature humaine. Dans ce contexte, d'apparentes similitudes interculturelles étaient expliquées en recourant à l'impact des processus historiques tels que la colonisation, la formation de l'état, l'industrialisation, l'urbanisation, le capitalisme ou la mondialisation (e.g., Boserup, 1970; Hafkin et Bay, 1976; Mintz, 1971; Nash et Safa, 1980; Rapp, 1975). Suivant cette logique, comprendre le statut des femmes dans un temps et lieu spécifique requérait une analyse attentive des processus de changement et promettait de nouvelles visions de la dynamique de ce genre de processus.

Le débat sur l'universalité de la dominance masculine, n'étant jamais résolu, fut éventuellement abandonné face à l'ambiguïté du concept de la «dominance». Comme ce numéro le démontre, il existe une myriade de façons différentes de définir et de mesurer le pouvoir. De plus, il me semble clair que dans les relations humaines, un individu complètement impuissant n'existe pas, pas plus qu'un individu ou une catégorie d'individus, doués de pouvoir absolu. Si par *dominance* nous voulons dire *pouvoir absolu* il devient facile de démontrer qu'une certaine personne ou catégorie de personnes ne peut être en réalité absolument dominante ou dominée. Ces démonstrations peuvent facilement dégénérer en combats faciles contre des épouvantails, sans intérêt ni utilité. Si d'un autre côté, nous ne sommes pas surtout préoccupés par les assertions concernant la puissance ou l'impuissance absolue mais par les genres de relations de pouvoir qui existent entre les catégories particulières de personnes – comme c'est le cas avec les auteures ici – alors des questions plus complexes et plus pertinentes peuvent être posées.

La disparition de l'intérêt concernant l'universalité de la dominance masculine semble, par contre, être accompagnée d'un abandon partiel des questions de distribution de pouvoir comme sujet central dans l'étude anthropologique du vécu social des sexes. Ceci est sans doute compatible avec les changements dans le type d'analyse dans la discipline depuis la dernière décennie, incluant le déclin d'une vision des relations sociales humaines dans lesquelles la maximalisation du pouvoir est nécessairement une dynamique centrale. À la lumière de cette impression, il est frappant de constater comment tous les travaux de ce numéro se préoccupent du type et de l'ampleur du pouvoir détenu par les femmes. Quoique les façons de traiter ces problèmes ici sont généralement plus perfectionnées que celles qui se trouvent dans la littérature antérieure de «domination masculine», il existe des parallèles clairs entre ces deux approches.

Comme Roseman et Kelley le suggèrent dans leur introduction, l'ethnographie de la Galice et du Portugal du Nord ont joué un rôle important au moins tout au long des années quatre-vingt dans le développement de la pensée anthropologique concernant la division du pouvoir selon les sexes. En partie parce que, dans cette région, les femmes semblent avoir accès à plus de pouvoir qu'ailleurs (notamment en comparaison avec les sociétés Méditerranéennes), les anthropologues s'y sont

beaucoup intéressé. Ils ont produit une documentation qui enrichit nos visions et jette une lumière nouvelle sur les dynamiques du vécu social des sexes et la distribution du pouvoir. Ainsi, il n'est pas surprenant que de nouvelles perspectives soient apparues à la suite de recherches dans cette région. Les travaux antérieurs cherchaient à comprendre comment et pourquoi les femmes avaient plus de pouvoir que ce que les convictions naïves de domination masculine pouvaient laisser prévoir. Dans ce numéro, les auteures s'adressent aux assertions naïves concernant le «pouvoir absolu» exercé par les femmes dans cette même région (Brøgger et Gilmore, 1997). La réintroduction du modèle domination/subordination des relations entre les sexes court le risque de nous ramener aux démonstrations banales sur les limites de tout pouvoir. Les auteurs évitent ce piège et nous offrent plutôt des analyses nuancées des ambiguïtés et des contradictions propres aux types de pouvoir auxquels les femmes de la région ont accès. Il est intéressant de noter que tandis que la littérature antérieure visait généralement à attaquer la notion de domination masculine absolue en considérant les formes de pouvoir auxquelles les femmes subordonnées avaient accès, la plupart des articles ici visent à contester la notion de dominance absolue des femmes en considérant les contraintes quotidiennement vécues par ces dernières.

Une nouvelle stratégie considère les stéréotypes populaires en Espagne, mentionnés dans plusieurs des articles ici présentés et traités en plus de détails ailleurs par Kelley (1994). Ces stéréotypes maintiennent que les femmes Galiciennes sont inhabituellement puissantes et leurs hommes exceptionnellement faibles. L'exploration des raisons pour lesquelles les chercheurs et d'autres font (et contestent) ce genre d'assertion me paraît importante, en partie parce qu'elle offre un changement à l'empirisme gauche qui caractérisait nos recherches d'il y a une génération.

Le point de mire de ces travaux concernant les vies des femmes nous oblige à questionner la relation entre «l'étude des femmes» du passé et l'étude plus actuelle sur le vécu social des sexes. Il me semble utile de distinguer l'étude des sexes comme principe d'organisation ou d'ordre social de l'étude de l'une ou l'autre catégorie sociale définie en termes de sexes (e.g., les femmes), de la même façon que l'étude de la stratification sociale n'est pas tout à fait identique à l'étude de la classe ouvrière. Notre domaine de recherche a commencé comme «l'étude de la femme» parce que notre compréhension des questions plus globales reliées aux sexes était nécessairement limitée puisque nous n'en savions pas autant sur les femmes que sur les hommes. Le changement récent de nomenclature qui passe de l'étude des femmes à l'étude du vécu social des sexes – ce que dans le monde anglophone on dénomme «gender studies» semble marquer la fin de cette vieille absence des femmes de la littérature ethnographique. Ce changement qui permet de penser de manière plus approfondie les relations entre les sexes peut aussi bien représenter, de manière peut-être moins salutaire, une perte d'intérêt pour l'étude d'expériences spécifiquement féminines.

Dans ce numéro comme ailleurs, par contre, il y a un changement curieux de conceptualisation faisant souvent des termes «relation entre les sexes/vécu social des sexes» des synonymes de «femmes». L'étude des sexes finit par être concernée en premier lieu avec l'étude des femmes. Malgré les nouvelles appellations, il semble que l'intérêt pour l'étude des femmes n'a finalement pas été déplacé, de telle sorte que les nouveaux termes peuvent être illusoires. Comme les travaux de ce numéro le démontrent, il reste certainement important de se documenter sur l'expérience changeante des femmes dans leurs contextes nord Ibériens variés exposés ici, ainsi que sur les sortes de contraintes qu'elles perçoivent et les façons dont elles les négocient. Si leurs homologues mâles restent cachés, ou apparaissent surtout en tant que pères, maris, fils, et frères par rapport au sujet, il est certain que la compréhension acquise dans l'hétérogénéité des trajectoires de vie est utile. L'étude de l'expérience de puissance et d'impuissance chez les femmes, cependant, n'est pas tout à fait la même entreprise que l'étude de l'effet de la position des sexes comme principe de classification et d'ordre social. Cette dernière perspective, me semble-t-il exige un éclaircissement comparable de la perception que les hommes ont d'eux-même et des autres, des contraintes auxquelles ils font face comme hommes et de leurs façons de les gérer. Je ne maintiens pas que l'étude des sexes et de leur vécu social devrait remplacer les femmes comme sujet principal, mais je maintiens qu'il demeure utile de faire la distinction.

L'intérêt pour les relations familiales, les économies domestiques et la production agricole, évident dans ce numéro, semble aussi être une caractéristique partagée avec d'anciens travaux sur l'étude de la femme. Une partie de l'argument élaboré il y a une génération semble être devenu évident en soi: la sphère domestique n'est pas nécessairement marginale ni sans intérêt quant aux relations sociales de pouvoir et peut en fait être importante pour comprendre les vies des femmes et la division du pouvoir selon les sexes. Également importantes, par contre, sont les idées que la place de la sphère domestique peut varier selon les contextes culturels ou sociaux

et que dans certains cas les femmes peuvent ne pas être principalement engagées dans des tâches domestiques. Il ne peut être pris pour acquis que les vies des femmes ou les modèles de distribution de pouvoir selon les sexes sont nécessairement bien expliqués par le vécu domestique. Les travaux de ce numéro offrent une nouvelle compréhension des façons dont l'expérience des femmes dans leur famille et leur maison a été façonnée par des processus significatifs de changement en Galice et au Portugal du Nord tels le déclin de l'agriculture de subsistance, l'importance croissante attribuée à l'argent et au travail extra-domestique, les nouvelles formes de migration et l'urbanisation. Mais justement à cause de l'influence de ces processus sur les relations familiales et sur la place du foyer en tant qu'entité sociale et économique, il est important de situer la sphère domestique en fonction des autres lieux quant à son importance pour l'expérience des femmes et des autres acteurs dans ces situations, de même aussi sans doute que de se pencher sur leurs interactions et leur expérience dans d'autres secteurs importants d'activité.

Finalement, un certain nombre de travaux dans ce numéro exploitent des récits de vie, offrant une alternative efficace aux propos trop stéréotypés ou catégoriques sur les sources de pouvoir chez les femmes et l'étendue de leur expérience. Les histoires de vies nous rappellent que les règles normatives qui gouvernent les relations sociales – incluant celles qui forment le statut et le pouvoir des femmes – sont elles-mêmes ambiguës, sujettes à maintes interprétations et manipulations. Elles nous rappellent aussi que la vie réelle est beaucoup plus complexe qu'une simple liste de règles ne peut le suggérer. L'expérience des femmes que nous rencontrons ici ne se conforme pas de manière nette aux modèles qui expliquent la division du pouvoir selon les sexes dans cette région en référence aux règles d'héritage, de division de travail, ou à d'autres variables qui sont conventionnellement utilisées. En accord avec les styles courants d'analyse se concentrant sur la multiplicité de l'expérience humaine, ces analyses apportent de précieuses corrections à des visions trop catégoriques. Elles nous rappellent aussi le passage de Lowie dans son livre *Primitive Society*, cité (avec l'exception de la phrase finale) dans les commentaires d'Evans-Pritchard sur les impondérables formant les relations entre les sexes :

> Les relations entre hommes et femmes sont multiples et il est dangereux d'en souligner uniquement un aspect. C'est à la théorie qu'il faut attacher le moins d'importance. La théorie influence la pratique, mais souvent modérément . . . [I]l est important de connaître le droit coutumier et la philosophie théorique statuent sur les obligations et les droits féminins, mais il l'est encore bien plus de se rendre compte si la pratique se conforme à la théorie ou la dépasse, ainsi qu'il arrive parfois. Le rôle exagéré qui est fréquemment assigné aux propositions abstraites et aux décrets légaux relève de ce rationalisme pervers qui a si souvent obscurci la compréhension des institutions des hommes et de leur psychologie. (Lowie, 1969 [1920] : 182)

Lorsque poussé à ses limites logiques, ce genre d'argument nous ramène aux «impondérables» d'Evans-Pritchard. Si les relations entre les sexes ou l'expérience des femmes sont déterminées par les détails infinis qui expliquent la spécificité de la vie individuelle de chacun, alors ces domaines ne gagnent pas finalement à être soumis à l'analyse sociale ou culturelle. Et alors nous, comme anthropologues, sommes peu justifiés de nous attaquer à ces questions. Le défi demeure de bien saisir les complexités du pouvoir et de l'expérience des femmes, sans revenir à une conception qui fait de nos outils d'analyse, des instruments inadéquats pour leur compréhension.

Parce qu'ils nous ramènent à un problème d'importance centrale pour l'anthropologie des femmes au moment de son émergence à la génération précédente, ils offrent des témoignages impressionnants sur le développement dramatique de ce domaine depuis cette époque. Ce développement est marqué en partie par des changements dans la détermination des prémisses qui peuvent être prises pour acquises et de celles qui requièrent des explications ou des contestations. Puisque le domaine continue d'avancer dans de nouvelles directions ou de revenir dans d'anciennes directions, ces prémisses continueront sans doute d'être remaniées. Un examen périodique des expériences antérieures peut raffiner les questions que nous nous posons aujourd'hui. Cette perspective que nous acquérons, en nous tournant vers le passé, me pousse à suggérer qu'il peut être maintenant utile de reconsidérer attentivement les associations entre sexes, femme et famille, habituellement décrites par les chercheurs dans ce domaine. Certaines questions (e.g., concernant l'expérience que les femmes ont du pouvoir) peuvent sans aucun doute être adressées en se concentrant sur l'un ou l'autre groupe des sexes, mais d'autres types de questions (e.g., celles concernant les modèles de distribution de pouvoir selon les sexes) requièrent une analyse inter-sexospécifique. De même, il est certain que la sphère domestique est partout un élément important douée de potentiel intéressant pour les expressions et les expériences de pouvoir dans et entre les groupes engendrés par les catégories de sexe.

En même temps, dans le monde contemporain, il est moins probable que jamais que l'expérience des femmes ou les relations entre les sexes soient nécessairement complètement ou même principalement contenues dans ce domaine. Finalement nous devons éviter de nous avancer trop vers ces impondérables qui risquent de dissoudre le domaine dans des dilemmes au-delà de notre compétence ou de notre intérêt d'anthropologues. Il faut se méfier des épouvantails le long de la route.

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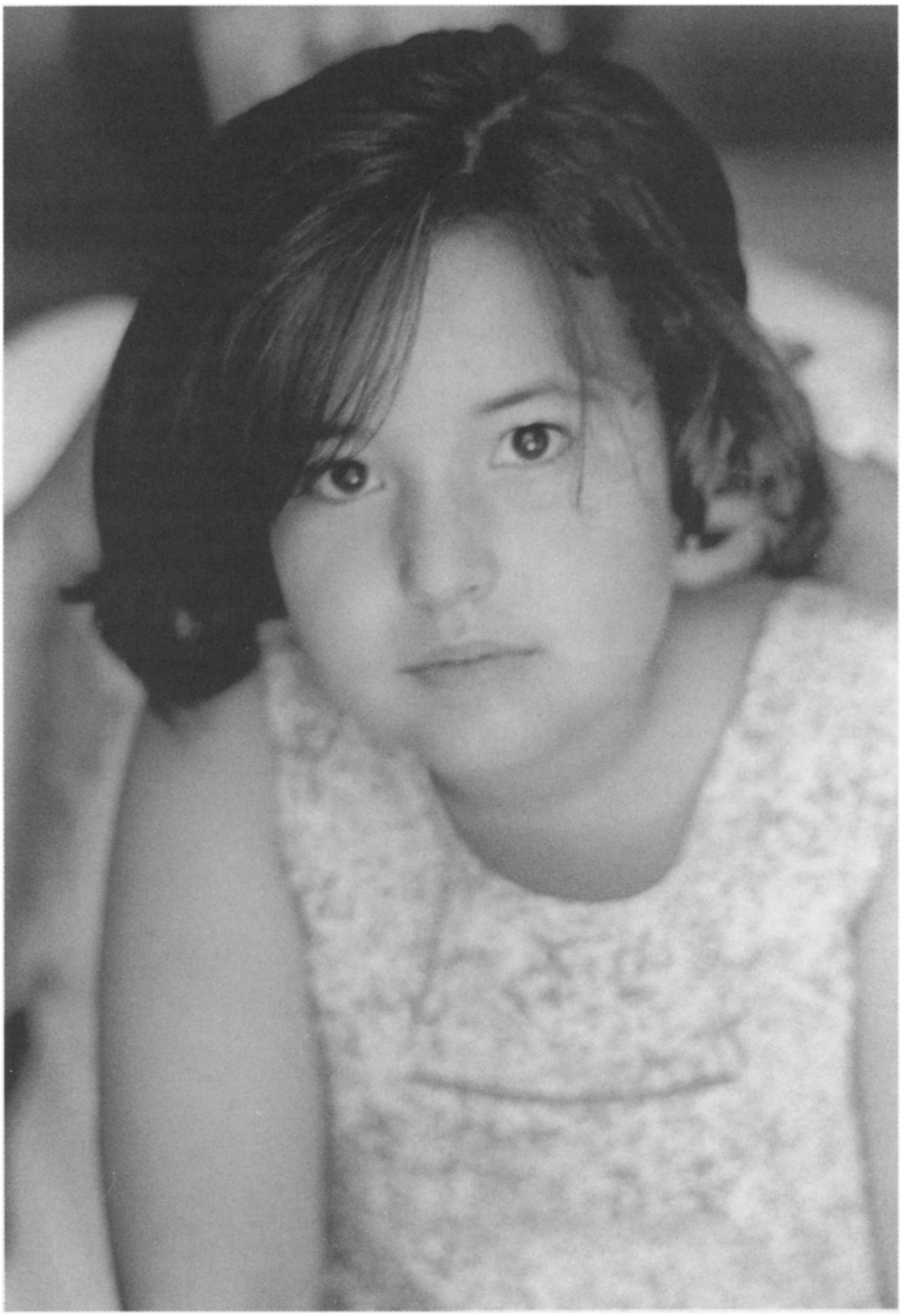
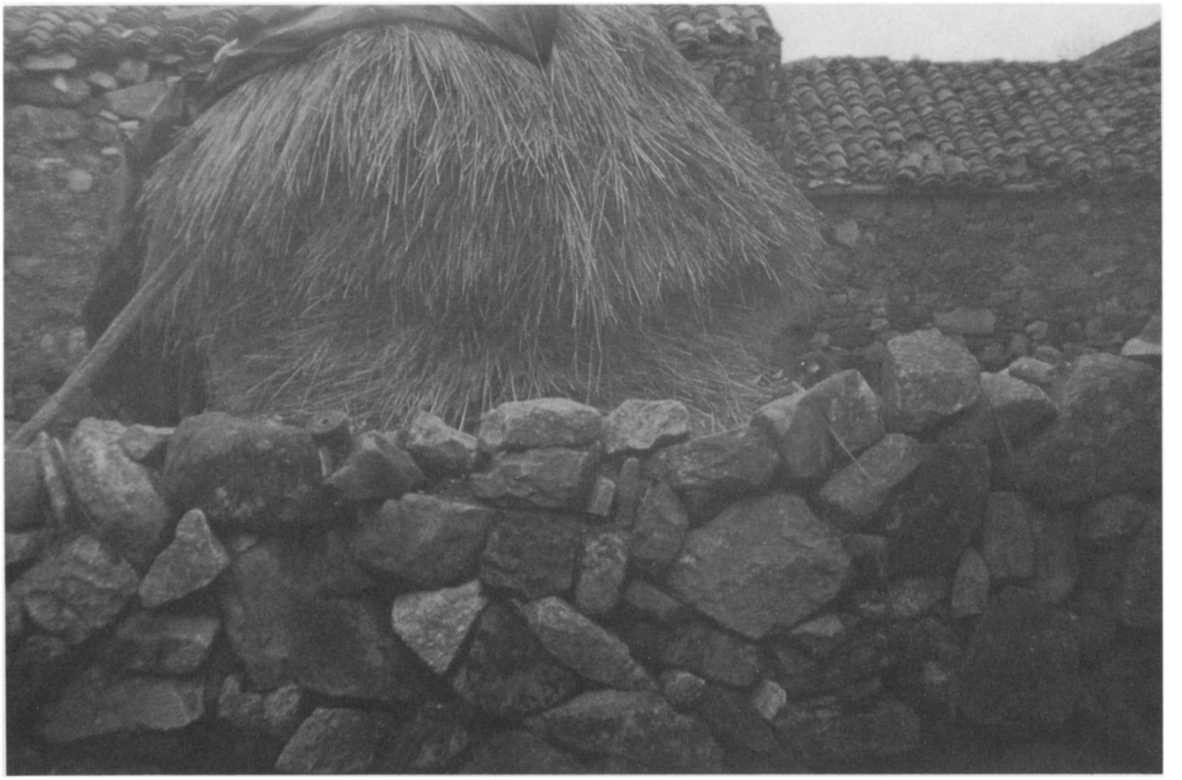
Photo Essay / Série de photos

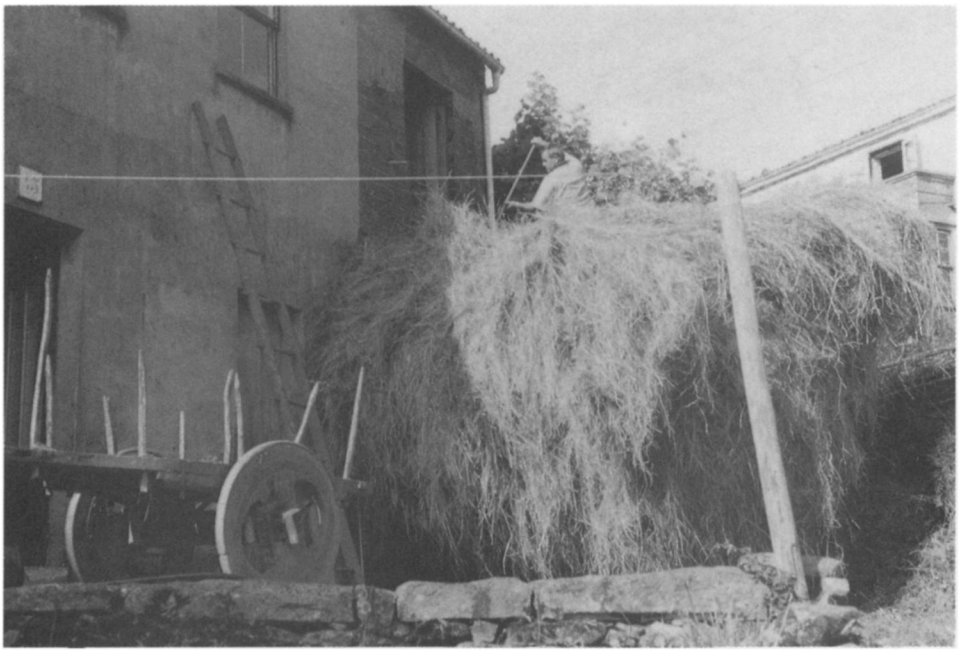


Young Galician Girl, by Ken Betsalel
Jeune Galicienne, par Ken Betsalel

Doing Laundry, by Ken Betsalel
Le lavage, par Ken Betsalel



Haystack in the parish of Beba (township of Mazaricos), by Susana de la Gala, an indication of the importance of storing food for the livestock.
Meule de foin dans la paroisse de Beba (municipalité de Mazaricos), par Susana de la Gala, indique l'importance d'avoir des réserves de nourriture pour le bétail.



