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*Cover / Couverture*

Mayo weaver (Cirilda Mayoroqui Nieblas) at her *telar*, or horizontal loom. Photo: Kathy M'Closkey.

Tisserande mayo (Cirilda Mayoroqui Nieblas) à son *telar*, métier à tisser horizontal. Photo: Kathy M'Closkey.

# Expanding Notions of Culture and Ethics in Health and Medicine to Include Marginalized Groups: A Critical Perspective

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***Abstract:*** I am concerned with the manner in which an almost exclusive focus on the individual has been part of a more general process that increasingly marginalizes the most vulnerable people. A highly individual view of what constitutes the realm of ethics stems both from the cultural value of extreme individualism expressed in the industrialized west and a narrow conceptualization of culture itself. I will argue that this has profound consequences not just for groups like minorities and the poor, but also ultimately for our species itself. This is because a failure to attach ethical discussions to groups cannot adequately critique ecological disasters. Ultimately, it is our species that is threatened by a medical ethics narrowly bound to the notion of individual rights rather than to ideas of responsibility and human rights. I will illustrate this with examples drawn from the evolution of increasingly virulent diseases created largely by the pharmaceutical industry and the obsessive quest for individual longevity via organ transplantation that has led to a profound misunderstanding of cancer.

***Résumé:*** La façon dont l'individualisme actuel marginalise de plus en plus les êtres les plus vulnérables m'inquiète. Une vision si fortement centrée sur l'individu dans le domaine de l'éthique peut provenir de deux sources: premièrement la valeur que l'ouest industrialisé accorde à l'individualisme radical et deuxièmement un concept trop étroit de la culture elle-même. Je soutiens que cette situation a de profondes conséquences, non seulement pour les groupes minoritaires et pour les pauvres, mais aussi pour toute l'humanité. En effet, on ne peut condamner les activités qui engendrent des désastres écologiques que si les évaluations éthiques portent sur les groupes humains affectés. En fin de compte, c'est l'espèce humaine qui est mise en danger par un code médical étroitement lié à la notion des droits de l'individu plutôt qu'aux idées de responsabilité et des droits humains. Ceci sera illustré par des exemples venant de l'évolution des maladies de plus en plus virulentes, largement crées par l'industrie pharmaceutique, ainsi que par la quête obsessionnelle de longévité au moyen de transplantations d'organes qui a conduit à de profondes méprises au sujet du cancer.

> Par le même acte, grâce auquel il tisse la langue hors de lui, [l'homme] s'y tisse lui-même.
> — (Von Humbolt, cited in Cassirer, 1973: 18)

The prevailing ethos of North American jurisprudence, marketing, business and entertainment are all highly similar—they valorise the individual as decision maker, arbiter, and consumer.[1] Not surprisingly, a similar construction of ethics predominates in many domains ranging from commerce to medicine. After participating in the discourse on ethics and medicine for many years, Renee Fox summarizes this well: "the conceptual framework of bioethics has accorded paramount status to the value-complex of individualism, underscoring the principles of individual rights, autonomy, self-determination, and their legal expression in the jurisprudential notion of privacy" (1990: 206). In this paper I maintain that a culturally entrenched focus on the individual in medical ethics, is deeply implicated in the ongoing reproduction of poor health for marginalized minorities. In my view there are some groups who are subordinated by other groups in the name of individual rights held to be sacrosanct, and that ethics can either veil this process or, if dilated, can serve in a more critical fashion to reveal it.

In deeply troubling contexts involving great pain and suffering, medical uncertainty, and competing cultural values; where individuals are at odds and their rights and obligations collide, there are almost never clear answers. Yet, in practice contemporary medical ethicists attempt to project a logical and moral order onto decision-making processes in just such ambiguous circumstances, with results that are generally not critically examined from a wider cultural perspective.

> In these situations, rationalistic thinking and a deductive, utilitarian orientation to problem solving provide an illusion of objectivity and logic. Informed by the legacy of Cartesian duality, the analytic style of

> bioethics contributes to a distancing of moral discourse from the complicated human settings and interactions within which moral dilemmas are culturally constructed, negotiated and lived. In this discourse, issues of personhood, body parts, organ replacements, genetic cloning, and the like are confronted as abstractions rather than experienced realities. (Marshall, 1992: 52)

The dilemmas most often examined as moral quandaries in the discourse of contemporary medical ethics are generally restricted to issues of individual control and rights, and consequently social justice issues are shunted out of the way. Social justice is rooted in understanding basic inequalities and these are rendered invisible through a construction of ethics that I maintain often reproduces its own fundamental contradiction, rather than resolving any recurrent dilemma with which it may engage. Thus, for example, the end of life ethical dilemmas on which medical ethics focusses presupposes a relatively long life and hospitalisation, both of which are commonplace for only some income groups in society. An end to life in early childhood is far more likely for poor, isolated indigenous populations but neither their poverty nor their disastrously high infant mortality rates are generally construed as an ethical issue; instead it is viewed as a medical, pubic health, or social problem (Burgess, Stephenson, Ratanakul and Suwonnakote, 1999).

Not withstanding the effective sidelining of social factors, it has become regarded as especially useful in discussions of health promotion to include "culture" among a cluster of variables to be accounted for in the decisions that people make when they become ill.[2]

This is generally advanced as a means *to deliver* "culturally sensitive" or "culturally appropriate" care. The verb *to deliver* strongly suggests a commodification of both health (which is left undefined) and of caring behaviour (however that may be measured) consistent with an extremely high level of individuation. The delivery of health care equilibrates it with ordering a pizza, or receiving your morning paper.

Culture has found its way into the clinical concerns of medical ethicists, health administrators, nurses, and physicians coping with highly a plural clientele. However, it is the instrumental clinical value of the concept of culture in the treatment of individuals (or sometimes "families," whatever they may be) that has become attractive to ethicists, not its explanatory power in social contexts such as those involving class, ethnicity, age and gender. Given the clinical imperative to treat individual suffering this is hardly surprising but in my view it is now critically important to expand the manner in which the concept of culture is used and understood in the realm of ethics. This can be accomplished by showing a variety of ways in which culture has been used as a concept that constrains understanding rather than expanding it. Examples have been selected to illustrate a series of points that, when taken together, illustrate the need to use the culture concept in a complex, critical and multidimensional way. This is not a linear argument, and I certainly do not argue that we should exchange one particular definition of culture for another. Nor do I wish to imply that we should ignore the needs of individuals or shrink from trying to make very difficult decisions; I strongly advocate a broader understanding of how collective and individual problems are entwined in the hope that it may benefit us all.

Many influential writers in medical ethics uncritically accept culture as a kind of quasi-analytical category used to explain variation in behaviour. However, since most ethicists received their training in analytical philosophy, they do not view their own analytical categories as contestable (cultural)—instead, they are givens. In this respect they differ little from most academic fields, which begin with an episteme. Much of contemporary anthropology, however, strives to contest its own categorical assumptions in a highly reflexive manner where almost nothing is a given—except, perhaps, the very notion that we should not begin with givens. Between 1995-97 I met regularly and intensively with a group of medical ethicists to try and see how these two very different ways of working through difficult issues might fruitfully engage one another.[3] This was sometimes very difficult for all of us, chiefly for two reasons: (1) most of medical ethics is concerned with individuals whereas most of anthropology is concerned with groups; (2) cultural relativism of some sort is a prerequisite of ethnographic work in cultural anthropology but what ethicists generally term "cultural ethical relativism" is anathema to the field of medical ethics. Consider the following quote from Soifer (1997: xxi) in his introduction to the second edition of his classic, *Ethical Issues: Perspectives for Canadians*,

> [relativists] make the claim that what each of these cultures believes to be right *is* right.... Indeed, if relativism is correct, it becomes hard to see how people can engage in ethical debate even within a single culture. One might wonder how we are to determine what a culture believes ...

I hasten to add that Soifer's view is (relatively) enlightened. Characteristic of this kind of discourse is a highly reified notion of culture; Culture believes, thinks etc. Any contemporary notion of culture as a dialogic pro-

cess containing many different voices contesting assumptions is entirely lost; any notion that ethics itself is imbedded in this process remains almost unthinkable.

We may initiate a critical review by observing first that an operational view of culture as simply constituting one intervening variable among many is actually the hallmark of a particular kind of culture whose members tend to see virtually everything in purely instrumental and functional terms. Therefore, an initial reluctance towards establishing a working definition is a precondition for actually expanding our understanding of culture to include the wider and multiple contexts within which people operate during communication in culturally plural situations. Appreciating how culture (as ideology) obscures as well as reveals certain connections from people in various contexts related to healing and illness is the goal.

However culture might be defined, as a universal feature of human social life it must apply to the world of health care providers and clients equally (as well as to both researchers and their subjects). In the realm of health and illness this means that how clinicians and ethicists create meaning when interacting with their clientele interests us at least as much as the illness experience. Most importantly, it is the dominant cultural group in these encounters that may be especially difficult to understand. This is particularly the case where medicine and ethics come together because there it is often assumed that such a quintessential realm of science and logic has become a privileged site where culture (in its ideological and subjective sense) does not play a role. Or, if it does play a role, it is simply viewed as a contaminating variable to be excluded from analysis if it cannot be included in a highly controlled manner. I think this view is actually basic to how the most central ideological constructs of industrial Western culture are reproduced; by asserting that they are not ideological in the first place. Much of medical science manifests an unwavering belief system (an ideology) in which it is maintained that it is not an ideology, but instead constitutes the truth revealed through experimental methods. In a similar fashion, much of medical ethics asserts itself as a moral arbiter based on hard logic and absolute categories. From a critical and reflexive perspective these represent ideologically loaded core assumptions reflecting a Western post-industrial world view: the individual, consent, choice, worth and goodness (as opposed to evil) and control. More arcane terms such as autonomy, beneficence and non-maleficence are employed in ethics instead of culturally imbedded terms like "good" and "evil." The phrase from the constitution of the United States, "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" captures nicely the essence of the notions held as givens in much of contemporary American ethics. Supra-individual elements of social organisation such as kinship groupings, membership in disadvantaged groups (women, children, the disabled, etc.) or sub-national ethnicities (indigenous peoples, visible or auditory minorities) are difficult to handle in this construction of ethics. Furthermore, notions of group rights, as well as more environmental notions of cause of all forms of pathology (including crime) become either unthinkable or even anathema in the individuated realm of contemporary medical ethics.

Culture is understood in this general framework to be a controlled factor in experimental modalities rather than the comparative experimental method seen to be a cultural form where certain ideas are reproduced, most especially the notion that means are justified by ends and that individuals are the explanatory nexus of social events. Ethics is likewise viewed as somehow endogenous rather than a peculiar cultural product, which is based on a set of intuited eternal verities.

The form of ethical debate is usually a decontextualized case study phrased as a dilemma. Case by case resolution reproduces the narrative assumptions of the debates over and over again; it does not change the context that creates the events in the first place. I have used the case method in this paper in a contrary manner meant to complicate rather than to resolve, and to expand rather than limit, the discourse. If an intercultural ethics is to ever develop in pluralist societies my contention is that such privileged and hegemonic orientations will have to be subverted through an expanded self-awareness on the part of practitioners and researchers in ethics and medicine. The realm of ethics—concerned as it ultimately must be with both the examination and creation of alternatives—seems a likely if not an easy place to start.

## Example #1: The Death of Sandra Navarerete

> On March 28, 1989, five-year-old Sandra Navarrete died of chicken pox, a childhood disease that is rarely fatal in the United States. Her parents, recent undocumented immigrants from Mexico, did not seek medical care for Sandra until it was too late for successful intervention. Their comments indicated that they did not seek care because they did not know where to go, they did not speak English, and they had little money (Jones and Reyes, 1989: II,1). A few days after this occurred; I received a phone call from a reporter who asked me,

"What is it about Mexican culture that prevented Sandra's parents from taking her to get health care?" (from Chavez, Flores, and Lopez-Garza, 1992: 6-7)

Like the reporter who telephoned Leo Chavez in this example, researchers from biomedicine interested in cultural pluralism and health issues greatly restrict the notion of culture by defining it as a collection of "cultural beliefs" usually assessed through questionnaires containing several items dealing with respondents' ideas about health (Millard, 1992: 4). The resultant trivialization of culture as unarticulated elements of traditions, to which others blindly adhere, nicely deflects our attention from our assumptions about knowledge and how these "lie at the heart of contested domains concerning responsibilities, rights, authority, and power" (Millard, 1992: 4). Clearly, Sandra Navarrete did not die of either chicken pox or her parents' health care beliefs; she died because her family is desperately poor and isolated. Furthermore, they are impoverished because they are part of a large group of undocumented and unorganized Mexican labourers exploited to keep the California agricultural and textile industries profitable. A broader definition of culture would be concerned primarily with the web of economic and political relations that subordinate the Navarrete family, with their despair, and the experience of illness that stems from these. It should also bring into sharp relief a question which I would take as central—whether the lack of access to care experienced by the Navarrete family is not also a matter which medical ethics should begin forcefully to address.

When culture is reduced to a manipulated variable called "cultural beliefs" considerable damage is done to the people to whom the narrowed concept is applied Where culture is simply a residual and manipulated category, the subject population (patients or clients) are understood to have "health care beliefs" (culture), while professional ethicists and physicians are seen as the bearers of wisdom and medicine—supposedly value free entities which are accepted as entirely "good" and objectively "true" (as logical and as science). In the many intercultural health-care contexts of international development, immigrant and refugee issues, or the struggles of indigenous people around the world, this rapidly becomes a case of "western minds and foreign bodies" (Hepburn, 1998: 59). This is where healthy rationalism is expected to triumph over ignorance and disease because biomedicine and bioethics are advanced as neutral, scientific, and objective descriptions of a reality uninfluenced by social forces. This widespread view is taken for granted and so is not often recognized as part of the reproduction of inequity . . . including inequities in the provision of health care itself. That it is also a deeply colonialist point of view is barely recognized.

What role does the restriction of notions of culture to a few questions in a medical history, or several variables on a needs assessment questionnaire, play in the death of Sandra Navarrete and the suffering of people like her? To begin addressing these questions, we must briefly summarize the thrust of most bioethical concerns over the past several decades. I wish to emphasize from the very beginning that I think we should understand these as predominantly the broadly defined concerns of our dominant cultural elite; that is, as ideological productions rather than as an uncontested progressive chronicle of the distilled truths of logic and science.

Fox (1990: 202) outlines three distinct phases in the evolution of bioethics in the United States, to which we in Canada are also heir. I have appended some significant social and demographic commentaries to her categories.

### *Late-1960s to Mid-1970s: Preoccupation with informed consent from human subjects involved in scientific research*

These concerns continue to be important but have shifted from concern with individuals who may be easily exploited (prisoners, children, incompetent aged, mentally and physically handicapped) to the ramification of experiments with genes and frozen embryos, and foetal tissues (culminating in a National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioral Research, est. 1978). This period was consistent with wider societal shift from concern with social deviance to a legal approach to the conflict between individual and civil rights which preoccupied Americans at the time.

### *Mid-1970s to Mid-1980s: Concern expanded to involve definitions of life, death and personhood.*

It should also be noted that the demographic underpinning of these concerns reflects a middle-aged "baby boom" generation simultaneously coming to terms with children and ageing/dying parents. The issues of life, death and personhood reflect everything from the meaning of senile dementias to abortion but are also consistent with the growing commodification of people and their body parts. (The President's Commission for the Study of Ethical Problems in Medicine and Biomedical and Behavioural Research, was established in 1981.)

*Mid-1980s to present: Discussion of cost containment in health care and the allocation of scarce medical resources*

This is consistent with wider concerns about high taxes and deficit financing of government debt in an ageing population during a period of economic recession.

All of these concerns mirror both technological shifts in biomedicine and alterations in the economic circumstances of an ageing population. Marshall (1992) summarizes this nicely as a major interest throughout recent years concerning the nature of personhood. When does individual life begin and end? To a great extent bioethical concern embodies a fundamental concern of our culture, which is to gain personal control over "events that accentuate individual powerlessness" (Marshall, 1992: 51). This is true of everything from weight control and associated disorders (*Anorexia nervosa*) through cosmetic surgery, to the ageing process and most especially to death itself. Individual powerlessness is a bleak feature of life in industrial society, which is, ironically, maintained by emphasizing the rights of individuals without acknowledging the importance of group processes in supporting and maintaining those rights. Weakening or even severing the social bonds that might truly grant individuals some measure of power and efficacy in their lives does this. However, there is also a fundamental contradiction at work here which stems from every advance in control, and which leads to great ambivalence on the part of the general public. Biomedicine grants the physician or scientist an increasingly finer control over the time of death, or the beginning of life, but simultaneously it often denies these to the individual patient and their family. It is thus that even individual rights become subordinated by the principal of individual rights to life when it is understood as a temporal commodity.

## Example #2: The Configuration of Mortality and Ethics: Native Health

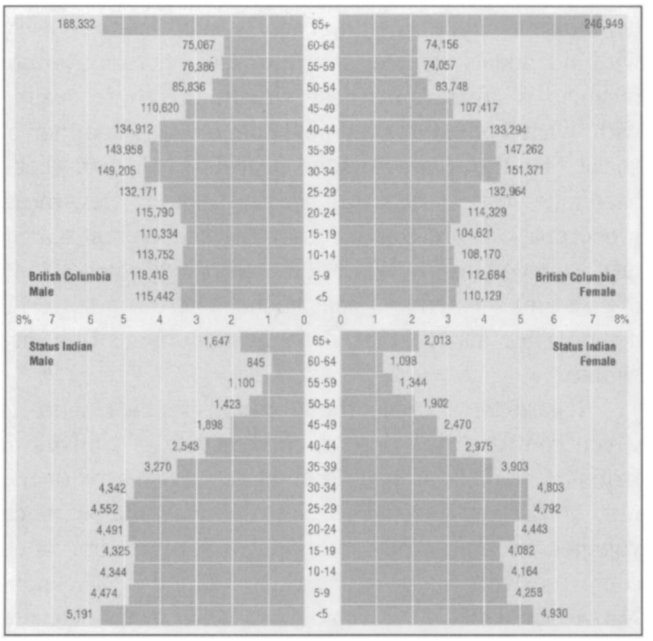
If the concerns over when life begins and ends, the moral quandaries associated with placing baboon hearts into infant human beings, and the sex of frozen foetuses have preoccupied parts of both our scientific and ethical communities, they have not proved to be of all-consuming interest in the rest of the world. In Islamic countries, for example, these are widely viewed as the decadent and absurd cultural productions of the self-absorbed infidel West. To critics within, this cultural preoccupation is rather akin to the number of angels who can dance on the head of a pin. What certain cultural obsessions (the sexual identity of our unborn children, the exact time of our departure from life) seem to reveal is a profound concern with individuals divorced from the social domains where meaning is created. In these situations we are dealing with what constitutes personhood on the margins of social life: those pre-persons nearing birth, and those becoming post-persons through death. In my view these preoccupations are configured by the concerns of mainly urban, predominantly White, economically privileged (and often male) segments of populations. There is a powerful demographic and political dynamic underlying this discourse.

Regard, for example, the following graphic (Figure 1) which compares the population structure of Natives in British Columbia, Canada (non-status Indians) with the rest of the province. The Native population is much younger, and has almost no population of seniors when compared with the rest of British Columbia. The non-Native population is extremely top-heavy with a considerable segment of the population over 65 years of age. This latter population is almost completely urban, mainly White, intensively utilizes hospitals, and is generally far wealthier than their Native counterparts. Much of the practice of medical ethics concerns the latter stages of life and is taken up with this population and very large expenditures of funds are associated with them. Yet, the mortality statistics for Aboriginal people indicates a much poorer health status rooted in limited access and further constrained by a set of beliefs and practices which define their suffering, like Sandra Navarrete's, as a social problem surrounded by an aura of inevitability.[4]

The fact that the Native population is much younger stems from the appalling mortality experienced by the group from birth onwards as Figures 2 and 3 graphically demonstrate. The relatively younger Aboriginal population is then far more than a reflection of higher birth rates; it exists because the rest of the potential age pyramid has been eroded by constantly higher mortality from just about every cause we have managed to study. Indeed, when one measures this in terms of a comparative statistic known as potential years life lost standardised rates (PYLLSR), we find that the Native population of British Columbia (whether male or female) loses more than three times as many years as the rest of the population from all sources combined. I want particularly to draw your attention to the measured rates of Sudden Infant Death Syndrome (SIDS) in Figure 2 which initiates the simply appalling mortality curve found in Figure 3.

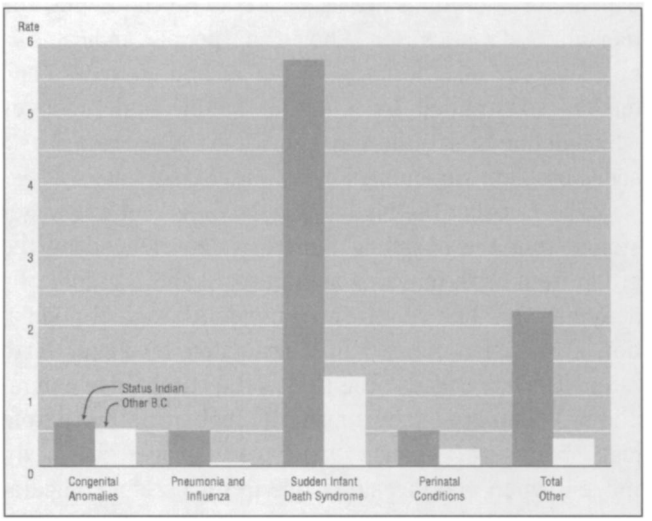
There are many risk factors associated with deaths of all infants in their first year, clustering around the 4th

**Figure 1**




Population comparison: Native (status Indian) vs. non-Native pyramid profiles in British Columbia, 1992 (Foster et al, in Stephenson et al, 1995: 51).

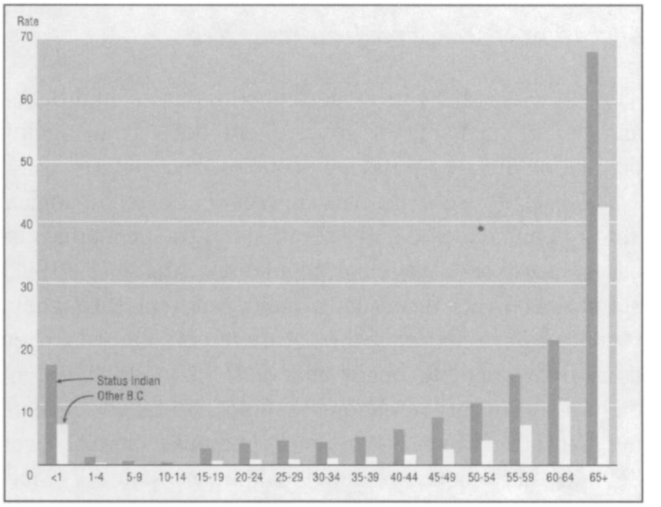
**Figure 2**




Major causes of post-neonatal infant mortality: Native (status Indian) vs. non-Native populations in British Columbia, 1987-1992 (Foster et al, in Stephenson et al, 1995: 70).

and 5th month of life (maternal smoking, low birth weights, maternal anaemia, youth of mother, alcohol and drug use, single status, and lower socio-economic status). The last of these, poverty, is implicated in virtually all of the others because poverty too often means poor

**Figure 3**

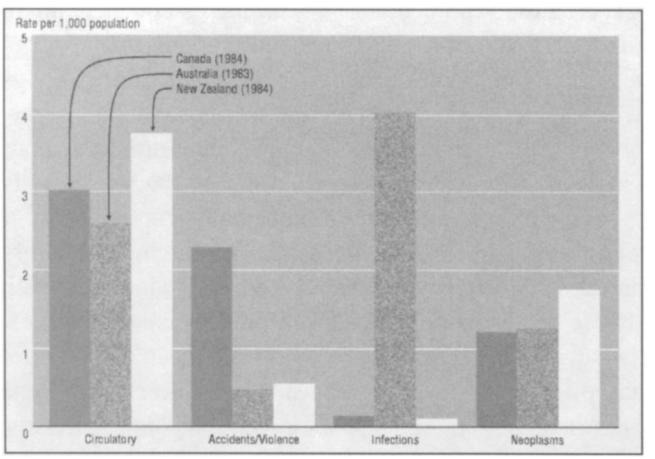



Age-specific mortality rates comparison: Native (status Indian) vs. non-Native in British Columbia, 1987-1992 (Foster et al, in Stephenson et al, 1995: 72).

maternal nutrition, absent partners, despair and addiction. If this childhood and maternal poverty is where the higher mortality trajectory begins in Native populations, then we must wonder why this is not of greater concern to the world of medical ethics? Well, of course the Native population is far more rural and has poorer access to care, maternity programmes, and all manner of public support. In particular, relatively little money is actually expended upon them compared to the dominant groups in Canadian society. To reduce mortality in the first year of life of babies also means focussing on social supports, mothers, jobs and income for partners, etc. These are all public health issues; they are deeply social and imbedded within a fabric of systemic racism and economic neglect. To deal with them in ethical terms means conceptualising and using an expanded notion of group rights; to understand why they are not now broadly configured as ethical issues we must also look deeply into the culture of the dominant group in Canadian society. We do not need another superficial set of generalizations about the culture of Native people which becomes just another way to blame the victims for their problems. We certainly do need to understand why this sadly graphic illustration of disastrous and appallingly high numbers of dead Native babies is not in the forefront of medical ethics instead of frozen foetuses and transgenic farmed organs from pigs. I suggest it will have to become so if we are ever to develop an intercultural ethics in medicine and health care which deals with more than the pre-occupations of the most powerful cultural groups in our plural society.

The Canadian example of high mortality among Native peoples repeats itself around the globe with colonized populations of indigenous people everywhere. Typically, the leading causes of death in such populations are: (1) circulatory diseases, particularly Non-Insulin Dependant Diabetes Mellitus (NIDDM) associated with loss of land and resources, relocation and dietary shifts from varied high protein/low carbohydrate diets to limited low protein/high carbohydrate diets (Heffernen 1995, Hopkinson, Stephenson and Turner 1995); (2) violence (including suicide) and accidents, often associated with poverty, substance abuse and a history of residential school systems and missionization (Cooper, 1995, Wade, 1995); (3) high rates of untreated infections associated with poor housing, poor diet, lack of access to care and isolation. Elliott and Foster (1995) graphically depict this situation (see Figure 4) for Australia, Canada and New Zealand using data compiled by Shah and Johnson (1992). Note that death from Neoplasms (Cancers) are roughly the same for each group and much lower than the leading causes of death for each respective group. Cancer kills mainly in older age categories and relatively few of these people ever reach anything like old age (Hislop and Band 1995).

**Figure 4**




Age standardized mortality rates of the leading causes of death for Indigenous peoples in Canada, Australia and New Zealand (Elliott and Foster, in Stephenson et al, 1995: 107)

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What kind of distractions and enthusiasms contribute to the political economy and limited attention span of a world filled with starving children living in abject poverty who die in droves of common childhood diseases like chicken pox; their suffering somehow construed as inevitable? Their deaths have somehow become too easily viewed as the sadly unavoidable product of their own cultural inadequacy and degradation brought on by mixture of corruption and poor hygiene. They are not often viewed as a creation of international agribusiness, which has alienated much of the world's food growing lands in less than a century, and turned them into coffee, chocolate, citrus, tea, poppy, coca, copra, sisal, cotton or other plantations. Neither is the destruction of food species habitats by rapacious mining and manufacturing industries generally seen as causal. My point is simply that it is rather easy to do this if we insist that our most powerful science (medicine) and our reified market (economics) are both value-free and objective while our ethical/moral assessments of health turns on questions of life extension for the privileged few. Other cultural realities are either reduced to a few beliefs which must be surmounted in order to provide them with hegemonic ideas of "modern" health care or are ruled out as based in a morally repugnant cultural relativism that applies to everyone but the ethicists themselves. This is done while simultaneously moving poor people away from kinship-based collective responsibilities and into the free-market system as entrepreneurial individuals. That these are assimilationist and neo-colonial ideas is simply too obvious to need much elaboration (Bodley 1985, 1988, 1990). A basic issue for consideration in an intercultural ethics is then the rights of groups and the distribution of basic resources needed to sustain life within them.