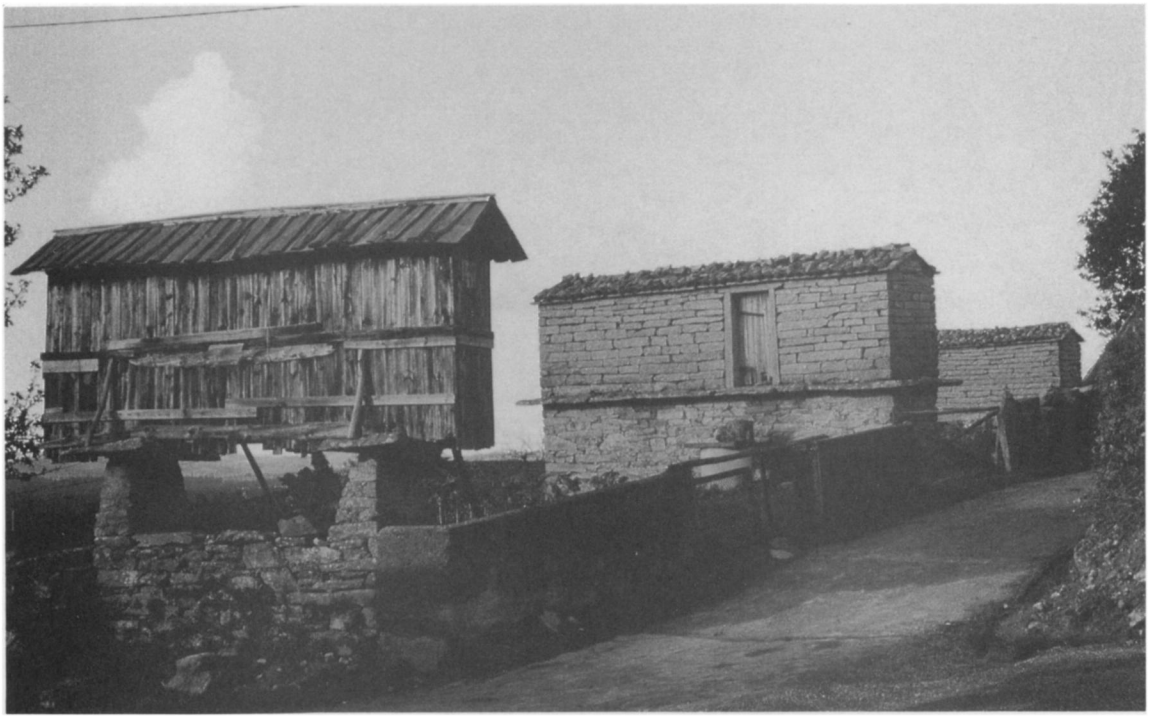
Storing hay for the winter months, by Sharon R. Roseman
Mettant du foin en réserve pour les mois d'hiver, par Sharon R. Roseman

Husband and wife reaping hay as part of a neighbourhood work party, by Sharon R. Roseman.
Époux faisant la moisson du foin comme membres d'une corvée de voisins, par Sharon R. Roseman.

A young teenage boy relaxes in front of his neighbour's yard, by Wayne Fife.
Un jeune garçon se repose en face de la cour du voisin, par Wayne Fife.

Showing the anthropologist how to make a straw hat, by Wayne Fife.
Montrant à l'anthropologue comment faire un chapeau de paille, par Wayne Fife.

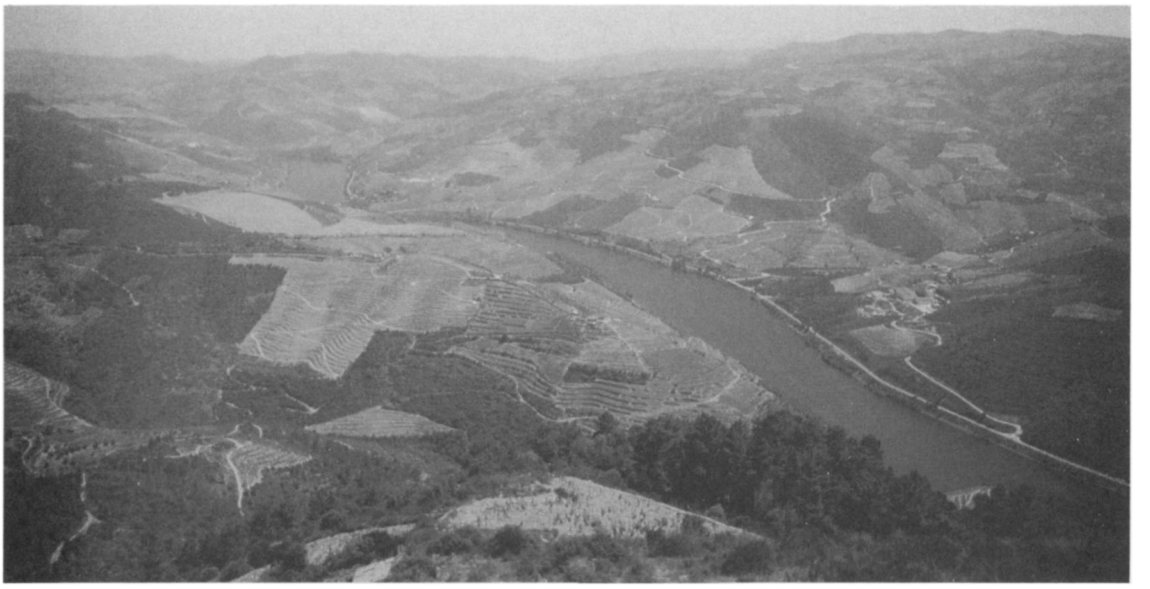
Neighbours, by Sharon R. Roseman
Voisins, par Sharon R. Roseman



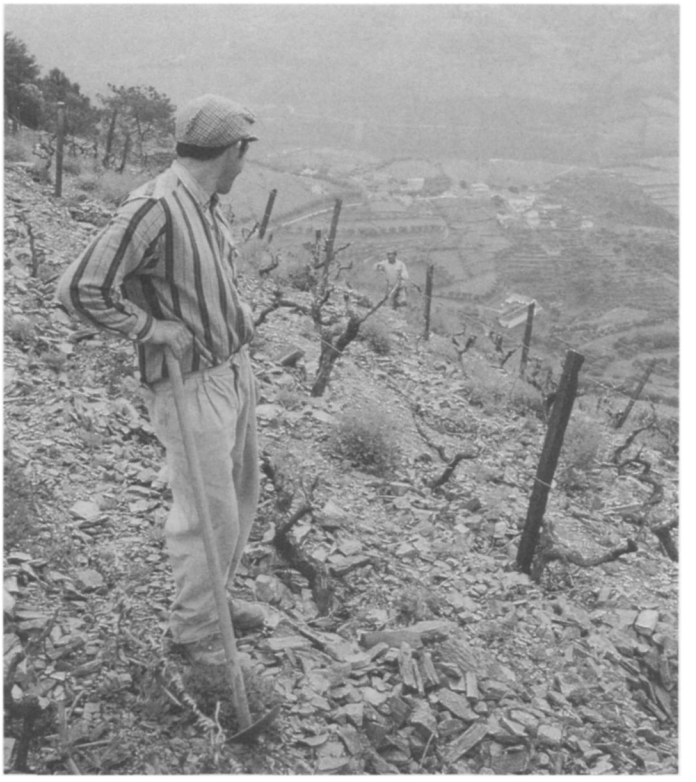
Hórreos (or cabazos) in autumn: granaries ready for food storage, by Wayne Fife
Hórreos (ou cabazos) à l'automne : greniers prêts pour les réserves, par Wayne Fife

Grandmother and granddaughter. In the background, a newly renovated house paid for by migrant remittances earned in Switzerland, by Sharon R. Roseman.
Grand-mère et petite-fille. À l'arrière-plan, une maison dont la rénovation récente a été payée par des contributions gagnées en Suisse, par Sharon R. Roseman.

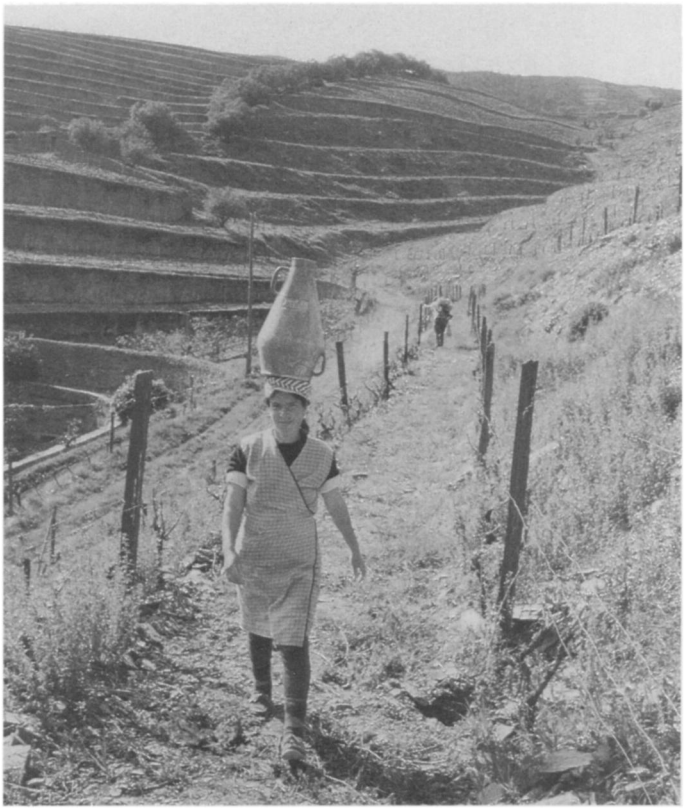
Malpica in 1989: an image of the Galician small boat fishery, by Sharon R. Roseman
Malpica en 1989 : une vue des petits bateaux de pêche de Galice, par Sharon R. Roseman



The Alto Douro, defined by the Douro River, which cuts a winding path between steep slopes, primarily composed of schist, by Shawn Parkhurst.
Le haut Douro, défini par la rivière Douro qui découpe un trajet sinueux entre des rives escarpées, surtout composées de schiste, par Shawn Parkhurst.



Hoeing around the roots of vineplants in the fall. Note the large chunks of schist on the ground, which increase the physical demands of the work. Many vineyards—both new and old—have been dynamited out of solid masses of the rock, by Shawn Parkhurst.
Sarclage autour des plants de vigne à l'automne. Remarquez sur le sol les grandes plaques de schiste qui rendent le travail plus difficile. Plusieurs vignobles – des nouveaux et des anciens – ont été plantés sur des terrains préparés à la dynamite, par Shawn Parkhurst.



In the spring a woman carries herbicide to be poured into blowing machines operated by men, by Shawn Parkhurst.
Au printemps, une femme transporte des herbicides qui seront versées dans des souffleuses maniées par des hommes, par Shawn Parkhurst.

Midsummer. Above Socalcos, fixing vineshoots to support wires, by Shawn Parkhurst.
Milieu de l'été. Au-dessus de Solcatos, attachant des pousses de vignes à des supports de broche, par Shawn Parkhurst.

The tavern at the end of a work day, by Shawn Parkhurst
À la taverne à la fin de la journée, par Shawn Parkhurst

Women picking grapes and watching children during the harvest, by Shawn Parkhurst
Femmes cueillant des raisins et surveillant les enfants durant la récolte, par Shawn Parkhurst

Carrying grapes. The basket rests on a truss, held in place by a band strapped across the head, by Shawn Parkhurst.
Transportant les raisins. Le panier est soutenu par un support attaché par un bandeau autour de la tête, par Shawn Parkhurst.

Carrying firewood home, by Shawn Parkhurst
Apportant le bois à la maison, par Shawn Parkhurst

Long-Range Forecasts of Society and Culture: Four Quantitative Methods from Cultural Anthropology[1]

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Abstract: Cultural Anthropology occupies a position of strategic importance for those wishing to forecast the future. Hundreds of long-range trends in culture are known to exist going back thousands of years. These trends, along with some theoretical models fitted to past societies, seem intuitively to be extrapolatable into the future. Worldwide archaeological chronologies are increasingly available to facilitate construction of time series. Four long-range quantitative forecast methods are developed for extrapolation of: (1) universals of culture; (2) atheoretical long-range time series models; (3) directional long-range trends; and (4) theoretical models. Examples are given.

Résumé: L'anthropologie culturelle occupe une position stratégique pour ceux et celles qui veulent prédire l'avenir. On reconnaît que des centaines de tendances de longue portée remontent à des milliers d'années. Ces tendances, associées à des modèles théoriques pertinents pour les sociétés antérieures, paraissent pouvoir être intuitivement extrapolées dans le futur. Des chronologies archéologiques à l'étendue du globe sont de plus en plus accessibles et permettent la construction de séquences temporelles. Quatre méthodes quantitatives pour les prédictions à long terme sont développées dans cette perspective : 1) les universels des cultures; 2) des modèles non-théoriques de séries chronologiques étendues; 3) des tendances à long terme orientées dans une direction donnée; 4) des modèles théoriques. On présente des exemples.

Introduction and Preamble

Cultural Anthropology occupies a position of strategic importance for those wishing to forecast the future. Hundreds of long-range trends in culture are known to exist going back thousands of years. These trends, along with some theoretical models fitted to past societies, seem intuitively to be extrapolatable into the future. Worldwide archaeological chronologies are increasingly available to facilitate construction of long-range time series. Four quantitative methods are developed for making long-range anthropological forecasts of culture and society. The four methods are extrapolation of: (1) universals of culture; (2) atheoretical long-range time series models generated by the ongoing, underlying process of social/cultural differentiation; (3) directional long-range trends; and (4) causal models. While there may be more ways to forecast than these, the four forecast methods are widely applicable.

This paper is intended to be "reader" friendly to all readers whether they use quantitative methods or not. Throughout the paper, ideas are developed in plain English understandable to all. Where, at times, it is possible to distill results into mathematical form such mathematics are set off in rectangles or shunted to footnotes. Readers who so wish may skip over these rectangles or footnotes without loss of continuity.

Before we start, we need to consider several matters which set the stage for the forecast methods, and the forecasts themselves, which follow. A "long-range" forecast is defined here to be a forecast to a point in time 10 years or more ahead. Such a definition is admittedly arbitrary. Long-range forecast methods may also at times be used to make short-range forecasts. Our forecasts will be for times up to 2050 AD inclusive. Reasons for this will be stated below.

Forecasts are defined here to be unconditional predictions of what will happen in the future. Extrapolations are defined to be conditional predictions of what will hap-

pen in the future, provided certain assumptions are made. In the case of some extrapolations, for example the United Nations (1998) population extrapolations to 2150 AD, the extrapolator leaves unanswered the question of which of several different extrapolations will actually occur. This will not be the case here. In the present paper we will make extrapolations contingent on only a few premises which seem justifiable to the writer. These premises are:

A. The theory and data used to make the forecasts are valid.
B. Up to 2050 AD there will be:
   1. no major disasters eliminating a large proportion of the world population, i.e., no devastating epidemics, no collision with large extraterrestrial objects, no devastating nuclear war;
   2. no major genetic changes to our species, no major elongation of the human life span beyond the fourscore years of the United Nations (1998) long-range population projections.

There will be considerable concensus in Cultural Anthropology for the theory and data to be used here. Hence, assumption A seems as justifiable for Cultural Anthropology as for other disciplines where forecasts are made. Assumptions B, 1 and 2 are also reasonable. The writer is unwilling, at the moment, to make extrapolations beyond 2050 AD. The rapid rate at which discoveries in biotechnology are being made creates uncertainties which are difficult to fathom.

Finally, the perspective of this paper is that no serious forecast from Cultural Anthropology ought to be made unless demands of rigour are made on it. Any theory and data used ought to be replicable. Narrative, verbal ideas ought to be put into quantitative form. Probabilities ought to be replicable among forecasters and hence objective from the point of view of mathematical probability theory (Mood, Graybill and Boes, 1974; Roberts, 1979), if not from that of Kuhn (1962).

Extrapolation of Universals of Culture

The construct "universal of culture" is defined here to be a single object of culture which, to the best of our knowledge, has always existed everywhere in the modern, post-35 000 BC form of our species. In practice, such universal objects of culture are either sets of complex, multivariable behavioural relations or single traits of culture. There are many theoretical models of multivariable behavioural relations which are posited by their formulators to be universals. For example, psychodynamic functioning of the mind, many cognitive models of thinking, many features of language are all considered to be universals although some cross-cultural psychologists (Berry, Poortinga, Segal and Dasen, 1992) might disagree. In a circumstance where there is significant concensus that a set of complex, multivariable behavioural relations, i.e., a theory, is applicable everywhere, then it is reasonable to extrapolate the theory into the foreseeable future. All the universalizing conceptualization in Cultural Anthropology for which there is widespread consensus as to how society works may be extrapolated into the future. Such extrapolation gives us a firm foundation on which to build.

While there may be dissensus about the validity of many middle-range theories hypothesized to be universals, we are on safer ground with single traits of culture. Many universal culture traits (Brown, 1991; Brown and Witkowski, 1980; Lonner, 1980) are known to exist, the best-known of which are the universal traits of culture of Murdock (1945) and the universal needs and analytic categories of Malinowski (1944, 1988). Murdock's (1945) universals are the ubiquitous presence of some 50 culture traits such as age grading, athletic sports, bodily adornment, fire, study of weather, marriage and family. Examples of Malinowski's (1944, 1988; Piddington, 1957) universals are the presence of culture traits meeting basic zoological needs for food, shelter, mobility, safety, health, rest, sex. That all societies meet these basic needs makes cultural responses to them universal even though how people meet these basic needs may vary from one society to another. Malinowski (1944, 1988) also posits universal analytic categories of culture such as group, bases of group formation, renewal of resources (economics), organization of power and authority (politics) and organization of training (education) which are universals in the sense that they are found everywhere even though their form may vary from one society to another. While Malinowski (1944, 1988) thought of economics, politics and education as derived needs emergent from responses to basic needs, today they are thought of as analytic categories. Since they exist everywhere they are universals.

For methods as to how to detect cultural universals see Brown (1991). In plain words, if something is universal up to 2050 AD, it will exist everywhere up to 2050 AD, which is a forecast.

FORECASTS EXTRAPOLATING A UNIVERSAL. By definition, if an event E is a universal, then it is a certainty at time t, so the probability that event E will occur at time t is 1, i.e., $P(E_t) = 1$, present time $< t \leq 2050$ AD.□

From a probability point of view this is a point forecast with zero variance and a 100% confidence interval of zero. Probabilities for single trait universals of Probability Model 1 are replicable and hence objective from the point of view of probability theory (Mood et al., 1974; Roberts, 1979). They are obtained primarily from ethnographies. Tests of complex, multivariable narrative theories asserted by their formulators (Brown, 1991) to be universals are generally replicable.

So much for making forecasts by extrapolating universals of culture and society. The second of the four forecast methods developed in this paper is extrapolation of long-range time series models.

Extrapolation of an Atheoretical Model of a Univariate Time Series Generated by an Ongoing, Underlying Process

A "time series" may be defined as a set of observations indexed by time (Chatfield, 1996: 1). We will arbitrarily define a "long-range" time series of some facet of culture to be a time series which goes back at least 250 years. For example, suppose we have reason to believe that the proportion of the world population living in class-based societies at 7000 BC, 6000 BC,..., 2000 AD is 0.40, 0.52, 0.64, 0.73, 0.83, 0.87, 0.87, 0.92, 0.95, 1.00 (Denton, 1993). This is a time series since each observation is indexed by time. It is a long-range time series since it goes back 9000 years.

We must always clearly have in mind the distinction between a time series of observations, i.e., a data set, versus a model of a time series of observations. A time series of observations may be continuous over time (e.g., a record of air temperature throughout a day) or at discrete points in time (e.g., the social class time series of the preceding paragraph where observations are at 1 000-year intervals). The intervals of time between observations in a time series need not necessarily be equal, but if they are not equal this information must be factored into calculations.

One of the first things to do with a time series of observations is to plot a graph of it. Brockwell and Davis (1996) and Chatfield (1996) give examples of data sets of time series observations drawn from various disciplines and graphs of such time series of observations. A point process is a process where an event E reoccurs over time. For example, a count of war starts in nation states from 1720 to 1985 (Kaye, Grant and Emond, 1985; see also Singer and Small, 1972) is a point process. A binary process is a process where a random variable X (e.g., predominant family type) is in either of two states over time (e.g., independent family or extended family; see Ember and Ember, 1999). Cartesian $x-y$ co-ordinate graphs are customarily used to display how the amount of some univariate object y (shown on the vertical y-axis) varies over time (shown of the horizontal x-axis). Depending on the nature of the time series of observations graphed such $x-y$ co-ordinate graphs may show long-range trend, seasonal and other cycle, and other irregular components.

The graph of a time series of observations may appear to show long memory (where the value of an observation at a particular time t appears to be determined in part by much earlier observations) or short memory (where the value of an observation at time t appears to be determined only by recent predecessor observations). Space demands preclude reproducing the graphs of time series of observations commonly found in books of time series analysis. The reader wishing to see examples of such graphs (and their data sets) is referred to Chatfield (1996) and Brockwell and Davis (1996). Gottman (1981) is a nonmathematical treatment of time series analysis written for social scientists. There are more approaches to the study of process than time series analysis (e.g., Arminger, Clogg and Sobel, 1995; Gottman and Roy, 1990; Ross, 1997). Books of time series analysis usually assume that the reader has a command of calculus-based probability, mathematical statistics and linear algebra. Examples of such books are, in decreasing order of such demands, Brockwell and Davis (1991, 1996) and Chatfield (1996). In the writer's opinion there is nothing unique, from a modeling point of view, about social science time series of observations pertinent to this paper. Other books the reader may wish to examine for special purposes include Armstrong (1985) technology and Makridakis et al. (1998) for a general compendium of forecast methods written from a business perspective.

There are at least three different questions to answer in regard to time series forecasts: how to construct a time series of observations, how to model the time series of observations constructed and how to justify extrapolating the model into the future. We will consider each.

How to Construct a Time Series of Observations.

There are several matters to consider when deciding how to construct a time series of observations. First of all, the constructor of the time series of observations must make decisions about the constructs to observe over time, the unit of analysis, time depth, number of observations, unit of observation and population to which the time series is to apply. For example, Carneiro (1978)

identifies a crude but viable time series of the number of independent political units in the world from the upper paleolithic to present time. Dupuy (1984) presents a crude but viable time series of the greatest amount of weapon lethality in the world from the upper paleolithic to present time. Denton (1993; 1994; 1995a; 1995b; n.d.), using quantitative ethnographic analogy, devised an indirect method for constructing archaeologically unobservable time series from 8000 BC to the present. Such time series are for the proportion of individuals in the world living in societies where a categorical random variable $X = x$. Here, X might be any of many theoretical constructs (e.g., predominant family type) and x one particular variety of X (e.g., the independent family).