## Example #3: The Problematic Concept of "Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder"

It is generally assumed in Psychiatry that Western diagnostic categories and standards of measurement are scientific, and hence, minimally affected by cultural values. This is type of category fallacy can be well understood through a critical examination of so-called Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, or PTSD as it is most commonly known. The symptoms of this "disorder" are reasonably well known and need no elaboration here, but one wonders how it can be claimed that the same terminology applies equally to the victims of torture and the torturers themselves? How is it that Vietnam War veterans and Vietnamese refugees both have PTSD? Those who survived a catastrophic earthquake and those who lived through the process of "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia are said to suffer in the same way in a common syndrome (Madaakasira and O'Brien, 1987, Young, 1988, 1992). When we focus on healing, which is an interpersonal process, it becomes clear that the fact that some people suffer as a result of human brutality while others suffer from natural disasters must play a role in the therapeutic pro-

cess. It is, after all, the bonds of human trust that must be refashioned in the former. Including the tortured with their tormentors under the same rubric begs all kinds of questions about what is obfuscated through a medicalized acronym like "PTSD." If torture has the moral valence of an earthquake two things happen: torture is viewed as natural (or human nature) and nature is viewed as malevolent. In this instance, as in the earlier discussion of agribusiness, the culture of the observer tends to obscure something important from our view—human agency in the creation of immense suffering and a moral discourse imposed upon the natural world.

This analytic view of culture emphasizes what is hidden within the ideological structure of culture as well as what is revealed by it.

> ... the emphasis has shifted from what culture allows and enables people to see, feel and do, to what it restricts and inhibits them from seeing, feeling and doing. Further, although it is agreed that culture powerfully constitutes the reality that actors live in, this reality is looked upon with critical eyes: why this one and not some other? And what sorts of alternatives are people being dis-abled from seeing? (Ortner, 1984: 152)

This is not simply the conventional Marxist formula of mystified power relations; something much more personal and perceptual is implied by Ortner. If we fail to recognize our own beliefs as cultural productions while insisting that others' problems stem solely from forces at work in their cultures, what happens to nature itself in the equation? My view is that so-called natural disasters become viewed as inevitable, capricious or even malevolent—as accidents—and the fundamental and essential human involvement in the form of everything from flawed and cheap architectural design to toxic effluvia and radiation is made invisible (Stephenson, 1997: 363).

The "aura of factuality" (after Geertz, 1973) in a culture which is conveyed by medical and ethical research and practice must become the object of scrutiny precisely because it so powerfully asserts itself as having reached a set of unassailable scientific bedrock truth. Critical analysis begins with the observation that, as Keesing (1987, 161) put it, "Cultures are webs of mystification as well as signification." This mystification only begins to dissolve when we come to understand that, as Alan Young succinctly puts it, "in industrial societies the most powerful ideological practices are ones which claim that their facts are non-ideological because they are scientific" (1983, 209).

## Example #4: Ageing and the Fallacy of Reproductive "Loss" in Menopause

It takes what Martin (1987, 52) describes as a "jolt" to better understand the "contingent nature" of biomedical description and analysis, and this can happen when one's own assumptions are revealed in another cultural context. For many anthropologists, working in cultures other than their own with older individuals as cultural interpreters has revealed, quite unbidden, the nature of age stratification in their own societies. The stratification and stigmatization of the elderly is grounded in an ideology of ageing within biomedicine itself as the medicalization of old age. The process is particularly gendered and simultaneously yields the view that men inevitably die young due to constitutional deficiencies and that women live longer but essentially unproductive lives. Both of these are ideological constructions based upon social forces at work upon men and women in industrial societies. The discussion here relates to women's health but a similar deconstruction of men's socialization into highly stressful dangerous careers and early mortality experiences propped up by an ideology which normalizes this as essentially male is easily conceived.

In a now classic study, Emily Martin (1987) deconstructed the representations of women's bodies found in Medical Textbooks. She concluded that several powerful metaphors of women's bodies permeated the textbooks which were cloaked in scientific (supposedly value free, or neutral) terminology. Martin found one metaphor employed throughout the texts was that the female body is geared to "production" (not really reproduction, I would add) and consists of a control hierarchy that falters and breaks down with age. The image is identical with that of our economic system. In menopause, she writes, "what is being described is a breakdown of a system of authority ... at every point in this system, functions "fail" and "falter." Follicles, for example, "fail to muster strength to reach ovulation. As functions fail, so do the members of the system decline" (1987, 42). The key to the metaphor, as Martin sees it, is "functionlessness." She concludes, "these images frighten us in part because in our stage of advanced capitalism, they are close to a reality we find difficult to see clearly: broken down hierarchy and organisational members who no longer play their designated parts." I would add that outside the body the hierarchy that is breaking down is also one of male authority, and the members no longer playing their designated parts are (mainly) women. Not only, as Martin forcefully concludes, is the body described in a way which props up a view of women defined solely by their

reproductive function, but this is done in a way which strongly implies that menopause is a negative experience and that post-menopausal women do not have an economic roles to play—being broken parts, as it were, and viewed as emotionally unstable ones at that. Such a negative evaluation of identity and slim prospects for the future can easily lead to anger, which is transformed into a symptom and called pre-menstrual syndrome (PMS).

A considerable literature exists on post-menopausal women's lives outside of the mainstream of industrial capitalism. In Oceanic societies, after women stop having children; they enter the domain of political leadership. A considerable number of Oceanic people appear to have older women and younger men—often their sons—serve as political leaders. Many old men retire to a life socializing with one another, in caring for grandchildren, and in fishing. The change of role from that of a person prohibited via various taboos (centred on menstruation and fertility) from playing political roles is essentially validated for women by menopause and the clarity of mind it is said to bring (Brown and Kern 1985). This reinterpretation of what menstrual taboos mean has also been extended to various Native American groups (Underhill 1965, Powers 1980, Wright 1982 and Buckley 1982). What then, happens to the so-called symptoms of menopause and PMS in such societies? There is a considerable literature that has shown that the experience of menopause is quite variable and, not surprisingly, related to the position of women in particular societies (Lock 1993, Davis 1996). Menopause and PMS are relatively culture bound expressions of so-called symptoms operating in societies where change in fertility has long been construed as a loss of fertility—i.e., as a deficit. Most disturbingly, even though there is little evidence for menopause and PMS as universal experiences of women, negative connotations and readings of the change of life can be introduced by what is essentially medical propaganda and a changing view of women associated with the spread of biomedicine (Davis, 1996: 75).[5]

There is another approach to this issue which complements both the analysis of language afforded by deconstruction, and the cross-cultural research into roles and symptoms. This challenge to medical orthodoxy is particularly ironic because it challenges biomedicine on something like its own territory as essentially an uncritical and culture-bound form of folk biology of the West.

Evolutionary Anthropologists, Zoologists, and Primatologists have long noted that fertility is not directly or invariably related to systemic decline and mortality in animals. At one end of a spectrum, animals essentially spawn and die in such a manner that the two processes are entwined. For example, the entire digestive tract of some migratory fish (*Salmonids*) is reabsorbed and energy and space directed into reproduction. At the other end of the spectrum, highly social animals can have prolonged post-fertile stages in their lives. Interestingly, in human beings and other highly social Primates, this stage may even exceed in duration the period of socialization of the young of the species. There also consists an abundance of information on child-care and provisioning in many groups of food foragers, which shows that after infants begin to walk with confidence, they often become the charges of the oldest generation. The parental generation is often busy acquiring food—indeed, they may be the only ones allowed to hunt and gather because the activity is considered to be polluting in some fashion. Turnbull's (1983) description of Mbuti society vividly illustrates this and adds yet another ironic element; it is the youth and the elderly among the Mbuti who are allowed to make political commentary and reprimand the middle-aged adults for their anti-social behaviour.

Did natural selection play a role in creating both a long period of socialization and a long post-fertility stage in the lives of women? Are the two not rather directly related, each producing the other? Viewed in this way, the negative construction of post-menopausal life becomes, instead, a species-specific adaptive attribute of human beings. To construe menopause as a "loss" obscures what might be understood far more profoundly as the way our species gained its most defining attribute: culture. The evolutionary development of culture depended on an adaptation that allows for considerable post-reproductive life, particularly among women. Such a view of post-fertile life-span suggests that it is a highly evolved characteristic and part of what has made us into *Homo sapiens*: cultural knowledge shared among three generations rather than simple survival techniques transmitted between two. What kind of an ideology operates in such a way that something as profoundly human as the collective evolutionary gain of culture as a species attribute can be viewed as inevitable individual loss? It must be a powerful ideology asserting a form of truth that it is incontestable and exclusively individuated.

The evolutionary perspective allows us to examine another critically important issue where the weight of the scales of eternal justice have tipped so far towards individual rights over group rights that I fear we may have endangered ourselves as a species.

## Example #5: Pharmaceuticals and the Ultimate Iatrogenesis[6]

As almost every student of pathogenesis and infectious disease has come to understand, over time, natural selection tends to favour the less virulent forms of any particular pathogenic organism. This is simply because the most virulent forms wipe themselves out when they kill their hosts. For example, we can see that many pathogenic relationships between organisms that afflict mammals, are now carried rather benignly by reptiles and birds that have had much longer periods of evolutionary time to come to terms with them. The greatest scourge of humankind since the advent of agriculture in central Africa, *Plasmodium* (Malaria), is an example of this. "A corollary of our discussion thus far is that a well-adapted 'healthy' parasite is one which has increased its potential for survival by not killing the host. In evolutionary terms, this means that older parasites are often highly complex in their interaction with their hosts, and while they may kill some, particularly children and older people, they debilitate many. They also will have evoked an adaptive response on the part of humans which is genetic in those areas where the disease is endemic." (Stephenson, 1986: 49-50). What, we should now ask with some urgency, do we accomplish when we indiscriminately apply broad-spectrum antibiotics to mild infections in otherwise healthy individuals? Rather obviously, we create a hot-house environment for the breeding of increasingly virulent forms of the infectious diseases we have targeted. Moreover, we also disrupt many other unintended targets such as our normal intestinal flora (*e. coli*) with pharmaceuticals, causing them to rapidly evolve forms of resistance, which they then transmit laterally to infectious pathogens through the unique ability of bacteria to swap genetic material across species lines. The process of pharmaceutical driven micro-evolution of virtually all bacteria and some viruses we blithely term in common parlance, "medicine." One is given to wonder at the ultimate wisdom of this . . . and the role that individual rights ascendant over collective responsibilities may play in ever trying to remove so-called "modern medicine" from this nasty evolutionary *cul de sac*. Disturbingly virulent forms of old diseases (and perhaps a few entirely new diseases) are increasingly the legacy of the era of the "magic bullet" (Stephenson, 1989, 1991). But most insidiously, the pharmaceutical industry is unlikely to change this situation for the simple reason that a positive feedback loop links their profit motives to epidemiological imperatives when so-called "new" diseases arise or resistant bacteria evolve. Quite simply, a larger potential market arrives with every resistant strain that appears. The pharmaceutical industry appears to contain a fundamental iatrogenic contradiction, which is obscured by common beliefs surrounding the term "cure." After all, we say that "medicines" (e.g., drugs) "cure"; we do not conventionally say they "cause" disease. A more culturally situated evolutionary and economic understanding of Western antibiotic pharmacopoeia rooted in social costs as opposed to individual gains, suggests something very different. Every new generation of drugs increases pathogenic resistance in a downward spiral spreading death and destruction in its wake—along with a generous bonus of increasing dividends for wealthy individuals and corporations. Moreover, resistant bacterial infections grow fastest in the underdeveloped world because once resistance begins, pharmaceutical companies with overcapacity dump cheap drugs into Third World countries where their use is uncontrolled. Additionally, more than half of the antibiotics used are added to feed in agriculture to promote growth (and profit margins) in agribusiness and so the resistant reservoir of bacteria has become immense (Davies, 1996).

What does this rather dismal scenario entail for either the concept of culture, or medical ethics. I think it means leaving behind the deeply mistaken notion that biology and culture are not linked in some very critical ways. Their linkage is one in which humans have blundered into the biological realm while under the illusion that they were "controlling disease" through the sheer brilliance of their culturally-based superiority (Stephenson, 1997).

In his influential work, *The Predicament of Culture*, James Clifford (1988) concludes that the idea of coherent "cultures" is deeply problematic. According to Clifford, anthropologists (among others) have generally used the culture concept to imagine a world of neatly bounded, internally "coherent," aesthetically "balanced" collective entities. However, such a concept,

> . . . contain[s] and domesticate[s] heteroglossia. In a world with too many voices speaking all at once, a world where syncretism and parodic invention are becoming the rule . . . it becomes increasingly difficult to attach human identity and meaning to a coherent "culture" or "language." (Clifford, 1988: 95)

Thus, Clifford rejects essentialist models of culture and identity. Culture is not located within a group, just as identity does not inhere in individual human beings. Rather, culture and identity happen between people: "we should attempt to think of cultures not as organically

united or traditionally continuous but . . . as negotiated, present processes" (1988: 273). He concludes that the "deeply compromised idea" of culture must be "replaced by some set of relations that preserves the concept's differential and relativist functions and that avoids the positing of cosmopolitan essences and human common denominators" (1988: 274-75). This newer formulation of culture must itself be multivocal and grounded in experience as opposed to being defined in universal terms. Such a conceptualization may allow for intercultural understanding as opposed to cross-cultural studies. Yet we must also caution that Clifford's argument about culture, as a loose construct containing internal contradictions and incoherence, is also mainly an analytical perspective informed by the chaotic aspects of social life. From a more localized and grounded ethnographic point of view, many newly consolidated identities—sexual, ethnic and cultural—are also continuously being asserted and the symbols used to unite these identities in the political domain are created against a backdrop of alienation and a human need for meaning and consistency. So, there are forces pushing in the other direction too—towards homogeneity and consolidation in a specified place and time. One has only to think of many ethnic nationalist political movements around the world to see that the creation of culture is a process of fusion as well as fission. If the most salient lesson is that culture is a process occurring between people(s), then the transmission and creation of both illnesses and health are also cultural processes occurring between groups of us.

## Case #6: Mortality and Death: The Dance of Measurement and Meaning

Consider the recent rather surreal court cases of a physician in the U.S. who has been given the moniker "Dr. Death" by the public and the tabloid media. Dr. Kavorkian has invented a machine that allows his clientele—mainly individuals with mortal illnesses—to push a button, leading to the release of a lethal substance through an I.V. As a researcher who has witnessed the deaths and attended funerals of a number of people in various cultural contexts (Hutterian, Cree, Haida, Dutch), this has always struck me as a particularly absurd medical appropriation of a natural process. What is it about industrial medicine that has made people feel that they require this kind of assistance? In many cultures, people can often die more or less when they want to because they stop eating and taking fluids and their desire to do so is respected. If one is ill and takes in no fluid for a couple of days, one dies. Not only do people in many cultural groups appear to know when and how to die, all other animals appear to manage this too.

The variation in mortality experiences of Hutterites as these relate to ageing, sex roles and fertility are particularly relevant here, Stephenson (1991, 1985, 1983). The Hutterites do not share a similar life expectancy pattern to that of the rest of North America. They may be the only known group in the industrialized world where men and women die at about the same age—indeed men may even outlive women by an average of about six months. In trying to understand how this comes about I have had most of my notions about death itself challenged. I have concluded (in contrast to the proponents of the doctrine of specific aetiology) that people almost never die of any one underlying cause but of multiple factors. Whenever a specific cause of death has been sought for in epidemiological studies of Hutterite women, we have only succeeded in finding that they have fewer deaths from that cause than would be expected: the Hutterites die earlier from less of just about everything than does much of Canadian society in the prairie region where they dwell. They have lower rates of cancer, in particular. What do they die from? Early researchers concluded that the high numbers of births per woman (a measure called parity) was responsible through some sort of systemic weakening of their bodies. This hypothesis went untested for about 30 years and derives from the same perspective that Martin so successfully deconstructed. I should also point out that large families are often considered to be irresponsible and unhealthy by the social class and society from which the researchers themselves were drawn. Parkinson (1981) finally showed that there was no statistical or clinical data to support the parity hypothesis. Indeed, Hutterian women with the largest number of children appear to live slightly longer on average, although the age difference is not particularly significant. Long-term ethnographic fieldwork suggested instead that many Hutterian women probably die earlier than non-Hutterite counterparts of multiple subclinical cardiovascular conditions within a context where death is not feared and where dying is a lingering social process which is drawn out over time, allowing them to be visited by dispersed daughters. In short, death does not mean the same thing to Hutterites as it has meant to medical researchers. For Hutterites dying is a normal, inevitable process which makes one the focus of community attention and love. It concludes a period of relative isolation from ones dead kin and friends and transports one to the realm of eternal perfect communal living (heaven) while ending a life of increasing travail and isolation from daughters as well. To many researchers, how-

ever, death is generally the enemy; it is, if not entirely preventable, then something to be indefinitely postponed. Any conventional demographic or epidemiological use of mortality statistics to try to either evaluate or prolong life in the Hutterite colonies is likely doomed to failure. Hutterites tend to greet death with hope rather than fear and prefer a prolonged deathbed to a sudden departure. Just how does one do comparative epidemiology when the major variables for severity of expression of symptoms and even mortality (and hence life expectancy itself) are imbedded in cultural values which evaluate pain and death very differently from the way the researcher does? Have we made of death such a fearsome "enemy" that we no longer know it as a universal and normal experience?

## Conclusion: Industrial Medicine and The "War" on Disease

Recently I have come to view much of industrial medicine as founded to a great extent on culture-specific metaphorical notions of a moral war. The working conditions of almost any emergency ward in a major city in the industrialized world tend strongly to reinforce such a view. People maimed in accidents or assaulted by those around them swamp emergency wards. The caseload of traumatic injury is so heavy in many of these institutions that the same kind of medicine (triage, gallows humour, etc.), which prevails in war, is found in them. Many physicians undertake their basic training in such circumstances, but receive almost no training in public health and know little of the culturally diverse populations they must serve. When this understandable siege mentality is then later extended into the realm of chronic problems, however, disease becomes the enemy instead of poverty, ignorance and neglect. And, although our conditions are "targeted" by drugs, "bombarded" with X-rays, and "operations" performed to remove various "invasions" of our personal landscapes, our experience of this war is deeply problematic. The perceived enemy is, as always, small and escalation breeds guerrilla tactics to which we, in the ranks of industrial medicine, are extremely vulnerable.

In this metaphorical war against disease, the historical significance of our allies—medical technology and "civilized" culture—in the domination of smaller cultures and their experience of disease and suffering has been greatly overestimated and generally misconstrued. As McNeil (1976, 1979) has shown, the disease load harboured by civilization has been its major weapon during colonial expansion. Epidemics of diseases causing herd immunity in adult survivors are maintained in large, dense populations via the annual infection of large numbers of children. These "childhood" infectious diseases evolved from herd and flock animals along with agriculture and animal husbandry. They were (and are) devastating to smaller societies when both children and adults become simultaneously infected. Not only are adults far more seriously symptomatic, but they cannot care for their infected children, leading to exceedingly high overall mortality. The political advantage won for western medicine early in the colonial encounter between resistant adult Europeans and diseased and dying indigenous peoples around the world is difficult to overestimate. Both parties appear to have attributed notions of superiority (cultural and racial) to immune Europeans. Paradoxically, the greatest initial advantage Europeans had over smaller cultures and their medical practice was not western medicine, it was the diseases they carried with them (Cohen, 1989). Many in the medical fields, however, still live with the illusion that it was a superior culture in the form of technology and medicine, which gained for the West much of the world. This arrogant perspective buttresses notions of superior values and morality in the form of those key assumptions which lie behind our ethics as well.

To summarize, much of western medical ethics is generally framed by a set of cultural themes from which I suggest we must begin to break away.

1. Individual demands are generally valued at the expense of group rights. Put in another way, our notion seems to be that individuals have rights; groups have responsibilities to individuals, and it is rarely the reverse. Since culture is quintessentially a group concept with ramifications for individuals, then an intercultural medical ethics will of necessity have to move beyond the dimension of individual entitlements and rights and towards some way of addressing the rights of groups of people who are disadvantaged.
2. A large population cohort of elderly individuals in a culture obsessed with youth and phobic about death utilizes vast amounts of health care resources in the last months of life. Medicalisation can make old age a nightmare for many seniors and their families while simultaneously diverting limited resources from prevention of problems among marginalized minorities. A generalized extreme fear of death (thanataphobia) also wreaks havoc with the normal ageing process for both women and men and even distorts our understanding of what makes us human; the long post-fertile life stage that allowed culture to evolve in the first place. A critical approach to this means shifting the concerns of medical ethics from the tangle of individual rights at

life-end stages dominated by technology, and towards group processes that promote prevention and acceptance of life and death as normal events.

3. Competition is pervasive and actually believed to be the universal fountainhead of individual creativity in a global economy. This particular ideology creates adversarial relationships between humans and their environmental contexts and human moral dilemmas where solutions must be co-operative. Much discourse in medical ethics takes the narrative form of debate between two sides of an issue with a winning position. That this is culturally situated motif of competition similar to everything from game shows to the awarding of the Nobel prize for literature seems obvious; that it generally reproduces problems rather than finding solutions appears to be almost invisible to the participants.
4. The widespread view of co-operation as a suspect activity that is unnatural, and, at any rate, unattainable in the individual struggle to survive is a corollary of (3). This makes solution-oriented programmes directed at prevention and promotion in intercultural contexts extremely difficult to maintain. Where failure is expected the economic and structural supports required to achieve success are generally minimal. Any consequent failure of co-operative activities is then said to prove the point that it initially presumed. Much inadequate funding for public health initiatives among marginalized groups (the homeless, indigenous groups, etc.) is like this and never moves beyond inadequately funded demonstration projects whose goal appears to be to demonstrate the intractable nature of the problem, not to find a solution.
5. The conquest of much of the world by Europeans tends to be viewed as the inevitable result of cultural and technical superiority (including medicine) rather than the result of diseases transmitted to non-immune populations that killed millions of people between 1500 and 1900. This illusory interpretation of history tends to breed an arrogant and ignorant self-confidence about cultural hegemony and a supremely overconfident science. An intercultural ethics of medicine will have to be vigilant in adopting a more self-critical stance and be able to hear other points of view through a very dense and rather self-congratulatory cultural screen. Otherwise, the crisis in antibiotic resistant bacteria will ramify into an overwhelming array of iatrogenic problems threatening our collective existence.

All of these points appear to be related to an extraordinary need to exert personal control over events that accentuate individual powerlessness in those kinds of societies which, paradoxically, thrive on individual powerlessness. As such, an ascendant form of individualism threatens the actual existence of the collectivities to which we belong—families, cultures, and species. This, in my view, leads to the neglect of vulnerable minority groups and to a view of public health measures that are not seen or understood in ethical terms. A cover of *LIFE* Magazine recently viewed at the newsstand reveals this well: "Can We Stop Ageing?" the headline demands. Ironically, one wonders if notions of individual immortality will make us collectively extinct. The deeply imbedded Christian notion of life after death understood as "life everlasting" has represented a long-term (perhaps fatal) blind spot in understanding cancer in particular. Only in the last two years has the fact that cancer cells are immortal begun to be recognized as the principal factor making them so dangerous. Understanding what makes cancer cells immortal is a fundamental step towards alleviating the uncontrolled growth of tumours. Quite simply, in social species or groups individual immortality is essentially a malignancy. Yet many in medical science have interpreted this cautionary lesson instead as a way to begin pushing forward life expectancy into the range of centuries through gene therapies to prevent normal cell apoptosis.

Our place in both the world and among other peoples appears to be deeply flawed by the notion that we are incontestably superior beings, with an arsenal at our disposal. Left unchanged, I fear such hubris may actually hasten our species' departure from the scene. Dreams of immortality are antithetical rather than fundamental to the love and care of others which should be intrinsic to health care and to an intercultural ethics that supports it. Milan Kundera, in *Immortality*, summarized this very precisely:

> The gesture of longing for immortality knows only two points in space: the self here, the horizon far in the distance; only two concepts: the absolute that is the self, and the absolute that is the world. That gesture has nothing in common with love, because the other, the fellow creature, the person between these two poles (the self and the world) is excluded in advance, ruled out of the game, invisible. (Kundera, 1990: 211)

## Notes

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3 To read the results of this endeavor, please see Coward and Ratanakul (1998).

4 See Foster, et al (1995) for a detailed discussion of these graphs.

5 Diet is also a largely unexamined factor in the experience of PMS in particular, although its implications for menopause are somewhat better understood. There are many naturally occurring estrogens in plants and there are also numerous human-made products (plastics, herbicides) which mimic estriadol. These forces may influence population specific physiological experiences around reproduction in ways we are only beginning to understand.

6 See Stephenson, 1986, 48-50, 1989, 1991, 1997, and Davies, 1996.

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# Sharing Resources on the North Pacific Coast of North America: The Case of the Eulachon Fishery

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***Abstract:*** Rights to exploit resource loci were usually owned in the Northwest Coast culture area and were normally held by descent groups. This was true of the right to fish for eulachon, a small, oil-rich, and highly valued anadromous fish which spawned in a limited number of river estuaries on the north Pacific coast of North America. At some of these spawning sites from 5 000 to 10 000 people assembled each spring, yet the participants did not form a political unit in any sense. In the absence of formal political structure, and despite frequent conflict, multicommunity exploitation of this rich resource was enabled by a shared concept of rights and traditional, informal, means of ending disputes.

***Résumé:*** Dans l'aire culturelle de la côte du Nord-Ouest, les droits d'exploiter les ressources territoriales étaient traités comme une propriété et étaient normalement détenus par des groupes de filiation. C'était le cas du droit de pêche de l'eulakane, un petit poisson anadrome riche en huile et très recherché qui frayait dans les estuaires de quelques rivières sur la côte du Pacifique, au nord de l'Amérique du Nord. À certains de ces sites de frai, de cinq à dix mille personnes s'assemblaient chaque printemps; les participants, cependant ne formaient en aucune manière une unité politique. En l'absence de structures politiques formelles, et malgré des conflits fréquents, une exploitation conjointe de cette riche ressource a été rendue possible par une coneption commune de la notion de droit et par les moyens informels traditionnels de régler les disputes.

## Eulachon: Preface to the two following papers

The original versions of these two papers were presented in October 1998 at the 8th International Conference on Hunting and Gathering Societies, in Osaka, Japan. They were written for that occasion independently, for until receipt of the final programme none of the authors was aware that another paper on the Northwest Coast eulachon fishery was scheduled. Indeed, all were surprised that a topic with such a small literature would elicit two papers at a single conference. The papers had been assigned to different sessions, but upon hearing each other's presentation, we felt that they were complementary in several ways and we agreed they would benefit if published as a set.

As readers will discover, while the papers share a fish, the perspectives are quite different. Gloria Cranmer Webster's "Dzawadi" deals with a contemporary fishery and is written from the perspective of a Nimpkish Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw who has long participated in activities at the place where her family has ancient rights to harvest and process eulachon. Donald Mitchell and Leland Donald's "Sharing Resources on the Northwest Coast: The Case of the Eulachon Fishery" is an ethnohistoric treatment of eulachon fisheries, drawing on historic and ethnographic materials from the entire Northwest Coast. While all three authors are aware the perspectives offered do not exhaust possible views on this small fish, we do feel they give recognition to the importance of eulachon and to the significant relationship, both past and present, between this resource and many Aboriginal peoples on the north Pacific coast of North America.

Gloria Cranmer Webster's paper focusses on the fishery at the head of what is now called Knight Inlet. As Dzawadi is one of the fisheries discussed by Donald Mitchell and Leland Donald, interested readers can locate that place on Figure 1 of their paper. The contemporary community of Alert Bay is located on the small

crescent-shaped island situated just north of the label "Nimpkish" on that same figure.

This paper is about the Aboriginal eulachon fishery of North America's Northwest Coast at a time that can be simply identified as a few generations ago. The manner of the Aboriginal exploitation of this resource raises questions about how aggregations of people form and, at least briefly, continue in the absence of formal political arrangements and raises questions about the concept of property and how access to resources is obtained, controlled and maintained.

In hunter-gatherer studies aggregations and their character and purpose have been a major theme. As Richard Lee (1999: 828) has pointed out, all known hunter-gatherers have practised a pattern of concentration and dispersal of people during the course of their annual rounds and this pattern cuts across those differences among hunter-gatherer societies that have led to the distinction between simple and complex foragers. Seasonal assemblies involving people drawn from more than one local group were important on the Northwest Coast and in an earlier study one of us (Mitchell, 1983) reviewed such aggregations in the central portion of the region. Here we look at the entire culture area concentrating on aggregations based on a single very important resource. This enables us to clarify the nature of such assemblies and examine in greater detail what may underlie their characteristics.

After a period of relative neglect, anthropological interest in concepts of "property" (or "ownership") has recently begun to return (see, for example, Hann, 1998; Hunt and Gilman, 1998; and Rigsby, 1998). This reappearance is partly fuelled by growing issues surrounding indigenous people's rights to land and resources in a number of countries (Australia and Canada, for example). Legal cases and political issues often involve questions regarding traditional forms of property, tenure, and access to resources. The traditional cultures of the north Pacific coast of North America have been long depicted in the anthropological literature as particularly concerned with notions of property and ownership. Despite this characterization, little systematic work on the regional conceptions of property and ownership has been done. By focussing on a single resource, eulachon, this paper is a beginning foray into questions about Northwest Coast property concepts and their uses by the peoples of the region.

Our main interest here is with what eulachon fishery aggregations tell us concerning intergroup social relations on the Northwest Coast and on what access to an eulachon fishery tells us about the concept of property. We begin, however, with a brief introduction to this remarkable fish, to its use by the people of the Northwest Coast, and to the technological side of the fishery.[1]

## Eulachon as a Resource

The eulachon—*Thaleichthys pacificus* (Richardson, 1836)—is a small (commonly 15-23 cm long) anadromous smelt which begins life in the lower reaches of a few widespread streams in northwestern North America. Shortly after hatching, the 5-7 mm long larvae are flushed out to saltwater by the current of the natal stream. Some remain in the comparatively sheltered inland waters while others drift with the tidal currents out to the open ocean. As they grow, they feed on the larvae of small marine organisms—on phytoplankton, euphausiids and copepods. Eulachon mature towards the end of their second or third year and from mid-March to mid-May reenter their birth stream to spawn. Many die after spawning, but others live, perhaps to return again. (More details of the life history are to be found in Hart, 1973: 148-150.)

It is during the brief spawning period that these fish were taken by the indigenous peoples of the area. However, although widely-distributed (from the Russian River in California to the Pribilof Islands of Alaska) eulachon were not widely available. Whatever may have been the situation in earlier times, for the historic era we have been able to discover only 35 recorded spawning streams or locales (or up to 40 if we include all tributaries of the Columbia River system within which spawning has been recorded). And of these, in only a very few—perhaps eleven at the most—were the runs of significant size. Large areas of the coast were eulachon deserts: none spawned in the streams of the Queen Charlotte Islands and they were all but absent as well from the west coast of Vancouver Island. Thus both the Haida and the majority of the Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka) were without these fish in their territories.

Wherever fished, they were taken with very similar devices. The herring rake was a 150-180cm long wooden pole of flattened cross-section with short bone points set into one edge or both edges along about half of the pole's length. The fisherman stood or knelt in the bow of the canoe, swept the rake through the schooling fish in a paddling motion, and at the end of each stroke, discharged those impaled into the canoe. The dip net was a fine-meshed, usually shallow, bag suspended from a frame of varying design. This device, too, was usually wielded amongst schooling fish from a canoe. There was sometimes a means of closing the mouth of the bag to

secure the catch. Cylindrical wicker traps were employed at some locations and very long conical bag nets set to stream out from posts driven into the river bottom—the principal trap described for the important Nass river fishery—are generally thought to have been a recent addition. Their use was not restricted to the Nass.

The fish were eaten fresh, were smoked or dried for later use, or were rendered into oil. It seems that from the Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw (Southern Kwakiutl) north, oil was the main product of the fishery while from the Central Coast Salish on south, although some oil was extracted, most of the catch was dried. The rendering process was similar throughout the northern part of the coast. Eulachon were stored in pits dug into the ground or in big cedar plank bins for a little over a week. They were then boiled in large wood vats—sometimes dugout canoes were pressed into service—and the freed oil was skimmed from the surface for storage in wooden boxes or the bulbs and long hollow stems of kelp. When cooled to around 10°C the oil firms to a butterlike consistency and does not liquefy again until the temperature has been raised to about 21°C.

Early historic claims for exceptional health-giving and curative properties (Blenkinsop, 1885; Brown, 1868) have only in part been confirmed by more recent nutritional analyses (Kuhnlein, Chan, Thompson and Nakai 1982; Kuhnlein, Yeboah, Sedgemore, Sedgemore and Chan, 1996). Both fish and processed grease are rich in vitamins A and E and the fish, fresh, smoked, or dried, are a source of modest amounts of calcium, phosphorus, iron, and zinc. Perhaps most important, unsaturated fat content, at 65 percent, is double that of saturated (32 percent). Further, the grease contains significant levels of a beneficial fatty acid which acts to reduce blood cholesterol and triglycerides. Oils, like that derived from eulachon, have additional or other desirable properties. They are in demand as a condiment, important to make more palatable a diet that for so much of the year consisted of dried foods and no doubt aiding in passage of such fare through the alimentary canal. Another use was as a preserving medium for fruit. Drucker (1950: 176, 247) notes that from the Nuxalk (Bella Coola) and Heiltsuk north, crabapples and berries were stored in a frothy eulachon oil emulsion, in which medium "they could be kept for a long time." Included in a long list of plant foods and materials exchanged by inhabitants of Northwestern North America (Turner and Loewen, 1998: 54) are Pacific crabapples, bog cranberries, and highbush cranberries, all of which, fresh or preserved in water or eulachon oil, were "widely traded" along the coast "and probably among interior peoples."

Relative to other food resources of the Northwest Coast, these fish ranked high. Fladmark's (1975: 50-53) review of principal ethnographies for the central and northern portions of the coast found eulachon to rank sixth overall, after salmon, halibut, herring "other" fish, and sea-mammals. However, if we ignore those ethnolinguistic groups whose territories lacked eulachon (Haida and Nuu-chah-nulth), the ranking for the remaining groups assessed (Tlingit, Tsimshian, Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw, and Coast Salish) positions eulachon in second place, after salmon.

Ethnographic and ethnohistoric sources confirm this high value appointed the eulachon fishery by many groups, but especially those of the northern coast. Swan (1881: 259) commented that the fish were "highly prized by the Indians of Northern British Columbia and Southern Alaska" and Collison (1941: 26) wrote of the oil as "one of the necessities of life to the Indians over a vast area of the Northwest Coast and the adjacent interior." They seem to have been of particular importance to the Tsimshian. Drucker (1965: 117) described eulachon grease as "one of the great riches of the Tsimshian tribes;" Garfield (1951: 13) placed them "second in importance (after salmon) among basic seafood resources;" and William Beynon (1929-30: 41) obtained from two Coast Tsimshian the observation that "the main food of the Tsimsyen which may even outrank the salmon is the oolichan and the oolichan grease . . ." and from a Kincolith (Gitksan Tsimshian), that "The oolichans are considered the most valuable of food among the Tsimsiyaen" (Beynon, 1952). Boas (1966: 8) included eulachon with salmon and halibut as the three staples on which the Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw depended "almost entirely" and for these people, Curtis (1915: 44), too, classifies the eulachon oil as one of the staple foods, "without which no self-respecting family would attempt to do." For the Nuxalk, McIlwraith (1948I: 3) also refers to eulachon as a staple and he assigns them second rank in importance after salmon.

Less has been said about the relative value assigned to the eulachon fisheries further south, but it can be noted that for the Lower Chinook, Ray (1938: 107) reported these smelt "in great demand" and that Pacific Fur Company employees at Fort Astoria found that canoeloads of Clatsops passing down the Columbia in February of 1812 "laden with Sturgeon & Uthlechans would not dispose of them on any account whatever" (Jones, 1999: 72). For at least some Halkomelem Salish, a spring month was identified by name with the fishery. The Katzie called April, *tənwi'wətən* "appearance of the first eulachon" (Jenness, 1955: 9) while the "Sardis"

(Chilliwack) and the Nanaimo terms applied to May and their meaning, according to Jenness (1934-35) was "eulachon month." An entry in the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Langley Journal dated April 28th, 1828, reads, "The little fish[e]s which the Chinooks calls Ullachan begin to make their appearance here, And are joyffully hailed by the Indians of the river."

Further indication that eulachon were regarded as an important resource is provided by ceremony, custom, and myth. The well-known "grease feasts" of the Kwakwaka'wakw, at which huge quantities of eulachon oil were consumed and burned as rival titleholders sought to outdo one another in their disregard for wealth (Boas, 1897: 354-56) were the "greatest feast given to many tribes" (Boas, 1921: 754-55). The burning of eulachon oil was also a feature of important Tsimshian feasts—those where the host especially wished to show how wealthy he was (MacDonald and Cove, 1987: 182, 183)—and is recorded as well for the Nuxalk (McIlwraith, 1948I: 225; 1948II: 66).

"First eulachon" rites were reported by Drucker's (1950: 222) informants for the Haihais, Gilutsau Coast Tsimshian, and the Sanya and Chilkat Tlingit. In a text dealing with Kitkatla Tsimshian fishing rituals, Beynon (1916) wrote, for example, "if a man got the oolichan he would give it to the oldest child of his oldest brother and the brother would have to give gifts," while his Metlakatla Tsimshian informants told him, "The first oolichan caught would be taken by the paternal uncle to his brothers children and given them (Beynon, 1929-30: 44). Among several taboos concerning eulachon, Beynon (1929-30: 44) mentions that "No one was allowed to make any ridiculous remark concerning the oolichans for fear the fish would go away and the people would starve."

Each Nuxalk fisherman collected his initial catches in a box. None of this might be eaten until there was sufficient to host a feast grand enough that guests would have plenty to take home with them. Women were tabooed from sharing this first meal and were not allowed to assist in the fishing nor even to be on the bank of the river while the eulachon were running (McIlwraith, 1948I: 263, 759).

For the Kwakwaka'wakw, Boas (1930: 203-205) records customs, rituals, and prayers accompanying the taking of the first eulachon at Dzawadi. Reference is made to one titleholder's privilege of initiating each season's fishery; to separate prayers that titleholders and commoners recited before using their dipnets (the prayers in part entreat return of the fish next year); and to the ritual performance by all fishermen of the first dipnetting of the season. There is also a prayer offered by the woman who held the privilege of being the first to string eulachon for drying. This, too, expresses hope the fish will come back the following year. Portions of two prayers are quoted in the accompanying paper by Gloria Cranmer Webster.

In myths, eulachon most often appear as one of a few important resources some benefactor of humankind causes to begin annual and abundant runs into certain rivers. For example, in various family traditions, Atlquntam, the Nuxalk supreme god, sent down the first humans, one of whom—part eagle—brought with him a single eulachon. Thrown into a river, the fish becomes the source of that stream's plentiful eulachon runs (McIlwraith, 1948I: 302, 311, 326). The Katzie Coast Salish held that their hero Swaneset returned from the sky with a wife who brought a box which when opened, released eulachon into the Fraser River. She also taught the Katzie how to catch these fish with the aid of a herring rake (Suttles, 1955: 23). In one Kwakwaka'wakw story, it is Raven who seizes the mythical fish people and flings them far and wide, crying out, "You will be the salmon for this river! You will be the oulachon for that river!" (Curtis, 1915: 247). Raven, who had created people, also brought the fishery to the Tsimshian by first jumping on Gull's stomach to make him throw up an eulachon. He then used this fish to trick a mythical chief (within whose house dwelled the eulachon) into thinking their run to the Nass River had begun much earlier than the chief normally permitted. Believing he had lost control, the chief ordered the corners of his house broken open and eulachon then began to flow into the water in their thousands. With Raven's encouragement, they entered the river, and that is why "on Nass River the olachen fishing begins very early in the spring" (Boas, 1916: 66). Raven figures as well in Nuxalk mythology, in this case as the originator of the art of making nettle-fibre eulachon nets, knowledge which he then passed on to spiders and humans (McIlwraith, 1948I: 89).

For perhaps all of those coastal groups who sought eulachon, the great importance of this fish lay in their time of arrival. As Beynon (1929-30: 41) put it for the Tsimshian, "It was the first fish caught and was very often styled the starvation fish, as it came just when the people were on the verge of starvation before the appearance of salmon and always in great quantities and always easy to get." The Nisga'a still refer to eulachon as */ha'liimootkw/* "means of saving, salvation" or "saviour" (Bruce Rigsby, personal communication). Incidents where starvation is evaded by the arrival of this fish are included in texts recorded for the Chinook (Boas 1894: 230-232) and Kathlamet (Boas 1901: 35, 36-38) on the

Columbia River. Late winter and early spring were the precarious months when stored supplies were running out and the new year's fresh foods were yet scarce. Additionally, as Speth and Spielman (1983) have suggested, hunter-gatherer populations routinely faced food stress in late winter that resulted in a need for carbohydrates and oil. The plentiful and nutritious eulachon arrived at a critical time (Garfield, 1951: 13; Krause, 1956: 122).

## Access to Products of the Fisheries

Not surprisingly, given the limited availability but considerable desirability of eulachon and their oil, arrangements had developed for wider distribution or greater accessibility. This was in keeping with what Jorgensen's (1980) comprehensive survey found for western North America. He reports that one way or another most groups in this area had access to the food resources of neighbours. The emphasis on means varied from region to region, but among the ways he lists are trading, raiding, being guests at feasts, gifting, and participating in the harvest of resources within the territories of others (Jorgensen, 1980: 128). He suggested that on the Northwest Coast, "ceremonial feasting and gifting were the means of access," but, in fact, all modes of access are to be found here, and for wider distribution of the products of the eulachon fishery, trade and the right to partake in the harvest assume particular importance.

There was a well-known trade in oil, carrying the product both to groups whose coastal territories were devoid of eulachon and to those who resided in the interior, beyond the coast mountains. This interior trade in particular led to the establishment of what have come to be known as "grease trails" (e.g., Collison, 1941: 26; Goddard, 1945: 69; Harrington, 1953: 43) over which hundreds of gallons of boxed eulachon oil were packed each year.

It was through trade, for example, that the Haida acquired products of the fishery (Curtis, 1916: 134). They travelled each year from the Queen Charlotte Islands to the mouth of the Nass River to trade with the Nisga'a, swapping dried herring spawn, dried halibut, and even canoes (Boas, 1916: 57) for dried eulachon and oil. The trails from the upper Skeena River to the Nass were especially active. People from various Gitksan groups in the interior set out before the snow had gone, wearing snowshoes and in recent times pulling sleds as they travelled along the pathways and down the frozen streams to the coast. They traded elk and caribou hides for the boxes of oil and then returned, a round-trip journey of up to 300km. It is also known that Nisga'a traders from the Nass packed oil up these grease trails at least as far as Kitwancool, 120km into the interior (MacDonald and Cove, 1987: 19).

Trade carried oil the Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw produced at their two main fisheries, across Vancouver Island to the Nuu-chah-nulth (Drucker, 1951: 375). It was the means by which Bella Coola River oil made its way to the Carrier, east of the Coast Mountains, and Lower Columbia River dried fish became available to people in the southwestern part of the Plateau culture area (Boyd and Hajda, 1987: 318; Silverstein, 1990: 536).

Besides distribution of the resource through trade, more direct participation in the fisheries was afforded to some whose own streams supported no eulachon. Members of many groups on the coast and some situated inland, gathered each spring at those few streams known for their abundance of eulachon.

To put these eulachon fishing assemblies into context, we should recognize that both the sharing of access to resources and formation of seasonal population aggregations were common Northwest Coast practices—indeed, they are common-places of hunter-gatherer behaviour worldwide.

Everywhere on the Northwest Coast, rights to exploit particular resources at particular locales were held by local groups,[2] kinship groups, or individuals. But everywhere, too, it seems, permission to make use of such owned resources could be granted. This is clearly the case where members of a local group's constituent descent groups are involved (e.g., Barnett, 1955: 252; Drucker, 1951: 251; Emmons, 1991: 22, 47; McIlwraith, 1948I: 132). The privilege could be temporarily extended to individual visitors but, in some cases, regular incursions by large numbers of people were tolerated or ignored by those within whose traditional territory the resource was available. Drucker (1951: 256), for example, reports for the Nuu-chah-nulth, that leaders of the Chickliset, Ehetisat, Nuchatlet, and Kyuquot shared the right to collect dentalia at Tatchu Point in Ehetisat territory. Dawson (1887: 72) and Duff (*ca* 1965) note that some Fort Rupert Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw had access to the salmon runs of the Nimpkish River—a Nimpkish Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw resource. And Turner and Loewen (1998: 58) cite several cases of inter-group resource sharing ranging from the Tsimshian and Haisla to the Fraser River Salish and Dididaht of southwestern Vancouver Island involving such resource locales as camas fields, wapato and cranberry bogs, berry patches, hunting territories, fishing grounds, and seaweed beaches.

Periodic aggregation of population was also characteristic of the Northwest Coast seasonal round of subsistence and ceremonial activity. It could be said that for

local groups in general, the basic settlement pattern was one of winter gathering at a village site and spring, summer, and fall dispersal to resource camps. But as one of us has earlier shown for the central portion of the culture area (Mitchell 1983), there are numerous variations on the underlying model, including assemblies drawing members from two or more autonomous local groups—as took place at some wintering locations, at clam and berry-gathering grounds, at bases for halibut-fishing and whale-hunting, and at some especially productive salmon and eulachon fisheries.

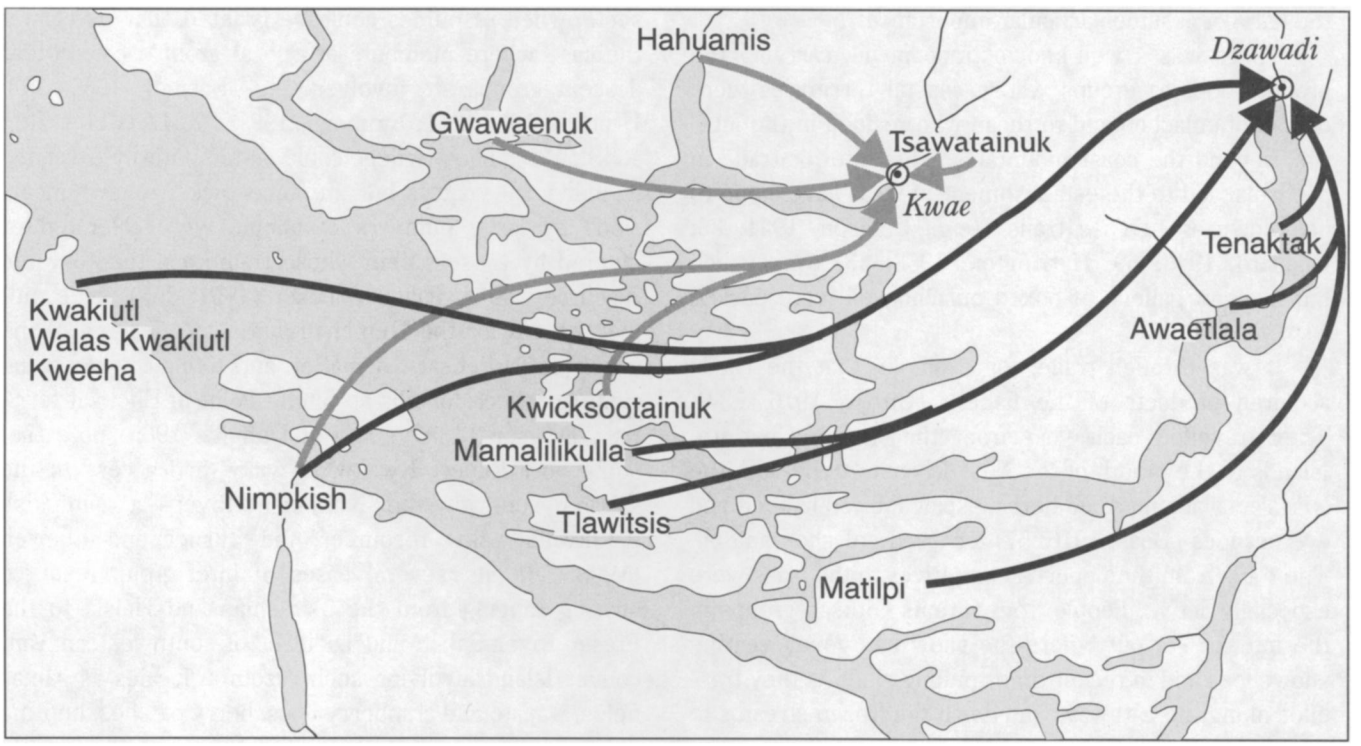
## Eulachon Fishery Aggregations

The principal eulachon fishery assemblies were at the Nass River, at Kwae on the Kingcome River, at Dzawadi on the Klinaklini River, at the Squamish River, and on the lower reaches of the Fraser River. Less well documented are aggregations that may have formed to harvest the large Columbia River runs.

The Fraser River eulachon were directly accessible to all those autonomous Salishan local groups Suttles (1990: 454-455) identifies as the Downriver Halkomelem but the spawning runs commonly reached only a short distance into the Upriver Halkomelem area. Accordingly, Upriver groups from as far into the Fraser River Canyon as Yale assembled each spring in the territories of their westernmost local groups (Duff, 1952: 70-71). The Downriver groups were joined, at least after the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Langley, by numbers of Squamish camped among the Downriver Halkomelem during the eulachon season (Fort Langley Journal, May 11, 1830) and, while there is no record of them doing so, they may have taken fish. That the Nanaimo, as earlier noted, designated an "eulachon month" is of some interest. Although based on Vancouver Island, they are known to have had a Fraser River settlement (Barnett, 1955: map facing page 24) that was occupied in the summer for salmon-fishing. Possibly some Nanaimo were in residence earlier and participated in the great eulachon fishery of the Fraser River.

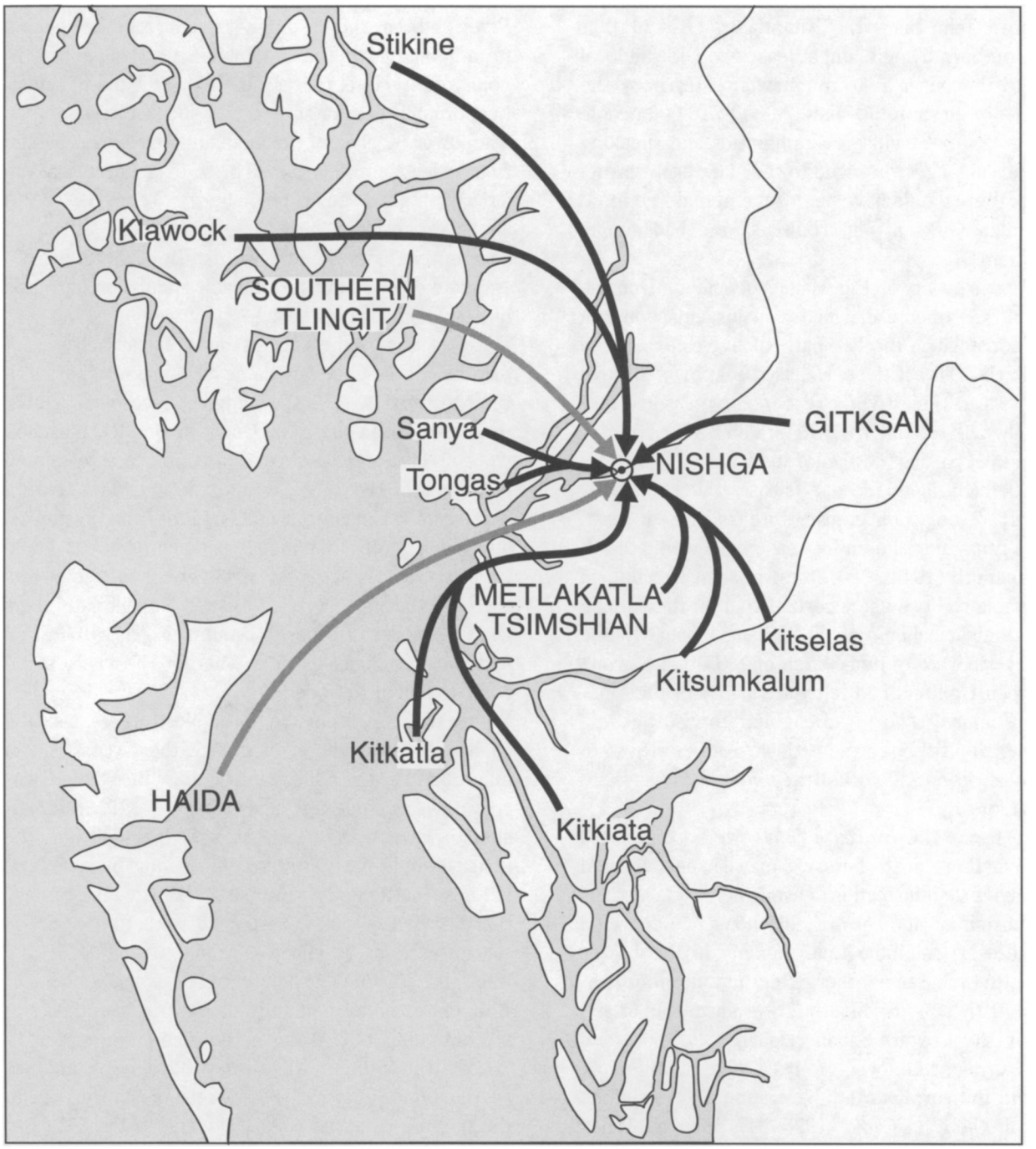
Similarly, Barnett (1955: 31) records that where the Squamish River enters Howe Sound was "the common resort of all the Squamish in the spring when the eulachon were running." "All the Squamish" would mean the assembly of members from some 16 or more local groups who spoke the same Salishan language (Suttles, 1990:

**Figure 1**




Kwakwaka'wakw local groups aggregating at the Kingcome River and Knight Inlet eulachon fisheries. Black arrows indicate those with rights to fish at Dzawadi, shaded, those with rights at Kwae.

**Figure 2**




Groups assembling at the Nass River to fish or trade for eulachon. Black arrows indicate groups with rights to fish, shaded, those who came to trade.

453) for a gathering of about 1700 people (Boyd 1999: 263).[3]

The locales called Kwae and Dzawadi were the gathering-places for members of various Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw local groups (Figure 1). At Kwae assembled 2 000 to 3 000 eulachon-fishers from at least five groups (Tsawatainuk, Hahuamis, Gwawwainuk, Kwiksutainuk, and Nimpkish); at Dzawadi, 5 000 to 7 000 from nine (Tenaktak, Awaitlala, Mamalillikulla, Tlawitsis, Matilpi, Nimpkish, Kwakiutl, Walas Kwakiutl, and Kweeha).

The Nass River fishery is perhaps the most famous on the coast (Figure 2). It brought together members of

the ten Lower Skeena River Coast Tsimshian local groups, the two Canyon Coast Tsimshian local groups, two southern Tsimshian (the Kitkatla and Kitkiata), at least two southern Tlingit, and at least two Gitksan local groups, and the Nisga'a—through whose territory the Nass River flowed. In total, some 7 000 to 10 000 people belonging to 23 or 24 village communities and speaking at least four languages thronged to the Nass each spring. In addition, there would have been several hundred more Haida, Tlingit, Gitksan, and Heiltsuk who had simply come to trade.