The crucial matter in regard to the number of observations is the accuracy of chronological dating which, at present, means the accuracy of ^{14}C dating. Denton (1993) constructed from archaeological ^{14}C dates the proportion of the world population living in band forager, horticultural and pre-industrial intensive agricultural societies from 7000 BC to 1000 AD. ^{14}C dates for these constructs are vital ingredients of his indirect method of constructing archaeologically unobservable time series. He felt that observations more closely spaced than at 1 000-year intervals would be unreasonable since such observations would be spurious duplicates of what at best might be a single possible observation in any 1 000-year interval of time. Depending on the subject matter, observations at 500-year intervals seem within reach today. Soon, some worldwide observations at 250-year intervals may be possible. If so, then for the era 7000 BC to present, 40 observations may soon be possible. In general, the greater the number of observations the more satisfying the statistical models which may be constructed of them.

The constructor of a time series of observations to be used for forecasting must determine the population which the time series of observations is to portray. We shall see that it is the process of increasing cultural complexity with which most changes in culture over the last 10 000 years are correlated. Changes in cultural complexity appear to have been triggered by changes in subsistence (Denton, 1996). Hence, if the purpose is to make a forecast up to 2050 AD, many time series of observations will be in regard to a population which is either the entire world or the most culturally complex portions of the world.

If a time series of observations for the worldwide mean $\overline{X}$ of some variable X is to be constructed then it may be necessary to work up from regions of the world. For example, suppose the constructor of a time series of observations wishes to portray the proportion of the world population living in societies where X (e.g., local community) is predominantly of variety x (e.g., sedentary). The easiest way to calculate such proportion is to define, say, 10 regions of the world, calculate the number of individuals coded $X = x$ in each region at time t, then sum the numbers of such individuals over all regions at time t and divide by the total world population at time t. Sherratt (1980) gives one of several possible partitions of the world into regions. Biraben (1980; see also Livi-Bacci, 1997) is the best long-range demographic history of the world currently available.

It is increasingly possible to construct long-range time series of observations. Excellent worldwide archaeological chronologies such as those of Ehrich (1992) and Taylor and Meighan (1978) are increasingly available. Such chronologies will facilitate direct construction of worldwide long-range time series from archaeological data even though these chronologies have seldom been used for this purpose. Over the past several decades Archaeology has taken significant steps in developing new methods for reconstructing prehistory (Fagan, 1997; Renfrew, 1996). In turn, archaeological reconstruction of prehistory has grown at an explosive rate (Fagan, 1998; Wenke, 1999). In principle, it is now possible directly to construct many long-range time series from archaeological data. Major secondary data bases of prehistory will soon appear (Ember and Peregrine, in press; HRAF, 1999). There are many subject matters where it ought now to be possible to reconstruct $P(X_t = x)$, the worldwide probability (proportion of individuals) at time t of living in a society where categorical random variable X (e.g., predominant dwelling type) is in state x (e.g., circular), directly from archaeological data at 1 000-year intervals, or smaller intervals, from 30 000 BC to present day. If such a direct time series is of a concept of Cultural Anthropology then cultural anthropologists are just as able as archaeologists to model such a time series, perhaps even to construct the time series, especially if ethnographic analogy (Ember and Ember, 1995) is used in the construction of the time series. Culture change conceptualized via concepts of Cultural Anthropology, whether unearthed by archaeologists or not, is valid subject matter for Cultural Anthropology.

We may distinguish between direct versus indirect construction of long-range time series. By merging theory and quantitative ethnographic data from Cultural Anthropology with archaeological chronologies it has become possible indirectly to construct long-range time series of many subject matters which are not directly archaeologically observable (Denton, 1993, n.d.). Such

indirect reconstructions by quantitative ethnographic analogy stand in contrast to direct reconstruction from archaeological data only. While the extent of subject matters which may be reconstructed by this indirect method are still in the process of being determined it appears that there are indeed many subject matters which may be so reconstructed (Denton, n.d, 1993, 1994, 1995a, 1995b). For methodological reasons (Denton, n.d.), such indirect time series are currently justifiable only back to the start of the Holocene, say back to 8000 or 9000 BC long-range time series, no matter how they are constructed nor who constructs them, are legitimate subject matter for Cultural Anthropology.

How to Make an Atheoretical Time Series Forecast

Making a time series forecast is easy. There are two steps: (1) construct a model of the time series of observations; (2) extrapolate the model to some future time. Of course, in order to justify extrapolating the model into the future we must be able to assume that there is an underlying process generating the time series of observations and that the process will continue into the future.

We will limit our consideration to time series which are atheoretical in the sense that we have no prior theory that we might bring to a time series of observations to explain the shape of its graph. For example, we will not consider time series such as population growth where we might have reason to believe that an exponential or logistic process determines the shape of the graph of time series observations. We will also limit our consideration to univariate time series.

Suppose we have constructed an atheoretical, univariate time series of observations. If we wish to make a forecast we must construct a model of the time series observations from the observations themselves. The forecast is made by extrapolating the model into the future. The first step is to graph the time series observations. Outlying (extreme) observations which are the result of measurement error ought to be cleaned. Sharp breaks in the time series at two or more points in time may indicate that different models may be needed for different segments of the time series. For example, eras before and after food producing may require different models. The graph of the time series may suggest the presence or absence of trend, cycle, etc.

Many time series analysts approach an atheoretical time series as if the graph of the time series of observations might consist at any particular time t of Trend $T(t)$ which is trend T at time t, Seasonality $S(t)$, Cycle(s) $C(t)$ plus irregular remainder $R(t)$. Hence, the model of any particular time series of observations $Y(t)$ at time t may be written as the sum of the components $Y(t) = T(t) + S(t) + C(t) + R(t)$. The trend component $T(t)$ of the time series is defined to be a slowly moving function of time t (Chatfield, 1996: 10). If there is a single Trend $T(t)$ which applies to the entire span of observations then this is known as a global trend. If Trend $T(t)$ is different over different segments of time then this is known as local trend. For long-range time series of the subject matter of Cultural Anthropology we will seldom be able to construct time series of observations of such precision as to show seasonality. As for cycle, the writer knows of no subject area in Cultural Anthropology where we might have reason to expect worldwide cycle $C(t)$ nor has the writer seen any such long-range time series where cycle is present (Carneiro, 1978; Denton, 1993; 1994; 1995a; 1995b; n.d.; Dupuy, 1984). Until we are able to construct better time series than the writer is able to construct at the moment, or until we find occasion where we need to model cycle, most long-range time series of the subject matter of Cultural Anthropology will show only trend $T(t)$ plus an irregular component $R(t)$.

How is a forecaster to decide which of several candidate models of a time series of observations to extrapolate? There are at least three strategies for constructing a forecast model. The first strategy is to use an heuristic forecast method simply because it seems to work. For example, exponential smoothing such as the Holt-Winters algorithm (Brockwell and Davis, 1996: 315; Chatfield, 1993; 1996: 68-71; Chatfield and Yar, 1988) appears to be a generally reliable, easy to understand, all-purpose method which is fully automatic in the sense that the forecaster does not need to impose judgment on how the model is constructed. The Holt-Winters algorithm is a variant of exponential smoothing and places more emphasis on recent observations than on those at more remote times.

Curve fitting is a second strategy for constructing a forecast model. Here, one scans the graph of a time series of observations and attempts to fit a curve which follows the graph of the time series of observations. For example, the modeler may find that a straight line or a parabolic, logistic or exponential curve fits the graph of a time series of observations, provided we allow for possible irregular deviation of the data set from the curve (Chatfield, 1996: 13; Daniel and Wood, 1980; Gilchrist, 1976; Harrison and Pierce, 1972). The problem with curve fitting is that several different curves may each fit a single time series of observations yet result in different forecasts (Chatfield, 1996: 68).

A third strategy for constructing a forecast model is to construct an atheoretical time series model from the

time series of observations. While time series models may incorporate mathematical theory they are atheoretical in the sense that no theory from Cultural Anthropology is used in their construction. Models for point and binary processes may be found in books of stochastic processes such as Ross (1997). Brockwell and Davis (1991: 14-25; 1996: 13-14, 22-34) review methods for constructing time series models. One method (Brockwell and Davis 1991: 14-25; 1996: 13-14, 22-24) which is easy to apply to a time series showing only trend is to remove trend from the time series in the hope ultimately of finding Remainders $R(t)$ which are stationary. In such a case a forecast is made by calculating trend to some future time t, then adding to it a forecast of the Remainder $(R)t$ with a prediction interval. Remainders $R(t) = (Y(t) - T(t))$ are stationary if there is constant mean and constant variance over time and strictly periodic variations have been removed (Chatfield, 1996: 10, 28-30). Trend may be removed in one or more of three ways: by fitting a least squares polynomial trend $T(t) = a_0 + a_1 + a_2t^2$ so $Y(t) = T(t) + R(t)$, or by a technique known as smoothing, or by a technique known as differencing (Brockwell and Davis, 1996: 13-22; 1991: 14-20). Data transformations may be used in the effort to attain stationary residuals. If, when trend is removed from a time series, the Remainders are stationary and serially independent then modelling is completed. If they are stationary and serially dependent then a more complicated stationary time series model of the Remainders must be sought (ibid.: 34).

Chatfield (1988) reviews criteria for deciding which one or ones from among several different forecast models to extrapolate. Intuitively, it seems that the criterion of forecast accuracy is most important but there are other criteria to consider such as cost, availability of software, time and repertoire of the forecaster. One may estimate the accuracy of a forecast model by using it at past points in time to make forecasts ahead to other past or present points in time in the time series. There have been several competitions which have assessed the abilities of competing forecast models retroactively to forecast elements of a single time series. The best known of these competitions is the M-competition (Makridakis et al., 1984) in which several different forecast models were applied to a variety of short-range economic time series. The results of the M-competition seem to favour heuristic methods such as the Holt-Winters algorithm (Chatfield, 1996: 315). The justification for favouring heuristic methods over formal time series models (e.g., Brockwell and Davis, 1991, 1996; Chatfield, 1996) is that data may deviate from the time series data set at times beyond those of the data set. In such a case, the mathematical properties of a model extracted from the past time series of observations may not hold at future times.

Which forecast method or methods ought to be applied to long-range time series data sets of interest to Cultural Anthropology? An heuristic method such as the Holt-Winters trend algorithm (Brockwell and Davis, 1996: 315; Chatfield, 1993; 1996, 68-71; Chatfield and Yar, 1988) seems a reasonable method to consider for atheoretical time series. However, we do not know whether this method will produce the same types of results for anthropological data sets as it has produced for business data sets (Chatfield, 1988, 1996: 79-84; Makridakis et al., 1984). When anthropological time series data sets of, say, 20 to 40 observations become available we may get answers to this question. With data sets of 20 to 40 observations it will be easier to estimate forecast accuracy. Extrapolation of a formal time series model (Brockwell and Davis, 1996, 1991; Chatfield, 1996) also seems reasonable in the case of a long-range anthropological time series to extrapolate. What makes this latter method appear reasonable is that there is an ongoing, underlying process generating such time series. Here also, when anthropological long-range time series data sets of 20 to 40 observations become available we will be better able to test the forecast accuracy of this method. That a single, ongoing, underlying process appears to be generating virtually all long-range time series of culture is also a justification for considering extrapolating a model constructed by curve fitting in a circumstance where only a single standard curve (Daniel and Wood, 1980) seems to fit the time series of observations.

Example

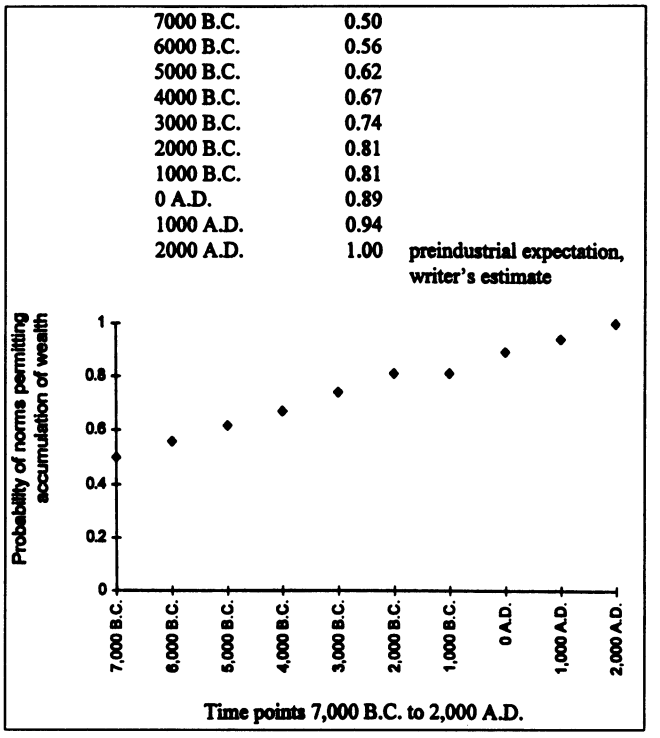
At the moment, there are few long-range worldwide time series in Cultural Anthropology going back thousands of years. There are some directly constructed from the observable archaeological record. For example, rudimentary time series of number of independent political units in the world (Carneiro, 1978) and weapon lethality (Dupuy, 1984) have been mentioned. Using a recently devised method Denton (1993, 1994, 1995a, 1995b, n.d.) indirectly constructs some 23 worldwide long-range time series of subject matters which are in large part not directly archaeologically observable. These time series are in subject areas such as social class, number of political jurisdictions per independent political unit, family, religion, war and literacy. Many more such time series will be constructed. In Archaeology, Wenke (1999) states several tentative time series while Scarre (1995), Sher-

ratt (1980) and others contain various figures and graphs which approximate long-range time series directly constructed from the archaeologically observable record by synthesizers of prehistory.

Figure 1 shows a previously unreported long-range time series 7000 BC to 2000 BC of the probability of living in a society where norms permit individuals to accumulate wealth.[2] It will be asserted below that the time series of observations of Figure 1 is directly or indirectly generated by an underlying process which will continue to 2050 AD. We shall see, below, that this is the process of social/cultural differentiation. That the structure of the past data set will, by assumption, continue into the future allows us to consider using forecast methods such as the Holt-Winters algorithm or time series analysis to model the data. We might even consider curve fitting if a simple curve adequately fits the data set. Any forecast model we construct is atheoretical in the sense that we have no narrative theory by which to model the form of the time series of Figure 1. We will construct an atheoretical time series model by using the formal time series methods of Brockwell and Davis (1991: 14-25; 1996: 13-14, 22-34) cited above. Application of the Holt-Winters algorithm (Brockwell and Davis, 1996: 315) to the data set of Figure 1 produces equivalent results. The graph of the time series of Figure 1 appears to show only trend which appears to be global trend. Using Brockwell and Davis (1991: 14-25; 1996: 13-14, 22-34) we might use any of three methods to eliminate trend. For reasons to be stated in a moment we will seek to eliminate trend by fitting a quadratic least squares $Y(t) = T(t) + e(t)$, Trend $T(t) = a_0 + a_1 t + a_2 t^2$ (Brockwell and Davis, 1996: 28), to the time series of observations of Figure 1. Here, the Remainder $R(t)$ is denoted $e(t)$ to emphasize the random error deviation $e(t)$ from the model $Y(t) = T(t)$ at time t. It turns out that a_2 of trend $T(t) = a_0 + a_1 t + a_2 t^2$ is equal to zero for the data set of Figure 1 in the sense that the residuals $e(t) = (Y(t) - a_0 - a_1 t)$ fit the assumptions of a model of residual errors $e(t)$ which are identically and independently distributed Normal with mean zero and a variance σ^2 shown in Figure 1. With 10 observations spaced at 1 000-year intervals in the time series of Figure 1 the residuals are independently distributed. For a time series at smaller intervals than 250 years over the 7000 BC to 2000 AD time span of Figure 1 the residuals might be serially dependent but would, the writer conjectures, be easily modeled by one of the time series methods of Brockwell and Davis (1996) for modeling serially dependent residuals.

A straight line fits the time series of Figure 1 in the sense that when we eliminate Trend $T(t)$ using the methods of Brockwell and Davis (1991; 1996) the assumptions placed on the remainder error term of the model $Y(t) = a_0 + a_1 + e(t), e(t) \sim iiN(0, \sigma^{2)}$ are (or at least appear to be, given only 10 data points) met by the time series observations. We make a forecast as follows. The time series of observations of Figure 1 has 10 time points which we denote as 1, 2,..., 10. Time point 2050 AD becomes 10.05. The Trend $T(t)$ at time point 10.05 is $a_0 + a_1(10.05)$ to which we the add residual $e(t) \sim iiN(0, \sigma^2)$. We calculate a_0, a_1 and σ^2 by methods of least squares (Mendenhall et al., 1986). The forecast for 2050 AD is shown in Figure 1 as a point estimate located in a prediction interval for the residual error $e(t)$. The probability—interpreted as proportion of individuals in the world—of living in a society at 2050 AD where individuals are permitted to accumulate wealth is 1 with a 90% prediction interval [0.79, 1].[3] Over the next few years it is likely that the indirect method used to reconstruct

Figure 1
Probability of Living in a Society Having Norms Permitting Individuals to Accumulate Wealth



Note: Rescaling the time points of the 10 observations to create 10 equally spaced time points 7000 BC to 2000AD, $t = 1, 2, \ldots, 10$, unit time jumps of 1 000 years, $Y(t) = 0.454 + 0.0545455t + e(t)$, $e(t) \sim ii(0, \sigma^{2)})\sigma^2 = 0.00026$, t = 1, 2,..., 10. At 2050 AD with unit spacing $t = 10.05$, $\hat{Y}$ (10.05) = 1.002 which, since probabilities cannot exceed 1, becomes 1. Calculating a prediction interval[3] (Mendenhall, Scheaffer, Wackerly, 1986).
$P(0.79 \leq Y[10.05] \leq 1) = 0.90$.

time series observations such that of Figure 1 will permit narrower confidence intervals (Denton, n.d.).

The forecast of Figure 1 may seem trivial but it is not trivial if we agree to make no predictions of the future unless they are quantified and rooted in replicable theory and data. If we wish to make a principled forecast to 2050 AD, or indeed to any future time, we must have a principled method for making the forecast. "Principled" in this context denotes a quantified, replicable method for making forecasts where only objective probabilities are used in forecast models. The method of extrapolating an atheoretical, long-range time series model, where the time series is generated by the underlying, ongoing process of social/cultural differentiation, is a principled method. Figure 1 may have policy implications. Individuals in the foreseeable future will be permitted to accumulate wealth even though governments may redistribute wealth.

The only reason that relatively few long-range time series forecasts have been made to date is that relatively few long-range time series of observations have been constructed to date. With the advances in archaeological chronology and reconstruction of prehistory cited above, this circumstance will change. Whether we attempt to construct time series of observations directly from archaeological data or indirectly by means of quantitative ethnographic analogy (Denton, 1993, n.d.) the range of subject matters we might consider forecasting is virtually unlimited. After extrapolation of universals, extrapolation of a model of a long-range time series is the surest forecast method available to those wishing to use the resources of Cultural Anthropology. Thousands of such long-range time series await construction.

How to Justify Extrapolation of an Atheoretical Time Series Model into the Future

There are at least three basic questions in regard to making a forecast by extrapolating a model of a long-range time series. We have considered the first two questions which are how to construct a time series of observations and how to model an "already constructed" time series of observations. The third question is this. Suppose we have a model of a time series of past and present observations. How are we to justify extrapolating the model into the future? Some time series analysts use the rule of thumb that a model of a time series may safely be extrapolated 1/10 the length of time of the time series into the future. We will only extrapolate our time series models 50 years into the future which, for a 9 000-year time series such as that of Figure 1, is 1/180 the length of time of the time series. Beyond using the practice of time series analysts to justify extrapolation of a time series model a short distance into the future, there is a conceptual justification which will now be stated.

There is reason to believe that all holocene (9000 BC to present) long-range time series which might be constructed of the worldwide mean of a univariate trait of culture are driven by an ongoing, underlying process which will continue into the foreseeable future. The only exceptions to this statement appear to be fluctuations in items of culture caused by fluctuations in temperature or other physical matters such as humidity and habitable land. Temperature and other physical properties of the holocene have varied considerably over some regions of the world but have been relatively uniform worldwide (Roberts, 1989; Stahl, 1996). It seems safe to ignore relatively small changes in temperature and other physical matters except in subject areas where conceptual knowledge demands that such small changes be considered. The crux of the matter is this. Since there is a single, underlying process which gives shape to the graph of a long-range univariate time series, and since the underlying process will continue into the foreseeable future, a model of the graph may be extrapolated a short distance into the future. This ongoing, underlying process is the process of social/cultural differentiation. It is true that many behavioural processes have been triggered by changes in social/cultural differentiation but it is the process of social/cultural differentiation which is the force driving the shape of long-range time series.

The process of social/cultural differentiation is the process whereby most societies have changed from homogeneous, independent parts in simple societies to differentiated, interdependent parts in complex societies. In a "simple" society such as the forager Ju, for example, most day-to-day activities occur in the context of kinship roles, age/gender roles and local community roles. Few specialized occupations exist beyond those of gender. In a complex society such as contemporary Canada there are more than 25 000 specialized occupations (Denton, 1998) with an attendant burst of knowledge in many subject areas, such as technology. While the process of social/cultural differentiation may be observed in individual societies (Denton, 1996; 1998) it is changes in worldwide long-range mean social-cultural complexity which will enable us to make forecasts.

It was Herbert Spencer (1900, formulated prior to 1859) who first stated the idea of differentiation of interdependent parts. Durkheim (1933) elaborated the construct. From 1956 to 1980 some six scales purporting to measure cultural complexity proved highly intercor-

related giving construct validity to the concept (Chick, 1997; Levinson and Malone, 1980, 31-37). Hundreds of correlates of cultural complexity are known to exist (Levinson and Malone, 1980: 28, 32, 37- 44, 296). It seems doubtful that such correlates are due to any modest, worldwide holocene (Roberts, 1989; Stahl, 1996) climate fluctuations although the correlates and the process generating them may or may not have been triggered by climate changes at the end of the pleistocene. Denton (1996) gives a culture-based explanation for the process of social/cultural differentiation.

The rationale for extrapolating a long-range model 50 years into the future may be developed via notions of nested functions. If a subject matter such as that of Figure 1 is a function of social/cultural complexity which itself is a function of time then the result is that the subject matter such as that of Figure 1 is what is called a nested function of time.[4]

The probabilities used in an extrapolated model of an atheoretical time series of observations such as that of Figure 1 are generally frequentist (Hoel, 1984; Mood et al., 1974). They are replicable and hence objective from the point of view of probability theory (Mood et al., 1974; Roberts, 1979). Such probabilities are obtained using empirical observations from ethnographies and from archaeological chronologies and are therefore replicable. There have been various tests replicating narrative theory both that all changes in worldwide mean frequencies of culture traits are correlated with social differentiation (Denton, n.d.; see also Levinson and Malone, 1980) and that social differentiation is primarily occupational differentiation (Denton, 1996, 1998; Durkheim, 1933).