Each local group of the Haisla people of Douglas Channel and Gardner Canal had a major eulachon run within its territory, in the Kitimat, Kildala, Kemano, and Kitlope Rivers. The Kitlope Haisla are known to have shared access to their river's resources with some outsiders. McIlwraith (1922-24: 47; 1948II: 359, 360) recorded that Rivers Inlet parties (Owikeno) and Kitkatla Tsimshian, including the high-ranking leader Tsibasa, travelled to Kitlope to prepare eulachon grease, with Tsibasa, at least, sometimes remaining the entire season. As well, according to McIlwraith (1948I: 384), the Kimsquit Nuxalk had "an inalienable right to use a certain spot on the Kitlobe River for their olachen nets." William Fraser Tolmie (1963: 305) reported in mid-March of 1835 that a group of Weetletoch Heiltsuk had left the vicinity of the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort McLoughlin "to visit Sebassa & thereafter to proceed to the Kitloah [Kitlope] River to procure oolachan oil." Whether they visited to fish or to trade is not known.

Apart from these reasonably well-documented aggregations, there are others we may suspect existed but for which little information is available:

1. Very substantial numbers of eulachon once spawned in the Lower Columbia River, mainly in the Lower Cowlitz River and to a lesser extent in four other tributaries. At these locations, they were available to and taken by the Cowlitz Salish (Hajda, 1990: 506) and various Chinookan local groups (Silverstein, 1990: 536) with the surplus catch being traded to residents further up the river (Boyd, 1996: 64). Boyd and Hajda (1987) interpret differing population figures recorded by the Lewis and Clark expedition in the fall of 1805 and spring of 1806 as evidence for late winter/early spring population aggregation at several Lower Columbia resource locales. They observe that the inferred seasonal assemblies coincide with spawning runs of eulachon and chinook salmon and with the entry of sturgeon (who preyed on eulachon) into shallower water. Boyd and Hajda (1987 and personal communications from both authors) suggest there was an aggregation at least partly based on an eulachon fishery on and in the vicinity of the mouth of the Cowlitz River and that the assembly brought together people from up and down the Columbia River. However, ethnohistoric records tell us nothing about the composition, organization, or activities of such gatherings.
2. The lower reaches of the Quinault River drew people from at least some of the 20 or so Quinault villages to an early spring eulachon fishery (Olson, 1936: 36) about which little more is known. The fish were apparently plentiful and if we use Boyd's (1999: 263) estimate of 2 250 for the Quinault population, upwards of 1 000 may have gathered.
3. Local groups of the various divisions of the Nuxalk may have assembled at the several major fisheries in their territories. The spawning runs were substantial (especially so in the Bella Coola River), the eulachon were highly valued—second in importance to salmon (McIlwraith, 1948I: 3), and most local groups resided outside of the fishing grounds. These circumstances suggest a strong likelihood that aggregations would have formed, however, so far as we have discovered, the only specific reference to such Nuxalk gatherings is in a semi-fictionalized account (Kopas, 1970: 58), and it does not make clear whether the visitors had come to fish or to trade.
4. Within the Tlingit portion of the Northwest coast, the Chilkat River is the stream with the largest run of eulachon. As the Chilkat division of the Tlingit was comprised of some 8 villages (Swanton, 1952: 541), it seems possible that here, as with the Quinault, the fishery would have attracted fishermen from several of these settlements. Emmons' (1991: 119) remark that during the run, "the people went into camp on the lower river by villages" would also suggest that more than just local residents were participating.
5. Although it is not generally thought to have had significant numbers of spawning eulachon, there are indications the Stikine River may have seen another aggregation. Simpson (1842) wrote of "Indians . . . to the number of about 2000 . . . watching the Ullochan Fishery." As there were perhaps 3 Stikine villages (Swanton, 1952: 542) and 2 000 exceeds estimates of 1840s population (De Laguna, 1990: 205), Simpson may have witnessed an assembly drawn from Stikine and other Tlingit local groups.

So, we have a highly valued resource that is seasonally abundant in a few restricted locations, and that especially once rendered into oil, becomes an important trading commodity. We also know that some eulachon fisheries drew people from several autonomous local groups into

close proximity for a month or more of harvesting and processing. Finally, we have learned that where the well-documented and attested seasonal assemblies are concerned, the numbers attending are in the thousands.

Such seasonal aggregation of large numbers of people drawn from up to 20 or so politically autonomous local groups raises important questions about social relations at the eulachon fisheries: (1) In a part of the world where intergroup fighting was seemingly endemic, how did the people manage to get along with one another for the several weeks they were in residence? (2) What arrangements allowed certain local groups to make this seasonal invasion and exploitation of the territory of others?

## Maintaining "Peace" at the Eulachon Fisheries

In examining the first question we must begin by observing that at least the central and north coast fishing camps were apparently not all that peaceful. Of the Kwakwaka'wakw, Boas (1921: 1348) has written that eulachon trap owners "frequently" fight when others try to appropriate their location. And the three years that have survived of the daily journal kept at the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Langley on the Lower Fraser river, reported one hostile encounter between Squamish and Kwantlen warriors at the river during the 1830 eulachon-fishing season (Fort Langley Journal, May 17, 1830). As for the Nass River fishery, the main collections of Tsimshian narratives (Boas, 1916; MacDonald and Cove, 1987) record enough cases of armed conflict among the groups assembled there to convince one such incidents were not unusual. On the other hand, the associations were sufficiently peaceful that year after year the local groups could come together to reap the rewarding harvest. If things did occasionally boil over, what kept the lid on the rest of the time?

Here is how two related situations that had escalated to retaliatory killings and taking of captives were resolved:

The Gispaxloats Tsimshian had gone south and raided the Heiltsuk (who were among those who visited the Nass to trade for oil). The Heiltsuk eventually returned that favour while the Gispaxloats were fishing for salmon on the Skeena. But when the young Gispaxloats then urged reprisal, an older leader counselled:

> . . . before you do it, carefully consider everything that has been already done. You attacked the Bella Bella [Heiltsuk], and did it so many times. They have retaliated. You have been paid back and it is equalized. This leaves the road clear just to redeem those that have been captured, and to have a feast at the Bella Bella village. Then there will be no further bloodshed. (MacDonald and Cove, 1987: 71)

And that is what they decide to do, but when they meet the Heiltsuk, they learn that some Haida had intercepted the returning party, captured its leader, and seized the captive Gispaxloats. The remaining Gispaxloats then mount a successful raid on the Haida, but the latter choose not to retaliate. During the following eulachon season, the Haida appear in their canoes before the Gispaxloats' Nass River village and propose to redeem those Haida in captivity. There followed, according to the narrative, ". . . a great exchange of wealth and canoes. . . . In this way another invasion was stopped. The Haida realized that they had to come every year to the Nass, to get eulachon and grease, by trading, so that a war with the Tsimshian was not advantageous" (MacDonald and Cove, 1987: 74).

Another dispute that was resolved involved several Metlakatla Tsimshian, the Kitselas, and the Nisga'a. There had been a killing and some retaliatory woundings and both sides were planning further actions when a titleholder of the Gitlan approached the other Metlakatla titleholders saying "We have done enough fighting between ourselves. Make your peace overtures to the Nishga so as to stop this fighting to no purpose. Should this keep on we will not be able to come to the Nass for eulachon, and then we will starve?" (Ibid.: 1987: 180). Other leaders not involved in the dispute counselled payment of compensation, as the Nisga'a would thereby be compelled to respond in like manner, "and peace would thus be established. No one would be endangered and all could go about the eulachon fishing without fear" (Ibid.: 1987: 181).

So there were ways of reconciliation if things got out of hand. Normally, like other tribal societies, they maintained peaceful relations with neighbours through kin ties, marriage alliances, and trading relationships. But if things blew up and mounted to feud, the shared customs of retributive killing and wergild would eventually cool things down and rebuild the peace.[4]

A contrasting means of dispute resolution is found in the relatively populous neighbouring Plateau culture area, where large resource-centred assemblies also occurred. Anastasio's (1972) survey of southern Plateau aggregations identified at least 15 of these, which reportedly brought together from 400 to 10 000 people and drew on from four to ten ethnolinguistic groups, including the "focal groups" within whose territory the assembly took place. In size and composition they were

therefore not that different from the coastal ones. However, most of those for which such information is available, are described as having a quite formal structure with one or more of the focal group's leaders in charge of the collective fishing, hunting, or root-gathering activities. Those who led were people who participants accepted had the technical and ritual knowledge necessary to ensure a bountiful harvest. For example, people drawn from up to 11 ethnolinguistic groups assembled at Kettle Falls on the Middle Columbia River to take salmon. As Hewes (1998: 628) describes it:

> Three weeks before the expected arrival of the salmon, the camps were occupied, and drying frames and storehouses were erected. The entire enterprise was said to be under the direction of a "chief" (ritualist?) whose basket trap was installed a month before the others could begin to fish.

Disputes among members of the southern Plateau aggregations were settled by the intervention of the leaders—a form of council which Anastasio (1972: 182-183) reports operated mainly by mediation and consensus. David Douglas, an early 19th-century visitor to Kettle Falls, recorded that a Sinkaietk headman he had engaged as a guide refused to leave until he had helped resolve a dispute between some Lakes and Kutenai Indians (Douglas, 1904: 362).

None of this sounds much like the almost anarchic situation of the Northwest Coast eulachon camps. But Anastasio does describe one assembly that seems much more familiar. This was the very large and unruly gathering that took place each year at The Dalles, where the Columbia river broke through the Cascade mountains into the coastal lowlands. With the Wasco and Wishram as focal groups, it attracted salmon fishermen from up to five additional ethnolinguistic groups and is described as "one of the largest and most important in the Plateau" but "also the least well ordered" (Anastasio, 1972: 161). An indication of that lack of order was provided by Alexander Ross (1904: 128) who observed during his 1810-13 travels that, in contrast to the state of affairs at other assemblies he had visited, groups at The Dalles offered no unified front in their dealings with White traders. When disputes arose, it was every group for itself. There was, as Anastasio (1972: 159) phrased it, "atomization of the focal site into a number of smaller sites" spread out along the river banks, each owned by a group of relatives. This "atomization" of sites and polities spilled over into the realm of ritual. Spier and Sapir (1930: 248) noted that with the Wishram at least, and in marked contrast to the prevailing Plateau practice, there was no such official as a salmon chief, and that the first salmon rite could be performed by any shaman.

The contrast between The Dalles and other southern Plateau aggregations is instructive for an understanding of social arrangements at the eulachon fisheries. In explaining the difference, Anastasio (1972: 161) concluded that for most of the southern Plateau, "conditions required the construction of large equipment and necessitated or permitted a single fishing site and some sort of central control." Further, "All present were entitled to an equal share of the fish and all were interested in seeing that the activity was properly conducted as directed by the salmon chief" (Anastasio, 1972: 176). By comparison, at The Dalles fishery, where there was that notable lack of order, "territories of the focal groups did not have one or a few sites, but many scattered along the river" (Ibid.: 1972: 159).

The situation at the coastal eulachon fisheries was essentially the same as at The Dalles. The fish and processing resources were plentiful and accessible from many locations at the fishery. Herring rakes, dip nets, basketry traps, or bag nets required no intergroup cooperation for their construction or effective employment, and thus central control and co-ordination were not necessitated. The usual conduct of each fishery, in other words, neither put people in one another's way nor led to inequitable access to desired resources. All that was required of participants was that they not unduly interfere with one another during the few weeks of the eulachon season. The constituent social units participating in each fishery remained autonomous, were required to share none of their catch or its products with other groups, and apart from acknowledgment of such traditional "first eulachon" privileges as we have seen for the Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw, conducted themselves quite independently at the fishery.[5]

This is perhaps the most interesting lesson to be learned from study of the eulachon fishery: that the formation of even quite large, periodic, population aggregates does not necessarily lead to the development of more complex political structures. Bamforth (1988: 25) has suggested that, "At least at lower densities, it is possible in principle for regional population to increase substantially without triggering any organizational change, so long as there are no changes in the frequency, size, or duration of social aggregations." We would extend this generalization to situations where relatively high densities (see Boyd, 1999 and, for the North American population density distribution, Kroeber, 1939, Map 18) and sizeable seasonal, one or two month long aggregations are involved.

Suttles (1968: 65) made this point explicitly for the Central Coast Salish when he wrote that "subsistence activities and also ceremonial activities often brought together people from several villages over areas which crossed dialect and even language boundaries, but there were no structural principles that allowed for the definition of discrete social units." The same conclusion was reached in the already-mentioned study of aggregations in a larger portion of the central Northwest Coast (Mitchell, 1983): save for the whaling-centred Nuu-chah-nulth "confederations," no autonomy was surrendered by local or kinship groups who participated in winter settlement or resource exploitation aggregations. As that study observed,

> ... what was needed was simply peaceful coexistence at some unusually productive resource locus or particularly desirable wintering location. No great feats of organization were necessary for employment of the technology, for gaining access to the resources, for dividing up the resultant harvest, or for simply waiting out the winter. The constituent units of an aggregation merely did, side by side, what other village units on the coast were doing in isolation. (Mitchell, 1983: 104)

## Access to Resources and Property Concepts

Our other main question—What arrangements allowed certain outsiders to make this seasonal invasion and exploitation of the territory of others?—takes us to the meaning of property rights and how access to resources was controlled.

When ecological studies in anthropology moved on from considering how cultures or societies adapted to their environments and instead began to conceptualize the problem as one of how populations adapted to their environments, the analytic and explanatory modes of biological ecology began to dominate much work in anthropological ecology. Studies of territory, range, and use replaced discussions of property in considerations of access to resources and control of such access. This is particularly evident in recent studies of hunter-gatherers (see Kelly, 1995 for a good range of examples of the results of such work). A biologically inspired focus on territoriality has been fruitful, especially in the case of hunter-gatherers, but it is most successful in helping us to understand the distribution of populations, the seasonal movement and dispersal/aggregation of people and similar phenomena.

The peoples of the Northwest Coast were certainly foragers in Aboriginal times and their complex seasonal rounds were constrained and shaped by the character of their resource base in ways that can be illuminated by ideas drawn from biological ecology: local groups did indeed occupy and exploit territories. But, as the eulachon example suggests, these territories were complex social and cultural constructions (for this point in connection with an even more important Northwest Coast resource, salmon, see Donald and Mitchell, 1994). In particular instances even the core of a group's territory might be entered by large numbers of people belonging to a several different local groups (each with their own "territory") for the purpose of exercising their right to exploit a particular seasonal resource at a specific locale within that territory. We need not nor should we retreat from the current interest in territory, but we need to reintroduce a concern with property if we are to more fully understand how phenomena like the traditional eulachon fishery worked.

A fundamental and classic observation about property is that it entails social relationships. In order to understand property concepts in a particular society, or cross-culturally, one must recognize that a property relationship is not merely a relationship between an "owner" [A] (A may be an individual or a group) and something that is "owned" [B]. Rather, a third element [C] is involved: all those who might own B. This gives us: A owns B against C (Hallowell, 1955 [orig. 1943]: 239, citing Cairns, 1935). We should also note that B is not necessarily a physical object. B may be instead a person or may be what Lowie called an incorporeal item (a song, a name, or knowledge, for example) (Rigsby, 1998: 23, citing Lowie, 1960 [orig. 1928]). Thus property relations are social relations between persons and property relations are one of the things that shape social life and structure relations between persons.

We can easily see that this describes the situation for the Northwest Coast eulachon fisheries. To take a specific example: A particular Mamalilikula Kwakwaka'wakw descent group, *T!ɛ́mɬt!ɛmɬɛls*, has the right to fish for eulachon at *ts!aɛ́'s* a particular spot at the head of Knight Inlet (Boas, 1934, map 22) and Boas (1921: 1347) suggests that members of the *T!ɛ́mɬt!ɛmɬɛls*, like other owners of eulachon fishing locales, would fight to prevent others from taking eulachon there. In the style of the previous paragraph, the *T!ɛ́mɬt!ɛmɬɛls* [A] own "the right to catch eulachon at *ts!aɛ́'s*" [B] against all non-*Tɛ́mɬt!ɛmɬɛls!* [C]. The *T!ɛ́mɬt!ɛmɬɛls* also have a right to reside at the Mamalilikula living site at the head of Knight Inlet, a place called *gwa'x̌sɛ́ɛ́ɛ*. This village is also the eulachon fishery residence of four other Mamalilikula descent groups who also have eulachon fishing rights at

other particular spots, all also very near their commonly held living site. But the right of the *T!ɛ'mɬt!ɛmɬɛls* to take eulachon at a particular locale and to live in a particular place nearby while they are doing so does not give them the right to take eulachon at other places at the head of Knight Inlet, nor do they appear to have rights to take salmon anywhere in Knight Inlet, to enter mountainous areas used for mountain goat hunting, to the viburnum (*Viburnum edule*—high bush cranberry) patches, or other kinds of berrying grounds that surround the head of Knight Inlet. Most of these can be identified as the property of one or another Tenaktak or Awaitlala descent group (Boas, 1934, map 22). That these other rights were taken seriously and defended can be seen in the account of the death of a Matilpi man (another Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw local group whose descent groups have eulachon fishing rights at the head of Knight Inlet). The man left his wife to mind their canoe and went up into a mountain goat hunting territory near the head of the inlet after two mountain goats that he had seen there. The mountain goat hunting rights of that locale belong to a descent group of the Awaitlala. After a time his wife heard the sound of a quarrel and he did not return. Later he was found dead. This is recounted in *Ethnology of the Kwakiutl* as a typical example of what happens when men attempt to hunt in territories in which their descent group has no appropriate rights (Boas, 1921: 1345-1346).

And even though the *T!ɛ'mɬt!ɛmɬɛls* have the right to fish for eulachon at their eulachon place in Knight Inlet, this right (and the rights of other descent groups to fish for eulachon at their eulachon places in the same inlet) is constrained in an important way by another's right. No one could begin eulachon fishing until the leading titleholder of the Awaitlala (their "chief") had exercised his inherited right—"privilege" is the term used in the Hunt/Boas translation—to dip his net first (Boas, 1930: 204). This man did not merely dip his net into the water, he completed a ritual whose focus was ensuring that the eulachon returned year after year and that the fish would come into the soon-to-be-waiting nets. The ritual completed, general fishing could begin. So in this instance, one individual's ownership of the right to conduct a "first eulachon ritual" at Dzawadi constrained the exercise of various people's rights to exploit resource locales which they owned. In this instance the ownership of incorporeal property affects the way in which others exercise their rights over material property.

We have a relationship of A (a specific Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw descent group) owns B (a specific eulachon fishing locale at Dzawadi) against C (all other kinship groups or individuals who might come to Dzawadi to take eulachon). We have also seen that any descent group's right to fish for eulachon at Dzawadi is constrained by the privilege of a particular titleholder to open the eulachon fishing season with a first eulachon ritual. For a more complete understanding of the situation we should also recognize that there is another important relationship involved in eulachon fishing: there was a relationship between those with a right to fish at a particular locale and what they had a right to fish for, the eulachon itself. We can see that this is the case from the prayers addressed to the fish when they are being captured. That these prayers were published in *The Religion of the Kwakiutl* may lead some to feel that we have muddled religion and economics, but our goal is not only to analyze Northwest Coast property concepts cross-culturally, but also to understand how property was understood by traditional Northwest Coast peoples and we should also recognize this aspect of the Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw view of what eulachon fishing entailed. Similar views about the relationship between fishers and eulachon were held by the Tsimshian-speaking peoples as well for they held it necessary to follow exactly the appropriate method for processing oil from the fish. If they failed to do so "the fish will be ashamed, and perhaps never come again" (Boas, 1916: 45, quoting William Duncan writing in the mid-19th century).

In keeping with the general practice on the Northwest Coast, the rights were almost certainly held by descent groups or other kinship rather than by local groups. This is clearly the case among the Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw for whom the best information can be found (Boas, 1934: 37). For example, in a detailed map, Boas (1934, Map 22) plotted trap and dip-netting locations at Dzawadi and identified a specific descent group with each. Analysis of these mapped rights discloses that of the 40 or so descent groups belonging to the nine local groups said to have assembled here, only 24 appear to have had fishing rights. This underscores the interpretation that descent groups and not local groups are the holders of rights. To further emphasize this distinction and the relative autonomy of descent groups, we can also note that while most members of the Nimpkish local group went to the Kingcome inlet fishery for eulachon (Duff, *ca.* 1965), one of their descent groups instead went to the head of Knight inlet where it had a fish trap and a dip-netting station (Boas, 1934, Map 22).

One important feature of a descent group's right to participate in a particular eulachon fishery should be stressed: the right to fish for eulachon did not imply rights to obtain other resources within the host group's territory. The various non-Nisga'a descent groups who

came to the Nass to take eulachon returned to their own areas to fish for salmon, for example, and we have earlier listed restrictions in force for visitors to Knight Inlet.

Yet it should also be pointed out that certain other "rights" came along with the right to take eulachon: the right to put up dwellings nearby for the duration of the fishery and the right to collect sufficient firewood for the processing of oil or drying of fish and for domestic purposes, to mention two. Dwelling areas at least were not randomly situated each season. We know for both the Nass, Kitlope, and Dzawadi that descent groups were traditionally identified with specific fishing spots and camping areas.

The most notable thing about the property regime in effect at the five larger eulachon fisheries about which we have clear information on who had rights to the fishery (the Nass, Kitlope, Dzawadi, Kwae, Squamish, Fraser) is that kinship groups who did not belong to the local group in whose territory the fishery occurred, had rights to participate in the fishery. In the case of the Kitlope and Nass fishery these "extra-territorial" groups even included some belonging to different ethnolinguistic groupings than that of the "host" community. How did such visitors obtain and maintain their rights to participate in the eulachon fishery? Why did their hosts allow/tolerate such participation?

The nature of the resource suggests at least a partial answer to the last of these questions. As we have seen, the eulachon spawning runs were so great in a few streams that even after the resident local group had caught and processed all the fish it could, enough were left for many others to obtain a good supply as well.

A resident local group or a few neighbouring local groups still might have attempted to exclude all outsiders from their fishery. Eulachon oil was a highly desired and very valuable trade item. Successfully restricting access would have reduced the amount produced and reduced the number of kinship groups who could produce their own, thus increasing demand for what was produced by a resident local group, in effect "raising the price" of the oil entering the trade. But defending a resource from others entails costs. Given the nature of the spawning areas (largish stretches of a river or inlet that could not be easily "fenced off") and the substantial numbers of fish, the costs of exclusion were probably too great to make such a defence practical. This did not mean, however, that a particular fishery was organized as an "open access" resource. Fishing was not "open to all," but only to those kinship groups who had acknowledged rights to a place for catching eulachon at a particular fishery. Taking the Nass fishery as an example, we can note that, although a few Tlingit groups did have eulachon fishing rights, most of the Tlingit and all of the Haida who arrived at eulachon season, came solely to trade, for they had no acknowledged eulachon fishing rights on the Nass. So "hosts" tolerated "visitors" on the eulachon grounds if they had a publicly recognized claim to a eulachon fishing locale in part at least because the cost of excluding them would have been too high—potentially annual warfare just when all available hands were needed for the fishery—and in part because widely held notions of property and ownership recognized that groups could hold rights to a resource in a variety of locales, not all of which had to fall within a conventionally bounded territory.

This brings us to our other question: How did a group obtain and support their rights to participate in an eulachon fishery? Although there is little direct information on the subject we suspect that groups maintained their rights largely by using them on a regular basis and by being prepared to fight any and all who attempted to prevent them from using their rights to a particular resource locale. The Kitkatla leader Tsibasa's reaction when he felt that his right to fish for eulachon at the Nass was being called into question is probably representative.

> The Nishga are disputing my right to come here for eulachons or to make oil. They say we have no right to come here for eulachons or to make oil. They say we have no right to come to our grandfathers' village here. Many of our ancestors were born here. Many of them furnished their initiations here. Many even had great feasts here, where they assumed their chief names and rank, and many of these Nishga are still in debt to some of our dead chiefs. Yet they say we have no rights here. (MacDonald and Cove, 1987: 191)

There were a number of ways in which a group might obtain the right to use a resource locale. For most Northwest Coast societies, acquisition of rights and privileges resulted from marriage transactions or came through inheritance, gift, or seizure—the latter by killing the current owner. Inheritance would usually keep property within the kin group, but as lines died out, rights could pass to more distant relatives who were members of other kin groups and even other local groups. Tlingit (De Laguna, 1990: 213) and Tsimshian (Halpin and Seguin, 1990: 274) are expressly reported to have transferred resource properties as a part of marriage arrangements, as potlatch gifts, or in payment of debts. So there were several means by which "outsiders" could have gained the right to participate in a valuable eulachon fishery.

The data known to us do not include any transfers of an eulachon fishing locale. All of the sources merely describe those possessing rights to a locale as if these rights had been long held and had been transmitted from generation to generation by inheritance although at least the concept of transferring by gift is indicated by McIlwraith (1948I: 384) who wrote that the Kimsquit right to use a portion of the Kitlope River "for their olachen nets" stemmed from a gift at the beginning of time. In the quote above, Tsibasa gives this ancestral connection clear expression, asserting ancient hereditary status to his group's place at the Nass fishery. In the case of the Kitkiata—the most distant Coast Tsimshian group to make use of the Nass river runs—Drucker (1950: 160) wrote, "Coming originally from the lower Skeena (in early legendary times), they retained ownership rights in the olachon grounds at the mouth of the Nass, journeying there every spring and returning in time for the salmon run in their own territory." A few southern Tlingit groups also participated in the Nass fishery. Many Tlingit descent groups traced their origins to the area between the Nass and Skeena Rivers (De Laguna, 1990: 205-206). They either migrated north into historic Tlingit country or were pushed north by incursions of Tsimshian-speakers. Either way the retention by a few Tlingit groups of rights to participate in the Nass eulachon fishery suggests that they may have been able to maintain their ancient rights to this highly desirable resource (or alternatively these rights may have been obtained or re-obtained by means of marriage transactions).

Given the lack of formal political organization in this area one might ask how groups could enforce their claims and insure that others accepted them. Force could be threatened and certainly was resorted to at times, but less violent means of obtaining recognition were more frequently employed. As is well known, inter-group feasting (including so-called potlatches) was very important throughout the area. As hosts and guests at such events, leaders kept their (and their kinship group's) claims to a wide range of rights and privileges before an audience of their peers. By accepting the role and place that a particular titleholder took in a feast other titleholders and their followers acknowledged that titleholder's claims to property and privileges of all types, including their eulachon fishery rights.

## Conclusions

One way to view the assemblies would be as manifestations of what Suttles (1968) termed Northwest Coast societies' attempts at "coping with abundance." In a normal year the eulachon run into these spawning areas was enormous and the time during which the eulachon were available for capture was relatively short. There were more fish for the taking than a single local group or even a few neighbouring local groups had the labour power to catch and process in the time available. Without the aggregations, left to what the local residents could catch and process, the major part of each years's run would go unused. When "outsiders" gain access to the fishery, the output increases and a much larger portion of the resource is used by the regional population. Although large, the eulachon runs were not inexhaustible and the numbers of fishers they could support was not without limit. And, as we have seen, the resource was not open to all.

In conclusion, we would highlight the following points:

1. At the larger eulachon spawning grounds many people (thousands at the largest) from a number of different local groups gathered to fish. In spite of this size and the diverse affiliations of the participants, there was no formal political organization or structure controlling events at any of these fisheries.
2. While one can identify territories associated with local groups, they were not highly bounded and some "outsiders" might have rights to use rich resource locales (such as eulachon spawning grounds) within territories not their own. What was owned was the right to fish for eulachon at a particular portion of the fishing grounds. The fish themselves were not owned. Rights to fish for eulachon did not necessarily carry with them rights to other important resources in the same area.
3. These large gatherings, which were not political units, and the coming together of people from several local groups were possible both because of the character of the eulachon itself and the nature of the spawning locales *and* because long term relations among members of the elites of various local groups (marriage, feasting) provided mechanisms of dispute settlement and claim recognition.
4. Groups with rights to eulachon sites not only had property relations with other groups (A owns B against C), but also had a relationship with, and attendant obligations of respect to, the eulachon itself.

## Notes

1 A version of this paper was presented in October, 1998, at the 8th International Conference on Hunting and Gathering Societies, in Osaka, Japan. Sandra Peacock provided help in tracking down information about the nutritional properties of

eulachon and Ken Josephson of the University of Victoria's Department of Geography located a suitable computerized base map for one of the text figures and provided technical assistance with the maps. We have benefited from suggestions and specific information provided by Bruce Rigsby, Yvonne Hajda, and Robert Boyd. Data on which this paper is based were collected over a number of years as part of a larger project focussing on intergroup contact on the Northwest Coast. That research was supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Province of British Columbia's Youth Employment Programme, and the University of Victoria Committee on Faculty Research, Leave and Travel.

2 A *local group* is the social unit whose members traditionally assembled to pass the winter at a common village site. Local groups were the largest politically autonomous units of traditional Northwest Coast society. Each was comprised of several kinship groups—matrilineal on the north coast, cognatic elsewhere—which for much of the year and in most matters themselves had a great deal of autonomy.

3 The estimates for the numbers of people present at particular eulachon aggregations are based on calculations which begin with what seem to us to be the best of the conservative estimates of the size of the contact populations of the various ethnolinguistic groups belonging to the culture area, which are those of Robert Boyd (1999: 264-265). For a particular ethnolinguistic group the total population is parceled out among its constituent winter village communities in terms of what we know about their relative size at contact. Where the sources make such adjustments possible, account is then taken of probable participation rates among the communities that went to a particular aggregation. Recognizing the fragmentary nature of the data we have to work with, we have used both a relatively high and a relatively low participation rate for each community. When the probable numbers from each winter village travelling to a particular eulachon fishery are added together we get the ranges given in the text. They have been rounded to emphasize that they are estimates. Perhaps the most important thing about these calculations is that they are consistent with various claims in the historic and ethnographic sources that large numbers of people gathered at the most important eulachon fisheries.

4 The unusually quarrelsome character of the Nass fishery in early post-contact times (virtually all the numerous accounts of feuding involve use of firearms) seems to have developed when a technological innovation made a productive harvest less accessible to some groups. For ease of setting and emptying, the distinctive bag net trap was best used in open water, such as was available to the Kitkatla whose camping location was on the estuary of the Nass. This group could begin fishing at the first appearance of the eulachon, while the fishing grounds of those situated further up river were still covered by ice, and sometimes remained so for almost the entire season. Beynon (MacDonald and Cove, 1987: 191) recorded the details of a dispute between the Nisga'a and the Kitkatla that expressly arose from these circumstances.

5 People gathering at the three best-described eulachon fishing aggregations (the Nass, Kwae, and Dzawadi) did not form political units nor indeed, common sets in any other known context. They did not act in unison at other times. There are not even corresponding aggregations of winter village groups, because, as we have seen, not all descent groups held eulachon-fishing rights and, at least for the Nimpkish Kwakwaka'wakw, different descent groups had rights to participate in two different eulachon aggregations.

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# Dzawadi

Gloria Cranmer Webster

***Abstract:*** A member of the smelt family, the eulachon has been highly prized by the people of the Northwest Coast of North America for hundreds of years. The eulachon is harvested and processed to produced a rich oil, commonly called "grease." As eulachon spawn only in a few rivers, this resource is accessible only to those owners of those rivers. The oil was a valued trade item in traditional times. On the coast, there are a number of well-documented "grease trails" along which various tribes, both coast and interior, would travel to trade. On the central coast of British Columbia, people from a number of villages make the annual spring trek to Dzawadi at the head of Knight Inlet during eulachon spawning time. This paper describes past and present fisheries at that site, with references to the impact of development, including clear-cut logging and commercial fishing for other species in the area.

***Résumé:*** Membre de la famille des éperlans, l'eulakane a été très recherché par les gens de la côte Nord-ouest de l'Amérique du Nord. Ce poisson est utilisé pour produire une huile riche, communément appelée «graisse». Comme l'eulakane fraye seulement dans quelques rivières, il n'est accessible qu'à ceux qui contrôlent ces rivières. Traditionnellement, l'huile était un objet de commerce très apprécié. Sur la côte, il y a un certain nombre de «chemins de l'huile» bien reconstitués que plusieurs tribus, tant de la côte que de l'intérieur, empruntaient pour s'adonner au commerce. Sur la côte centrale de la Colombie Britannique, le membres d'un certain nombre de villages font le voyage printanier annuel à Dzawadi à la source de Knight Inlet durant le fraie des eulakanes. Cet article décrit les pratiques de pêche passées et présentes à ce site, soulignat les effets du développement, y compris la coupe à blanc et la pêche commerciale d'autres espèces à cet endroit.

A preface to this paper is on page 19.

*Thaleichthys pacificus* (rich fish of the Pacific) or eulachon is a member of the smelt family. It is an anadromous fish, maturing in the Pacific Ocean and returning to rivers after three years to spawn. Spawning rivers range from Bristol Bay in Alaska to the Klamath River in Northern California (Drake and Wilson, n.d: 7, 8). Eulachon has a high oil content of 15% and, for hundreds of years, has produced an oil that continues to be an important staple in the diet of indigenous people on the west coast of the North American continent. For us, the Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw, who occupy the central coast of British Columbia, including the northern end of Vancouver Island, eulachon are harvested in two rivers, the Kingcome and the Klinaklini, both on the mainland. This paper describes eulachon fishing and processing at Dzawadi, at the mouth of the Klinaklini River where, for generations, my family has gone every year in late March or early April. When the salmonberry bushes begin to flower, it is *'Ma'wa'etla̲nx̲*, "time to head into the inlet." Klinaklini is an anglicized form of *tli'na*, the word in our language for the rich oil, commonly called "grease," which is processed from eulachons. The name *Dzawadi* means "place of *dzaxwa̲n*" or eulachon. The name of the tribe occupying Kingcome Inlet is *Dzawada̲'enux̲w*, meaning "having eulachons."[1]

To reach the village site at Dzawadi, one travels past *Tsa̲xwa̲la* or Cascade Point, as it is called in English. This is a waterfall, rushing down from a height of about 50 feet, creating a fine mist. In earlier times, when people travelled by canoe, it was customary to paddle as close to the cascade as possible, for the purpose of washing in the icy spray, while saying the following words,

> Welcome, Old Man, we have come and meet alive. I have asked you for this, great, good Supernatural One, last year when we came. I beg you to have mercy and to blow off all evil from us, this our sickness, you great,

good Supernatural One, that we may come to life, and also, protect me that I may see you again, Old Man, you great Owner-of-the-World, Supernatural One and also, please let be fine the weather you are making, great, good Supernatural One, you are not a common person, Old Man. (Boas, 1930: 190)

Before contact, the *A'wa'etlala* lived permanently at Dzawadi. No one was allowed to begin fishing for eulachon until their chief, *Kwamaxa'las* dipped his net. His right to do so was inherited. He addressed his net before dipping it: "Go on, friend, on account of the reason why you came, placed in the hands of my late ancestors by our Chief Above, our Father, and go and gather in yourself the fish, that you may be full when you come back, friend." Before putting his catch into his canoe, he spoke to the eulachon, "Now come, fish, you who come being sent by our Chief Above, our Praised One, and you come trying to come to me. Now call the fish to come and follow your magic power that they may come to me" (Boas, 1930: 204). Only after *Kwamaxa'las* had completed his ritual, could the other fishermen begin.

As many people know, the ranking system was strictly observed among the Kwakwaka'wakw and this is evident even in the way that a common man greeted the eulachon, which differed from the way the chief spoke. "Now you have come, grandfather, you fish, that you may not ill-treat me, that you may only bring good luck by your coming to me, Supernatural Ones, you Dancers. I pray you, Supernatural Ones, that we may meet again next year and, please, protect me, friends, you fish." The common man continues, thanking the eulachon in the following words, "Thank you grandchildren, that you have come to make me rich as is done by you, fish, you, Dancers. You will protect me that I may see you again next year, grandchildren. Thank you that you do not disdain trying to come to me, Supernatural Ones" (Boas, 1930: 205).

Names reflect the importance of eulachon and denote the wealth that is associated with the oil. *Mantla* describes a state of satiation, in particular that caused by consuming the oil with other foods, such as dried or smoked salmon. So, the name, *Manl'ida'as* refers to the place where you become satiated, that is, the house of a generous host, who feeds his guests well at feasts. *Malidi* is the name of someone who makes you satiated. These are names that are still passed on today.

Much has changed since eulachon fishermen travelled by canoe to Dzawadi in the spring, but preparations remain much the same. Before leaving home, the crews must ensure that they have enough food and supplies for at least four weeks. Dzawadi is situated at the head of a long, narrow inlet (Figure 1), and is six hours by boat from my home in Alert Bay. There are seven cabins, which are occupied only during eulachon fishing season and can accommodate five to twelve people, depending on the size of the crew. Each crew is composed of family members and may represent three generations. At Dzawadi, there is no running water or electricity. Meals are prepared on a wood-burning stove or a propane cooker. Before unpacking food and supplies, the cabins must be scrubbed out, to get rid of signs that animals have occupied them during the months that there are no humans around. The area around the cabin must be cleared, with particular attention to the spot where the pit will be located. Enough fire wood must be cut and stacked to feed the cook stove and to heat the water in the tanks where the eulachon will be cooked. The working days are long and exhausting, but very satisfying. Everyone watches for signs that the eulachon are beginning to move upriver. When seals, sealions and huge flocks of sea gulls appear, we know that the eulachon have arrived. The crews prepare to go up the river to fish. When our old people fished in the traditional manner, this was the time they would pole their canoes upriver, equipped with dipnets or conical nets made of nettle fibre and cedar slats. The latter type could be up to 20 feet long, with the wide end held open with cedar struts. It was planted in midstream, where the current was swift, allowing the narrow end of the net to float downstream. The eulachon swam into the net and were swept toward the narrow end, from which they could not escape. The filled net was then unloaded into canoes, carried ashore and placed into the prepared pits.

Today, the gear is different. Instead of canoes, aluminium skiffs called "punts" are used. These are

**Figure 1**

Mountain range in Dzawadi, called the Killer Whales. There is a legend that, after the great flood subsided, a pod of killer whales was stranded on top of the mountains and their dorsal fins now form the peaks. Photo: Betsy Cranmer.

**Figure 2**

Pulling in a set. From the left, Charlie Matilpi, Donovan Cranmer, Edgar Cranmer, Roy Cranmer, George Barnes, Archie Smith, Richard Smith and Alfred Matilpi. Photo: Betsy Cranmer.

**Figure 3**

'L̲apa̲s or pit being filled with eulachon. Photo: Betsy Cranmer.

**Figure 4**

Threading eulachon on cedar sticks for smoking. Albert West and the author. Photo: Betsy Cranmer.

**Figure 5**

Shaking eulachon in the cooking tank. Photo: Betsy Cranmer.

equipped with outboard motors. Commercial herring seine net has replaced the nettle fibre mesh. The net measures about 12 feet wide and is between 90 and 120 feet long. On one edge of the net there are Styrofoam corks to keep that edge afloat. The opposite edge has lead weights to hold the net vertical in the water. Both ends of the net have lines attached, one of which is anchored to the beach, the other is underneath the net piled on the bow of the punt. The head of the crew steers the punt out from the beach in a wide arc, letting the net go. This called making a "set," the same term that is used in commercial fishing. Half the crew is holding on the anchored end of the line, while the other half waits for the punt to come into the beach, so they can grab the other end. Both halves of the crew then begin pulling the net towards each other (Figure 2), coiling the cork line and making sure the lead line remains on the river bottom, so the eulachon do not escape. When the net has been completely pulled in, the eulachon are transferred to the punt, which can hold up to 6 tons. Several sets must be made before the punt is filled. The first few may produce very little except for large rocks, tree roots and branches which have been carried downriver during floods. Each time the net is pulled up, it must be cleared of all debris before another set is made.

The day's catch is unloaded into the *'lapa̲s*, a pit which has been carefully cleared and enclosed by cedar planks laid on edge, held in place by stakes (Figure 3).

Shallow trenches are dug, to provide drainage from the pit. Many times, I have read descriptions by White people that say the eulachons are left in the pit to rot. This is not accurate. Dzawadi is surrounded by mountains and the weather is still very cold in early spring. Having been part of a crew for several years, I'm here to tell you that the eulachons do not rot. My understanding from our old people is that the eulachon are left in the pit from eight to ten days, so that the blood will drain away. There is a fishy smell from the pit, but no smell of rot. Occasionally, the temperature rises and flies appear. The crew carefully checks the pit and if there is any evidence of flies having laid eggs on any part of the pit, these contaminated sections are removed, so as not to affect the taste of the finished product.

While the eulachons are in the pit, more are caught for smoking or salting. Only male eulachons are smoked, as the females are too oily and do not dry satisfactorily. It is easy to tell one from the other. The male eulachon has a rougher texture and is darker, while the female has a smoother skin and is more silvery in colour. In earlier times, when a woman was preparing to thread eulachons on a stick for smoking, she would say, "Now welcome, fish, you who have come, brought by the Chief of the World-Above that I see you again, that I come to exert my privilege of being the first to string you, fish. I mean this, that you may have mercy on me that I may see you again next year when you come back to this your happy place, fish" (Boas, 1930: 203). The eulachons are strung on a cedar stick for smoking (Figure 4) and one must ensure that all the heads are facing the same way, otherwise, if even one is facing the wrong way, it is believed that the eulachons will not return. The sticks, holding 36 fish each, are placed on racks in the smokehouse, over a slow-burning fire of fresh-cut or "green" alder wood. For wiyutan, or half-smoked eulachons, the sticks are left in the smokehouse for three days. *t*samdak, or completely smoke-dried eulachons keep for a very long time. The average number of sticks of eulachons smoked is about 250.

Another task to be carried out while the eulachons are in the pit is to prepare the cooking tanks. In traditional times, these would have been very large kerfed boxes, completely made of cedar planks. They would be filled with water, then the eulachons would be transferred from the pit to the tank, to which red-hot rocks would be added, until the water boiled to start the rendering process. Sometimes, a canoe was used instead of a tank. Today, the cedar planks form the sides of a large rectangular tank, with the bottom being galvanized sheet metal. One end of the tank has a hole, into which a plug is placed. A trench is dug, slightly bigger than the tank, and is lined with brick or concrete blocks, on which the tank is placed. The tank is filled with water and the eulachons added. A fire is built under the tank and the temperature of the water is carefully monitored. We are Kwakwaka'wakw of the 1990s, so we use whatever the outside world has to offer, which means that some grease makers use thermometers to test the temperature of the water. We make no apologies for doing that. After all, when our people were using hot rocks to heat the water, White people were travelling by horse and buggy. *They* don't do that anymore, so why can't we change?

When the water has reached the desired temperature, crew members begin the process of shaking, which involves stirring the contents of the tank very slowly, using long cedar sticks that are forked at one end. The stick is pushed to the bottom of the tank, gently raised with eulachons draped over it (Figure 5). It is then shaken slowly, so that the flesh is released from the bones and the oil separates and rises to the top. The next step is to skim the oil into containers, from which it is then strained through a sieve into containers. As the oil settles, a grey skin forms on the top. This is an accumulation of the tiny scales of the eulachons and must be skimmed off to ensure clarity of the final product. Some people carry on the old way of a second heating and sieving of the oil on site, while others simply take home the once-skimmed oil in four-gallon plastic buckets. Later, they will complete the process in their home villages, storing the grease in gallon or half-gallon jugs. Traditionally, the grease would be stored in kerfed boxes or in the bulb ends of large kelp.

In earlier times, eulachon grease was an important trade item with tribes having no access to this resource. Beginning on the coast and extending into the interior were "grease" trails, along which tribes travelled for annual gatherings. From the coastal people, items including grease, canoes, kerfed boxes, dried halibut, and herring roe were offered to interior tribes in exchange for goods such as tanned hides, furs, dried meats and berries, including *naxwaskan* or soapberries, also called "Indian ice cream." These yearly events also provided an opportunity for cultural exchange and sometimes, intertribal marriages were arranged. "Grease" trails existed long before White people came to our territories and early White explorers used the trails to make their way to the coast.

Because so many of us are now caught up in 9 to 5 jobs, few are able to travel to places like Dzawadi to make grease. Consequently, the value of a gallon of grease has risen dramatically. Today, a gallon of the best quality can sell for $125.00, which those people who are unable to participate in the eulachon fishery are happy to pay.

Among our people, a potlatch at which large quantities of grease are given away is unique. I have attended "grease potlatches," where as many as 200 containers of grease are distributed. Part of the ceremony requires the host family to "feed" the central fire in the big house by pouring grease on it, indicating that the family is so wealthy that it can afford to squander such a precious commodity in such an extravagant fashion. While the fire is being fed, members of the host's family sing feast songs that can only be described as arrogant and full of pride. For example, my father's feast song refers to a column of smoke rising that is so huge that it can be seen all over the world. This is the smoke from the fire of the chief, who uses the canoes of lesser chiefs as kindling. And why not? Few families these days are able to give a grease potlatch and those who do have every reason to boast, as we know how much labour went into accumulating that wealth.

In recent years, eulachon stocks have been declining in all rivers, including ours. The last time I saw a good run was in 1976, when large numbers of eulachons headed up-river, looking like a wide, shiny black ribbon moving through the water. They were so thick that you could barely push your hand through the mass to touch the river bottom. That year, from a distance, the beaches at the mouth of the river appeared to be covered in snow. In fact, the cover was thousands of seagulls which had arrived to feed on the eulachons.

We know why the stocks have declined. There has been and continues to be extensive clear-cut logging in the watershed. The use of herbicides has polluted the river. In 1976, our drinking water came from the river. Today, we have to get water from an uncontaminated stream some distance way. Laboratory analysis of grease samples show evidence of arsenic, cadmium, lead and mercury, although these have not reached critical levels (Kuhnlein, Yeboah, Sedgemore, Sedgemore and Chan, 1996: 18). There has been an increase in the size of the shrimp trawl fleet harvesting in inside waters, resulting in a significant by-catch of eulachon which, having no commercial value, is simply dumped. It is very likely that the proliferation of fish farms in the area has also an impact, considering the amount of waste and chemicals escaping into the ocean from farm pens. To the White people, eulachon is a worthless species, so the Department of Fisheries and Oceans has no interest in determining the cause of the declining stocks. Given the track record of that department in protecting salmon and cod stocks on Canada's east and west coasts, we can't expect much help from that direction.

Not only are eulachon important to human beings, but they are also a vital link in the food chain including sea mammals, eagles, seagulls, dogfish, salmon, cod, halibut, and bears. If the eulachon. were to disappear completely, the people of the Northwest Coast would lose a precious part of our heritage and other forms of life would share our loss.

## Notes

1 A version of this paper was presented in October 1998, at the 8th International Conference on Hunting and Gathering Societies, in Osaka, Japan.

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# L'ethnographie et l'analyse des systèmes-mondes

Léo Poncelet

***Résumé:*** Dans cet article, l'auteur élabore sa problématique d'une ethnographie dans l'économie-monde. En sortant de l'horizon clos de l'ethnologue et de l'historien, il repense la relation entre acteur et structure pour articuler les histoires cachées. Se basant sur son enquête de terrain antérieur, il montre que l'ethnographie et l'analyse des systèmes-mondes sont des savoirs complémentaires. D'une part, l'ethnographie peut freiner la tendance des analystes des systèmes-mondes à réifier les actions. D'autre part, en plus d'être compatible avec une approche anti-utilitariste, l'analyse des systèmes-mondes peut donner une nouvelle cohésion au projet anthropologique en incitant l'ethnographe à enchâsser le temps court sur le temps long de sorte à mieux expliquer les mécanismes de la structuration des systèmes historiques locaux.

***Abstract:*** In this article, the author develops his problematic of an ethnography in the modern world-system. By traveling beyond the closed horizon of the ethnologist and the historian, he rethinks the relation between actor and structure to articulate the hidden histories. Based on his previous field research, he shows that ethnography and world-system analysis are complementary areas of knowledge. On the one hand, ethnography can curb the tendencies of analysts of world-systems to reify actions. On the other hand, besides being compatible with an anti-utilitarian approach, world-system analysis can bring about new cohesiveness to the anthropological project by prompting the ethnographer to insert short time on long time to better explain the mechanism of the structuration of local historical systems.

L'ère de la décolonisation a ébranlé les certitudes des ethnologues, perturbé l'institution de leur pratique sur le terrain. Confrontés à la fusion des communautés tribales et paysannes dans les nouveaux États-nations, les ethnologues, après la seconde guerre mondiale, ont commencé à s'apercevoir que, par la notion de culture, ils avaient figé à tort les peuples étudiés dans des sociétés dites sans histoire. Ce constat a obligé l'ethnologue à envisager un changement de point de vue pour l'analyse de son objet d'étude: le primitif, la tribu, la bande, les groupes de parenté, la petite communauté. Depuis les années 1960, les ethnologues cherchent à réorienter leur programme de recherche, à réinventer (Hymes, 1974), voire à «renouveler» (Fox, 1991) l'anthropologie pour comprendre notre monde actuel. Ce champ disciplinaire est toujours au mode expérimental (Marcus et Fischer, 1986). La révolution semble permanente (Barrett, 1984).

C'est dans cette conjoncture du savoir ethnologique éclaté (Ortner, 1984) que j'ai entrepris mes études en anthropologie. En outre, à titre d'assistant de recherche du professeur Marc-Adélard Tremblay de l'université Laval, j'ai participé au projet de l'ethnographie de la Côte-Nord, recherche d'équipe axée sur la petite communauté dite isolée comme unité d'analyse (Tremblay, Charest et Breton, 1969). Suite à mon enquête de terrain sur la Basse Côte-Nord menée de mai 1968 à juin 1969 dans le village de Harrington Harbour et dans le cadre de ce projet culturaliste pour lequel l'ethnographie était l'étude de groupes fossilisés, j'ai transféré de l'université Laval à l'université de l'Alberta pour y poursuivre mes études graduées en anthropologie. Là-bas, je fus bientôt introduit à la pensée d'André Gunder Frank (1966; 1967; 1969), figure de proue des théories de la dépendance (Chilcote, 1974; 1984). À l'époque, Frank exerçait une plus grande influence dans l'Ouest canadien qu'au Québec, en raison, sans doute, du parallélisme entre sa pensée et la tradition d'Harold Innis qui prédisposait l'intellectuel canadien-anglais (Brym et Fox, 1989; Davis, 1971; 1991;) à comprendre l'histoire du pays comme une

réponse à une série d'impérialismes étrangers, d'abord la France et l'Angleterre, puis maintenant les États-Unis. La préoccupation plus grande de l'économie politique par le Canadien anglais et du culturel par le Canadien français est un partage du savoir, me semble-t-il, qui perpétue les deux solitudes au Canada. Quoi qu'il en soit de cette supposition, c'est en Alberta que j'ai commencé à explorer la possibilité d'interpréter l'ethnographie de Harrington Harbour sous l'éclairage de la théorie du développement du sous-développement d'André Gunder Frank, inspirée de Paul Baran (1957). Avec le soutien des professeurs Richard Frucht et Arthur K. Davis de l'université de l'Alberta, j'ai choisi ce thème pour sujet de ma thèse (Poncelet, 1976).

Ce qui me semblait le plus pertinent pour l'ethnographe dans les travaux d'André Gunder Frank, c'était le modèle d'intégration des sociétés périphériques dans le capitalisme historique, fondé sur la critique radicale des théories de la modernisation à la Rostow (1960). Suivant cette nouvelle sociologie du développement, les formes archaïques de production n'étaient pas des survivances mais le résultat d'un «développement du sous-développement». Inspirée de Braudel, l'oeuvre de Wallerstein (1974; 1980; 1989a; 1989b; 1991b) sur le système-monde moderne est un prolongement plus systématique de cette école de pensée.

L'objectif principal de cet article n'est pas d'ajouter mon grain de sel aux éternels débats sur la soi-disant «vraie» théorie du développement, «jongleries sémantiques» (Wallerstein, 1983), mais de faire renaître mon interrogation initiale sur les moyens de construire un pont entre l'ethnographie et l'analyse des systèmes-mondes, de réévaluer le rapprochement de ces deux savoirs. D'une part, cet article essaie de voir comment l'analyse des systèmes-mondes peut répondre aux difficultés qu'éprouve l'ethnographe à articuler le local et le global et d'autre part, de voir comment l'ethnographie peut freiner la tendance des analystes des systèmes-mondes à réifier les interactions de l'interface du micro/macro-système.

La culture est le concept-clé qui sous-tend le discours ethnologique. Dès l'ère de Frank Boas, ce concept devient l'outil théorique qui sert à la fois à comprendre la réalité observée sur le terrain et à répertorier les diverses cultures vivantes en types de cultures dans le temps et l'espace (Yengoyan, 1986). En posant les spécificités culturelles comme évidence empirique, l'école historiciste assigne un caractère essentialiste aux modes de vie (Abu-Lughod, 1991). Pour elle, les diverses cultures humaines sont comme autant de monade close sur leur propre arbitraire culturel. Suivant cette vision, l'ethnographe sur le terrain a comme le dos tourné au centre pendant qu'il porte un regard «*innocent*» sur la communauté dite isolée. En réduisant la culture à la dimension du comportement humain, le culturalisme produit l'autre ethnographique comme objet lointain séparé de l'ethnographe (Appadurai, 1986; 1988), il occulte les connexions et les enchaînements historiques et contemporains entre l'univers d'origine de l'ethnographe et les communautés qu'il étudie.

Le structuralo-fonctionnalisme, qui a coexisté avec le culturalisme depuis la première moitié du XX$^{e}$ siècle, est un courant de pensée antithétique et complémentaire au culturalisme. Culturalisme et fonctionnalisme sont des théories selon lesquelles chacun est renvoyé à sa place, se stabilise et s'y renferme, obéit à une logique oppositionnelle. Ce discours élimine chez l'ethnologue toute possibilité de réflexion sur la situation coloniale et sur son rapport avec le terrain, comme le démontre Ulin (1988: 18-22) notamment pour Malinowski et Evans-Pritchard. Culturalisme et fonctionnalisme font partie des représentations des «cultures exotiques» dont McGrane (1989) a étudié l'histoire depuis la Renaissance au XX$^{e}$ siècle pour dévoiler nos structures projectives. Ce discours imaginaire voilé sous «l'ethos» de la science nous en apprend plus sur nous-même que sur les hommes d'ailleurs. Il entrave la fusion des horizons entre l'ethnographe et «l'autre semblable» (Ghosh, 1991; Laplantine, 1999; Trouillot, 1991a; 1991b), masque le champ de force où il est situé, le détourne de la quête des connections transnationales (Hannerz, 1996). Bref, il empêche l'ethnologue de situer les systèmes culturels locaux dans le processus de la reproduction globale (Friedman, 1996: 7-8) pour comprendre leur dynamisme véritable.

Dans la plupart des monographies classiques, la communauté est définie a priori comme unité d'analyse, d'où la simplicité des titres: Argonauts of the Western Pacific (Malinowski, 1922); The Adaman Islanders (Radcliffe-Brown, 1922); Topozlan (Redfield, 1930); Middletown (Lynd et Lynd, 1929); Street Corner Society (Whyte, 1943). En centrant leur analyse sur la culture locale, la petite communauté, la petite ville ou un quartier d'une métropole, ces monographies arrivent bien à trouver leur cohérence, mais en simplifiant la complexité du monde social. En fait, ces ethnographes ne décrivent qu'un ordre apparent. Pour eux, le phénomène est l'essence même de la réalité observée; il n'est pas le signe de structures historiques plus profondes. Bref, sans une mise en perspective du présent ethnographique comme lieu et acte de recherche dans la longue durée, sans ramener l'ethnographie «à des plans multiples de comparaison, à la fois dans le temps et dans

l'espace» (Braudel, 1969 : 249), les monographies ne demeurent que des représentations savantes d'un espace-temps tronqué.