Extrapolation of a Long-Range Trend Generated by an Ongoing, Underlying Process

It has long been recognized by anthropologists that there are many long-range trends in culture going back thousands of years. Levinson and Malone (1980: 28, 32, 37-44, 296), Ember and Ember (1999: 377), Carneiro (1970) and others review these trends. The crux of the matter from the point of view of the present paper is that all these trends are really trends $T(t)$ of an unobserved time series model of an unobserved time series of observations.

We have seen that a model of a time series of observations may be thought of as consisting of four elements—trend $T(t)$, cycle(s) $C(t)$, seasonality $S(t)$ and an irregular remainder $R(t)$.

$$Y(t) = T(t) + S(t) + C(t) + R(t)$$

Most constructors of time series observations will be unable at the moment to construct an anthropological long-range time series of observations having a seasonal component $S(t)$. While there is no presently known empirical nor conceptual reason to expect the presence of cycle(s) $C(t)$ in a long-range time series of observations what will be said would hold also for the trend component $T(t)$ of a time series where cycle is present since trend is, or will be assumed to be, independent of cycle. We will start by focussing only on trend $T(t)$ and remainder $R(t)$.

If we exclude the remainder $R(t)$ from a time series model $Y(t) = T(t) + R(t)$ we are left with trend which is simply slow change—or no change—in the mean value of $Y(t)$ over time. This is not how cultural anthropologists have written of long-range trends in culture. The phrase "long-range trend in culture" has been used to denote a strictly increasing (or strictly decreasing) change over time going back thousands of years. A trend $T(t)$ is strictly increasing (or decreasing) if, for all points t and all intervals of time of length Δt no matter how small Δt is but always greater than zero, then the difference in trend $T(t + \Delta t) - T(t)$ between the end of the interval and the beginning of the interval is greater than (less than) zero. For example, Levinson and Malone (1980: 28, 32, 37-44, 296), Ember and Ember (1999: 377), Carneiro (1970) and others have catalogued many long-range trends in subject areas as diverse as exchange (from only reciprocity to reciprocity, redistribution and monetary exchange), social inequalities (from relatively egalitarian societies to class-based societies), settlement size (from smaller to larger settlements), regional unification (from independent local communities to large scale regional unification) and numerous other sectors of culture including, but not restricted to, harnessing of energy, bureaucratization and reduction in the mass and volume of objects used as money. Every one of these long-range trends is stated in a loose, narrative, verbal way. As with long-range time series, every one of these long-range trends may be considered (Levinson and Malone, 1980) to be correlated with the process of social/cultural differentiation. As with long-range time series, the chain of causation that causes any given trend correlated with social/cultural complexity may be unknown. It is known, however, that the long-range mean worldwide value of some object Y changes directionally with the ongoing, underlying process of social/cultural differentiation.

With a long-range time series model $\hat{Y} = T(t)$, where $\hat{Y}(t)$ denotes $Y(t)$ excluding $R(t)$, we may find that $\hat{Y}(t) = T(t)$ changes over time or that $\hat{Y}(t)$ is a constant

k. In the latter case Trend $T(t)$ is zero and the covariance COV[$\hat{Y}$,t] is zero so the univariate trait of culture is independent of time t although still a constant function of it and the expectation $T(t)$ at 2000 AD is equal to the expectation $T(t)$ at, say, 10 000 BC. Wife beating appears to be an example of this (Denton, 1994).

Those who have defined long-range culture trends have had in mind something different from invariance over time. Consider, for example, the long-range trend in settlement size which is stated by Levinson and Malone (1980: 296). They state that there is a trend from "small, lightly populated" in "simple" societies to "large, densely populated" in "complex" societies. Levinson and Malone (1980: 55) state data which might be used to quantify this trend although they do not attempt quantification. What does Levinson and Malone's (1980: 296) wording of the trend denote? The most obvious denotation is trend in the arithmetic mean of all communities in the world at time T. However, other interpretations might be made. Their statement of this trend, indeed statements of all the long-range trends of Levinson and Malone (1980), Ember and Ember (1999) and Carneiro (1970) are so imprecisely stated that each must be more rigorously worded. However, every one of these trends—whether of settlement size or of any other construct—has the same implied geometric form. Each such trend $\hat{Y}(t) = T(t)$ either a single, monotonic, strictly increasing (or strictly decreasing) curve or may be made so by dividing the process into two sequential, monotonic trend curves—from strictly increasing to strictly decreasing, or strictly decreasing to strictly increasing. Examples of the latter sequence of two adjacent monotonic trend curves of different direction are trends in the frequency of the extended family (Blumberg and Winch, 1972; Denton, 1994; Nimkoff and Middleton, 1960)—from lesser in simple societies, to greater in sedentary horticultural societies, to lesser in industrial societies.

We are at the crux of the matter in regard to trends. It has not always been recognized that every known (i.e., defined or cited by Carneiro, 1970; Ember and Ember, 1996: 377; Levinson and Malone, 1980: 28, 32, 37-44, 296) long-range trend of a culture trait in Cultural Anthropology implies not only a monotonic function $\hat{Y} = T(t)$ of time t but also implies a model (i.e., $T(t)$) of a possibly conceptual time series of observations underlying the trend. These time series models and the time series observations on which they are based may await construction but they are implied. These results themselves imply a viable long-range forecast method. First, however, we need to construct some of the mathematical properties of long-range culture trends.

DEFINITIONS. 1. A function $\hat{Y} = T(t)$ is a single-valued deterministic function of time t if for every time t in the domain of t for which $T(t)$ is defined there is one and only one y in the range of $\hat{Y}(t)$.
2. A long-range culture trend, as this phrase has been used in Cultural Anthropology by Levinson and Malone (1980), Ember and Ember (1999), Carneiro (1970), is the monotonicity of a (possibly conceptual) graph of a (possibly unknown) single-valued deterministic function of time $\hat{Y} = T(t)$ of a univariate object of culture Y going back thousands of years, where the graph is strictly increasing (decreasing) or may be made into a sequence of two such trend curves from strictly increasing to strictly decreasing (strictly decreasing to strictly increasing). The function $T(t)$ is continuous and left open twice differentiable at all times t in a continuous domain of time t. The second derivative $f^{11}(t)$ is continuous.□

The preceding definition of long-range trend may seem artificial but is exactly what is implied by those who have, in narrative verbal form (e.g., Carneiro, 1970; Ember and Ember, 1999; Levinson and Malone, 1980), asserted long-range trends. For virtually all such trends known in Cultural Anthropology the deterministic function of time $T(t)$ is unknown at the moment. Indeed, a function $T(t)$ which is in fact a trend would be discovered by constructing and modeling a time series of observations using one of the time series forecast methods mentioned above. Some properties of mathematical interest in regard to trends may now be stated.

LEMMAS. *(1) Every long-range trend of Definition 2 implies a monotonic deterministic function of time* $\hat{Y} = T(t)$.
(2) Every monotonic deterministic function of time from (1) is continuous and left open twice differentiable. The first derivative is continuous and of constant sign. The second derivative is continuous and may be positive, negative, zero or a sequence of any or all of these.

PROOF. (1) From Definition 2, for any variable Y for which there is a long-range trend there is a deterministic function of time $T(t)$ such that $\hat{Y} = T(t)$. The function $T(t)$ may be unknown but is stated in the definition. Also from Definition 2, $T(t)$ is monotonic.

(2) That $T(t)$ is left open twice differentiable is stated in Definition 2. Continuity of $T(t)$ and $T^1(t)$ is stated in Definition 2 and follows from the differentiability of $T(t)$ and $T^1(t)$. Continuity of $T^{11}(t)$ is stated in Definition 2. The proof for the rest of Lemma (2) uses elementary principles of calculus (e.g., Loomis, 1982). We will prove the result for strictly increasing trends. The proof for strictly decreasing trends follows easily. For a strictly increasing left open differentiable function $\hat{Y} = T(t)$, by definition $\hat{Y}(t)$ is defined all $t \geq 0$ and $[\hat{Y}(t + \Delta t) - \hat{Y}(t)] > 0, t \geq 0$. Also, the limit as $\Delta t \to 0$ $\frac{T(t + \Delta t) - T(t)}{\Delta t} = T^1(t) > 0$, all $t > 0$. Since no restrictions are placed on the sign of $T^{11}(t)$, $T^{11}(t)$ may be positive and/or negative and/or zero.□

There are no readings known to the writer dealing with how to construct a long-range trend. Most such trends known today have been known to Cultural Anthropology for decades. These are summarized by or cited by Levinson and Malone (1980), Ember and Ember (1996) and Carneiro (1970). If all available archaeological and ethnographic evidence support the notion of a long-range directional trend then the assumption of such a trend is reasonable. Most such trends in the readings cited are sloppily stated—the exact starting time is not stated, no precise population is stated, data presented for the modern extreme of the trend is from preindustrial complex societies even though the trend seems assumed by the writers to be applicable to contemporary complex societies. Once such defects are corrected then the forecast method for extrapolation of the trend is simply that the value of a strictly increasing trend $T(t)$ is greater (lesser) at future time $(T + \Delta t)$ than at present time t. This statement says nothing about the irregular remainder $R(t)$ in $Y(t) = T(t) + R(t)$ nor any cycle(s) $C(t)$ but there will be many instances where only a trend forecast will be considered worthwhile. Indeed, unless there is conceptual or empirical reason to the contrary, it seems reasonable to assume that there is no cycle(s) $C(t)$ at work. The forecast method may be put into mathematical form as follows.

FORECASTS BY EXTRAPOLATION OF A LONG-RANGE TREND

Suppose we have a long-range trend of an object of culture Y where long-range trend is defined as in Definition 2, above. Then, assuming that no seasonality nor cycle is present, $\hat{Y}(t) = T(t), T(t)$ may be unknown, $t \geq 0, T(t)$ is monotonic.

By hypothesis, the trend is correlated in some possibly unknown way with the underlying process of social/cultural differentiation which is ongoing and will continue into the foreseeable future. Then, we may make a trend forecast of expectations that $E[\hat{Y}(t)] = \hat{Y}(t); E[\hat{Y}(t + \Delta t)] = \hat{Y}(t + \Delta t)]$ $E[\hat{Y}(t + \Delta t)] > (<) E[\hat{Y}(t)]$ for an increasing (decreasing) function.

Here, the error deviation $e(t)$ in $Y(t) = T(t) + e(t)$ (or $Y(t) = T(t)e(t)$) is unknown but if we are willing to assume the errors $e(t)$ are independently and identically distributed Normal at time intervals of sufficient length to attain serial independence then $e(t), e(t + \Delta t)$ are unknown but are $\sim iiN(0, \sigma_1^2(t))$ and $(0, \sigma_1^2(t + \Delta t))$ at times $t, t + \Delta t$, or $\sim iiN(1, \sigma_2^2(t))$ and $(1, \sigma_2^2(t + \Delta t))$, provided Δt is of magnitude sufficient to attain independence. Also, $E[\hat{Y}(t)] = T(t)$, $E[Y(t + \Delta t)] = T(t + \Delta t), E[Y(t + \Delta t)] > (<) E[Y(t)]$.□

In words, we may use long-range trends of Definition 2 to forecast the trend component $T(t)$ of unknown functions. If we are able to assume, for time jumps of sufficient magnitude, independently and identically distributed adjacent errors which are normally distributed with mean zero or 1 and unknown variance in the real world then we are able to forecast expectations $E[Y(t + \Delta t)]$ which are equal to the trend component $T(t + \Delta t)$ at some future time $(t + \Delta t)$. The justification for assuming normally distributed errors is the Central Limit Theorem (Taylor and Karlin, 1984: 27-28) which says that if errors $e(t)$ are serially independent and are the result of many sets of factors no one of which is dominant then the errors $e(t)$ will be Normally distributed. Variances and prediction intervals for point forecasts are unattainable at the moment for extrapolation of long-range trends. However, there will be many circumstances where a forecast which is simply an expectation, or even simply a trend component, will be considered worthwhile.

Technically, the directional trends of Definition 2 are only one variety of long-range trend if trend is defined to be a slowly changing mean $T(t)$. Trends which only increase or decrease are easier to detect by non-quantitative methods than more complicated changes in mean.

This is the reason cultural anthropologists have used the word "trend" as "directional trend" of Definition 2. More complicated trend forms will be discovered only by first constructing time series of observations. It is important to note that the forecast method of extrapolation of directional trends based on Definition 2 is applicable only to directional trends, which limits the method to directional trends such as those noted by Levinson and Malone (1980: 28, 32, 37-44, 296), Ember and Ember (1999: 377) and Carneiro (1970).

Replicable, objective evidence of the existence of directional trends may be obtained in various ways, for example from sound but qualitative interpretations of the archaeological record, or by equating directional change with correlates of cultural complexity in recent preindustrial societies of the 19th and 20th centuries. Provided one exercises caution (Denton, n.d.; Ember and Ember, 1995), such latter data of the recent ethnographic present generally constitute ethnographic analogical indicators of correlates of cultural complexity in prehistoric societies. There is one *caveat*. While Levinson and Malone (1980) and other cultural anthropologists have defined many long-range directional trends, these trends are usually defined up to complex preindustrial societies (inclusive) and assumed to exist up to complex industrial societies (inclusive). In order to be extrapolated beyond 2000 AD such a trend must be valid up to complex industrial societies at 2000 AD.

It has been shown that the second derivative of the unknown function $T(t)$ implied by a long-range trend of Definition 2, exists (is finite) at all $t > 0$, and is continuous. Also, the second derivative is positive or negative or zero or a continuous sequence of any or all of these. This fact implies that the unknown, strictly increasing (decreasing) function $T(t)$ underlying the trend may be concave up, concave down, a non-vertical straight line or any continuous sequence of these.

Extrapolation of a Theoretical Model

The last forecast method to be considered in this paper is extrapolation of theoretical models. Anthropologists and others wishing to make long-range forecasts will use whatever methods they find useful. Some methods such as demographic forecasts, simulation, scenario, stochastic processes such as Markov chains and counts and the probability models underlying them may be useful for purposes of making a forecast but may not be especially tied to Anthropological theory and data from preindustrial societies. Such methods will not be considered here. There are, however, two classes of theoretical models which not only use Anthropological theory and data from pre-industrial societies but which will also be applicable to some concrete forecast situations. These are theoretical forecasts made by extrapolating deterministic functions of time or by extrapolating causal models. Considerations of space demand that we only sketch the contours of these methods.

Extrapolation of a Theoretically Constructed Deterministic Function of Time

Suppose that narrative theory for a particular subject matter posits a deterministic function of time with possible random error in the real world. At the moment, there is little narrative theory in Cultural Anthropology for such processes but there is some (Denton, 1996). It is likely that many such processes await construction. With only a few exceptions all long-range trends and time series currently known to Cultural Anthropology are atheoretical, deterministic functions of time correlated in various ways with the underlying, ongoing process of social/cultural differentiation (Denton, 1995a, 1996, 1998, n.d.; Levinson and Malone, 1980). If we had decent narrative theory for such processes we ought to be able to use the theory to construct models $y = g(\bar{w})$, $\bar{w} = h(t), y = g(h(t)) = f(t)$, which is a nested deterministic function of time, $\bar{w}$ is a variable of social and/or cultural complexity.[5] If we are able to use theory to construct $f(t)$ we do not need to construct $g(\bar{w})$ nor $h(t)$. We make a forecast by extrapolating either $y = g(h(t))$ or $y = f(t)$ depending on what narrative theory leads us to construct. Probability models for random error of such functions ought to be relatively easy to construct.

Extrapolation of a Causal Model

Suppose we have a fully specified causal model purporting to define the causes $Z_1, Z_2, \ldots$, of a result X at time t. Suppose we know the states of the causal variables $Z_1, Z_2, \ldots$, at some future time $(t + \Delta t)$ or probabilities for these states. Then, intuitively, we ought to be able to forecast X at time $(t + \Delta t)$.

Causality is a deep construct with lengthy philosophical roots. It is also an unsettled subject area where lively development is ongoing (Eells, 1991; Seltiz, Wrightsman and Cook, 1976: 114-115; Shafer, 1996). The notion of a "fully specified causal model" is relative to the information demands of the causal model. Sobel (1995) is a recent review of causal modelling in the social sciences. The notion of causality permeates Cultural Anthropology.

We are limited in our construction of causal models not only by data but also to subject areas where there is sufficient conceptual knowledge to enable causal modelling. There are few subject areas where such theory

exists at the moment but there are some. What makes causal modelling a potentially useful method of forecasting is the possibility of using time series forecasts to forecast the states of causal variables in a fully specified causal model. While space constraints preclude pursuing the subject further, causal models are likely to make viable forecasts in some subject areas (Denton, n.d.).

Conclusion

At the outset only two assumptions were made. These are important assumptions to make but are reasonable (in the writer's opinion) up to 2050 AD. Astronomers use the theory and data currently available to them to forecast the motion of objects in the universe. It is reasonable to use the theory and data currently available to Anthropologists to make forecasts, provided such theory and data have significant peer support. That the writer has been able to cite supportive readings throughout this paper is evidence of such peer support. Making only the two assumptions it is possible to make hundreds, perhaps thousands, of forecasts of the future. The reader may consider these "forecasts" to be either extrapolations based on reasonable assumptions or forecasts since the assumptions on which the extrapolations rest are reasonable. Throughout this paper "forecast" has been used in either sense.

In this paper hard forecast methods have been formulated. The forecasts made by the methods of this paper are replicable in the sense that construction of the elements of forecast models may be replicated by others. From the perspective of probability theory, it is objective (rather than subjective) probabilities (Mood et al., 1974) which both enter into the forecast methods and result from them. In forecast models for universals, time series, a deterministic function of time and causal models replicable, objective confidence intervals may be calculated although space has precluded consideration of such matters here. For forecasts made by extrapolating trends only expectations are currently possible.

Of the forecast methods considered those for universals and time series are currently the most powerful. From the method of forecasting universals we are able to extrapolate into the future all the current basic conceptual apparatus of Cultural Anthropology as to how societies work. This gives Cultural Anthropology a solid foundation on which to build. It is forecasts made by extrapolating time series models which gives Cultural Anthropology exceptional strategic positioning for making long-range forecasts. Thousands of forecasts await construction by extrapolating atheoretical models of long-range time series. Narrative theory and ethnographic analogical data make such subject matter as much the purview of Cultural Anthropology as of Archaeology, although chronologies of the latter are generally essential. Probability models for extrapolating deterministic functions of time and causal models will generally be mathematically sound but of lesser applicability than extrapolation of time series models in the sense that knowledge permitting use of the former is likely to be less readily available than for use of the latter.

It is useful to put the results of this paper in the general context of forecasts of society and culture. First, all the forecast methods of this paper are made possible by focussing on behaviours which are deterministic functions of time with possibly some irregular element. Even the causal models method will need to use ingredients which are deterministic functions of time. Time series forecasts may be used to forecast the state(s) of a causal variable(s) in a causal model. Indeed, if there is an invariant behavioural relation between a cause X (e.g., mobility) and result Y (e.g., family type), then the invariant behavioural relation is a function of time, namely, a constant.

The second way in which this paper bears on forecasting is to show that it is possible to make forecasts of society and culture—in this case long-range forecasts. We may not often be able to predict which of several alternative events will actually happen but we are able to make point forecasts located within confidence intervals. Of course, there is more to forecasting society than the methods of this paper. For short-range forecasts non-time deterministic methods may be more appropriate. Some forecasters in business and elsewhere are reluctant to work with forecasts, preferring instead to work with non-quantitative branching scenarios which, once constructed, may be selectively activated according to which branches actually occur. Confidence interval methods applied to the results of this paper may be used to generate probabilities for branches.

That long-range forecast models may be used to generate short- to mid-range forecasts is a third way in which this paper impacts on forecasts of society and culture. This is a technical matter which will not be considered here. Confidence intervals for such forecasts will be especially useful in circumstances where no other viable forecast methods are available.

Fourthly, more needs to be said about what subject matters are worth forecasting. The methods of this paper may be used to forecast idiosyncratic matters of interest to individuals, governments or businesses. For example, if we are able to forecast many facets of how people will live in 2020 AD or 2050 AD—which we are—then we

may be able to forecast economic demand for products consumed. If we have a theory of how society works then we ought also be able to use the methods of this paper to forecast elements of such a model of society.

While this paper carves out a niche for Cultural Anthropology in regard to forecasting there is much to be done. There is a need for secondary data bases of worldwide prehistory back to 9000 BC and beyond. HRAF (1999 and after) and Ember and Peregrine (n.d.) appear to be a start in this direction. In regard to worldwide time series back to 9000 BC there is a need for more observations at intervals spaced at 500 years and, over time, at 250 years. When such time series of observations appear it will be possible to construct forecasting competitions where the forecast accuracy of curve fitting (Chatfield, 1996: 13), heuristic methods such as Holt-Winters (Brockwell and Davis, 1996: 315) and time series models (Brockwell and Davis, 1996) are compared. There is a need to clarify the role of ethnographic analogy in reconstruction of prehistory (Denton, n.d.; Ember and Ember, 1995).

While the results of this paper have been informed by theory from Cultural Anthropology the results might be used to inform theory from Cultural Anthropology. The form of an atheoretical time series model might be examined as an object from which to extract grounded theory. Hypotheses might be tested using time series of observations.

In many ways life in the foreseeable future will be much as it has been for the past 37 000 years. From the method of extrapolating universals we may say with certainty that groups such as the family and local community will continue to exist. Systems for co-ordinating power, renewal of resources, education and recreation will exist. Individuals will have basic needs for food, clothing, shelter, mobility, relaxation, safety, sex and health (Denton, 1998). They will meet these basic needs in part by themselves but largely by entering into exchanges with other people (or machines). This will create a variety of interdependencies. From extrapolation of a theoretically constructed deterministic function of time (Denton, 1996 which forecasts more interdependent, differentiated occupations) interdependence in the future will be even more massive than today. Women will have children (a universal) although the number of children per mother will decrease in developing nations (United Nations, 1998). From extrapolation of causal models (Ember and Ember, 1999) men and women will marry and nurture children although fewer children per marriage and mechanization of work will send women to work outside the home even more than today. This will reduce the need for marriage which is, to a large extent, to nurture children and to pool the results of division of labour by gender. Marriages as they have existed to date (Ember and Ember, 1999) will be fewer and more fragile since there will be fewer children. From extrapolation of time series models bilateral kinship will predominate to 2050 AD as will neolocal residence and the independent family (Denton, 1994). Wife beating will be more than rare and people will be able to pick their own spouse (Denton, 1994). Social inequalities arising from age, gender, natural ability, property ownership, specialized training, ethnicity and geographical location will exist although it is uncertain to what extent government redistribution will redress inequalities. The frequency of war will decrease (Denton, 1995a) and where war occurs one of its purposes will be to attain political objectives—to control the vanquished (ibid.). It seems likely that there will be widespread belief that a single order permeates the universe, which single order—now the subject of study of Physics and related scientific disciplines—itself may be considered a variety of monotheism (Denton, 1995b). The number of political jurisdictions in political hierarchies will increase, which is an implied trend toward a single, world nation-state (Denton, 1993). Government will become even more bureaucratic. People at 2050 AD might find people of 2050 BC incomprehensible from the point of view of clothing, smell, violence, and the like. In fact, societies at both times may be considered identical in the sense that both are organized in such a way as to enable the individuals in them to meet their basic needs via interdependence (Denton, 1998). We may extrapolate all the universals and virtually all the long-range trends, properly formulated and valid to 2000 AD, known to Cultural Anthropology.

The theory and data of Cultural Anthropology enable us to make principled forecasts of the future. Here, a principled forecast denotes a quantified, replicable forecast where objective probabilities are used. Whatever may be approached as universals, long-range time series, long-range trends or deterministic functions of time ought to be forecastable although common sense must always be used. In some cases causal models may be extrapolated. Subject matters which cannot be approached from these vantage points will require different forecast methods. If we have no quantitative method for forecasting a particular item X, no replicable theory nor data for making a forecast, then we cannot—or in the writer's opinion should not—construct what we claim to be a rigorous forecast of it. Thus, volatile subject matters such as clothing styles and winners of sports events would presumably be outside the long-range forecast methods of this paper. Such subject matters necessitate forecast

methods—or at least better long-range data and better narrative theory—beyond those considered in this paper. Even limiting ourselves to the results of this paper Cultural Anthropology, with a grasp which reaches deep into the past, enables us to forecast deep into the future.

Notes

1 The writer gratefully acknowledges the constructive suggestions of two reviewers of this journal.

2 Technically, each observation of the time series of Figure 1 is the proportion of individuals in the world, at the time of the observation, living in societies where norms permit individuals to accumulate wealth. Each proportion is interpreted as a probability. The time series of observations shown in Figure 1 is constructed using an indirect method for constructing time series of behaviour not directly observable from the Archaeological record. The method developed by Denton (1993; 1995a) is sound when applied to subject matter within the ambit of the method (Denton, n.d.). Examples of such time series are also given in Denton (1994; 1995b). For the purpose of the present paper we will not digress to state how the time series of Figure 1 is constructed but rather will simply assume that the time series of Figure 1 is valid in order to use Figure 1 as an example of a forecast made by extrapolating a time series model of an atheoretical long-range time series of observations.

For those wishing to relate the time series of Figure 1 to the method of Denton (1993; 1995a; n.d.) here is relevant technical information. Figure 1 describes a time series based on the Human Relations Area Files Quality Control Sample (Naroll, 1967), QCS Variable 45 (Levinson and Wagner, 1986: 28). Figure 1 graphs the probability $P(X_t = 1)$ of living in a society where norms permit accumulation of wealth by some or all individuals. Its opposite, $P(X_t = 0)$ would denote norms of resentment making significant accumulation of wealth difficult, unlikely or dangerous; or norms of redistribution preventing accumulation of wealth. Thus, Figure 1 graphs the probability $P(X_t = 1)$ of living in a society coded as QCS Variable 45 codes $2 \bigcup 3$. Figure 1 is based on codes for 34 societies of which 10 are coded $Y = 1$, 18 are coded $Y = 2$, 6 are coded $Y = 3$. Of the 10 QCS (Levinson and Wagner, 1986: 28) societies coded $Y = 1$, 5 have QCS V45 codes $2 \bigcup 3$. Of the 18 QCS societies coded $Y = 2$, 13 have QCS V45 codes $2 \bigcup 3$. Of the 6 QCS societies coded $Y = 3$, all have QCS V45 codes of $2 \bigcup 3$. For the meaning of the symbols $Y = 1, Y = 2, Y = 3$, see Denton (1993; 1995a). For readers unfamiliar with use of coded data from worldwide cross-cultural ethnographic databases, Levinson and Malone (1980: 5-7) give fair assessment. Technically, Figure 1 graphs the probability that a Bernoulli random variable $X_t = 1$ at time t,

$$X_t = \begin{cases} 1 \text{ the event that QCS Variable } 45 \text{ codes} = 2 \bigcup 3 \text{ at time } t \\ 0 \text{ otherwise} \end{cases}$$

The symbol $P(X_t = 1)$ denotes the proportion of individuals in the world at time t living in a society where individuals are permitted to accumulate wealth. This proportion is treated as the probability of living in such a society at time t.

3 The prediction interval for Y (2050 AD) in Figure 1 is calculated using the method of least squares (Mendenhall et al., 1986). The OLS variance of $e(t)$ shown in Figure 1 must be adjusted to take into consideration the way in which the Figure 1 long-range time series by conditioning (Denton, 1993) is constructed. The variance used in calculation (Mendenhall, et al., 1986) of the prediction interval for y (10.05) shown in Figure 1 includes this adjustment using the variance adjustment of Denton (n.d.). While the variance adjustment of Denton (n.d.) results in slightly larger adjusted variances than would result from the variance adjustment of Denton (1995a) the adjustment of Denton (n.d.) is more accurate. It is assumed that the form of the graph of Figure 1 is created by the underlying process of social/cultural differentiation which will continue into the foreseeable future. This assumption, justified in the text of the present paper, justifies extrapolating the 7000 BC to 2000 AD variance to 2050 AD.

4 Consider Figure 1. Let us denote the worldwide probability $P(X_t = 1)$ of Figure 1 as y. Here, y is a function f of time t so $y = f(t)$. However, what is really going on is that y is evolving as worldwide mean cultural complexity which we will note as $\bar{w}$ which is itself a function h of time t. Here, y is a function g of worldwide mean cultural complexity $\bar{w}$. All in all, we have the nested function $y = f(t) = g(h(t))$, where $y = g(\bar{w})$ and $(\bar{w}) = h(t)$.

5 As established in note 4.

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Indians, Odysseys and Vast, Empty Lands: The Myth of the Frontier in the Canadian Justice System*

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Abstract: This article addresses the question of the involvement of anthropologists in political and legal dealings of First Nations with the Canadian government. It is argued that anthropologists would have a greater influence than they do in these matters if their discourse took into account the imaginary constructions of the Canadian population. The analysis focusses on two official texts concerning Aboriginal rights. These texts express imagery and narrative forms that are deeply embedded in Canadian cultural tradition. They reveal myths that influence, though often unconsciously, judgments on the place of Aboriginal populations in the political arena, and that are conceived as common sense. The most recurrent myth which underlines relations of the general population with Aboriginal peoples (a dichotomy which belongs to that myth) is the *myth of the frontier* whose influence is obvious in the texts analyzed here.

Résumé: Cet article traite des problèmes reliés à l'implication des anthropologues dans les questions politiques et légales impliquant les Premières Nations au Canada. Il soutient que les anthropologues n'occupent pas la place qu'ils devraient parce que leur discours ne tient pas assez compte de l'imaginaire de la population canadienne. L'analyse se concentre sur deux textes officiels traitant du droit des autochtones. Elle fait ressortir de ces textes les images révélatrices des mythes qui influencent profondément, quoique souvent inconsciemment, la vision qui guide les jugements sur la place des autochtones dans le monde politique et qui se présente souvent comme une vision du sens commun. Le mythe le plus marquant des relations de la population en général avec les autochtones (une dichotomie qui appartient à ce mythe) est le *mythe des frontières* dont l'influence est évidente dans les textes évoqués.

Over the last three decades increasing numbers of anthropologists in Canada have become engaged in collaborative and applied research with First Nations. Anthropologists are now employed directly by First Nations communities and organizations, where, as researchers, advisors or even spokespeople, many are being drawn into conflicts with multinational resource corporations, government agencies and the courts. This open commitment to collaboration, and to making anthropology relevant to First Nations' concerns, has shaped contemporary anthropology in a number of ways. New theoretical models have been developed to account for the complexities of cultural change and persistence in Aboriginal communities, and to counter earlier anthropological models of acculturation typically mobilized by corporate and government interests to oppose Aboriginal rights and to promote industrial development (Asch, 1983; Feit, 1982; Usher, 1993). There is a heightened discussion about the politics of ethnographic practice, the degree to which anthropologists should get involved as advocates for First Nations and how this involvement shapes ethnographic writing (Dyck and Waldram, 1993; Kew, 1993-94; Paine, 1985; Warry, 1990). As anthropological knowledge is entering into domains where truth is a highly contested resource, there is increasing concern for the epistemological and political dilemmas of applying interpretive anthropological knowledge in public arenas that demand objective and value free data (Elias, 1993).

These questions are especially pressing for anthropologists who serve as expert witnesses in the courts. The need for anthropologists to grapple with these issues became acutely evident after the controversial 1991 decision of the British Columbia Supreme Court in the Delgamuukw Aboriginal title case. In his decision, Chief Justice Allan McEachern not only dismissed the claim to Aboriginal title and sovereignty put forth by the Gitksan and Witsuwit'en chiefs, but also dismissed the discipline of anthropology as an invalid means of knowing about culture and history (McEachern, 1991: 49-51; Mil-

ler, 1992a). In its rejection of anthropological testimony as unscientific and biased, its unquestioned acceptance of the concepts of primitive culture and cultural evolution and its unabashed promotion of the policy of Aboriginal assimilation, the decision of Chief Justice McEachern demonstrated a resounding failure of applied anthropology in the legal system. Although significant aspects of the earlier decision have now been overturned by the December 1997 decision of the Supreme Court of Canada,[1] the McEachern decision continues to serve as the pivotal case on which a critical anthropological discourse is directed (Asch, 1992; Cove 1996; Culhane 1998; Daly and Mills, 1993; Miller, 1992a; Mills, 1994, 1994-95, 1996; Paine, 1996; Waldram, Berringer and Warry, 1992).

The question remains: in the light of the extensive evidence provided by Gitksan and Witsuwit'en chiefs and academic witnesses, how could the judge reach the erroneous conclusions he did about the nature of Aboriginal culture and history in these territories? Many critics have analyzed the decision in terms of how well the judge applied conventional legal or social scientific procedures to construct an understanding of Gitksan and Witsuwit'en culture and history. They assess how well, or how poorly, the judge performed as a legal, or historical or anthropological scholar. Ridington, for example, suggests that the McEachern text, rife with ethnocentric assumptions, "stands out as being outside the bounds of normal anthropological discourse" (Ridington, 1992: 17). Cruikshank states that McEachern ignored "established bodies of knowledge" and went on to "invent his own anthropology" to assess the evidence presented to the court (1992: 26). Miller (1992b: 55) argues that the Delgamuukw decision "can be said to rest on faulty grounds and on an inadequate version of anthropology and history." Some suggest the blame lies with the judge for not listening to the evidence (Waldram, Berringer and Warry, 1992: 315), while some suggest it lies with the anthropologists for failing to adequately translate Gitksan and Witsuwit'en cultural realities in terms that the judge could understand (Paine, 1996).

My goal here is to continue the process of untangling Judge McEachern's epistemology while at the same time significantly shifting the framework of analysis. If the judge, in his decision, were speaking the language of anthropology, and hearing the evidence through anthropological frames of knowing, it is clear that the decision fails as an example of contemporary scholarship. There is, however, another way of reading this text. My proposition is that the judge is not speaking or thinking through the language of anthropology, but the language of culturally constituted "common sense." The unfortunate tendency to "demonize" Judge McEachern (Paine, 1996: 62), and to dismiss the decision as a product of one individual's ethnocentrism or outdated colonial ideology, detracts attention from the fact that many of the judge's propositions—about the "primitiveness" of Aboriginal cultures, about the benefits of colonialism, about the desirability for Aboriginal assimilation into Canadian society—reflect widespread and conventional beliefs and attitudes that prevail among the Canadian public. McEachern himself argued that his conclusions reflected "common sense" thinking (McEachern, 1991: 284; see Miller, 1992b). As political scientist Paul Tennant has argued:

> The issue of what to think of the ruling is in good part the issue of what we British Columbians are to think of ourselves and our history. To judge the judgement without judging ourselves is to be unfair to the Chief Justice and untrue to ourselves. (Tennant, 1992: 81)

It may be that anthropologists serving as expert witnesses must take more seriously the task of educating the judiciary into the principles of anthropology and the concepts of ethnocentrism and the social construction of culture (Morantz, 1997; Paine, 1996). But when speaking to non-Aboriginal Canadians, anthropologists must also educate themselves more fully about the nature of the dominant culture of Canada, the culture in which their audiences are situated. The nature of the problem encountered by Gitksan and Witsuwit'en chiefs and anthropological expert witnesses in the Delgamuukw case is much greater than the issue of one conservative judge, or a colonial institution that has denied First Nations justice: the problem implicates the very way in which Canadians imagine their own society, their identity and their colonial history.

The questions I pose here are: What are these "common-sense" beliefs and assumptions about culture, history and Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relations in Canada, and by what cultural forms and language are these beliefs and assumptions conveyed and reproduced? How does this "common-sense" world view appear in reports and judgments produced by the Canadian justice system?

To begin, I suggest that representatives of the Canadian justice system weigh evidence and construct truths through diverse and complex processes that can not be characterized simply as either the operation of objective standards of rationality and reason, as the ideology of the legal system would have it, nor as the brute force of state power, ideology and false consciousness, as some of

McEachern's critics have suggested. Instead, facts are assembled and truths are constructed through a complex interaction of multiple epistemologies. This observation parallels the findings of many scholars who have documented processes of "legal pluralism" in colonial and postcolonial societies (for reviews of this literature see Merry 1988, 1992). The concept of legal pluralism has been used to refer not only to the persistence and interaction of indigenous forms of justice within the legal systems imposed by colonial governments (e.g., Fiske, 1997-98; Mastura, 1994; Moore, 1993; Russell, 1990; Westermark, 1986) but also to the discrepancy of legal ideologies held by various participants in urban American court proceedings (e.g., Conley and O'Barr, 1990; Kemple, 1995; Merry 1986, 1990; O'Barr and Conley, 1988). My point here is that this pluralism is evident not only among different groups engaged in adversarial processes, but also *within* the truth-making apparatus of representatives of the state themselves.

Second, taking the McEachern decision as a starting point, I suggest that the apparently incongruous or even irrational conclusions of this text reflect the working of a historical epistemology that is distinct from legal and academic ways of knowing: an epistemology that exists as a Canadian variant of the American myth of the frontier (Furniss, 1997-98; Slotkin, 1992). The frontier myth consists of a distinctive set of narratives, metaphors and images that permeate the presentation of history in Canadian literature, in the arts and entertainment industries, and in local and national ceremonies celebrating Canada's past. The frontier myth frames the very way many Canadians think about, experience, and commemorate the past, and it does so not through direct ideological statement, but indirectly and intuitively through metaphorical imagery and narrative forms that are deeply embedded in Canadian cultural tradition. Judge McEachern's text reflects the operation of not only an ideological discourse, but also a mythic discourse.

Third, and most critically, I argue that this historical epistemology is also evident in reports of the Canadian justice system that take very different stances on Aboriginal issues. This very flexibility—the fact that individuals may draw on the language of the frontier myth to construct diverse and opposing understandings of the past and to both affirm and challenge the existing structure of relations between Aboriginal people and the Canadian state—is key to the hegemonic power of the myth of the frontier. Its power exists not in its use to support the authority of the Canadian state, but in its transformation into a particular historical world view that is reinforced and reproduced in everyday dimensions of life. The frontier myth provides a set of rules for constructing historical truths, and a particular language for conveying those truths, that ultimately bear the weight of our colonial past and limit our historical imagination.

To illustrate these points, in the following pages I analyze the narrative forms, metaphors, and imagery contained in the texts of two reports of the Canadian justice system: the 1991 McEachern decision and the 1993 report of the Cariboo Chilcotin Justice Inquiry (Sarich, 1993). Presided over by B.C. Provincial Court Judge Anthony Sarich, the Cariboo Chilcotin Justice Inquiry investigated allegations of brutality and discrimination against Aboriginal people by RCMP officers and agents of provincial justice system in the central interior of British Columbia. The Sarich report condemned the actions of the RCMP and the systemic racism of Canadian Indian affairs policy, and provided sympathetic support for the aspirations of First Nations towards Aboriginal treaties and independently run justice systems. On its release, the Sarich report received the tentative endorsement of the three Tribal Council organizations that represent the region's Secwepemc, Carrier and Tsilhqot'in peoples.

There are a number of obvious differences between these two texts. The judges were addressing different issues with radically different potential consequences: one was a judgment of the court, while the other a report of a non-criminal commission of inquiry. What is important is that despite their opposing ideological stances on First Nations issues, the authors of these texts both draw on common metaphors, images and narrative conventions that point to the persistence of a common frontier formulation of Canadian history, a formulation that coexists alongside legal and academic epistemologies. A close examination of these reports on First Nations issues provides an opportunity to come to a fuller understanding of the complex relationship between colonialism, power and "common-sense" thought in Canada and its implications for the practice of applied anthropology with First Nations.

The Myth of the Frontier

For over three centuries the frontier myth has served as one of the most important "cultural myths" shaping public understandings of the history of European colonization and settlement in the United States.[2] In his exhaustive, three-volume study, Richard Slotkin (1973, 1986, 1992) identifies the frontier myth as a distinctive constellation of narrative genres, symbols and metaphors that flow through American literature (including settler autobiographies and 19th-century dime novels), performative arts (including early Wild West shows and con-

temporary Hollywood movies), and 19th- and 20th-century political discourse legitimizing American domestic and foreign policy. Despite the various formulations of the frontier myth in these very different social, economic and historical contexts, in its most common "progressivist" formulation (Slotkin, 1992: 22-24), the frontier myth has several standard features. The frontier myth portrays North America as an empty, unoccupied wilderness (notwithstanding the occasional acknowledgment of the Indian presence) where resources are rich and land is free for the taking; or if not exactly free, they becomes the rightful spoils of war for those representing the interests of civilization and progress. The symbolic landscape of the frontier narrative is marked by boundaries, and by the encounter of opposites: civilization and savagery, man and nature, Whites and Indians, good and evil. These encounters are characterized in terms of conflict and violence as the protagonist struggles against the harsh environment, the unknown and potentially hostile Indians, the savagery of the empty land. These struggles, taking place on the moral terrain of good and evil, also involve a degree of ambiguity in that the protagonist moves between these opposing worlds and temporarily mediates these dichotomies. Eventually these encounters are resolved through domination and conquest, through the subordination of Indians, nature and evil to the forces of progress, civilization and the ultimate will of God. The triumph of the protagonist highlights the triumph of the values of self-reliance, democracy, competition and freedom, values that continue to define both American and Canadian ideals in the present.

Frontier narratives are easily identified in various Canadian settings, from high school history textbooks and museum representations to public memorials, ceremonies and commemorations. Canadian versions of the frontier myth, though, do vary from American versions. For example, in the popular histories found in rural settings in British Columbia the central narrative structure is less one of domination and conquest through violent means, as Slotkin emphasizes in American versions of the frontier myth, but rather is one of conquest through benevolence: through the paternalistic actions of government agents, Mounties, missionaries and settlers to whom Aboriginal people meekly submit (Furniss, 1997-98). The idea of the frontier influences the historical consciousness, contemporary identities and political discourses of Euro-Canadian residents of rural settings in a variety of even more complex and subtle ways (Furniss, 1999).

Despite these complexities, there are several features relevant to this analysis that characterize the frontier myth as a distinct way of knowing about and expressing history. The very process of history is understood as the heroic struggle between the forces of good and evil, where conflict, violence, domination and suppression are naturalized as the inevitable processes of historical change. The complex interplay of diverse individuals and groups is distilled into a simple narrative structure of a protagonist's encounter with opposing forces, most often the wilderness and Indians. The diversity within Aboriginal peoples and cultures is rendered invisible; they are reduced to a homogeneous group—Indian—through which the settler's own self-identity is realized in contrast. Representations of Indians vary between the noble and ignoble savage stereotypes: at times they are represented as a hostile, threatening people to be conquered and subdued; at other times, they are portrayed as helpers of the colonial project or as a childlike people to be patronized and protected. What remains consistent is the inflexibility of the Indian/White dichotomy. Overlooked are the multiple identities, the diverse and conflicting interests and the ambiguities and incompleteness of domination and resistance that characterized the colonial encounter, themes that are now emphasized by anthropological histories and postcolonial studies (Abu-Lughod, 1990; Barker, Hulme and Iversen, 1994; Bhabha 1994; Comaroff and Comaroff 1991; Hanks, 1986; Trigger, 1985).

Finally, the frontier myth conveys historical truths not so much through explicit, discursive forms of expression such as argument, polemic debate or sermon, but indirectly through narratives rich in symbolism and metaphor (Slotkin, 1992: 5). As Slotkin argues, the "language is metaphorical and suggestive rather than logical or analytical. The movement of a mythic narrative, like that of any story, implies a theory of cause and effect and therefore a theory of history (or even of cosmology); but these ideas are offered in a form that disarms critical analysis by its appeal to the structures and traditions of story-telling and the clichés of historical memory" (ibid.: 6). Of particular importance are what Slotkin calls mythic icons: "Through frequent retellings and deployments as a source of interpretive metaphors, the original mythic story is increasingly conventionalized and abstracted until it is reduced to a deeply encoded and resonant set of symbols, 'icons,' 'keywords,' or historical clichés" (ibid.: 5). Each of these mythic icons, he writes, "is in effect a poetic construction of tremendous economy and compression and a mnemonic device capable of evoking a complex system of historical associations by a single image or phrase (ibid.: 6). The symbol of the "pioneer," or the "empty wilderness," for example, are classical examples of mythic icons in Canadian frontier histories.

That these images and metaphors filter through decisions and reports of the Canadian justice system is testimony to the way certain, selective understandings of colonial history are communicated indirectly and intuitively almost without notice.

I refer to the frontier myth as a historical epistemology. It might also be approached as a set of pervasive historical discourses, or, even more narrowly, as a specific narrative genre. But all narrative forms, as Hayden White (1987) points out, contain within them ideal images of society, authority and morality. Narrative, he continues, "is not merely a neutral discursive form . . . but rather entails ontological and epistemic choices with distinct ideological and even specifically political implications" (ibid.: ix). Narratives thus are a *product* of epistemological processes. The work of an epistemology can only be traced by an analysis of forms of representation; that is, how people process information and construct knowledge can only be traced by how they express their understandings of the world. In short, in referring to the frontier myth as an epistemology, I am inferring backwards from narrative to epistemology in order to draw attention to the deeper issues of how this particular epistemology is embedded in the cultural context of North American colonialism and how it influences the cognitive processes of members of Euro-Canadian society.[3]

The McEachern Decision

Other commentators have shown how the McEachern decision contains many of the assumptions of a colonial ideology: the judge upholds the long-outdated anthropological concepts of primitive culture and cultural evolution; he privileges written documents over oral tradition as the only reliable source of historical evidence; he argues that assimilation is in the best interests of the Gitksan and Witsuwit'en people. Here, I wish to draw attention to the way in which these "common-sense" views of Aboriginal people, of society, and of history are communicated not only through direct polemic argument or explicit statement, but also indirectly through particular images, metaphors and narrative forms. In this way the frontier myth fills the interstitial spaces of the McEachern text, providing an implicit context for the conveying of historical "truths."