Pour libérer la pensée ethnologique prisonnière du «temps en tunnel», Abu-Lughod (1991) et Featherstone (1997) invitent les ethnologues à déconstruire le rapport culture/société, à écrire contre la culture. Ce faisant, sans le préciser, ces auteurs s'inscrivent dans un courant de pensée préexistant, mais marginal dans la tradition anthropologique, d'opposition à la conception de la culture comme une abstraction qui divise l'univers de l'homme en entités closes et ignore les interrelations entre les groupes et les systèmes culturels (Carrithers, 1992). En tête de ce mouvement figure Eric Wolf (1956) qui, dans les années 1950, proposait d'étudier les sociétés complexes, telles le Mexique, comme des groupes et des institutions intermédiaires articulés par un ensemble de champs de forces. Plus récemment, Wolf (1982 : 3) considère l'anthropologie comme science critique et cumulative dont la tâche est d'élaborer une vision nouvelle de l'univers de l'homme compris comme «une totalité de processus interconnectés. Des enquêtes qui morcellent ce tout pour analyser ses parties, sans par la suite les remettre ensemble, dénaturent la réalité. Des concepts tels «nation», «société» et «culture» sont des noms qui risquent de réifier les entités qu'ils désignent. Seulement en comprenant ces vocables comme « un réseau de relations» et en replaçant les entités qu'ils désignent dans le champ duquel elles ont été abstraites» [traduction de l'auteur], pouvons-nous souhaiter apporter une contribution véritable à la science de l'homme.

L'objet de cet article est d'ancrer l'ethnographie dans une démarche parallèle, mais dans le but de mieux comprendre l'articulation des durées dans la structuration des villages étudiés par l'ethnographe. Wolf a eu tendance d'effacer le rapport de l'ethnographe sur le terrain et de minimiser les interactions de l'interface du micro/macro-système par un surcroît de systématisation. Cet article confronte davantage la dynamique de ces interactions en tenant en compte les acquis de l'analyse des systèmes-mondes laquelle me fournit un terrain théorique pour forger une ethnographie dans l'économie-monde (Marcus, 1986; Nash, 1981). Il aborde de front la question de l'analyse de la complexité sociale vécue sur le terrain et le problème de la production d'une ethnographie réaliste (Hammersley, 1992). Il veut faire contrepoids à l'anthropologie moderniste (Manganaro, 1990) et post-moderniste (Clifford et Marcus, 1986) qui identifie l'ethnographie à une fiction narrative.

Kuper (1988) s'étonne de la persistance de l'idée du primitif en anthropologie jusqu'à nos jours. En effet, sous des apparences modernistes, l'anthropologie demeure toujours structurée selon la triade ordre-utopie-sauvagerie (Trouillot, 1991a). En fait, l'anthropologie n'a pas inventé le primitif, mais a elle-même a été inventée pour combler la «filière» du sauvage (Trouillot, 1991b). Le primitif sert d'antithèse pour la civilisation occidentale. Ce lourd legs de l'anthropologie est une structure cachée, entrave à l'éclosion d'autres genres d'analyse de la complexité de la réalité sociale, plus adéquats. À force de s'évertuer à restructurer l'anthropologie par l'interprétation des textes ethnographiques (Adams et al., 1990; Clifford, 1988; Jamin, 1986), à écrire des textes littéraires sur les textes ethnographiques pour retrouver l'image du primitif (Marcus, 1980; Marcus et Dick, 1982), certains anthropologues ont fini non seulement par occulter mais par nier carrément la possibilité d'une réalité sur le terrain (Tyler, 1984). Comme le souligne Bourdieu (1992 : 52) cette «poétique et politique» de l'écriture ethnographique a pour effet d'ouvrir «la porte à une forme de relativisme nihiliste».

Depuis que l'anthropologie s'est constituée en discipline scientifique au XIX$^{e}$ siècle, il n'y a pas de sociétés isolées, ni de primitifs authentiques. En fait, il n'y a probablement jamais eu de peuples incarcérés dans une place et confinés à un mode de pensée. Tous les groupes humains ont été affectés d'une manière ou d'une autre par la migration, le commerce, la conquête, ou les récits folkloriques. L'isolat et le primitif contemporain sont des inventions culturelles. L'anthropologie doit commencer par faire une distinction entre les origines de l'homme du paléolithique et les origines des peuples contemporains dit primitifs, étudier les deux pour ce qu'elles sont. Dans le fond, pour créer une ethnographie réaliste, il faut commencer par surmonter cette contradiction fondamentale entre le sujet et l'objet qui définit le projet anthropologique.

Cela étant dit, cet article se divise en quatre parties principales. La première introduit l'analyse des systèmes-mondes, définit la notion d'économie-monde suivant Braudel et Wallerstein et donne l'état des lieux des débats. La deuxième partie porte sur la réalité locale dans l'économie-monde. Elle critique la pratique ethnographique traditionnelle dans les communautés de pêcheurs sur la Basse Côte-Nord, oppose ces études à la théorie du développement du sous-développement appliquée au cas de Harrington Harbour. La troisième partie argumente que l'analyse des systèmes-mondes est compatible avec une approche anti-utilitariste permettant à l'ethnographe d'expliquer la coexistence des économies formelles et informelles dans les sociétés périphériques qu'il est appelé à étudier. La dernière partie élabore un modèle de l'enchevêtrement des économies et discute de la notion de temps et son articulation avec le présent ethnographique

pour expliquer la structuration des systèmes historiques locaux. Elle argumente que l'ethnographie est une approche particulariste dont les analystes des systèmes-mondes devraient tenir compte pour déchosifier les actions sociales et aussi que la théorie de la structuration de Giddens peut aider l'ethnographe à mieux comprendre les interactions de l'interface du micro/macro système. Tout en rappelant le chemin parcouru pour forger une ethnographie dans l'économie-monde, l'article se termine sur des considérations au sujet de la complémentarité de ces deux savoirs.

## L'analyse des systèmes-mondes

### *1. Pensée complexe et créatrice*

Sous l'emprise de l'idéologie libérale, la science sociale s'est institutionnalisée au XIX[e] siècle en champs disciplinaires qui fragmentent artificiellement la réalité sociale en autant de parties correspondantes. L'analyse des systèmes-mondes ne déplace pas seulement, mais abat ces barrières disciplinaires pour faire surgir des interrogations qui vont droit au coeur, à la substance des problèmes sociaux. Elle regarde derrière les présupposés empiricistes et rationalistes des sciences sociales et tend à dépasser l'opposition entre la «suprême-théorie» et «l'empirisme abstrait» (Mills, 1977).

Quand Wallerstein (1987; 1991c) affirme que l'analyse de systèmes-mondes n'est pas une théorie du monde social et de ses parties, mais une protestation contre la manière dont nous avons structuré nos enquêtes sociales jusqu'ici, ceci ne fait que rappeler que la science n'est pas une certitude, mais un ensemble de connaissances provisoires. En fait, l'analyse des systèmes-mondes n'est pas une théorie à vérifier ou à infirmer par les faits, mais un véritable théorème dans le sens d'Adorno (1969). Elle fait appel à l'imagination sociologique pour faire communiquer le réel et l'idéel (Godelier, 1984) et instaurer une dialogique entre l'action et la pensée. Bref, l'analyse des systèmes-mondes agit comme un puissant phare qui éclaire les zones d'ombre dans la réalité sociale pour mieux nous aider à comprendre sa complexité, d'où son intérêt pour l'ethnographe.

Pour Braudel, la théorie n'est pas une croyance. La théorie attire les faits, tandis que la croyance les écarte. Une bonne théorie est un peu comme un navire qu'on aurait construit et qu'on lancerait à la mer pour voir s'il flotte. Pour Morin, la théorie est «une construction de l'esprit, une construction logico-mathématique, laquelle permet de répondre à certaines questions que l'on pose au monde, à la réalité» (1990: 39). Pour Stephen Jay Gould, la théorie rend compte de ce que nous savons en «faisant appel à l'intuition, aux opinions et à la connaissance des autres domaines scientifiques» (1979: 133). Ces trois auteurs, chacun à sa manière, voient la science comme pensée complexe et créatrice.

L'analyse des systèmes-mondes encourage une telle pensée complexe et créatrice. Elle suscite «la dialogique de complémentarité et d'antagonisme entre empirisme et rationalisme, imagination et vérification» dont parle Edgar Morin (1990: 80). Au fond, sa méthode est conforme à la définition anti-positiviste de la science par Bronowski. Comme nous le rappelle celui-ci, l'homme est une partie de la nature et participe sans cesse à sa récréation par l'art et la science. Comme l'art, la science est une activité créatrice, «un dialogue avec la nature» dont les «réponses sont souvent inattendues» (Prigogine, 1996: 65). À toutes les étapes de la science, le jugement et le savoir-faire du savant doivent intervenir. La science est faite par des êtres humains et n'est pas un miroir de la nature. «Ce que l'on voit, comme on le voit, n'est que désordre», écrit Bronowski (1965: 14). Par conséquent, le savant doit ausculter la dimension du réel pour voir ce que la caméra ne peut capter, trouver l'unité dans la diversité.

L'analyse des systèmes-mondes combat le mode dominant de la recherche en science sociale, mais à partir d'un projet scientifique. Elle n'est pas un dogme mais une méthode qui fait comprendre le monde social, non comme une donnée en soi ni comme son reflet dans la conscience du sociologue, mais comme un cas particulier du possible. L'analyse des systèmes-mondes «impense» la science sociale pour sortir du XIX[e] siècle. En fait, comme le maintient Straussfogel (1998), ce savoir s'incorpore bien dans le paradigme de la «nouvelle science» dont Prigogine est l'un des fondateurs (Prigogine et Stengers 1986).

### *2. L'économie-monde suivant Braudel et Wallerstein*

Fernard Braudel, avec Ernest Labrousse, a marqué de manière durable l'histoire économique et sociale en France après-guerre. Dans les trois tomes de Civilisation matérielle, Économie et Capitalisme du XV[e] au XVIII[e] siècle, Braudel (1979a; 1979b; 1979c) distingue trois niveaux d'activités économiques qui évoluent à un rythme d'autant plus rapide que l'on passe de l'échelle locale à l'échelle régionale, puis mondiale. Par cette démarche, Braudel a bouleversé les cadres communs de notre représentation de l'espace et du temps historique.

Pour ses descriptions spatiales, Braudel (1985a: 83-120) emploie deux expressions: économie mondiale et économie-monde, la dernière étant la plus fondamentale. Par économie mondiale, Braudel entend l'économie

du monde pris en son entier, le «marché de tout l'univers». Pour étudier les pôles dominants successifs du capitalisme naissant, Braudel a forgé le mot économie-monde à partir du mot allemand «Weltwirtschaft», qui veut dire une économie qui s'étend sur une portion seulement de notre planète. La Méditerranée du XV[e] siècle est l'illustration type d'une «Weltwirtschatf». À elle seule, elle forme une économie-monde.

L'économie-monde de Braudel comprend une triple réalité. En premier, elle occupe un espace géographique dont les contours varient lentement, connaissant parfois des ruptures, mais à longs intervalles. Deuxièmement, cet espace comprend un pôle, un centre dominant comme une ville telle New York ou, comme autrefois, une ville-état. Parfois cet espace peut comprendre deux centres à la fois. Troisièmement, à partir de ce centre et de son coeur qui est la région la plus immédiate, l'espace s'étend de ce pivot en zones successives comprenant les régions intermédiaires, ensuite les marges, la zone la plus éloignée et la plus subordonnée.

Les contours d'une économie-monde, qui peuvent se délimiter sur une carte, sont lents à se transformer et se révèlent le mieux lors de crises plus ou moins prolongées qui suscitent des décentrages et des recentrages. Dès le Moyen Age et dès même l'Antiquité, selon Braudel, plusieurs économies-mondes coexistaient. N'ayant entre elles que des échanges épisodiques, ces économies-mondes, chacune avec sa zone intermédiaire et périphérique, se partageaient l'espace habité du globe. Jusqu'à Pierre le Grand, la Russie fut une économie-monde; l'immense Empire Turc également jusqu'à la fin du XVI[e] siècle. En revanche, l'empire de Charles Quint ou de Philippe II, malgré son immensité, faisait partie de l'économie-monde de la Méditerranée. Suivant Braudel, les matrices du capitalisme européen, puis mondial, s'expliquent par les enjeux entre ces économies-mondes.

Dès 1650, l'Europe est une juxtaposition et une coexistence de sociétés. La Hollande, déjà capitaliste, se situe au sommet de l'échelle sociale et en bas on trouve les sociétés serviles et esclavagistes. Le capitalisme vit d'un étagement en zones concentriques. Les zones externes nourrissent les zones médianes et surtout celles du centre. Comme il y a réciprocité des perspectives, la périphérie ayant besoin du centre, le centre ayant besoin de la périphérie, c'est le centre qui dicte sa loi à la périphérie.

La notion de l'économie-monde chez Wallerstein est essentiellement semblable à celle de Braudel, sauf qu'il distingue trois systèmes historiques : les mini-systèmes, les empires-mondes et les économies-mondes. Les mini-systèmes sont des ensembles sociaux caractérisés par des rapports de production de type égalitaire, axés sur la chasse et la cueillette, et dans lesquels l'échange réciproque est dominant. Suivant la dynamique et le rythme de l'accroissement des populations humaines, ces mini-systèmes se sont reproduits, au fil du temps, par segmentation; puis par migration, ils en sont venus à occuper diverses régions de la planète. L'empire-monde et l'économie-monde sont chacun à sa manière des systèmes-mondes. L'empire-monde est un système-monde caractérisé par des rapports de production de type tributaire. Il est dominé par un centre politique dans lequel les échanges sont de type redistributif. L'économie-monde, quant à elle, est un système-monde dominé par la loi du marché. Elle se caractérise avant tout par une division du travail à l'échelle mondiale, une division inter-étatique et une hiérarchie de trois relations spatiales asymétriques : centre, semi-périphérie et périphérie. Ce système-monde obéit à la logique de l'accumulation pour l'accumulation à l'échelle mondiale.

Depuis le néolithique, il y a environ 5 000 ans, des empires-mondes et aussi des économies-mondes ont surgi dans les diverses aires de civilisation sur la base des communautés agraires en présence; mais, selon Wallerstein, les économies-mondes s'éclipsaient sans cesse au profit des empires-mondes; seule fut triomphante l'économie-monde qui émergea en Europe durant le long XVI[e] siècle et qui a pris, depuis le XIX[e] siècle, une expansion à l'échelle de la planète, transformant et incorporant les mini-systèmes et les empires-mondes.

Pour Wallerstein (1974 : 17-18), la civilisation qui émerge des décombres de l'Empire romain en Europe médiévale n'est jamais parvenue au statut d'empire ou d'économie-monde : son trait majeur est l'extrême dispersion du pouvoir politique. C'est le mythe de la restauration de l'empire romain et la chrétienté qui donnent à l'Europe médiévale une certaine cohérence. Éclatée en une multitude d'unités socio-économiques à base de rapports de production de type seigneur/serf, l'Europe du V[e] au X[e] siècle évolue à la marge de vastes empires qui, selon Braudel (1979), rappelle une citadelle assiégée. En fait, l'Europe de cette époque, fait face tant bien que mal aux invasions des Huns à l'est, des Arabes au sud et des Vikings au nord. À partir du XII[e] siècle, l'Europe, sur les franges maritimes de la Méditerranée et de la mer du Nord, évolue sous les confluents de quatre grands pôles commerciaux qui, selon Wallerstein, structuraient le monde connu de l'époque : la Méditerranée y compris Byzance; les cités-états d'Italie et l'Afrique du Nord; l'Océan Indien/Mer Rouge; la Chine et l'Asie centrale. À l'aube du XV[e] siècle, les Baltiques commencent à poindre comme cinquième pôle.

À partir de l'an mil, l'Europe médiévale est en effervescence: elle connaît une forte poussée démographique et de nouvelles villes émergent. Cette période est marquée par la multiplication des échanges, la stabilité des prix et la pénurie de la circulation de l'argent. Vers l'an 1300, cette économie commence à donner des signes d'essoufflement et soudainement une crise de longue durée (1320-1520) s'installe. Dès lors, l'Europe connaît une profonde mutation, déchirée par des crises agricoles, des famines, des troubles sociaux. Des épidémies, telles la peste noire, qui vident des villages entiers de leur population, sont le point culminant de la crise. Dans cette conjoncture, l'économie stagne, voire recule, puis une inflation de longue durée s'installe qui affecte tout le monde. Mais ce sont les populations rurales qui sont les plus durement touchées par la dépréciation du coût de la vie.

Avec la découverte de l'Amérique en 1492 et le périple du cap de Bonne-Espérance en 1497-1498, le centre du monde se déplace de la Méditerranée à l'Océan Atlantique (Braudel, 1985b: 178) et de nouveaux circuits d'échange apparaissent. Outre les cités italiennes, les villes de la Hanse, qui reliaient les Baltiques et la mer Noire aux foires intérieures, sont, dès lors, mises à l'écart de ces circuits au profit des royaumes ibériques, anglais et français. Le hasard de situation par rapport à la route du Nouveau Monde explique l'essor des ports espagnols et portugais, tels Lisbonne et Séville, puis Cadix; ceux de la mer du Nord tels Bruges, puis Anvers, Londres et Amsterdam; et, finalement ceux des ports français de l'Atlantique.

Avec le grand désenclavement planétaire des XV$^{e}$ et XVI$^{e}$ siècles, la lente pénétration des marchés commence à démanteler les relations sociales de la société européenne dans lesquelles la sphère économique était encastrée. Partout dans l'espace ouvert aux marchés extérieurs et non réglementés par les empires-mondes, la loi du marché se substitue à la loi impériale. La richesse perd sa fonction sociale pour devenir pour la première fois une fin en soi. L'économie qui s'affranchit du social suscite la «Grande Transformation» (Polanyi 1983) à l'origine du système-monde moderne.

Pour Wallerstein, la véritable période de transition du féodalisme au capitalisme se situe dans le long XVI$^{e}$ siècle, au moment où le morcellement féodal fait place à des États souverains et le commerce et l'industrie prennent un nouvel élan. Cette prospérité est la «lame de fond» des temps modernes.

Au XVI$^{e}$ siècle, l'or soudanais et l'argent des mines allemandes et de Bohême ne suffisaient plus à la demande de numéraire. Mais, après l'expédition de Cortez (1519-1522) et la conquête de Pizarre (1533), les métaux précieux du Nouveau Monde entrent par l'Espagne et, jusqu'à l'aube du XVII$^{e}$ siècle, affluent en Europe. L'Europe est emportée par la révolution des prix. L'inflation de longue durée cause la ruine des petits paysans et artisans, puis l'enrichissement de la bourgeoisie montante et ses alliés.

Au milieu du XVI$^{e}$ siècle, tous les produits américains et asiatiques parvenaient à Anvers par la péninsule Ibérique et de là étaient échangés en Europe du Nord. Aussi, tous l'or et l'argent espagnols d'Amérique étaient drainés en sa direction. En conséquence, l'Espagne s'appauvrit rapidement, et avec Anvers comme plaque tournante du commerce international, l'hégémonie des Pays-Bas émergera au XVII$^{e}$ siècle.

Pour Wallerstein, le basculement de l'économie vers l'Atlantique vient juste au bon temps pour résoudre la crise structurelle de l'Europe de l'Ouest. Selon l'expression de Braudel (1979c: 481), «l'Amérique est le faire de l'Europe». Sans sa découverte, l'Europe de l'Ouest n'aurait probablement jamais connu une révolution bourgeoise au XVIII$^{e}$ siècle, dans le plein sens du mot.

Selon Wallerstein, l'économie-monde obéit à des rythmes séculaires de contraction et d'expansion. La période de trois siècles, prospérité du XVI$^{e}$ siècle, dépression du XVII$^{e}$ siècle, et relance économique de XVIII$^{e}$ siècle, est la phase préparatoire à la seconde phase de l'expansion de l'économie-monde, celle de l'industrialisation à proprement parler.

Le capitalisme de l'Europe de l'Ouest a eu besoin d'un espace démesuré pour son expansion durant le long XVI$^{e}$ siècle. Pour mieux s'approprier des surplus dans les mondes pré-établis d'Amérique et d'Europe de l'Est, de l'Afrique ou de l'Asie, il a dû réinventer de nouveaux rapports de production, tels l'esclavage et le «second servage». L'accumulation de la richesse et sa concentration entre les mains de la classe marchande de l'Europe de l'Ouest se sont réalisées grâce à la fois aux travailleurs libres au centre et à la main d'oeuvre asservie en périphérie. Sans ces interconnexions, le capitalisme historique (Wallerstein, 1990a) n'aurait jamais, sans doute, vu le jour en Europe.

Pour Braudel et Wallerstein, l'économie-monde est composée de divers rapports de production en synchronisation. L'esclavage, le «second servage», ou la petite production marchande, par exemple, qui coexistent avec le capitalisme ne sont pas les vestiges de la survivance de rapports de production pré-capitalistes. Cette réalité accepte l'étagement et la coexistence de rapports de production divers qui varient selon la conjoncture et les contextes régionaux.

L'approche de Braudel et de Wallerstein veut que l'on prenne le système-monde moderne comme l'unité d'analyse pour comprendre la signification de la coexistence de ces types différents de rapports de production. En somme, l'économie-monde pour Wallerstein (1974: 92) est intégralement capitaliste, même si, à tous les niveaux, la force de travail ne se trouve pas complètement séparée des moyens de production. «L'économie-monde, écrit-il, a une forme ou une autre. Une fois devenue capitaliste, les rapports qui ont une certaine ressemblance formelle aux rapports féodaux sont nécessairement redéfinis en terme du principe directeur du système capitaliste. Ceci fut vrai à la fois pour les encomienda de l'Amérique hispanique et pour le soi-disant «deuxième servage» de l'Europe de l'Est» [traduction de l'auteur].

### *3. Controverses*

Depuis leur origine, les théories de la dépendance sont déchirées par des controverses. D'abord, elles naissent durant les années 1960 en opposition aux théories de la modernisation. Plus tard, on voit les marxistes et les analystes des systèmes-mondes se quereller sur le choix de l'unité d'analyse: formation sociale vs système. Dernièrement, la querelle est interne entre les analystes des systèmes-mondes eux-même concernant l'origine, le nombre et la nature des systèmes-mondes.

Selon Schneider (1977), Wallerstein aurait défini les interconnexions marchandes trop étroitement, excluant la circulation des biens de prestige. Selon Ekholm (1980), et Ekholm et Friedman (1982; 1984), cette circulation obéit à la logique de «l'impérialisme capitaliste» qui crée les hiérarchies entre les ensembles sociaux. Les systèmes-mondes anciens basés sur l'État sont des constructions qui dépendent du surplus provenant de zones périphériques. Pour ces auteurs, les rapports centre/périphérie doivent s'étendre aux sociétés pré-capitalistes. En fait, pour eux l'histoire de la civilisation se comprend comme un long processus de décentrages et de recentrages, de rivalités entre centres pour le contrôle des ressources premières en provenance des zones périphériques, tels le bois, les métaux, les pierres précieuses, l'ivoire etc., matériau transformé par les artisans des cités en biens de prestige pour l'usage et l'entretien des classes dirigeantes. En formulant ces arguments Schneider, Ekholm et Friedman sont les précurseurs d'un nouveau champ d'études comparatives des systèmes-mondes.

Depuis les années 1980, un certain nombre de chercheurs essaient d'adapter les concepts élaborés pour le système-monde moderne aux systèmes-mondes anciens; ils prennent le système comme unité d'analyse, non la société: ainsi ils éliminent la question de la dynamique interne de l'évolution. Dans ce domaine, on se demande combien y a-t-il de systèmes-mondes? Comment les délimiter? On essaie d'en répertorier les types suivant leur grammaire, leur logique. En comparant les systèmes-mondes anciens avec le système-monde moderne, on croit les mieux comprendre (Chase-Dunn, 1992; 1989; Chase-Dunn et Hall, 1991; 1992).

Certains, tels Wallerstein et Chase-Dunn, voient plusieurs types de systèmes-mondes, d'autres n'en voient qu'un seul. Il y a aussi d'importants différends sur le moment de l'émergence du système-monde moderne. Wallerstein le fixe dans le long XVI$^{e}$ siècle; d'autres le veulent après, au XVIII$^{e}$ siècle; d'autres avant, au XIII$^{e}$ siècle, comme Abu-Luhhod (1989). Le cas d'André Gunder Frank est le plus paradoxal. S'inspirant de la thèse d'Abu-Luhhod, qui explique l'émergence du système-monde moderne par les interconnexions de l'Europe avec l'Orient par le marché des biens de prestige, Frank (1990; 1991; Frank et Gills, 1992) conclut à l'existence depuis 5 000 ans d'une économie-monde apparue dans l'aire des anciennes civilisations (Mésopotamie-Egypte). Selon Frank (1990), le capitalisme serait un long processus historique caractérisé par des mouvements cycliques de centrage et décentrage pour l'hégémonie et dont l'origine ne se situerait pas en Europe mais dans le Proche-Orient. L'hégémonie du capitalisme en Occident est un événement récent, possiblement passager.

Frank (1991) décoche une flèche sur tous ceux qui voient l'histoire de l'Ouest comme discontinuité, «marxistes» et analystes des systèmes-mondes confondus. Pour lui, ni les «differentia specifica» du système-monde moderne de Wallerstein (1990b), ni les notions d'empires-mondes et de mode de production féodal, ni les formations tributaires d'Amin (1970; 1973), sont acceptables. Après les anciens débats Dobbs (1971; 1976)/Sweezy (1976a; 1976b), Frank (1963)/Laclau (1971), Brenner (1977)/Wallerstein, à savoir si la transition du féodalisme au capitalisme est due aux contradictions internes ou aux forces externes du marché, Frank soulève un nouveau débat à savoir si, à partir de l'Europe de l'Ouest, il y a eu ou pas une transition du féodalisme au capitalisme.

Selon Wallerstein (1991a), la critique de Frank s'adresse à tort à lui car son système-monde moderne est un phénomène exotique qui dévie du processus de développement connu jusqu'alors dans les autres aires de civilisations. En fait, l'émergence du capitalisme historique à partir de l'Europe est une contingence, un hasard de l'histoire, provoquée par la secousse des Grandes Découvertes et la crise structurelle dans

l'Europe féodale. La discontinuité, la rupture d'avec l'ancien régime s'explique par une conjoncture accidentelle dans le long XVI[e] siècle entre les multiples interconnexions du marché extérieur et les contradictions internes à l'Europe. La cause du développement du capitalisme en Europe est complexe et personne au moyen âge n'aurait pu en prévoir l'émergence. Son évolution n'obéit pas au «temps en tunnel» (Blaut, 1994) de la pensée positiviste axée sur l'ancienne vision newtonnienne et laplacienne d'un univers mécanique et prévisible, conception où l'avenir est donné dans le présent. Au demeurant l'indétermination fait partie de l'explication du capitalisme tant en Europe qu'au Japon. Comme le soutient Bernier (1988; 1990), la transition du féodalisme au capitalisme nippon ne peut pas totalement s'expliquer par la nature de luttes de classes internes. Il faut recourir à des facteurs à la fois internes et externes pour expliquer son émergence au Japon.