First, the image of Gitskan and Witsuwit'en territories as a vast, empty land appears repeatedly through the decision:

> These explorations were for the purpose of familiarizing myself . . . with this beautiful, vast and almost empty part of the province. (McEachern, 1991: 1-2)

> The total territory is a vast, almost empty area. (Ibid.: 11)

> The most striking thing that one notices in the territory . . . is its emptiness . . . the territory is, indeed, a vast emptiness. (Ibid.: 12)

> I suspect [the failure of the Hudson's Bay Company to establish a post in Wet'suwet'en territory] was because it was largely an empty country. As it is empty now, it was probably empty . . . at the time of contact. . . . (Ibid.: 276)

Second, a set of images referring to nature, and man's relationship to nature, appears throughout. Nature is represented as an evil force, as something to be feared. Man's relationship with nature is represented in terms of opposition, strife, and life-or-death struggle for survival.

> The acquisition of firearms . . . made hunting a far less random and hazardous exercise than it had always been. (Ibid.: 251)

> Although the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en [*sic*] had well established trails . . . there was little reason for the Gitksan to stray far from their villages. . . . (Ibid.: 261)

> It is unlikely that the [Gitksan and Witsuwit'en] ancestors, prior to the fur trade, would occupy territories so far from the villages, particularly in the fierce Canadian winters. (Ibid.: 276)

The construction of nature as a force to be feared and either endured or conquered is a characteristic feature of the Canadian version of the frontier myth and pervades Canadian literature. Northrop Frye (1971) writes of the "garrison mentality" in Canadian literature, where the frontier is imagined not as a line dividing the wilderness from the metropolis, as in American frontier literature, but as an all-encompassing force, creating pockets of civilization surrounded by an empty, cold, alien wilderness. Margaret Atwood has emphasized this fear of nature, this sense of being victimized by the landscape, as a primary characteristic of Canadian literature and Canadian identity (1972). These literary conventions appear in the McEachern text: he envisions Canadian winters as "fierce," he portrays Aboriginal people as having "little reason" to "stray" from the safety of their villages. That Aboriginal people failed to surmount these forces of darkness is evident in McEachern's now infamous quotation from Hobbes: that Aboriginal life in the territory was "nasty, brutish and short" (McEachern 1991: 13).

In the McEachern text, this victimization by nature is restricted to Aboriginal people. He represents the process of history as a struggle for survival, as captured in the axiom "survival of the fittest." It is not surprising,

given the man/nature relationship described above, that history is seen as the natural outcome of struggle, conflict and violence. Conflict and violence are to be celebrated and glorified.

This vision of history is explicitly suggested in McEachern's description of the history of European colonization. He argues that Aboriginal people "were a reticent people" (ibid.: 128):

> [They] became a conquered people, not by force of arms, for that was not necessary, but by an invading culture and a relentless energy which with they would not, or could not compete. (Ibid.: 129)

He argues that "the Indians' lack of cultural preparation for the new regime" (ibid.: 129) has been the cause of the widespread poverty and dependence many Aboriginal communities face. Colonization as a "relentless energy," a competitive struggle, a heroic conquest, all affirm the colonial identity and the paramount values of industrial capitalism: that of competitive spirit, of self-reliance, of industriousness. Simultaneously this vision of colonization as "survival of the fittest" rationalizes the processes of domination and the social and economic inequalities now dividing Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians.

There are many passages that suggest a colonial policy of benevolent paternalism. In contrast to his explicit statements about the primitiveness of Gitksan and Witsuwit'en cultures, these passages indirectly, and implicitly, equate Aboriginal people with children, and the Aboriginal/Euro-Canadian relationship with a child-parent relationship. These attitudes, of course, have been central to the development of Canadian Indian policy (Dyck, 1991) and policies linked to the colonization of Canada's north and Inuit populations (Paine, 1977). They have also been accepted as widespread, "commonsense" truths among many non-Aboriginal Canadians (e.g., Brody, 1991; Furniss, 1999). As children, Indians have only a partial awareness of events in their midst, in sharp contrast with non-Aboriginal newcomers:

> Many have said . . . that the Indians did not do as much for themselves as they might have done. For their part, the Indians probably did not understand what was happening to them . . . I suspect the white community understood what was happening to the Indians but did not have the resources, or the knowledge, to respond appropriately. (Ibid.: 129)

Through this relationship, the image of the colonizers is one of good parents who have acted in Aboriginal peoples' best interests:

> Benefitting in some respects from the industry and trade goods of the settlers, [Indians] often did not object to the inroads made into the geography of the Colony. (Ibid.: 128)

> The Indians of the colony [accepted] many of the advantages of European civilization. (Ibid.: 128)

> By today's morality, the [assimilation policy] will be regarded by many as an attempt to destroy Indian culture and identity. By the standards of the day, compared with the rest of the world, it was probably enlightened. (Ibid.: 128)

One variation, the image of the Indian as an ungrateful child, also appears:

> In addition to reserves . . . it is necessary to keep in mind the annual substantial cash and service payments and allowances [a significant metaphor] which have been paid to or for Indians. The Indians deeply resent both the form and the quantum of these "benefits," which . . . amount to billions of dollars annually. (Ibid.: 184)

The construction of the Indian/White relationship here is structured not as a relationship of violence, as in the "Indian war" narrative common in American formulations (Slotkin, 1992), nor of aggressive competition, as suggested earlier. Instead, as in the popular histories found in the public landscape of rural British Columbia, the Indian/White encounter is portrayed as a relationship of Aboriginal submission to Euro-Canadian benevolent paternalism; the narrative of history is one of conquest through benevolence. The Indian is presented as an inferior Other through his childlike qualities of naivete, innocence, partial awareness of the surrounding world, and alternating gratitude and resentment towards the paternalistic, well-meaning colonizers.

While the representation of colonized subjects as Other is a common feature of all colonial texts, what is important to highlight is that this representation is coupled here with a more extensive set of understandings in which the frontier landscape is imagined as a harsh, empty wilderness, and in which history is imagined as the product of violent struggle and conflict. These images define not only a colonial discourse but a particular colonial discourse that has taken shape in the Canadian context, a discourse that provides a narrative and symbolic landscape for the telling of history and that communicates ideas about the nature of individual agency, historical change and the legitimacy of conquest indirectly through powerful, compelling metaphors and images.

The Cariboo-Chilcotin Justice Inquiry, in contrast, reverses much of the ideological content of the McEachern decision. The Sarich report implicitly challenges McEachern's rejection of the existence of Aboriginal rights and title and explicitly challenges his view of Aboriginal culture as "primitive" and inferior. Nevertheless, some of the principal images and metaphors remain constant. Sarich directly draws upon the frontier myth to metaphorically represent his personal experience of the justice inquiry to his readers.

The Sarich Report

Between December 1992 and May 1993 the Cariboo-Chilcotin Justice Inquiry held hearings on 10 of the 15 Secwepemc, Carrier and Tsilhqot'in reserve communities. In all, over 50 days of testimony were heard, during which almost 200 incidents were reported. The vast majority of complaints focussed on the conduct of the RCMP, although complaints were also voiced against lawyers, Crown counsellors, conservation officers, ministry of social services workers and private security guards. People gave testimony of being subjected to excessive force and assault by RCMP officers, and of being subjected to intimidation, coercion, racial insults and other abuses of authority. Some testified of RCMP overpolicing and harassment; others spoke of the failure of the RCMP to respond quickly to calls for assistance. Some spoke of problems they had experienced in the court system: of a lack of understanding of the court process, of poor service from legal aid lawyers, and of poor communication with Crown counsel.[4]

The inquiry was not a criminal proceeding; instead, its goal was to hear Aboriginal peoples' testimony, to define the nature of the problems being experienced and to propose remedies. At its heart, the justice inquiry involved a process by which all parties—the Secwepemc, Tsilhqot'in and Carrier peoples testifying and the lawyers for the RCMP and other government agencies responding to the allegations—each sought to promote their own interpretation of the nature of the problem to a level of general acceptance. In moving from a consideration of the complaints presented to the inquiry to an interpretation of their causes, in his final report Commissioner Sarich essentially was presenting a cultural construction of the nature of this "public problem" (see Gusfield, 1981).

Judge Sarich's formulation of this problem has two components. The first is one of racial discrimination, practiced not only by the RCMP, but by non-Aboriginal society in general, and reinforced by the Indian Act and the paternalistic Indian Affairs bureaucracy. The second aspect of the problem, according to Sarich, emerges from Aboriginal peoples' testimony that they often found court proceedings confusing and difficult to comprehend. The experience of feeling confused and intimidated by the court system is not restricted to Aboriginal people, of course, and there are a variety of possible ways for interpreting these experiences. The judge highlighted what he called the "frightening and incomprehensible" justice process (ibid.: 8), and proposed its reason lies in the great "cultural lacuna" (ibid.: 13) between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal worlds.

This theme of the essential, immutable cultural difference dividing Aboriginal people from non-Aboriginal Canadians dominates the report. For example, while Sarich criticizes the RCMP detachment leaders for not correcting the conduct of their officers, he does so on the grounds of the detachment leaders' failure "to appreciate the different requirements of culturally diverse peoples within their jurisdictions" (ibid.: 27). The problem now is not the discriminatory behaviour of RCMP members, but their insensitivity to matters of fundamental cultural difference.

The Sarich report reads as that of a sympathetic individual deeply moved by the experience of his encounter with Aboriginal peoples. The report also reads as that of an individual to whom the Indianness of the witnesses was a continually relevant factor. That this report is about Indians, rather than about generic Canadian citizens; moreover, that it is about noble savages, is suggested even before turning the cover of the report, from where an archival image of an anonymous, dignified Aboriginal person stares out at the readers.

The assimilation of the justice inquiry into the mythic structure of the Indian-White encounter on the frontier begins in earnest on page 2, where, undoubtedly with some intended humour, Sarich credits his assistant for his "unfailing and energetic work as a 'forward scout and contact.'" On page 5 the judge describes how he soon became convinced that if the inquiry was to be successful:

> It could not be held in a courthouse, or in some well-appointed convention hall in the urban center. Nor could the hearings be conducted in the manner of a regular trial. The commission had to go out to the people, and this it did. And so began an odyssey that was to cross and recross that vast area many times. (Ibid.: 5)

Once again, Aboriginal territories are imagined as vast and formidable, where geographic distance is equated with cultural distance. The metaphorical representation of the justice inquiry as journey to the frontier,

as a heroic odyssey of discovery, with its underlying conceptual oppositions of metropolis vs. frontier, Whites vs. Indians, fits into a standard narrative structure that Euro-Canadians and Euro-Americans have drawn upon for centuries to comprehend their relations with Native North Americans. Indeed, Sarich's portrayal is strikingly similar to Judge McEachern's description of his helicopter tour through the "remote" stretches of Gitksan and Witsuwit'en territories, a tour he described as "a fascinating voyage of exploration and discovery" (McEachern 1991: 306).

The theme of the justice inquiry as a positive cross-cultural encounter (as opposed to an investigation of the failings of public policy) periodically reemerges in following pages. In describing the testimony, Judge Sarich writes how some witnesses "gave evidence in an interesting colloquial idiom" (ibid.: 7), while others required the assistance of an interpreter. He writes:

> Once underway the hearings were attended by all community members at the site of the hearings, from toddlers in jolly jumpers to elders.... Even a stray dog would come in from time to time to check out the proceedings and perhaps get a scratch or two behind the ear. (Ibid.: 8)

> The hearings were held in community halls... the people of the reserves received us with unmatched generosity and openness. They prepared delicious meals and fed everyone present, even though the numbers present were never constant. They shared what they had with all of us. (Ibid.: 7)[5]

The noble savage image celebrated in the Sarich report stands in sharp contrast with McEachern's ignoble savage. Yet there are similarities. Both evoke the image of the Indian as child, and of Indian-White relationship as a child-parent relationship. Sarich makes numerous references to Aboriginal peoples' presumed "confusion" in their encounter with the colonial system of justice (ibid.: 8, 10, 13, 14, 15, 26, 28). This confusion, he argues, "has its roots in the dichotomy of cultures" (ibid.: 14). He writes that Aboriginal people are "befuddled by many non-native cultural values" (ibid.: 26) and that RCMP officers enforced "incomprehensible rules" on reserves (ibid.: 27). He states:

> The Canadian court process is a strange and bewildering one to most native people. Even those who have been through the process a number of times remain confused and frightened. With rare exceptions, natives simply don't trust those who operate and administer it. They are handicapped by a cultural and language barrier that is not overcome simply by their ability to speak English sufficiently to "get by." (Ibid.: 13)

The many other references to Aboriginal peoples' confusion with the court system, and the explanation that these problems are due to cultural factors, suggest that, by virtue of a culture and language that handicaps them, Aboriginal people are inherently incapable of comprehending the justice system: that their difference from Euro-Canadians is an essential one.

In both the Sarich and McEachern reports, the idea of "confusion" is one-sided. Euro-Canadians are represented as having a privileged, superior vantage from which to view the real nature of Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relations. It suggests the automatic burden of paternalism, reinforces the image of the Indian as childlike, fearful and semi-rational and upholds the responsibility of those who presume to understand the nature of the problem to take charge. In McEachern, this presumed omnipotence translates as the need for Euro-Canadian society to treat Aboriginal people with a paternalistic stiff hand. In the Sarich report it translates as the need for Euro-Canadian society to make a benevolent accommodation to Aboriginal people, who are imagined as trapped within a rigid, unchanging and unchangeable culture.

Finally, Sarich's representation of history diverges from that of McEachern, who envisions history as linear progress, praises early colonial governments and lauds the spirit of competitive capitalism as the motor of history. Instead, Sarich condemns early government actions and, implicitly, the very values they introduced. He writes:

> It may well be true that the policies of the governments both of Canada and British Columbia were well-intended... But from the beginning, government officials were unable or unwilling to accept that the community—and family-centred cultural values of the native people were irreconcilable with the values of a free-enterprise, individual-oriented, self-acquisitive society....

Rather than suggesting Aboriginal peoples' problems are due to their "reticence," or their unwillingness to assimilate, Sarich suggests that the contemporary problems facing Cariboo-Chilcotin First Nations are the outcome of the imposition of colonialism. He writes:

> The results of government policy have been tragic for native people.... Past government policies of suppression and segregation of the people into small, uneconomic reserves, attempts at forced assimilation and a

> smothering of bureaucratic interference in every aspect of the lives of the natives has reduced a once proud and independent people to a state of complete dependency. (Ibid.: 10)

Elsewhere Sarich comments:

> The dependence, the poverty, the self-destruction to which the natives were reduced by a conscious policy of government were unspoken confirmation of this [presumed] "truth" [of Aboriginal inferiority]. (Ibid.: 11)

In short, Sarich's history is an equally linear process of the conquest of a "once proud people" now reduced to a state of "complete dependency." As is characteristic of the frontier narrative structure, the subtleties and complexities of history and the interplay of domination, resistance and accommodation, remain muted.

Sarich, however, does directly criticize the paternalistic orientation of the federal government to First Nations. He calls on governments to establish agreements with area First Nations to protect the resources of traditional lands pending settlement of Aboriginal land claims (ibid.: 29). He envisions the eventual establishment of autonomous Aboriginal justice systems in the Cariboo-Chilcotin (ibid.: 28). In making these remarks, Sarich is affirming the validity of Aboriginal title and rights. Yet he couches his argument within a vision of history, of Aboriginal people, and of Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relations that remains framed by the images and metaphors of the frontier myth.

Sarich's narrative is representative of what Slotkin (1992: 22-26) has termed "populist" versions of the frontier myth, which have served as one of the major vehicles for social criticism in 20th-century America. "Progressivist" versions of the frontier myth portray history as a celebration of the continual development of industrial capitalism, modernization and prosperity for all of society (ibid.: 22). In contrast, populist frontier narratives uphold ideal images of the past (ranging from romantic notions of pre-contact Aboriginal life to the idyllic, pastoral images of 19th-century agrarian communities) and launch critiques of the policies and developments that have brought about the abandonment of older, traditional values and ideals and the destruction of social ties and communities (ibid.: 22-24). The central hero of populist myths may be the social bandit figure; in Western film and literature he is the renegade outlaw who defends the small farmer against the expanding ranching corporations, the big banks and the government officials imposing unjust laws and regulations. The hero may also be the disenfranchised urbanite, a liminal figure who, like James Fenimore Cooper's Hawkeye, "knows Indians" and mediates the two cultural worlds, at times defending the interests of the disempowered (ibid.: 15-16). Sarich presents himself in such a liminal position in his narrative of the justice inquiry as a frontier odyssey of discovery. The metaphors he draws upon to frame his story, the emphasis he places on cultural differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians, his sympathetic portrayal of Aboriginal people as the victims of colonial conquest are fully resonant with the populist critiques that continue to find expression in late 20th-century popular literature, film and political discourse (Furniss, 1999: 125-138; Slotkin, 1992: 624-660).[6]

Representations of the inherent difference between Aboriginal and colonizing peoples are defining features of colonial discourses more generally, whether these discourses are produced within public policy, literature, the arts and entertainment industries or academic studies (Said, 1978, 1984; Thomas, 1994). That representatives of the Canadian justice system should draw on a political rhetoric highlighting Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal difference is not, in itself, surprising or unusual. Indeed, First Nations political leaders draw on a similar rhetoric of Aboriginal alterity, arguing for the distinctiveness of Aboriginal cultures in order to bolster First Nations political demands for public recognition of Aboriginal rights. What is important to trace is not so much that constructions of Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal differences exist, but how these images are created and applied in specific social and political contexts, and how these constructions contribute to reinforcing or challenging the existing balance of power.

Patrick Macklem (1993) has argued that agents of the Canadian legal system manipulate notions of Aboriginal similarity to and difference from non-Aboriginal Canadians to maintain existing institutional structures and the subordinate position of Aboriginal peoples within Canadian society. Specifically, the law recognizes Aboriginal similarity when to affirm difference would "threaten basic organizing categories of the Anglo-Canadian legal imagination"; vice versa, the law asserts Aboriginal difference in circumstances when to recognize similarity would challenge those same organizing principles (ibid.: 11). "This interplay of similarity and difference constitutes the rhetoric of justification that has legitimated the imposition of non-Native legal norms onto Native society by the judiciary . . . [which has] been critical to the establishment and maintenance of legal relationships of dependence between Native peoples and the Canadian state" (1993: 12). These manipulations of ideas of similarity and

difference are clearly evident in McEachern's rationale for dismissing the Gitksan and Witsuwit'en case (Culhane, 1998: 261).

These dynamics are carried out, albeit perhaps unintentionally, within the Sarich report. Here, the image of inherent Aboriginal difference is used as a vehicle to implicitly affirm the struggles of area First Nations for public recognition of Aboriginal rights and independently run justice systems. Yet in its emphasis on the essential division between Indian and White, the Sarich report ultimately downplays a critically important feature of Aboriginal testimony at the inquiry. Witnesses testified that their difficulties with the justice system arose from their discriminatory treatment at the hands of regional police officers, Crown counsel and legal aid lawyers. In other words, Aboriginal people testifying also sought to affirm their inherent similarity with non-Aboriginal peoples and their right to be treated with the same fairness and respect as other Canadian citizens. In speaking of the racial insults, the abuses of authority and the assaults they have been subjected to by RCMP officers, Secwepemc, Carrier and Tsilhqot'in people were seeking, in part, to draw critical public attention to these problems so as to improve their treatment *within* the institutions of the Canadian justice system. These efforts are consistent with Sharp's observation (1997) that the struggle for Aboriginal justice in settler societies involves not just claims to Aboriginal sovereignty, but also efforts to come to a shared agreement about both the terms of Aboriginal autonomy and the dimensions of commonality through which new forms of coexistence within the same encompassing society may be forged.

Yet it was just this emphasis on Aboriginal difference—construed through the lens of racist attitudes and prejudices—that has contributed significantly to the problems Aboriginal people experience. Today, leaders of the Secwepemc, Tsilhqot'in and Carrier communities have differing opinions regarding the success of the Justice Inquiry in addressing these systemic problems within the justice system. Complaints of racial discrimination and unfair treatment at the hands of RCMP officers continue to be raised, just as First Nations leaders and RCMP representatives are continuing in their efforts to address these issues and to develop more positive relationships. In itself, the Sarich report, in emphasizing the problem both as one of RCMP insensitivity to cultural difference and as one of the inherent incompatibility of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal institutions and cultures, ultimately detracted attention from the issues of racial prejudice and discrimination and protected the justice system from the critical public scrutiny it deserved.

Conclusion

My intent here has been to create an ethnographic space within which to situate these two recent products of the justice system, and to suggest the importance of considering the way in which these two individuals' fundamental cultural experience as members of the dominant Euro-Canadian society has shaped their understandings of culture, history and Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relations. I am not suggesting that the two texts examined here are typical products of the justice system. Many other inquiry reports and court rulings, including the 1993 B.C. Court of Appeal's ruling in Delgamuukw, the 1991 Manitoba Justice Inquiry (Hamilton and Sinclair, 1991), the Royal Commission on the Donald Marshall case (Hickman, Poitras and Evans, 1989) and the recent Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (Canada, 1996), are less obviously shaped by frontier narratives, metaphors and imagery. Nevertheless, that the Sarich report and the McEachern decision communicate contrasting sets of opinions on Aboriginal issues while being framed in a similar mythic discourse speaks directly to the need to consider how frontier conceptions of history, and their expression in metaphor, symbolism and narrative, implicitly communicate "common-sense" beliefs, attitudes and values of a culture.

A sensitivity to the frontier myth's pervasive force is important for all anthropologists engaged in applied work with First Nations. The effectiveness of anthropologists as expert witnesses in the court system, and in public policy issues in general, is the subject of a growing critical literature in Canada (for example, Dyck and Waldram, 1993; Mills, 1996; Morantz, 1997; Paine, 1985, 1996; Pryce, 1992; Ray, 1990, 1993). The Canadian court system, being structured as an adversarial process that purports to operate according to a positivistic epistemology that demands objective facts rather than relativistic cultural understandings, undoubtedly will continue to be the site of political struggle between First Nations, anthropologists and the state.