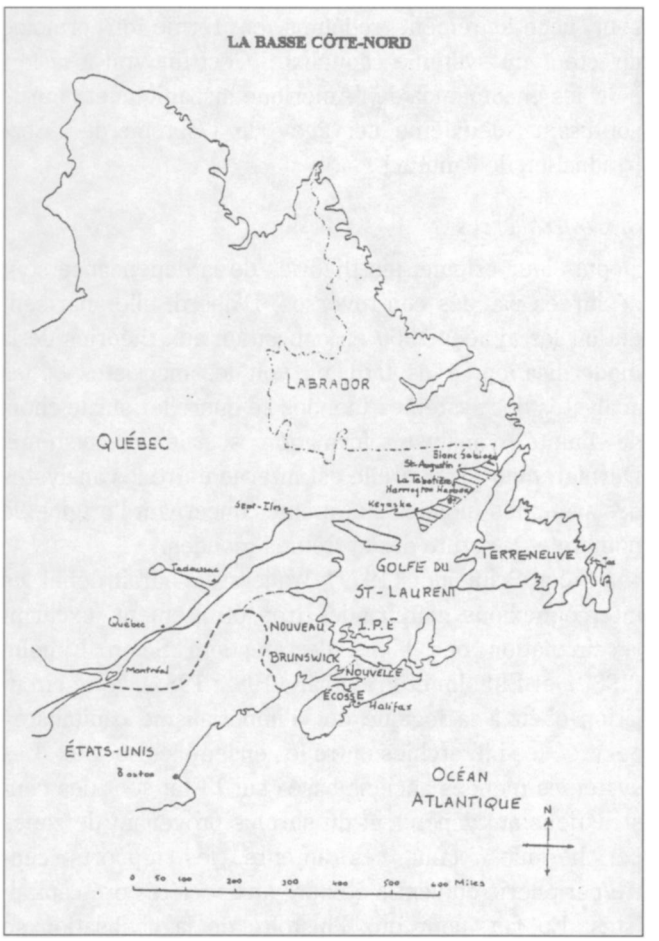
En poussant la réflexion un peu plus avant, on peut dire que le capitalisme est un système complexe d'auto-organisation en état instable né d'un enchaînement d'événements imprévus et ouverts sur un avenir incertain. Le temps est une dimension réelle de l'économie-monde et donc celle-ci n'échappe pas à la flèche du temps (Conveney et Highfield, 1990) comme tous les systèmes complexes.

Pour les analystes des systèmes-mondes l'unité d'analyse est le système, non la société. Par conséquent, leur compréhension du développement du capitalisme est multi-dimensionnel et anti-positiviste. En prenant en compte la complexité du réel, leur discours se distingue du discours réductionniste des libéraux et des marxistes, protagonistes qui partagent les mêmes présupposés positivistes où la réalité sociale est comprise à partir d'un quelconque état initial, non à partir du possible. En effet, en plus d'adopter la même unité d'analyse, mais sous des noms différents, la société isolée ou l'État-nation pour les libéraux et la formation sociale pour les marxistes, ces deux protagonistes s'imaginent l'évolution de ces entités comme des possibles dont la trajectoire est dessinée d'avance. Pour libéraux et marxistes, le présent est gros du passé, «l'avenir est donné dans le présent». L'observation des faits empiriques sert à confirmer les prétendues étapes. Leur vision déterministe du monde social, inspirée de la science sociale du XIX[e] siècle, les conduit à l'attribution fallacieuse d'un caractère concret à une abstraction (Whitehead, 1995). Faute de situer le changement social dans la «durée pure» de Bergson (1962: 10), libéraux et marxistes n'arrivent pas à se représenter la nouveauté ou l'imprévisibilité. Bref, dans ce sens, entre la version idéaliste des libéraux et matérialiste des marxistes du développement de la culture et des sociétés humaines, l'opposition est plus symbolique que fondamentale.

## La réalité locale dans l'économie-monde

### *1. L'approche positiviste et la pratique ethnographique sur la Basse Côte-Nord*

**Figure 1**




Le continuum de Redfield a servi de cadre d'analyse dans les premières études ethnographiques sur la Basse Côte-Nord (Breton, 1968; 1970; 1973; Charest, 1973; Junek 1937; Tremblay, Charest et Breton, 1969). Plus récemment, Bernier (1979; 1981), Darveau (1989) et Roy (1990) de l'université Laval, élèves du professeur Yvan Breton, lui-même ancien élève du professeur Marc-Adélard Tremblay, ont réorienté cette ethnographie de type culturaliste sur la Basse Côte-Nord dans le cadre du matérialisme historique.

Si les travaux des ethnographes de l'université Laval, aînés et cadets confondus, donnent une impres-

sion de continuité et de cohérence, c'est que le continuum de Redfield et le matérialisme historique sont chacun à sa manière un modèle d'interprétation dualiste. Le continuum de Redfield contraste la société rurale à la société urbaine et présuppose la disparition des traits ruraux (tels la subsistance, la parenté étendue) à mesure que ceux de la ville se diffusent vers la campagne. Le matérialisme historique présuppose également l'existence d'une société traditionnelle et son passage nécessaire à la société moderne, c'est-à-dire la transition par la lutte de classes du féodalisme au capitalisme, lui-même caractérisé par une polarisation croissante entre deux classes, le prolétariat et la bourgeoisie.

Selon cette dernière perspective, trois positions sont possibles pour expliquer la coexistence des formes de production sous le capitalisme, comme survivance, comme prolétariat déguisé, et comme mode de production en transition. Dans la littérature sur la question agraire des années 1970, Servolin (1973) représente le premier courant. Breton (1977), Faure (1978), Lessard (1976), Lautier (1973), Mollard (1977) et Vergopoulos (1976) représentent le deuxième courant. Pierre Philippe Rey (1976), Bernard Bernier (1976) et Bernier, Bergeron et Bouvette (1977) représentent le troisième courant. Ces auteurs essaient de concilier les analyses des anciens penseurs marxistes sur la question du capitalisme agraire (Kaustky, 1900; Lenine, 1974; 1977; Marx, 1976) avec le maintien de la production parcellaire.

La grille d'analyse du matérialisme historique n'est en rien supérieure au continuum de Redfield. L'unité d'analyse de ces deux modèles est la formation pré-capitaliste pour l'un et la communauté traditionnelle pour l'autre, non le système. Les deux s'inscrivent dans le courant de pensée positiviste qui réduit l'horizon des ethnographes à s'imaginer les villages périphériques, tels les villages de pêcheurs sur la Basse Côte-Nord, comme des communautés encore au stade pré-capitaliste ou pré-moderne, mais vouées à rattraper tôt ou tard le retard. Ces modèles font naître un empirisme naïf qui confirme une évolution où des parties distinctes se juxtaposent suivant un schéma préfiguré, donc empêchent de voir que le travail multiforme est la règle dans les villages périphériques à l'étude. Ces modèles, pour qui l'avenir est donné dans le présent, dissocient le contenu du changement social d'avec sa durée, enferment le regard de l'ethnographe dans le temps clos, effacent la dialogique entre les acteurs et la structure sociale, mystifient des structures ouvertes.

La nouvelle génération d'ethnographes de l'université Laval a greffé, sans esprit critique, le matérialisme historique sur les villages de la Basse Côte-Nord analysés par leurs aînés dans la perspective culturaliste. Quand leurs travaux n'ignorent pas carrément la question du rapport entre l'économie domestique et l'économie marchande, ils interprètent toujours le mode de subsistance comme une survivance, un phénomène pré-moderne ou pré-capitaliste. Leurs travaux sont une illustration flagrante que le passage du culturalisme au matérialisme historique n'exige aucun changement radical dans la manière d'observer la réalité sur le terrain ou d'interpréter l'ethnographie. Il suffit pour l'ethnographe de rhabiller l'ancienne ethnographie avec le nouveau jargon marxiste.

### *2. La théorie du développement du sous-développement et le cas de Harrington Harbour*

C'est en opposition au modèle reçu du continuum de Redfield où le chercheur devait tronquer la réalité observée sur le terrain pour s'y conformer, que j'ai choisi, il y a déjà plus d'une vingtaine d'années, la théorie du développement du sous-développement d'André Gunder Frank pour mon cadre d'analyse du village de Harrington Harbour, communauté étudiée par l'observation participante et la tradition orale (Poncelet, 1976). En portant mon attention sur le système de relations qui dépassait l'espace villageois, j'ai pu tracer une trajectoire communautaire contraire non seulement aux prédictions du continuum de Redfield, mais aussi de celles du matérialisme historique, donc mettre au jour une organisation socio-économique non conventionnelle.

Les rapports socio-économiques à Harrington Harbour sont décrits à l'intérieur de deux types de relations centre/périphérie se succédant dans le temps: sous la domination des centres mercantiles de 1870 jusqu'en 1950, puis sous les centres industriels de 1950 jusqu'à aujourd'hui.

Dans un premier temps, est faite une reconstitution de l'organisation socio-économique du village lors de son évolution sous la domination de centres mercantiles vers les années 1920. L'analyse distingue deux sphères d'échange, le circuit des marchandises et celui des biens domestiques, auxquelles correspondent un mode de production marchand et un mode de production de subsistance, ce dernier subordonné au premier, et les deux formant un système hiérarchique local, dernier maillon dans la longue chaîne hiérarchique qui structure l'économie-monde. Les rapports sociaux à Harrington Harbour obéissaient à deux logiques, une mercantile et l'autre communautaire, qui s'activaient suivant le lieu, les saisons et les activités économiques en présence.

La morue, le cuir et l'huile de phoque étaient produits pour l'échange, donc circulaient dans les réseaux de

l'économie-monde hors de la communauté locale. La technique de capture était celle de filets fixes avec le besoin d'emplacements sur la mer en bordure d'îlots et de rivages. Les chefs des unités de production, au niveau du village, étaient les propriétaires des techniques de pêche; ils contrôlaient aussi l'accès aux emplacements sur la mer par des droits exclusifs reconnus par la coutume, entérinés par l'État et ses lois sur les pêcheries.

La parenté ne servait pas comme principe pour le recrutement des équipes de pêche comme le suppose la plupart des ethnographes entre autres Junek (1937), Beaucage (1970) et Breton (1973). Les équipes de pêche se formaient suivant une logique mercantile parmi les pêcheurs du village sans moyens de production (Poncelet, 1976: 74-78). Souvent des pêcheurs dans les villages environnants, parfois même des pêcheurs itinérants, figuraient dans les équipes selon les besoins et les disponibilités. Le partage du produit se faisait selon certaines règles comptables entre les coéquipiers et en faveur du chef, liés à celui-ci par des rapports dyadiques asymétriques de clientèle, et lui-même lié directement de la même façon à son tour au marchand urbain qui venait extraire le surplus de la production villageoise par l'échange inégal.

Outre la production pour l'échange, les villageois pratiquaient une production pour la consommation domestique, hors saison, qui comprenait une multitude complexe d'occupations de subsistance, la coupe du bois de chauffage, la cueillette de baies, la construction de l'habitat, la chasse au caribou. Ces produits circulaient généralement uniquement dans la sphère d'échange communautaire. Ce mode de production de subsistance se caractérisait par des droits d'usage commun sur le territoire et les ressources. L'organisation du travail était basée sur la famille, la parenté et des rapports dyadiques symétriques. Quand ce mode de production s'activait, l'entraide au niveau du village émergeait, les visites et les festivités entre villageois devenaient nombreuses (Poncelet, 1976: 81-92).

Comme maillon qui bouclait le système hiérarchique au niveau du village avec le système hiérarchique plus élevé qui structurait le circuit de l'échange hors de la communauté, le marchand était dans une position clé et avait le contrôle effectif sur la distribution des biens de production (sel, cordage, filet etc.) et des biens de consommations nécessaires (mélasse, farine, pomme de terre etc.). Le lien de patronage du marchand avec les chefs d'équipages et leurs familles respectives favorisait la concentration de la propriété technique dans certaines lignées car la coutume de l'héritage suivait le principe patrilinéaire.

Par sa position, le marchand définissait les conditions dans lesquelles la communauté villageoise devait se reproduire. Mais, en réalité, c'est la conjugaison de ce facteur d'ordre supérieur avec un facteur d'ordre inférieur (le principe coutumier de l'héritage) qui explique la reproduction particulière du système hiérarchique dans le village et la complémentarité des deux modes de production (Poncelet, 1976: 78-80).

Dans un second temps d'analyse, d'après mes observations sur le terrain durant l'année 1968 et 1969, mon étude décrit les rapports sociaux du village de Harrington Harbour sous l'émergence des nouveaux centres d'industrialisation miniers, comme celui de Sept-Iles (Poncelet, 1976: 93-124).

Vu les remaillages d'après la seconde guerre mondiale dans la longue chaîne hiérarchique qui structure l'économie-monde, le marchand urbain est forcé de redéfinir sa position par rapport au village pour s'insérer dans les nouveaux maillons de la chaîne. Peu à peu, il se transformera en marchand de biens polyvalents en faisant entrer un bazar de biens essentiels et non essentiels dans le circuit d'échange local, créant ainsi de nouveaux besoins, une demande accrue du pouvoir d'achat et de nouvelles hiérarchies sociales. Comme il a aussi intérêt à voir le volume d'argent en circulation dans la région augmenter, il se fera également marchand-entrepreneur; et avec l'aide de la nouvelle bureaucratie d'État, il développera une stratégie industrielle en conséquence. L'industrie de la pêche qu'il vient à gérer sera sans cesse peinte en couleurs ombrageuses, comme une industrie en crise, jamais assez subventionnée, toujours trop improductive, marginalisant sans cesse les pêcheurs côtiers au profit de la grande pêche hauturière, augmentant leur dépendance sur des paiements de transferts de toute sorte.

Sous la domination des centres industriels, se développent un pluralisme occupationnel nouveau, des factions de village et un nouveau système hiérarchique, maillon local de cette longue chaîne hiérarchique qui structure l'économie-monde actuelle basée sur l'idéologie de la consommation. Le pluralisme occupationnel de Harrington Harbour devient très complexe, composé d'un mélange de travaux salariés et non salariés. Mais dans le village de La Tabatière (Poncelet, 1969), à une quarantaine de milles plus à l'est, ce pluralisme s'avérait paradoxalement encore plus complexe.

Une famille marchande de la ville de Québec, depuis le dernier quart du XIX$^{e}$ siècle, avait ici des établissements mercantiles. Sur ces anciennes bases, elle avait implanté une usine de transformation de la morue en filet durant les années 1950, faisant de La Tabatière le

coeur industriel des pêcheries régionales, en quelque sorte. L'ethnologue Pierre Beaucage, que j'accompagnais, durant l'été 1967, dans le but d'étudier ce village dans le cadre du projet de l'Ethnographie de la Côte Nord dirigé par le professeur Marc-Adélard Tremblay de l'université Laval, se réserva la tâche de reconstituer la «société traditionnelle» et m'assigna celle d'étudier le «village ouvrier». Comme stratégie de recherche, il élabora un programme d'entrevues sur l'histoire occupationnelle des travailleurs à l'usine de transformation du poisson pour montrer les trajets occupationnels entre les générations, père-fils. À partir de la reconstruction «structuralo-matérialisme historique» de Beaucage (1967; 1968; 1970) du village traditionnel de La Tabatière, il m'incombait finalement de décrire le «village ouvrier» comme résultat d'une dynamique interne (lutte de classes).

Après un bon nombre d'entrevues de maison en maison, il me fut impossible d'analyser les données occupationnelles selon l'ordre voulu d'évolution pour montrer le passage du traditionnel au moderne par le trajet des fils. D'abord, les ouvriers à l'usine étaient en grande partie des femmes mal payées travaillant sur commande au rythme des arrivages, faisant des journées folles, parfois de plus de 12 heures d'affilée, parfois des journées moins que rien. Contrairement aux modèles reçus, face au phénomène de l'industrialisation, au lieu d'éclater, les rapports de parenté s'étaient affermis et les travailleurs se voyaient insérés dans un tissu de liens de patronage et de népotisme. Dans la plupart des cas, le père et le fils étaient des travailleurs saisonniers à l'usine, également pêcheurs occasionnels, faisant, par-ci, par-là, un peu à n'importe quelle saison, une multitude de menus emplois simultanés, certains payés, d'autres non. En outre, avant leur mariage et avant de s'établir au village, la plupart avaient été travailleurs migrants, dans les environs de Sept-Iles, mais aussi un peu partout ailleurs au pays, même en Europe, surtout ceux ayant été enrôlés dans l'armée. Plusieurs de ces travailleurs interviewés, dont l'anglais était en général la langue d'usage, distinguaient «my own work» du travail à l'usine et semblaient accorder plus d'importance au premier, c'est-à-dire au temps libre nécessaire pour les activités de subsistance, telle la construction de leur maison.

### *3. L'analyse des systèmes-mondes et le pluralisme occupationnel*

L'analyse des systèmes-mondes peut rendre compte de cette complexité occupationnelle, la coexistence du travail payé et non payé étant en fait une stratégie de la reproduction de l'économie-monde (Wallerstein, Smith et Evers, 1984). Le système-monde moderne permet et engendre une variété de formes de production selon les contextes régionaux et la conjoncture historique. L'articulation du double mode de production que j'ai décrit pour le village de Harrington Harbour est bien, en fait, comme je viens de le montrer, une stratégie qui découle directement de cette logique.

Mon argument principal est que, depuis l'origine du village de Harrington Harbour, l'échange marchand a conditionné la constitution des modes de production en présence et la consommation a conditionné la reconstitution du pluralisme occupationnel. La production, l'échange et la consommation sont trois moments nécessaires pour la reproduction d'un système économique. L'importance de l'échange et celle de la consommation sont dues à la position périphérique de Harrington Harbour dans l'économie-monde. Bien entendu, ceci est contraire à l'orthodoxie marxiste pour laquelle les rapports de production sont l'instance première qui détermine la nature d'une économie.

Les résultats de l'ethnographie de Harrington Harbour convergent très bien avec le constat de Wallerstein (Wallerstein et Smith 1992 : 254) basé sur l'analyse comparative découlant d'une série d'études plus récentes du Centre Braudel : «Dans un système capitaliste, le salaire ne peut jamais être l'unique ou même le principal mode de paiement de la grande majorité de la main d'oeuvre mondiale. Le salaire doit toujours être combiné avec d'autres formes de revenu».

Pour comprendre la nature des relations de production soi-disant «pré-capitalistes» dans les zones du capitalisme périphérique, il faut les voir comme des «relations de production» du système-monde moderne, choisir ce système pour unité d'analyse (Wallerstein, 1974 : 127). Ainsi en prenant non la communauté, mais les rapports d'interface du micro/macro-système comme unité d'étude, j'ai pu décrire la structuration du mini espace-temps de Harrington Harbour d'une toute autre manière que dans les ethnographies traditionnelles.

Grâce à la notion du développement du sous-développement, j'ai pu comprendre la réalité ethnographique de Harrington Harbour comme un ensemble d'ensembles et y décrire le procès d'articulation des rapports de production. En fait, l'ouverture de la théorie de la dépendance d'André Gunder Frank m'a permis de combiner d'autres outils conceptuels, comme la notion de mode d'échange et celle de mode de production.

### *4. Critique de la critique des théories de la dépendance par les ethnologues*

Les critiques des théories de la dépendance se font nombreuses dans la littérature (Booth, 1985); elles sont parfois plus ou moins fondées, mais le plus souvent elles ne

reflètent que l'option politique des auteurs. Celles provenant d'ethnologues accusent les tenants des théories de la dépendance, outre d'avoir manqué à leurs promesses, d'avoir réifié les actions. Le manuel d'ethnologie-anthropologie de Laburthe-Tolra et Warnier, excellent par ailleurs, illustre bien cette critique. Les théories de la dépendance écrivent-ils (1993 : 313) «ont fini par constituer un carcan pour la recherche, en exagérant la passivité des sociétés de la périphérie . . . Cette vision dépendantiste des sociétés de la tradition fait violence aux faits dans la mesure où, même dans les sociétés les plus dominées, les acteurs n'ont jamais cessé de réagir à la situation, de définir des trajectoires autochtones de l'économique et du politique, et de réinventer leurs traditions».

Ce manuel d'un trait de plume écarte les théories de la dépendance. Il se fait l'écho des dogmes de nombre d'ethnologues, condamne sans procès, sans confronter la théorie avec la réalité sur le terrain. Pourquoi la relation centre/périphérie n'aurait-elle pas toujours sa place pour expliquer la structuration de l'espace villageois? Est-il certain que ce mode d'interprétation doive éliminer l'équation des acteurs sociaux? Que fait-on de la notion de développement du sous-développement? Les ethnologues demeurent silencieux face à mes interrogations. Comme la plupart des critiques de l'école de la dépendance, les ethnologues interprètent l'impasse comme une situation limite (Freire, 1974), une vérité absolue, un fait de nature. Par la magie du verbe, ils réifient le savoir ethnologique. Leurs critiques sont closes, tombent dans les mêmes travers de ceux qu'ils critiquent. Leurs discours amènent la recherche dans un cul-de-sac, caricaturent ceux qu'ils attaquent pour les mettre hors jeu.

À mon avis, les théories de la dépendance n'enferment pas nécessairement la pensée dans le temps clos qui structure la pensée libérale et marxiste orthodoxe. Au contraire, en libérant du poids de ces traditions, elles permettent à l'ethnographe d'accoucher du sens caché des structures sociales, de proposer de nouveaux possibles. La notion du développement du sous-développement situe les communautés locales dans leurs conditions réelles de développement, mais leurs organisations sociales spécifiques peuvent varier, dépendant de l'action des agents sociaux et d'autres facteurs tels la conjoncture historique et le type de région donnée. En fait, cette théorie reconnaît la vérité dans la célèbre phrase de Marx selon laquelle les hommes font leur propre histoire, mais dans des conditions qu'ils n'ont pas choisies. La méthode qui en découle présuppose que l'on doive analyser la réalité complexe pour décrire les trajectoires des communautés locales et leurs organisations réelles.

Les ethnologues font valoir que la notion du développement du sous-développement est trop imprécise, donc de peu d'utilité pour la recherche, alors que cette indétermination est, en fait, son véritable atout. En encourageant la pensée complexe (Morin 1990), cette notion suscite l'imagination sociologique chez l'ethnographe, lui laissant ainsi libre cours de décrire concrètement les organisations sociales pour dévoiler le sens caché des systèmes dualistes et expliquer les mécanismes des particularismes de la trajectoire des communautés locales.

## L'analyse des systèmes-mondes comme approche anti-utilitariste

### *1. La raison utilitaire*

Pour expliquer la présence d'un mode de production de subsistance, basé sur la réciprocité, tel celui qu'on retrouve à Harrington Harbour, et son enchaînement historique avec le capital productif, le capital marchand et la petite production marchande, on doit analyser l'économie domestique comme subordonnée et indissoluble de l'économie-monde. Le problème de l'articulation des économies domestiques et marchandes ne peut se comprendre ni se résoudre dans l'opposition artificielle et stérile de l'économie libérale et de l'économie marxiste. Ces approches partagent plus ou moins explicitement le même axiome utilitariste, entrave au développement d'une pensée plus radicale dans le champ économique et à la compréhension de la structuration des systèmes historiques locaux.

En gros, toute doctrine qui prétend que «les sujets humains sont régis par la logique égoïste du calcul des plaisirs et des peines, ou encore par leur seul intérêt et qu'il en soit ainsi parce qu'il n'existe pas d'autre fondement possible aux normes éthiques que la loi du bonheur des individus ou de la collectivité des individus» est utilitariste (Caillé 1989 : 17-18). L'économie, «science impériale» (Stigler, 1984), est sous l'emprise de cet imaginaire utilitariste comme d'ailleurs l'anthropologie économique, dite formaliste, qui transpose aux économies primitives la théorie d'Adam Smith d'un système autoproduit par la logique de l'intérêt privé. En fait, les deux principaux représentants de ce courant, Melville Herskovits (1940) et Raymond Firth (1946; 1951) présupposent que la logique égoïste du calcul est inscrit dans la nature humaine, et donc que le «bon sauvage» est autant un homo oeconomicus que l'homme bourgeois.

A l'instar du marginalisme, l'anthropologie économique, dite formaliste, part du comportement des indi-

vidus, et met en avant la définition de l'économie comme volonté «d'économiser des moyens». Elle présuppose que le primitif est confronté à la rareté, condition qui l'obligerait à travailler dur, à consacrer l'essentiel de son temps à résoudre le problème de sa survie matérielle, non pas au sommeil, au jeu, au bavardage, aux célébrations de rituels. Bref, selon les formalistes, le primitif obéit à la rationalité économique. La société primitive n'est pas la première «société d'abondance» telle que le soutient un titre célèbre de Marshall Sahlins (1972), représentant de l'anthropologie économique, dite substantiviste.

L'anthropologie économique, dite formaliste, qui voit les pratiques oblatives comme un investissement matériel en vue d'un profit social, est réductionniste. La raison utilitaire met dans l'ombre la coexistence d'autres types d'économies avec l'économie de marché et empêche de comprendre le véritable dynamisme social des communautés qu'on veut étudier comme celles sur la Basse Côte-Nord. Les échanges-dons sont loin de pouvoir s'analyser dans les cadres de l'économie soi-disant naturelle, de l'utilitarisme.

### *2. L'homme pluri-dimensionnel obéissant à diverses logiques*

Il faut reconnaître que sous le soi-disant égoïsme de tout homme il y a un fond d'altruisme, provenant de la condition humaine elle-même. Comme le note Godbout (1992 : 21), «aujourd'hui encore, rien ne peut s'amorcer ou s'entreprendre, croître et fonctionner qui ne soit nourri par le don. A commencer par le commencement, autrement dit la vie elle-même». En effet, primitif ou moderne, l'homme a toujours dû se relier à autrui pour devenir homme. Les mères et pères transmettent la vie aux enfants et donnent des épouses aux étrangers et en retour ils reçoivent des épouses d'autres étrangers. L'échange a bouclé l'humanité ensemble, en quelque sorte. Sans échanges et sans dons, les sociétés humaines cesseraient de se reproduire. Suivant Mauss, le don est un phénomène social total. Il constitue «un des rocs humains sur lesquels sont bâties nos sociétés» (Mauss, 1966 : 148). Pour Claude Levi-Strauss qui s'inspire de Mauss, l'homme est en quelque sorte un *homo reciprocus* dont le cerveau serait programmé pour l'échange.

Quand on y pense de l'avant, il est étonnant de voir que l'esprit du don est autant le fait des sociétés archaïques que celui de la société moderne et contemporaine. Dans cette dernière, l'intérêt n'explique pas tout le comportement des individus. Coincé entre le marché et l'État, le don continue d'être pratiqué entre personnes «proches», entre parents, entre amis. Quoi qu'en dise les sociologues de l'intérêt et du pouvoir, la reproduction des familles dans la société moderne présuppose toujours réciprocité et confiance. Sans nul doute, la famille se dissoudrait instantanément venait-elle à ressembler à une entreprise ou à un champ de bataille. Bref, le don n'est pas qu'un aspect folklorique de nos sociétés contemporaines, mais l'essence même de sa vie sociale. Contrairement au marché et à l'État, qui fonctionnent hors des liens personnelles, le don se situe à l'intérieur d'eux. Il forme les relations les plus significatives entre les hommes. Comme le souligne Claude Lefort (1978), c'est ce qui nous confirme que nous ne sommes pas des choses les uns pour les autres.

Concernant l'institution du marché, il faut reconnaître avec Mauss (1966 : 148) que le marché «n'est étranger à aucune société connue». En effet, dès la préhistoire, on voit un certain nombre de biens circuler d'une peuplade à l'autre à des milliers de kilomètres de distance : ce qui laisse supposer l'existence d'un type d'échange potentiellement marchand dans la société archaïque. Toutefois cependant ce régime d'échange diffère du nôtre. Le marché demeure «encastré» dans le social. Les sociétés archaïques ne sont pas soumises à de véritables mécanismes de marché. Le marché est toléré à la marge de ces sociétés.

Si les sociétés archaïques se définissent contre l'État suivant Pierre Clastre (1974), on pourrait aussi dire qu'elles se définissent contre le marché. Pour Mauss (1966 : 151), dans ces sociétés lors de l'échange appelé le troc ou le marché, ce qui est donné et rendu n'est pas simplement des biens économiques. «Ce sont avant tout des politesses, des festins, des services militaires, des femmes, des enfants, des foires dont le marché n'est qu'un des moments et où la circulation des richesses n'est qu'un des termes d'un contrat beaucoup plus général et plus vastes». En fait, selon Mauss, «l'homo oeconomicus n'est pas derrière nous, il est devant nous» (1966 : 272). L'homme est devenu «une machine, compliquée d'une machine à calculer» que tout récemment. La société moderne a choisi l'autonomisation et la décontextualisation maximale du marché. Elle a fait éclater les multiples contraintes qui empêchaient la logique de l'intérêt de suivre son cours. A vrai dire, l'homo oeconomicus est une invention culturelle associée à l'imaginaire ultilitariste de nos sciences économiques, dont le but est de soumettre les logiques du don et du plan à la rationalité économique.