In this context, a heightened awareness to the frontier conception of history may assist anthropologists in becoming aware of the manner in which perhaps unintended cultural meanings are communicated through the metaphorical and narrative content of our own representations. For example, analyses that emphasize cultural continuity rather than historicity, or that focus on the internal aspects of Native community life while downplaying the complex ways in which Native cultures and communities have been shaped by their articulation with regional and national mainstream society, may resonate

all to easily with the frontier myth's emphasis on the inherent "difference," homogeneity and ahistoricity of Aboriginal societies. Anthropologists serving as expert witnesses may lack control over the process of how testimony is received, but we do have control over the vehicle—the language—through which cultural concepts are communicated. Given the presumption that "language does not reflect culture but . . . language use in discourse creates, recreates and modifies culture" (Sherzer, 1987: 300), we might begin the process of cultural change by bringing concerns regarding the meaning of language into the forefront of our representations and by taking care not to reproduce in our own representations the metaphors, images and narrative forms on which the frontier myth rests.

Second, in anthropology's typically liberal orientation, it is easy to lose sight of the fact that concepts of primitive culture and cultural evolution, while no longer accepted within the discipline, nevertheless are widespread beliefs among non-Aboriginal Canadians. To be effective in such settings, it is important to develop greater predictive power over the way in which our representations of culture and history are heard and comprehended by the dominant society. This requires visualizing applied anthropology as a process of cultural translation not just between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal world views, but between the cultures of First Nations, contemporary anthropologists, and the general, non-Aboriginal Canadian public. It requires expanding our definition of the anthropology of First Nations away from the narrow focus of bounded, "traditional" cultures to exploring the various ways in which Aboriginal and settler cultures are articulated within the same dominating colonial system, and to including the dominant culture of Canada as an important object of ethnographic analysis.

In beginning this process, I suggest the importance of investigating the ongoing role played by the myth of the frontier in structuring dominant Canadian conceptualizations of Aboriginal peoples, culture and history more generally. Some may argue that the views expressed in the McEachern decision reflect traditional views of history that have now become outdated and superceded by newer, more informed historical understandings among the general public (Tennant, 1992: 80). It is worth exploring whether this new history, guided as it may be by sympathetic and sensitive concerns for First Nations, is not simply a counterhegemonic reformulation structured by the moral inversion of the primary conceptual oppositions of the frontier myth. Indians as noble savages whose society is superior to Western society, and who have been victimized by Western society, is a form of cultural critique that has been played out repeatedly in historical cycles over the last four centuries, most recently in Hollywood movies such as *Dances with Wolves*. Sympathetic portrayals couched in the language of the frontier myth—whether by Hollywood movie makers, judges or anthropologists—may simply reproduce the terms through which the frontier myth has long retained its grip on Canadian historical consciousness.

Notes

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1 The Supreme Court of Canada ordered that a retrial of the case was necessary. It concluded that Judge McEachern had erred in his failure to consider First Nations oral history as an important source of historical evidence. The decision also broadened and liberalized the scope for the consideration of the rights flowing from Aboriginal title. Aboriginal title, if legally deemed to exist, could include the right to "exclusive use and occupation of the land"; the particular rights need not be limited only to traditional activities but could include contemporary cultural practices. The decision also clarified what evidence is required to show proof of Aboriginal title. For example, Aboriginal title could persist as long as a group held a "substantial connection" to the land, and even if their occupation was discontinuous (Supreme Court of Canada, 1997).

2 I am not using the term myth in the structuralist sense, as being comprised of objective, binary "archetypes" that have an objective existence in language independent of human will or consciousness. Instead, as Slotkin writes: "Myth and ideology are created and recreated in the midst of historical contingency, through deliberate acts of human memory, intention, and labour . . . myth has a human/historical rather than a natural or transcendent source and is continually modified by human experience and agency" (1992: 25). The frontier myth, while it exerts a conservative cultural force, is nevertheless subject to continual reworking through history and—in theory, at least—is capable of being transcended through critical self-reflection.

3 In using the term historical epistemology I am not suggesting that individuals are trapped within a particular frontier vision of the world. Multiple epistemologies operate in the realm of everyday life and each may shape how individuals construct an understanding of the world around them. Similarly, there are multiple forms and narrative genres by which these understandings may be represented. My intent is to illustrate the appearance and pervasiveness of one such prevalent epistemology/narrative form.

4 Transcripts, Cariboo-Chilcotin Justice Inquiry, Nenqai Yaheltig Law Center, Anaham Reserve, British Columbia.

5 According to my discussions with two First Nations leaders organizing the inquiry, this account is not quite accurate.

Generosity of spirit aside, the women preparing these meals were not sharing all they had, but rather were being paid for their work and were taking advantage of a rare opportunity to earn a bit of extra cash income.

6 Slotkin, somewhat prematurely, suggested that the events around the Vietnam crisis during the 1970s brought about a "crisis of public myth." By the 1990s, Americans were "in a 'liminal' moment of our cultural history. We are in the process of giving up a myth/ideology that no longer helps us see our way through the modern world" (1992: 654). Yet his own compelling demonstration of the force of the frontier myth over a period of three centuries suggests that while elements may be undergoing some structural modification, an abandonment of the frontier myth in totality is highly unlikely.

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Book Reviews / Comptes rendus

Anatoliy P. Derev'anko (ed. and comp.), *The Paleolithic of Siberia: New Discoveries and Interpretations,* Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1998, 406 pages, 231 figures (artifact drawings, maps, profiles, charts), 71 tables, index.

Reviewer: *Alan L. Bryan*
University of Alberta

This large volume is essential for any Americanist interested in the question of the original peopling of the Americas. It presents comprehensive summaries of most of the large number of Paleolithic sites of Pleistocene age known from Siberia and the Russian Far East, written by archaeologists working in each part of this vast territory. The important work in Yakutia by Yuri Mochanov is not summarized; and Nikolai Dikov's work in Kamchatka and Chukotka is only briefly summarized by Ruslan Vasil'evskiy. However, these gaps, except for the significant Diring Yuriakh site, are adequately filled by West's *American Beginnings* and Bland's translation of Dikov's *Asia at the Juncture with America in Antiquity*. A final report on Diring Yuriakh, the farthest north known Lower Paleolithic site, is being prepared by Mochanov.

Demitri Shimkin suggested a volume in English bringing together all the scattered references on the Siberian Paleolithic, and he arranged for the University of Illinois Press to publish it; but he died before being able to assist in its production. Inna Laricheva's translation of Derev'anko's compilation was organized and edited by Roger Powers and put into final form by Olga Soffer. The product, which contains remarkably few typographical errors, will be a significant data source for a long time to come. Like many edited compilations, however, the result was published almost a decade after the last data included; so readers will expect a sequel detailing all of the significant work accomplished during the 1990s, including that of a new generation of archaeologists.

Derev'anko intended the volume to be a compilation of basic data and not simply a set of interpretations, which are subject to change. Nevertheless, he allowed the authors of regional summaries to expand on their data; and German Medvedev's summary of the Angara River region is particularly memorable, perhaps because it includes a discussion of the impressive art style found only at the Mal'ta and Buret sites. The origin of this unique late-Upper Paleolithic art style remains a puzzle. Did it develop in situ or was it introduced from the west, as many authors have suggested?

Pervading the entire volume are the basic questions of where Paleolithic Siberians came from, when they arrived and with what level of technology. Because these fundamental historical questions for any part of the world remain open for examination in Russia, these questions are closer to being answered in Siberia than they are in North America, where most archaeologists have simply assumed they know the answers; so they readily accept frequent attempts to explain away data that do not support the model of initial entry with an Upper Paleolithic lithic technology no earlier than about 14 000 years ago.

The crudeness of flaked pebbles recovered from the earliest sites, such as Ulalinka, can be questioned, and it does not help that the artifact drawings are not backed up by photographs; but nevertheless the evidence presented clearly supports the consensus that people with a Lower Paleolithic pebble and flake technology lived in Siberia early in the Middle Pleistocene, if not during the Lower Pleistocene before half a million years ago. Exact dating of even Upper Paleolithic sites that are not supported by radiocarbon dates will always be questioned by sceptics. Russian Upper Paleolithic archaeologists use typology, often an unreliable method, to date most of their complexes. Also, archaeologists seem confident that they can date earlier sites by artifact typology, associated faunal and floral assemblages and sequences of river terraces, which incorporate the majority of open sites. Many sites, especially if containing loess deposits, have been dated by paleomagnetism and thermoluminescence.

Of the several caves excavated in the Altai, the detailed summary of Derev'anko's excavation of Denisova Cave is notable. The earliest occupation of Denisova contains a late-Acheulian/early-Mousterian industry dated by thermoluminescence to more than 250 000 years. Later occupation of this deeply stratified cave continued through the Mousterian into Upper Paleolithic horizons.

As in the Americas, early human bones are very scarce in Siberia. Despite the dozens of excavated Paleolithic sites, only three Upper Paleolithic localities have yielded human bones, all fragmentary, and mostly of children. These fragmentary immature remains have yielded only debatable evi-

dence concerning genetic affinities. In the future, however, ancient DNA analyses might yield valuable information.

Americanists are very fortunate that three volumes giving fresh insights into the early prehistory of Northeast Asia have been published recently. Also relevant is Keiji Imamura's recent synthesis of Japanese prehistory (*Prehistoric Japan*), which includes the Kamitakamori site, dated 500 000 years. American archaeologists should now realize that there are no actual or logical barriers to the occupation of eastern Beringia and beyond during most of the Late Pleistocene; i.e., before about 30 000 years ago, when the Upper Paleolithic in the Russian Far East began, and before glacial ice closed the hypothetical ice-free corridor east of the Rocky Mountains, and covered most of the coasts of southern Alaska. American archaeologists should admit that they do not know when people first ventured into Alaska, and open their critical minds to careful consideration of all reported evidence, no matter now early it appears to be.

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F.G. Bailey, *The Need for Enemies: A Bestiary of Political Forms,* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998, xiv + 223 pages.

Reviewer: *Anthony P. Cohen*
University of Edinburgh

"Politicians are like lawyers," says Bailey, "they rate victory higher than truth." That is perhaps the tersest and most lucid summary to date of Bailey's anthropology of politics. To make it, he revisits his 40-year-old field work in Bhubaneswar, Orissa, the work first described in his 1963 book, *Politics and Social Change*. He poses the question of the personal agendas which lie behind political disagreement, differences of view which seem to require explanation because of the extent to which they belie the appearance of collective sentiment and the claim of consensus. In the case presented in this book, the first derives from the Independence struggle; the latter, from the rhetoric of the Orissa Chief Minister. There is nothing very startling about the agendas he reveals: of caste and class; of political careers and anti-colonial experience; of aspiration, commitment and corruption. His data are in the form of extended interviews, the texts of which will be intriguing in themselves to historians of the early post-Independence period.

There is also little in the argument which will surprise readers who are already familiar with Bailey's work. We have masks; we have the axiomatic distinction made between "the political person" and "the whole person"; we have another essay on the theme of political fatalism ("Enantiodromia"), the inexorable movement from principle to compromise: "In the end, reality must win; there is a nemesis" (p. 176). It is elegantly written with more than a hint of world-weariness (and strong reminders of the influence which Manchester left on the author).

But I am not clear what this book adds to Bailey's oeuvre. I am not an Indianist, and therefore cannot judge the significance of these data. As a generalist, I suppose I take the view that a book based on 40-year-old data must either be justified by their rarity, or by the novelty of the argument. I am doubtful about the first, and unconvinced about the second. Nor do I think he demonstrates the proposition about politicians' compulsion to win. Rather, the impression I take from his vivid accounts of politics in Orissa in 1959 is that running things is more difficult than people suppose, for whatever reason. The movement from absolutism to pragmatism could be restated as one from unrealistic simplicity to actual complexity. Politicians disappoint not so much because the complexity paralyzes them, but because they seem to respond to it by reverting to a simplicity which cannot but fail many of the people and their diverse interests. This is a less interesting view of politics: that alongside the corrupt and the visionary, most politicians muddle along trying to do the best they can in the face of overwhelming odds. It is the view to which I am increasingly persuaded.

Eric Schwimmer, *Le Syndrome des Plaines d'Abraham,* Montréal: Les éditions de Boréal Express, 1996, 205 pages.

Reviewer: *Gerald Gold*
York University

From personal and research experience, Schwimmer considers three models of nationalism and sovereignty and relates each of these to the "sectorial nationalism" and cycles of tolerance which characterize the relationship of Canada and Quebec. Beginning with the toleration of 16th-century Holland, and subsequently in New Zealand, Indonesia and in New Guinea, this book adds an original perspective to studies of Quebec nationalism. Schwimmer asserts that sovereignty is the only workable solution to centuries of cyclical tolerance and acceptance of Québécois minority status. A process of "minorization" (forced acceptance of a minority status) is illustrated symbolically by the "syndrome of the Plains of Abraham." In a compelling and sometimes controversial argument he combines a critical, though selective reading of history with field work in the Mauricie region of Quebec. As the outside Dutch observer, Schwimmer comments on the political strategies of (undefined) "English" Canadians and Quebec

nationalists. His analysis focusses on the cycles of toleration which reinforce the assignment of minority status (minorization). His anthropological critique and politicized autobiography adds to social critique in Quebec.

Culturally diverse Indonesia, united by a common Javanese linguistic core, developed a form of national and postcolonial unity which Schwimmer notes is less inclusive than Québécois identity. (Forced inclusion of Timor and West Irian is not thoroughly explored by Schwimmer who does express reservations on Québécois inclusion of Native peoples.) The building of an Indonesian nation relied on unifying principles, of the "four P's," nonetheless, Schwimmer asks, like many critical commentators, what forms the cultural base or "Core" of a Quebec nation?

Somare provided a cultural core to New Guinea by extending the metaphor of the "big man" to a multicultural nation united with Pidgin as a common language. However, as the complex history of Quebec and Canada demonstrates, bilingualism and multiculturalism do not provide a "cultural core" which incorporates Quebec. Schwimmer demonstrates how the political status of Québécois is somewhat similar to that of the Maori of New Zealand in that the latter are culturally distinct, however do not occupy a distinctive territory. In a generalization which I consider to be simplistic, he identifies three alternative national outcomes: adsorption (Indonesia), sectorial independence (New Zealand Maori) and national independence (New Guinea and, in different circumstances, Quebec). The comparison between these "nations" emerges more clearly as their leaders are newly educated elites whose mobility is blocked by a minority who occupy most positions of power and influence (and rely on minority leaders to represent their interests—the colonial roi nègre). Schwimmer then compares the cyclical toleration offered the Maori with the status of Québécois and suggests that in both societies a sectorial division of powers has assured continual minorization.

Working from interviews with 15 residents in the Mauricie, a semi-rural area north of the St. Lawrence River, Schwimmer finds that his respondents use family metaphors to describe their relationships with Canada. Other anthropologists and observers such as such as Tremblay, Verdon and Lemieux have written about similar family metaphors in rural Quebec, although in Schwimmer's study, the father is Canada, and in his discussion of the Parizeau model of Quebec, the national aspect of territory excludes any notion of federalism by using the metaphor of European Community. Schwimmer also emphasizes that what distinguishes these relationships is that they are about control over territory (although territorial integrity has been emphasized in Quebec government policy since 1960). The tension between the Levesque model of Quebec independence, focussed on a relationship with Canada, and the separate nation envisioned by Parizeau, runs through the last four chapters of this book and can be found in excerpts from interviews.

Schwimmer links the recent history of Quebec to the "nightmare of colonialism" and sees a relationship between former clerical control in Quebec and caretaker regimes elsewhere. Emphasizing his theory of cycles of tolerance, the recent history of Quebec is described as an oscillation between periods of toleration and those of lent. These become contexts for events such as the Referendum (of 1976), the failure of the Meech Lake Accord and for the responses of leaders like Trudeau, Levesque and Parizeau.

Following the recent work of Sylvie Lacombe, Schwimmer emphasizes that a significant and often bypassed feature of Quebec history is the role of the modest classes and their everyday resistance to minorization by ignoring the presence of dominating others (a vision which Schwimmer attributes to Henri Bourassa). Reading this and other interpretations, a reader might ask whether they apply to the Québécois of 1997. But some, like Schwimmer, see a direct link between the earlier vision of Quebec as a conquered nation and resistance to multiculturalism. He argues that the notion of "distinct society" cannot, for the Québécois, including the people of the Mauricie, be another form of minorization. The various political options open to people of rural Quebec are now viewed by the anthropologist from the perspective of the people of the Mauricie. Following Dumont's notion of "partial holes," the notion of sovereignty is shown to be compatible with the world of person, place and nation as seen by people in the Mauricie. Moreover, drawing on the metaphor of popular festivals, Schwimmer recognizes the compatibility of this interpretation, which is shared by Gérard Bouchard, of the duality of elite and popular understandings of separate realms of culture. Schwimmer relates this dualism to Indian myth and observes that popular understanding of nation is not incorporated in Parizeau's avant projet de loi which was an elite concept of nation.

The concluding chapter considers the emerging authenticity of Quebec as a nation. This discussion, reminds me of our research on Quebec in Louisiana where the Levesque government pursued a policy of a national and moral responsibility toward francophone minorities in America. Schwimmer's research, which preceded the second Quebec referendum, came at a time when Quebec was abandoning its offices in many American and Canadian cities, rejecting the project of a cultural mission for one that was more economic and political. The policy change reflected a movement from collusion with traditional francophone elites to a more pragmatic and diplomatic intergovernmental policy. Nevertheless, emotional ties between Quebec and America remain linked to everyday practice and cultural icons. That conflict between minorization and statecraft remains integral to Quebec policies if not to those of that cultural space called *Francophonie*.

Sarah E. Boehme, Gerald Conaty, Clifford Crane Bear, Emma I. Hansen, Mike Leslie, James H. Nottage, Peter Hassrick (Foreword) and Dave Warren (Introduction), *Powerful Images: Portrayals of Native America,* Seattle: Museums West with University of Washington Press, 1998.

Reviewer: *Julia D. Harrison*
Trent University

In the tradition of art gallery catalogues, *Powerful Images* is impressive. It is an oversize volume, printed on fine paper to maximize the quality of the many colour illustrations and includes six essays by museum specialists. The exhibition was a project of Museums West, a consortium of 10 museums, all with large Western art and "Indian" collections scattered from Tulsa, Oklahoma, to Los Angeles, California, to Calgary, Alberta.[1] The Glenbow Museum is the only Canadian member. This group defined themselves as "an international group of collegial institutions organized for the purpose of developing and expanding an awareness and an appreciation of the North American West" (p. x). The exhibition *Powerful Images* was the group's first project. It was intended to "contribute to public understanding about some broad segment of their collective holdings" (ibid.). The book and the exhibition were intended to analyze perceptions about Native Americans, to prompt the viewing and reading public to understand the false homogenity of images of "Indians," to come to know the historical positionality of these images and to suggest the complexity of the "Indian voice and perspective" (ibid.).

There are clearly two texts in the publication: the images of objects, that one assumes were the materials in the exhibition; and the essays, written largely by non-Natives. (As best as I could idenitfy, there are two contributions authored at least in part by Native peoples.) The topics of the five essays range from the art of the Plains and Southwest, Euro-American portrayals of Indians, ideas of history and cultural renewal, "Indians" in popular culture and contemporary expressions of identity by Native American artists. Unfortunately, all of the essays suffer from one major failing: they are too brief. Clearly a strict word limit was placed on the authors. As a result, some of the essays read like generic introductory surveys. Another restriction on the content of the essays would appear to be the desire to highlight the collections of the museums in the consortium. This emphasis reveals how some museums have still not taken a frank, self-reflective look at what their collections really are: very random, if not chaotic, selections of materials. Few collections hold materials on broad themes that could be said to be "comprehensive." Tying one's commentary to the collections of a predetermined selection of museum collections sets arbitrary and stultifying limits on the analysis that could be offered. Frustration builds as questions about the problematics of classification in museum/gallery collections concerning "Indian art" and other cultural materials, gender and class issues in the representation of First Nations in popular culture and the implicit linkage of ideas of Native Americans to ideas of the North American West are never asked. Discussion of these questions, along with many others, would have provided stimulating reading for both the academic and the general reader.

There is one essay that stands out in the volume. That is the one written by Gerald Conaty and Clifford Crane Bear of the Glenbow Museum. This essay is the only one jointly authored by a Native and a non-Native person. Intelligently, Conaty and Crane Bear limited their discussion to the Blackfoot people, and concentrated their comments on the theme of the different perceptions of history of those who signed the Treaty 7. (The Glenbow also does hold what approximates a "comprehensive" collection on this specific theme.) Embedding their discussion in the ideas of connections and cultural identity, they emphasize the fundamentally different way that First Nations and Euro-Canadians understood (and understand) the land and human relations to it. The constructive role of museums in the struggle of people such as the Blackfoot to maintain a sense of cultural identity in the dislocating century since the signing of Treaty 7 is raised, one of the only attempts in the book to engage the debates around the role of Euro-Canadian and Euro-American museum collections of First Nations materials.

There is really little to say about the illustrations. Clearly they are of fine technical quality, but unfortunately many are not substantively linked to the text. But what is most problematic is their declarative capitioning. The captions that accompany them ask few hard questions, provoke little reflective thinking. What the book *Powerful Images* (and I assume the exhibition) lacks is any real effort to suggest that in any context, be it in the written word, the visual image, or the exhibition gallery, commentary, discussion, or reflection about North American Native peoples must be presented as a dialogue. There are few declarative statement to be made, at most there are negotiated understandings. From this book one gets little sense of the conversation happening between museums and Native peoples, yet there is a lively one ongoing. In what was an effort to challenge Native American stereotypes, this publication (and assumedly the exhibition) reinforced another one: that museums are the all-knowing voices on the subject of Native American arts, an image that many Canadian museums such as the Glenbow, the UBC Museum of Anthropology, the Royal British Columbia Museum and even in some measure the Canadian Museum of Civilization are working hard to challenge. Clearly there is still a need to spread this dialogic posture much farther afield.

Note

1 A range of terms are used in the text for the Aboriginal populations of North America, reflecting local practice. All terms that I use in this review are found in the text.

John Leavitt (ed.), *Poetry and Prophecy: The Anthropology of Inspiration,* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997.

Reviewer: *Michael Lambek*
University of Toronto

This very rich book presents a series of soundings at the intersection of poetry and prophecy and invites us to examine how each may enhance the understanding of the other. The argument is marked by a lively tension between a Platonic view which locates poetry with inspiration, the mantic and a type of dangerous and, for Plato, unwelcome confusion and the Aristotelian tradition which understands poiesis as a kind of making and sees poetry as a craft or art. While the Aristotelian model underpins the conjunction of poetics and linguistics, especially as developed by Jakobson, from which the book departs, the authors are also inspired by poetry and by their encounters with diviners, mediums, shamans, oracles, composers and bards. Leavitt endeavours with considerable energy and erudition to theorize the relationship of inspiration to craft that both poetry and prophecy invite.

The papers demonstrate that the sharper forms of dissociation correlate with neither the more elaborately crafted nor the more "inspired" forms of poetry. Trawick shows the South Indian goddess Mariamman speaking more curtly than her medium would in ordinary conversation. Balzer displays a range of broadly shamanistic Sakha (Siberian) genres across which the degree to which consciousness is altered do es not correspond in any obvious way with the manner in which the utterance is crafted. In Leavitt's North Indian case, oracular medium and poetic bard are complementary figures; elaborated poetic utterances directed to the gods are distinguished from the narrower utterances emanting from the gods. Thus, whereas "the ability to provoke enthusiasm and delight" (p. 149) is used to entice the oracle to appear, the oracle itself does not use poetry to the same extent. The prevalence of poetry in prayers, hymns and formulaic utterances in many societies is surely also to be remarked. In fact, priestly invocations from inscribed texts are often as poetic as the compositions of the prophet. Thus, rather than simply conjoining poetry with prophecy, it might be more useful to examine poetry across a range of types (or ends or functions) of religious communication. Instead, Leavitt identifies himself with a whole series of "head-scratchers" from Plutarch onwards who are perplexed at the thin quality of oracular (prophetic) language.

Leavitt interestingly recoups by defining an "infralinguistic" form of language marked by a flattening of reflexivity—in contrast to poetry defined, following Jakobson, by a heightened reflexivity ("metalinguistic")—that may be characteristic of oracular language. It is important to recognize that reflexivity refers here not to the psychological state of speakers but to the degree utterances draw attention to themselves as linguistically crafted.

Most poetry in the West, distinguished as "art," has little political impact. Yet in many societies poetry is all too readily interpreted as prophecy and the inspired may need to exercise caution. Hence one reason for recourse to infralinguistic codes may be that insofar as the oracles' words carry weight, speakers are relieved of responsibility for deliberate or unruly significance. Thus they cannot be so easily attributed as committing the sorts of acts that Tedlock ruefully discovers his divination provoked. (Of course, poetry may produce the same ambiguating effect, as Bill McKellin has demonstrated, by opposite means, namely, through what Friedrich here calls "intentional obscurity.") Moreover, in the case of the Kumaon the oracles' words are largely restricted to performative utterances of self-identification, blessing and the like (p. 146). Such illocutionary acts do not require the tropological flourishes we associate with perlocutionary exhortations. Indeed, performativeness in the Austinian sense may be impeded by excessive performance in Bauman's sense of display by an expert and evaluation by an audience, a meta-linguistic playfulness that in drawing attention to itself provokes recognition of the role of language in creating effects that illocutionary performance attempts to naturalize. By contrast, poet-prophets of the more courageous sort, whether Jeremiah or Baudelaire, Adrienne Rich or Robert Bly (to draw from Friedrich's sly compilation), attempt to create new circumstances rather than reproduce conventional effects.

The larger point here is that in addition to craft and inspiration (and playfulness), the production of poetry or prophecy surely requires the assurance, right or obligation to make certain kinds of public utterances, not simply to compose a song or mutter an epithet under the breath. In certain contexts dissociation may be insufficient to lift social barriers or provide the confidence to attempt to smash them. Hence the "inspirational" effects of dissociation will always be mediated by the political. Put another way, the poetics of speech ought to be understood with respect to the larger system of communicative acts.

This technical argument is quibbling compared to the main contributions of this volume: to turn our attention squarely to the poetry in religious utterances and to beautifully evoke and display it. Tedlock conveys the embodied poiesis of Mayan divination. Trawick shows "language which does an emotional job that ordinary language can't do" (p. 64) in her dialogue with a possessed medium in South India. Balzer reviews a range of shamanistic genres and occasions, situating them with respect to present-day political concerns and pointing to connections between older and more recent forms of creative production, from seances to Sakha rock music. Leavitt, in two separate pieces that together amount to nearly half the book, introduces us respectively to the history of thought about the relations between poetry and prophecy in general, and to the interplay between bards and oracles in the central Himalayas. His skillful hand provides the volume a sure sense of direction that culminates in Friedrich's unfolding of a series of linguistic and anthropological features of poetry-prophecy through analysis of Pushkin's poem "The Prophet," leading inevitably to the conclusion

that Russian and American poets should be considered within the same overarching framework as Greek and Himalayan bards, Siberian shamans and Old Testament prophets. Each author provides skillful translations of significant excerpts of poetic material.

If poet and prophet sometimes fold into each other, several contributors also blur the distinction between themselves and their subjects. Craft suggests apprenticeship and inspiration invites mimesis. Tedlock displays his virtuosity as diviner no less than writer; Balzer portrays herself as client and eager participant; Trawick writes as an ambivalent subject and object of transference. Interestingly variable, these recourses to (romantic) subjectivity stand as sources of the ethnographer's authority—"Having been moved by this poetry/prophecy I can claim to understand it!" Yet understanding is served by a judicious balance of distantiating craft and appropriative inspiration; as any literary critic could advise, the best interpretation of a poem is not necessarily the most personal.

If anthropologists have only recently discovered that they have been writing in prose all along, so, Leavitt and his contributors tell us, their subjects have be en speaking in poetry. Of course, this very distinction may not be sharply marked in cultural contexts that lack a field of poetics (much like the gift/commodity distinction in societies without economics), but that makes the material all the more interesting. This engaging, elegant book is a welcome call to attend to the poetic elements of religious language, thereby expanding linguistics, poetics and anthropological accounts of religion.

Les musées de la Ville de Paris, Palais Galliera, Musée de la Mode et du Costume, *Japonisme et mode* (catalogue d'exposition), Paris : Paris-Musées, 1996, 208 pages. 112,40 $, relié.

Recenseur: *Gérald Baril*
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Le catalogue d'exposition, lorsqu'une attention suffisante est portée à son élaboration, constitue non seulement un complément à la mise en espace, mais un mode d'accès à part entière au thème exploité. C'est le cas avec cette édition soignée et richement illustrée, réalisée à l'occasion de l'exposition «Japonisme et mode», tenue au Palais Galliera (Musée de la Mode et du Costume), à Paris, du 17 avril au 4 août 1996.

La qualité du contenu de l'exposition et de son catalogue sont redevables en bonne partie à la mise en commun de l'expertise des spécialistes du Palais Galliera à Paris et de ceux du Kyôto Costume Institute au Japon. L'événement a visiblement bénéficié de l'expérience du Kyôto Costume Institute, qui avait organisé une première exposition sur le même thème, en 1994, en collaboration avec le musée national d'art moderne de Kyôto. De plus, le conservateur en chef de l'institut de Kyôto, Akiko Fukai, qui signe un article substantiel du catalogue de l'exposition parisienne de 1996 («Le japonisme dans la mode», p. 29-54), est également l'auteur d'une monographie sur la question (*Japonisme dans la mode*, Heibonsha, 1994).

Tout en concentrant leurs propos sur l'influence du vêtement japonais dans la mode, les diverses contributions des auteurs du catalogue débouchent plus largement sur la question des échanges culturels entre le Japon et l'Occident, surtout à partir de la deuxième moitié du XIX^{e} siècle. On rappelle ainsi que l'esthétique japonaise a exercé une influence non négligeable sur l'évolution de l'art moderne en Occident, à travers des peintres comme Monet, Manet, Degas, Toulouse-Lautrec, Van Gogh et Bonnard. L'engouement d'une avant-garde artistique pour le Japon, et les répercussions qui s'ensuivirent sur les usages et les pratiques culturelles d'une frange des populations européennes, s'explique en partie par l'ouverture du Japon, après 1853, au développement d'échanges commerciaux multilatéraux. Après une période de fermeture quasi totale qui avait duré deux siècles, sous le shôgunat d'Edo, le rétablissement des ponts commerciaux eut pour effet de favoriser, sinon de provoquer, la multiplication des échanges. Ce ne seront pas alors seulement les objets, ni seulement les savoirs et les techniques du Japon, qui feront irruption dans la culture européenne, mais bien une certaine manière de voir japonaise. Un des effets les plus durables de cette irruption, comme le souligne Shûji Takashina (p. 27), sera de réhabiliter, au moins en partie, les arts dits «décoratifs» ou «mineurs», que les canons de l'art moderne avaient tendance à reléguer au second plan, au profit des arts dissociés de toute connotation pratique. Au Japon, en effet, l'objet d'art demeure inscrit dans le quotidien, de telle sorte que les premiers étalages systématiques d'art japonais à l'étranger, dans le cadre des expositions universelles de la deuxième moitié du XIX^{e} siècle, seront disposés dans un environnement domestique reconstitué. On comprendra dès lors que le kimono puisse être considéré par les Japonais comme une oeuvre d'art, au plein sens du terme.

Dans son article, Akiko Fukai affirme que «le japonisme a été l'un des facteurs les plus puissants de l'évolution de la mode» (p. 29). L'influence du vêtement japonais se serait déployée selon elle en quatre étapes : (1) l'introduction du kimono comme élément exotique; (2) l'imitation des motifs japonais et de leurs méthodes d'impression; (3) la prise de conscience de la plastique du kimono; et (4) l'intégration de caractères de l'esthétique japonaise parmi les sources de la création en mode contemporaine. Dès la fin du XVII^{e} siècle, les Hollandais (seuls Européens avec qui le Japon conserva des liens commerciaux sous le shôgunat d'Edo) faisaient fabriquer en Inde des robes de chambre inspirées du kimono. À la fin des années 1880, le fondateur de la haute couture, Charles Frédéric Worth, intégrait à ses créations des broderies à motifs japonais et des compositions asymétriques, utilisant entre autres les tissus lyonnais «à la japonaise». À partir de 1903, Paul Poiret commença à créer des vêtements inspirés du kimono. Après 1918, Madeleine Vionnet faisait

pour sa part le pari de s'inspirer du kimono tout en révélant les formes du corps féminin. Enfin, les années 1920 devaient voir l'aboutissement de l'influence japonaise : par contraste avec la raideur des tissus et la prolifération d'ornements qui avaient marqué le XIX[e] siècle, les vêtements de cette décennie furent conçus comme des coulées de matière fluide se déversant sur les reliefs du corps. Puis, dans les années 1930, tandis que les relations entre le Japon et une partie de l'Occident se détérioraient, l'influence japonaise sur la mode s'estompa.

Il faudra attendre les années soixante-dix pour qu'une nouvelle vague d'influence japonaise se fasse à nouveau sentir. À cette époque s'installent à Paris les Kenzo Takada (1970), Issey Miyake (1973), Hanae Mori (1975), Rei Kawakubo et Yohji Yamamoto (1981). La nouveauté, toutefois, est que ces derniers s' imposent en tant que détenteurs d'un héritage culturel qu'ils réinvestissent eux-mêmes dans le champ de la mode contemporaine; ils portent bien haut leur nipponité et en usent comme d'une arme pour se découper une place à même le système occidental de la mode. D'un autre côté, Richard Martin et Harold Koda (p. 77-86) font remarquer que les créateurs japonais arrivent à point nommé, au moment où la mode cherche à créer une esthétique correspondant à de nouvelles valeurs, par exemple l'expression d'une différence sexuelle qui ne serait pas perçue comme opposition. Kiyokazu Washida (p. 89-91) va encore plus loin, faisant valoir que le vêtement japonais traditionnel se prêterait à «promouvoir des valeurs autres que la beauté, l'élégance ou le sex-appeal».

L'influence japonaise doit être problématisée aujourd'hui en tenant compte du caractère densément réticulé de la culture mondiale. Des traits autrefois ethniques ou nationaux sont l'objet, dans le contexte actuel, d'une mise en circulation qui rend possible leur réappropriation en tant qu'emblèmes de nouvelles associations stratégiques. Le réalisateur anglais Peter Greeneway illustrait récemment le phénomène, en mettant en scène, dans son film *The Pillow Book*, la fascination résurgente pour la calligraphie chez une partie des Japonais, s'associant lui-même à ce qu'on pourrait interpréter comme un réflexe de sauvegarde. Ayant cela à l'esprit, on doit conclure qu'un ouvrage comme le catalogue de l'exposition *Japonisme et mode* fournit des matériaux fort utiles à qui voudra tenter de mieux suivre, dans ses particularités contemporaines, les voies d'élaboration de la culture.

Nancy Ackerman, *Wathahine, photographies de femmes autochtones,* Musée McCord d'histoire canadienne, du 1er août 1996 au 12 janvier 1997, Musée canadien des civilisations, du 25 avril 1997 au 15 mars 1998

Recenseur: *Sylvie Vincent*
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> Ce sont toujours les femmes qui sont devant. Nous sommes les mères de ces hommes qui prennent les décisions – ces chefs et ces politiciens – Femmes... nous sommes les mères de chaque être vivant. (Eva McKay, Sioux Valley, Manitoba[1])

Le Musée McCord a présenté, au cours de l'hiver 1996-1997, une exposition de photographies de femmes autochtones qui fut ensuite accueillie au Musée canadien des civilisations. Il s'agit d'une trentaine de photographies prises par Nancy Ackerman dans plusieurs régions du Canada, dont plus d'un tiers au Québec et au Labrador. Les autres proviennent surtout des Territoires du Nord-Ouest et du Manitoba, mais aussi de Nouvelle-Écosse, d'Ontario et de Colombie Britannique.

Nancy Ackerman est elle-même d'origine amérindienne par sa grand-mère paternelle née à Akwesasne. Si le destin personnel de son père a coupé celui-ci de la culture mohawk, la photographe tente au contraire de retrouver et d'«explorer son patrimoine autochtone». Entre 1991 et 1995 elle a donc parcouru le Canada, cherchant à saisir, au détour des visages, des gestes et des regards, le reflet de l'âme autochtone.

Pour ce faire, Nancy Ackerman a choisi de photographier des femmes engagées – que ce soit sur le plan social ou politique – et conscientes de leurs appartenances. Elle nous présente des travailleuses sociales, des enseignantes, des artistes ainsi que des aînées qui continuent à vivre leur culture et à la transmettre. Parmi celles-ci figurent par exemple : Elizabeth Dick, de Whapmagoostui, qui «a lutté pour le droit de ses enfants de vivre et de chasser sur le territoire cri sans la menace d'autres inondations massives résultant des projets d'aménagement hydroélectrique»; Josie Monette Hill, de Winnipeg, qui se consacre aux Autochtones «vivant en milieu urbain dans des maisons de transit et des centres d'aide à la famille»; Jane Gottfriedson, de Keremeos, présidente de l'Aboriginal Women's Council of British Columbia; Terry John, également de Colombie Britannique, qui lutte contre l'exploitation forestière sur les terres ancestrales de sa communauté; Mina Weetaltuk de Kuujjuarapik qui, avec d'autres opposants au projet Grande Baleine, se rendit à New York, en 1990, à bord de l'Odeyak; Rose Grégoire et sa soeur Elizabeth Penashue, de Sheshatshiu au Labrador, qui se battent, au risque de leur liberté, contre les vols à basse altitude des avions militaires basés à Goose Bay.

Sur la vingtaine de femmes photographiées, un tiers sont des Inuites des Territoires du Nord-Ouest et du Québec, les deux autres tiers se partageant entre des femmes vivant en milieu urbain (Mohawks, Abénaquise, Cries...) et des femmes vivant dans de petites communautés (Innues, Cries, Micmaques, Dènèe...). Pour plusieurs d'entre elles, la photographe a choisi de ne présenter que le visage, en gros plan,

sans décor perceptible. Quelques unes sont vues, le plus souvent assises, dans l'intimité de leurs maisons ou de leurs lieux de travail. Les autres se trouvent à l'extérieur, en général debout, soit à proximité de chez elles, soit dans l'immensité de leur environnement quotidien. Presque toujours les femmes sont seules face à la caméra, ce qui les rend très présentes car on peut capter leur regard vers la photographe.

Chaque portrait est accompagné d'un court texte qui fournit le nom de la personne et son lieu d'origine ainsi que quelques informations sur sa vie, ou du moins sur la partie active et engagée de celle-ci. Certains de ces textes expriment, à l'aide de citations, les idées des personnes photographiées Nancy Ackerman est photographe documentaire. Ses clichés ont été publiés dans les principaux journaux canadiens (*The Gazette, The Globe and Mail, The Toronto Star, Maclean's*, par exemple) ainsi que dans des journaux étrangers (*London Times, New York Times* et autres). Même s'il n'est pas lui-même un professionnel de la photographie, le visiteur ne peut s'empêcher de remarquer la grande rigueur avec laquelle l'artiste construit ses oeuvres. On en voudra pour preuve la photo de Rose Morris, guérisseuse et travailleuse sociale micmaque, debout entre trois arbres dans un ensemble dont la verticalité est accentuée par l'orientation vers le haut que prend son regard. Ou encore celle d'Alanis Obomsawin, cinéaste abénaquise, autour de qui s'enroulent souplement et de façon fantaisiste des pellicules de films tandis que, dans son dos, s'alignent au contraire, en rangs serrés, les dures boîtes métalliques où l'on range ces mêmes pellicules. Opposition encore, dans la photo de Rita Joe, poète micmaque élégante et souriante, dont le visage est souligné par le mouvement arrondi des mains, encadrement souple qui contraste avec les châssis carrés et rigides de la porte et de la fenêtre devant lesquelles elle se tient. Ou celle de Susan Avingaq dont le buste et le visage se dressent devant un paysage coupé successivement par les bandes horizontales de la grève, de la mer et du ciel; ou cette succession de quatre photographies représentant Mina Weetaltuk, tour à tour songeuse, gaie, énigmatique et rieuse.

Mais deux photographies ont particulièrement retenu mon attention en raison de leur construction : leur équilibre ajoute à la tranquille assurance émanant des portraits et fait ressortir l'éclat des visages. L'une nous présente Monica Ittusardjuat, enseignante inuit qui poursuit ses études à Ottawa, l'autre Rosie Okkumaluk, aînée inuit d'Igloolik connue pour ses chasses à l'ours et sa mémoire de conteuse. La première photo offre au regard trois visages en très gros plan et rien d'autre : celui de Monika Ittusardjuat et deux visages d'enfants. Ceux-ci semblent posés sur chacune des épaules du personnage central et sont encadrés par ses mains. La photographie présente donc, de gauche à droite, une main, un visage d'enfant, le visage de Monika Ittusardjuat, un visage d'enfant, une main. Dans ce tableau aussi tout est basé sur la rondeur des mains et des visages, les yeux de celui du centre étant en outre cerclés de lunettes. Mais à cette rondeur physique ou visuelle si l'on veut, s'ajoute une rondeur psychologique, une bonhomie, une simplicité créées par le dépouillement de la photographie et par la jovialité des personnages. Cet ensemble serein est d'autant plus émouvant que cette jeune femme, apprend-on en légende, a «survécu à la violence familiale». L'autre photographie nous montre Rosie Okkumaluk qui, assise en tailleur sur son lit, est en train de faire une réussite (celle que l'on appelle généralement «Klondike»). Il ne s'agit donc pas d'un gros plan cette fois-ci, ni d'une composition linéaire. Le personnage occupe encore le centre de la photo mais dans une perspective à trois dimensions. Le décor est surtout fait du lit et du mur de la chambre. Ce dernier est recouvert de ce contreplaqué brun que l'on voit beaucoup dans les maisons nordiques. Le fond de l'image est donc rayé de bandes verticales. Le lit sur lequel se tient Rosie Okkumaluk est surtout remarquable par les plis de l'étoffe qui le recouvre. Ils semblent irradier en traits obliques, comme le ferait un éventail, du personnage et du milieu de l'image vers l'avant de celle-ci et donc vers le spectateur. Entre chacun des plis repose l'une des rangées de cartes de la réussite. Rosie Okkumaluk, ainsi placée au centre de lignes parallèles (dans son dos) et divergentes (devant elle) semble au coeur du monde. Le regard est inévitablement attiré vers elle. Et l'on découvre une femme rieuse, dont la force physique est soulignée par la coquetterie simple des vêtements, dont l'attitude et le regard transmettent une impression de franchise et de plénitude.

Si chaque portrait livre un morceau d'histoire personnelle, l'ensemble fournit un aperçu sociologique sur les femmes autochtones d'aujourd'hui. Tout d'abord la variété des décors indique la variété des environnements, non seulement géographiques mais aussi économiques et sociaux, dans lesquels vivent les femmes autochtones du Canada. Ensuite, le visiteur reçoit l'impression qu'il a devant lui des femmes qui paient de leur personne pour préserver leur milieu et leur culture non seulement parce qu'elles les pensent nécessaires à la survie de leurs communautés mais aussi parce que c'est dans l'action qu'elles trouvent un apaisement à leur colère. Elles ont en effet à composer avec un monde qui change et souvent les agresse (aménagements hydroélectriques, vols à basse altitude, exploitation forestière, «Oka», violence urbaine, tentatives d'assimilation...). Celles qui choisissent d'y faire face s'appuient sur les valeurs propres à leurs cultures. Au coeur de cette problématique se trouve l'éducation. C'est par elle que les missionnaires et les enseignants ont tenté de transformer les autochtones (Eva McKay), mais c'est par elle aussi, si elle est prise en main par les autochtones eux-mêmes, que les choses pourraient s'améliorer, estime Kanahstatsi Howard qui a longtemps travaillé au programme d'immersion en langue mohawk.

Par delà les dimensions sociales et politiques de cette exposition, le visiteur sera sans doute porté à se laisser impressionner par l'atmosphère qui s'en dégage. Les photographies sont imprimées en noir et blanc et, bien que beaucoup de visages aient été pris en pleine lumière et en gros plan, certaines personnes sont dans la pénombre ou, en plans

plus lointains, dans des paysages dont l'immensité leur confère une sorte de mystère, parfois de fragilité. Des jeux d'ombre et de lumière, des attitudes, des expressions, émerge une impression contrastée faite d'un mélange de fierté, de force, de rire, de sérénité mais aussi d'une infinie tristesse. Être femme autochtone à la fin du XX^{e} siècle, c'est très certainement avoir à se repenser, semble dire cette exposition, avoir à concilier des contraires ou à faire des choix comme le suggère l'une des femmes rencontrées par Nancy Ackerman : «Je me vois comme si j'étais dans l'embrasure d'une porte [...] entre la façon dont j'ai été élevée et le monde moderne» (Susan Avingaq, Igloolik, Territoires-du-Nord-Ouest).

Le titre de l'exposition, *Wathahine*, qui signifie «le long voyage» et qui est le nom d'une des femmes mohawks photographiées, symbolise peut-être le périple effectué par Nancy Ackerman pour s'imprégner de ses racines autochtones et nous les traduire. Il me semble signifier aussi le long voyage que doivent entreprendre les femmes autochtones, actuellement dans l'embrasure de la porte. Un voyage déjà amorcé par plusieurs d'entre elles qui, suggère cette exposition, tirent leur force du fait qu'elles ont emporté leur culture dans leurs bagages.

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