Pour Polanyi le marché autorégulateur est une conception absurde. «Abandonner le destin du sol et des hommes au marché équivaudrait à les anéantir» écrit-il (1983 : 180). Donc, pour empêcher la complète destruction du tissu social, les sociétés modernes ont dû faire

des compromis, donc s'organiser, à la fois, suivant «le principe du libéralisme économique» et «le principe de la protection sociale» (1983: 182). Leurs dynamismes se structurent autour de ce «double mouvement». La réflexion de Polanyi sur la société moderne est marquée par la tension entre ces deux pôles.

Il n'y a pas lieu de soulever ici les vieilles querelles entre substantivistes et formalistes (Firth, 1967; 1972; Godelier, 1974; Le Clair et Schneider, 1968). Celles-ci ont cependant été salutaires, en nous faisant prendre conscience que les hommes, au cours des siècles, ont résolu le problème de la survie matérielle de la société en organisant la production et la distribution suivant les logiques de la générosité, de la contrainte et de l'intérêt Bien que la logique de l'altruisme soit contraire aux logiques de l'intérêt et du pouvoir, ceci n'empêche pas leur coexistence dans le même univers social.

Contrairement à l'imaginaire utilitariste, l'homme est un être pluri-dimensionnel qui obéit à diverses logiques selon les circonstances. Les logiques du don, du pouvoir et de l'intérêt existent à l'état virtuel dans toutes les sociétés, peu importe leur niveau de complexité. La logique de l'intérêt, quant à elle, s'actualise plus ou moins suivant le degré d'autonomisation et de décontextualisation que les sociétés «décident» d'accorder au marché. Même dans la société capitaliste, on n'obéit pas nécessairement à la rationalité économique. Par exemple, on verra le bourgeois exploiter ses employés misérablement à l'usine, mais faire des dons à ses intimes. Avec ses amis, son épouse, ses enfants, on n'obéit pas à la logique qui régit nos rapports de travail. Le ciment qui lie les personnes dans la société capitaliste demeure le don et le contre-don, pas le contrat formel ou légal. La vie, pour se vivre, creuse des tranchées un peu partout pour endiguer la rationalité économique dans la société capitaliste. Le don y entretient un certain désordre. Pour comprendre pourquoi l'économie morale (Scott, 1976) coexiste avec l'économie de marché, il faut penser le marché, mais en le situant, à l'instar de Polanyi, en dehors du marché entre les sphères domestiques et étatiques.

### *3. La structure et l'étagement des modes de production*

Braudel décrit la sphère économique comme une structure feuilletée. À la base, l'économie domestique produit les biens nécessaires à la survie de la famille, de la parenté; au-dessus l'économie marchande échange les surplus des valeurs d'usage produites; au dessus enfin l'économie capitaliste produit des valeurs d'échange, basée sur une division du travail à l'échelle mondiale. Ces économies de Braudel rappellent les trois économies de Heilbroner (1962: 1-17, 1992: 1-21) ou encore les trois grands types de systèmes économiques historiques de Polanyi (1983; 1971), ceux qui obéissent aux règles du marché, aux règles de la redistribution, aux règles de la réciprocité. Polanyi associe le premier à l'époque moderne, le second aux empires archaïques, le dernier aux sociétés primitives et élémentaires.

À l'instar des formalistes et des substantivistes, Polanyi et Heilbroner ignorent le problème de la coexistence des modes de production. Braudel résout ce problème en introduisant le temps social qui hiérarchise les diverses économies en fonction du rythme auquel ils changent. Pour Braudel, l'économie domestique n'est pas en retard sur l'économie marchande, ni l'économie marchande sur l'économie capitaliste. Contrairement aux substantivistes, il y a étagement non succession des modes de production. Assujettie à la logique de l'intérêt, l'économie-monde s'est édifiée sur les modes de production obéissant aux logiques de la générosité et de la contrainte et elle continue de s'en nourrir pour son expansion. Ces rapports de production sont coulés dans le temps social à mille vitesses, à mille lenteurs.

En résumé, l'analyse des systèmes-mondes est compatible avec l'anthropologie économique, dite subtantiviste, en palliant à ses insuffisances. Leur rapprochement peut apporter un nouvel éclairage sur la coexistence des trois logiques, contribuer à mieux identifier et comprendre l'enchevêtrement dans le temps des économies dans les sociétés périphériques, celles du marché, du plan et du don (Cheal, 1988; Etzioni, 1990; Godbout, 1992; Hyde, 1979; Perroux, 1963; Smith, 1989; Radhowski, 1987).

## Structuration des systèmes historiques locaux

### *1. L'enchevêtrement des économies*

Outre l'économie du don qui entretient la valeur du lien dans les rapports sociaux, le capital marchand et le capital productif associés à la valeur d'échange et la petite production marchande identifiée à la valeur d'usage sont des réalités économiques qui s'insèrent dans les réseaux de l'économie-monde. Essayons de construire un modèle de l'enchevêtrement de ces économies à la base de la structuration des systèmes historiques locaux.

Le but du capital marchand est l'accumulation pour l'accumulation par l'échange inégal (Kay, 1975). Le marchand achète une marchandise avec de l'argent pour la revendre pour plus d'argent suivant le circuit A-M-A'. La différence entre A'-A est égale au profit marchand. Le

marchand réinvestit bientôt cette somme suivant le second circuit A'-M'-A''. La différence entre A''-A' est égale à un second profit marchand, processus en principe sans fin. La totalité de ces profits (A'-A) + (A''-A') . . . est l'accumulation marchande.

Le marchand facilite la circulation des biens à travers la longue chaîne marchande qui structure l'économie-monde et permet le partage de la plus-value entre les différents fragments de la classe capitaliste. Sa fonction principale est la réalisation de la valeur du sur-travail extorqué des divers producteurs directs dans les divers circuits dans la sphère de la production. Le profit du marchand provient de l'échange inégal. Ce profit est plus ou moins grand dépendant de la situation spécifique du marchand dans l'économie-monde et de la nature de son alliance de classes. L'accumulation marchande provient des économies en amont et en aval de type marchande (Pm) ou capitaliste (Pc) avec lesquelles les marchands entretiennent des rapports particuliers. Situé à la croisée des chemins entre ces économies, le marchand a la possibilité d'initier quatre actes d'échange suivant le circuit: (A-m-A'-M-A''). Il achète avec une somme d'argent A initiale une marchandise m en amont; il revend en aval cette marchandise m pour plus d'argent A'; avec cette nouvelle somme d'argent A', il achète en aval une marchandise M; il revend en amont cette marchandise M pour plus d'argent A'' . Selon ce schéma, le marchand a donc à la fois deux sources potentielles de profit marchand dans la longue chaîne marchande qui structure l'économie-monde: l'une en provenance des économies en amont, l'autre des économies en aval.

Ayant besoin de producteurs qui lui livrent des marchandises à vil prix et des consommateurs qui les lui achètent à prix majoré, dans la mesure du possible, le marchand encourage l'émergence de la petite production marchande (Pm) dans les sociétés périphériques. Dans sa forme pure, on peut définir la petite production marchande comme un mode de production spécifique suivant le circuit (Pm . . . M-A-M'/mp+mc . . .). Le petit producteur produit une marchandise M qu'il vend pour de l'argent A et avec quoi il rachète une autre marchandise M' correspondant à des moyens de production M'/(mp) et à des moyens de consommation M'/(mc) permettant la reproduction de sa force de travail.

Le circuit M-A-M' de la petite production marchande est le revers du circuit du capital marchand A-M-A'. En s'enchevêtrant suivant ce schéma M-(A-M-A')-M', ces deux circuits permettent au marchand d'extorquer le sur-travail du petit producteur. Comme d'une part le petit producteur a besoin du marchand pour son accès aux biens de production et de consommation, et que d'autre part le marchand a besoin du petit producteur pour son profit marchand, ces deux protagonistes ont intérêt à entretenir un rapport d'échange asymétrique et inégal. Bref, en raison de sa position dans l'économie-monde, le capital marchand insère le petit producteur dans un rapport opposé au marchand correspondant à un rapport de classes.

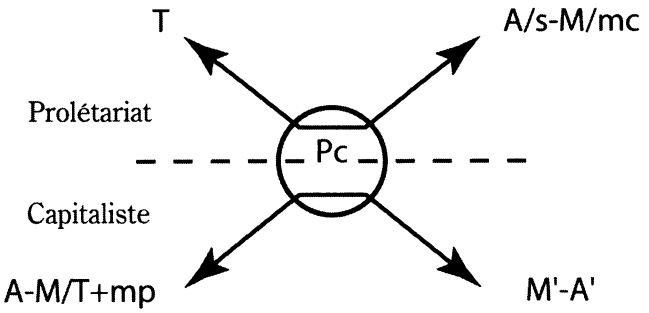
Le petit producteur marchand ne revêt pas une double personnalité où il serait à la fois un petit capitaliste et son propre salarié, comme le définit certains auteurs, tels Monière (1977: 50). Son but n'est pas l'accumulation pour l'accumulation, mais l'achat de valeurs d'usage pour la reproduction du mode de production marchande et de celle de sa famille. À l'instar du prolétaire, le petit producteur fait partie de l'économie-monde comme un travailleur exploité. Sa situation dans la division sociale du travail de ce système-monde le contraint à produire du sur-travail extorqué par la classe marchande.

Le circuit du prolétaire est (T . . . Pc . . . A/s-M/mc). Le prolétaire vend sa force de travail (T) dans un procès de production capitaliste (Pc) pour de l'argent/salaire (A/s) avec quoi il achète une marchandise sous forme de moyens de consommation (M/mc), ce qui lui permet de se reproduire comme force de travail. Le circuit du prolétaire vise l'achat d'une valeur d'usage. Sous cet angle, le prolétaire ressemble au petit producteur marchand. Comme lui, il ne cherche pas à amasser de l'argent pour de l'argent, mais à subvenir à ses besoins et à ceux de sa famille. C'est une mystification de penser que le prolétaire obéit à la logique de la rationalité économique comme son patron. Bien que le petit producteur soit en possession partielle de ses moyens de production et de subsistance tandis que le prolétaire en soit complètement dépourvu, les deux sont des travailleurs exploités par les classes marchandes et industrielles. Fondamentalement, ils sont dans la même position vis-à-vis du capital. L'amélioration de leur sort réside dans la résistance à la rationalité économique, non dans sa réalisation.

À l'instar du capital marchand, le capital productif vise l'accumulation pour l'accumulation non par l'échange inégal, mais par la production industrielle. Son circuit est (A-M/T+mp..Pc..M'-A'). L'industriel débute avec de l'argent A avec quoi il achète une marchandise M/T+mp, notamment une force de travail T et des moyens de productions mp (tels matière première, outillage), lesquels il consomme dans un procès de production capitaliste Pc produisant une marchandise M' qu'il vend pour plus d'argent A'. La différence de A'-A égale le profit capitaliste. Son réinvestissement dans le procès de production capitaliste (Pc) produit un nouveau profit capitaliste. Réinvestie toujours à nouveau, la somme des ces profits aboutit au bout du compte à l'accumulation capitaliste.

Observons que le circuit du capital productif (A-M/T+mp . . . Pc . . . M'-A') est le revers du circuit du travailleur salarié (T . . . Pc . . . A/s-M/mc). En s'enchevêtrant suivant le schéma ci-après à travers le procès de production capitaliste (Pc), ces deux circuits permettent au capitaliste d' extorquer le sur-travail du prolétaire sous forme de plus-value :

**Figure 2**




En fait, ce schéma décrit l'opposition entre les deux classes à la base du mode de production capitaliste.

Cela étant dit, retenons que le marchand et le capitaliste, chacun à sa manière, désirent obtenir une valeur d'échange laquelle anéantit la valeur de lien tandis que le petit producteur et le prolétaire, chacun à sa manière, désirent obtenir une valeur d'usage laquelle au contraire soutient plus ou moins la valeur de lien. Autrement dit, le premier groupe de protagonistes obéit à une logique carrément utilitariste tandis que le second groupe obéit à une logique à tendance anti-utilitariste. La position de tous ces protagonistes, chacun avec sa logique respective, est l'enjeu de luttes multiformes dans l'économie-monde. Donc, pour comprendre la nature de l'enchevêtrement des économies à l'échelle locale, on doit analyser les rapports de production dans la société de la périphérie comme faisant partie intégrale de l'économie-monde. Autrement dit, on doit prendre simultanément en compte d'une part, la lutte à l'échelle locale entre marchands et producteurs directs pour le partage du travail nécessaire et du sur-travail et d'autre part, l'alliance de classe entre ces mêmes marchands et les capitalistes à l'échelle nationale, puis mondiale pour le partage de la plus-value globale.

## *2. Tradition anthropologique et l'articulation des durées*

L'étude par l'observation participante et par les témoignages de la tradition orale de villages presqu'oubliés, tels les villages de pêcheurs sur la Basse Côte-Nord, n'a peu ou prou d'intérêt pour les historiens, surtout ceux habitués à chercher le passé figé dans des documents par souci d'objectivité. Mais ces descendants de Clio pour qui l'écrit est un fétiche, savent-ils qu'ils réduisent souvent la réalité historique à n'être qu'un reflet de la disponibilité des dépôts d'archives nationales? En revanche, ceux aujourd'hui, qui s'adonnent à «l'histoire immédiate», ont la mémoire courte s'ils croient innover. Dans l'Antiquité greco-romaine, même au Moyen âge, les archives ne démarquaient pas le genre historique. L'historien fut «celui qui sait pour l'avoir vu». Le vécu des événements par l'auteur, un vécu compris au sens large comme «totalité de la mémoire collective du moment» fondait le récit historique (Soulet, 1994: 5). Fait remarquable, outre Hérodote, le père de l'histoire, les anciens écrivaient l'histoire en ethnologue. Comme le fait remarquer Cohn (1981: 240-241), la croyance de l'historien à la possibilité de reconstituer le passé tel qu'il fût par des écrits est la contrepartie de la croyance de l'ethnologue à la possibilité de vérifier l'existence d'une «culture authentique» par la représentation des participants. Par ces méthodes, l'historien et l'ethnologue déforment la réalité sociale. Le premier construit un passé fictif, le second un présent fictif.

L'ethnologue enracine son savoir dans une expérience inter-subjective de courte durée, d'où sa préoccupation avec le temps présent. Sanjek (1991) distingue divers présents ethnographiques: comme état actuel de l'ethnologie; comme mode de représentation dans la monographie; comme lieu de la recherche et finalement comme don se rapportant à l'acte de la recherche elle-même. Selon l'expression de Fabian (1983: 21), le présent ethnographique comme mode de représentation dans la monographie serait «le temps schizogénique». Dans un premier temps, l'anthropologue initie une relation je-tu qui l'insère dans un réseau de relations interpersonnelles avec des hommes d'ailleurs. Dans un second temps, de retour à l'université en cabinet, il analyse ses données pour les transformer dans l'autre ethnographié, puis expose ses résultats dans une monographie où il a construit une société hors du temps divorcée du présent du producteur. L'écriture ethnographique transforme la relation inter-subjective, je-tu, dans une relation nous autres ici et eux autres là-bas.

Le présent ethnographique comme mode de représentation dans la monographie est un «temps schizogénique» parce qu'il fait voir les événements locaux hors du temps de la société de l'ethnographe. Tous les événements contemporains, y compris les événements locaux, ont lieu en même temps, simultanément, même ceux du passé. L'ethnographe construit un présent fictif parce qu'il ne prend pas en compte le

temps multiple, évite de situer ses observations sur le terrain dans la chaîne infinie du temps. Quant au passé, il se narre toujours comme il est maintenant, jamais tel qu'il fût. Le passé des historiens est donc toujours un mélange d'oubli et de mémoire, pas un fait pur. En ce sens l'histoire est toujours un mythe. Comme le signale Wallerstein l'objectivité, par conséquent, n'est «qu'une fonction de tout le système social» (1974 : 9-10).

Pour mieux comprendre, interpréter la complexité du réel sur le terrain et «articuler les histoires cachés», (Schneider et Rapp, 1995), l'ethnographe doit s'élever au-dessus de cet horizon clos de l'historien et de l'ethnologue, traverser le pont que nous a tendu Bloch (1953), il y a déjà trop longtemps, entre l'ethnographie et l'histoire. Bloch définit l'histoire comme une science de l'homme dans le temps. Ce temps est rebelle à la mesure; il n'est pas une abstraction à découper arbitrairement en segments homogènes. Il correspond au temps de l'ethnographe, le temps concret et vécu qui s'écoule et qui fuit à un rythme implacable, plasma qui tisse la chaîne des événements dans un champ intelligible. Le temps de l'histoire est à la fois un continuum et un flux perpétuel. Savoir en rendre compte est la problématique essentielle de l'enquête ethno-historique.

La conception du temps de Bloch s'apparente aux durées braudéliennes. Dans sa méthode comme dans ses divers travaux, entre autres *La Méditerranée*, Braudel (1990) distingue trois durées qui s'entrelacent et constituent l'épaisseur même de l'histoire : le temps ralenti des civilisations, des structures géographiques et matérielles; le temps allongé des épisodes, des cycles économiques, de la conjoncture; le temps rapide de l'événement, de la politique.

Dans cette rythmique du temps, c'est la longue durée qui a la sympathie de Braudel (1958). Pour Braudel, la courte durée n'est que «poussière». Comme le souligne Wallerstein (1982), Braudel voit l'histoire comme la combinaison de la conjoncture à la structure. Pour lui, l'événement et le rôle de l'agent humain ne sont que des «nouvelles sonnantes», «menus faits» dont «la micro-sociologie» et la «micro-histoire» font leur butin. Au lieu de partir de l'événement pour aboutir à la structure profonde, Braudel fait l'inverse. En fait, Braudel considère que les pratiques sociales ont peu d'importance pour expliquer la structuration des systèmes historiques.

Toute l'oeuvre de Fernand Braudel pourfend la courte durée comme «la plus trompeuse des durées», celle dont «la science a presque horreur». Pourtant c'est dans cette durée au niveau des micro-espaces-temps que l'ethnographe situe son acte de recherche. À première vue, concilier l'ethnographie et l'analyse des systèmes-mondes semble une tâche insurmontable, à plus forte raison quand on s'aperçoit que les analystes des systèmes-mondes peuvent produire leurs travaux sans se soucier de se rendre sur le terrain et sans guère s'intéresser aux travaux ethnographiques.

Face à ce constat, de deux choses l'une : ou l'ethnographe se préoccupe de l'analyse des systèmes-mondes et il doit réintégrer en quelque sorte le cabinet de travail des illustres fondateurs de l'ethnologie, tels Frazer et Tylor; ou l'ethnographe poursuit sa tradition de terrain et il doit ignorer l'analyse des systèmes-mondes à l'instar de ces ethnographes épris par la «passion de l'échange» (Genest, 1985). L'ethnographe, qui s'entête à vouloir ni abandonner le terrain, ni rejeter l'analyse des systèmes-mondes, semble aboutir dans un cul-de-sac. Bref, la recherche d'une complémentarité entre l'ethnographie et l'analyse des systèmes-mondes semble une activité illusoire.

Cependant, à y penser plus avant, l'ethnographe entêté a une issue pour sortir du dilemme. Riche et complexe, la tradition anthropologique, dont il est l'héritier, renferme en elle-même la possibilité de contester les oppositions trop dures établies parfois entre structure et événement, stabilité et changement, de repenser la relation entre acteur et structure, entre temps court et temps long. Bref, l'anthropologie a le pouvoir de jeter un pont entre théorie de l'action et théorie institutionnelle.

La longue durée fait partie de la tradition anthropologique. D'abord, en se fixant l'étude de l'homme en général, de la diversité des cultures et des civilisations, le point de vue de l'anthropologie est mondial. Ensuite, sont des faits de longue durée, le cadre matériel des sociétés humaines, les systèmes de parenté, les codes linguistiques et les représentations collectives que les ethnographes décrivent, les sociétés humaines que les ethnologues ont répertoriées depuis les plus élémentaires aux plus complexes. Finalement, l'anthropologie américaine, qui repose sur quatre sous-disciplines, l'archéologie, la linguistique, l'anthropologie physique et l'anthropologie culturelle, est, à fortiori, une science de la longue durée.

Le manuel d'anthropologie de Laburthe-Tolra et Warnier (1993 : 49) est un tenant d'une ethno-anthropologie qui étudie des «faits de longue durée, que l'histoire n'érode que lentement et qui en canalisent le cours . . . ». En revanche, celui de Kilani (1989 : 33) est un tenant d'une anthropologie des faits de courte durée, préoccupée par la description des particularismes locaux et dont la démarche consiste à prendre «comme objet d'investigation des unités sociales de faible ampleur à

partir desquelles elle tente d'élaborer une analyse de portée plus générale, appréhendant d'un certain point de vue la totalité de la société où ces unités s'insèrent». Le problème de l'articulation du local et du global est bien soulevé dans le manuel de Kilani, mais sans y apporter de solution véritable, ne serait-ce qu'en ressuscitant un dualisme culturel nouveau genre. Notamment le cas (Kilani, 1989 : 39) de l'agriculture de montagne dans les régions alpines de Suisse qu'il nous décrit illustre bien ceci. Ici on découvre une soi-disant tradition primordiale qui se voit reconstituée pour s'adapter au système de valeur de la modernité. En fait, dans la perspective de Kilani, le passé antérieur et le présent demeurent des temps séparés. Kilani n'arrive pas à enchâsser le temps court sur le temps long : les durées manquent d'articulation, de cohésion.

La juxtaposition du manuel d'initiation à l'anthropologie de Laburthe-Tolra/Warnier et de celui de Kilani fait bien voir que la tradition anthropologique est marquée par une tension entre le global et le local tout en reconnaissant le temps long et le temps court. Bien que l'ethnologue reconnaît le temps comme une dimension essentielle de l'ethnologie, il a un sens tronqué du temps de l'histoire il utilise le temps et l'espace comme une frontière qui délimite l'analyse sociale et un cadre dans lequel se déroule la vie sociale. Ce qui demeure problématique pour l'ethnologue, c'est l'entrelacement des durées, la manière d'enchâsser la courte durée des événements sur la longue durée de l'économie-monde pour répondre à la question non pas de savoir comment les actions créent la structure ou comment la structure détermine l'action, mais comment l'action est structurée dans les divers contextes quotidiens et comment ces actions structurées sont reproduites dans l'espace et le temps.

Pour décrire les événements culturels, jusqu'à quel point faut-il tenir compte de l'idée que s'en font les participants? Dans l'histoire de l'anthropologie, deux réponses tranchées s'affrontent : celle de Radcliffe-Brown pour qui l'ethnologie est une science, donc privilégie le regard extérieur; celle d'Evans-Pritchard pour qui elle est une humanité, donc accentue le regard intérieur. En étudiant l'événement tel qu'il apparaît, l'un du dehors, l'autre du dedans ces deux ethnologues, chacun à sa manière, voilent la compréhension de la structure en profondeur. Comment comprendre les actions sociales sans tenir compte de « l'unité du dehors et du dedans des événements» [traduction de l'auteur] (Collingwood, 1946 : 213)? Les deux regards sont complémentaires pour comprendre les structures profondes. Le clivage des deux cultures de Lord Snow (1959), notamment le clivage des deux anthropologies, l'une normative, l'autre interprétative, est artificiel. Soient-elles du dedans ou du dehors, les représentations ethnographiques sont des interprétations d'une réalité pré-interprétée, condition préalable de toute connaissance selon des auteurs tels Heidegger et Gadamer (1976). Tout savoir est un rapport social : l'objet étudié est toujours une interprétation, toujours un objet perçu, jamais un objet nu. La compréhension d'un phénomène social se développe en spirale par la fusion des horizons. Comme l'homme qu'il étudie est semblable à lui et interprète aussi la réalité, l'ethnographe se voit donc enfermé dans le même cercle herméneutique. C'est le choix de son positionnement à l'intérieur de ce cercle qui différenciera son interprétation de celle de l'homme ethnographié. L'interprétation anthropologique est celle qui interprète l'horizon de l'homme commun dans un horizon plus global. En l'occurrence, l'adoption de la simultanéité des deux regards, celui du dedans, celui du dehors, est la méthode la plus propice pour produire une connaissance en profondeur des phénomènes sociaux.

La réduction du phénomène culturel, comme Segalen (1978) à une «sensation exotique» ou comme Geertz (1973) à des signes, des messages, et des textes, n'est qu'un savant aveuglement. «Les symbolistes voient des significations où les féministes et les marxistes voient de l'oppression» [traduction de l'auteur] écrit Keesing (1987 : 166). En «enfonçant les points sans les raccorder» (Walter 1980 : 511-552), la «description en profondeur» de Geertz brouille la réalité, empêche de savoir qui a construit et défini « la toile des significactions», et dans quel but. À vrai dire, comme le souligne Biersack (1989 : 80), l'analyse culturaliste de Geertz (1983) est tout aussi statique que le structuralisme. Comme toute société tisse elle-même son propre voile, c'est le tissage, pas la toile, l'histoire du signe, pas le signe, la textualisation, pas le texte qui ont un intérêt pour un savoir anthropologique en profondeur.

L' immersion comme connaissance plus ou moins intuitive d'autrui n'est qu' un point de départ pour comprendre et rendre intelligible les représentations culturelles partagées. Le terrain permet une compréhension de l'intérieur, la saisie de la «toile des significations». Toutefois cette connaissane de premier degré, bien que nécessaire, reste insuffisante. Il faut ensuite faire «l'épidémiologie» des constructions culturelles pour comprendre «la toile de mystification», situer les représentations sociales et les événements dans le «temps du monde» pour comprendre les structures sociales en profondeur. Pour produire cette connaissance du second degré, l'ethnographe doit retenir non le temps unique, linéaire, homogène de l'histoire historisante, mais le temps social multiple, hiérarchisé, c'est-à-dire les temps de l'his-

toire (Prost, 1966 : 118-123). Comme l'événement n'est pas toute la profondeur de l'histoire, l'ethnographe doit centrer son analyse non sur le temps dans lequel la communauté qu'il étudie est engagée dans l'histoire, le temps qui est, qui se mesure, mais sur le temps qui bat au coeur du continuum sur lequel se range la communauté à une extrémité et le système-monde à l'autre, le temps qui est une partie constituante de la dynamique de cette réalité, qui en est le moteur continuellement en action. Ce temps-là a l'épaisseur, la profondeur des durées braudéliennes.

Pour enchâsser le temps court sur le temps long, l'ethnologue devrait concevoir le temps et l'espace, tel que le suggère Giddens (1984), comme des dimensions inséparables du contexte des interactions sociales, de penser le temps et l'espace en terme Heideggerien «de présence» ou «d'absence», plus précisément en terme d'être-là, d'étant. Au moment de chaque interaction, la présence et l'absence de l'autre s'entremêlent de manière complexe. Dans l'interaction de face-à-face, l'autre est présent, à la fois, dans l'espace et le temps. L'interaction se déroule dans un local défini pendant une période définie. Dans ces occasions, les acteurs utilisent d'habitude les caractéristiques spatiales et temporelles de l'échange pour organiser leur échange. Mais cependant, avec l'extension des systèmes sociaux dans l'espace et le temps, l'autre peut cesser d'être immédiatement présent. De telles distanciations temps-espace, pour employer l'expression de Giddens, ont été fortement favorisées par le développement de l'écriture qui rend possible la communication avec le passé aussi bien qu'avec des individus physiquement absents. Plus récemment, comme le signale les géographes du temps, tels Hagerstrand, le progrès technologique dans le transport et les média a rapidement transformé la constitution du temps-espace des systèmes-sociaux.

### *3. La théorie de la structuration de Giddens*

Pour mieux comprendre le rapport entre l'acteur et la structure, l'ethnologue devrait considérer la théorie de la structuration de Giddens (1984; 1981; 1979) comme complément à l'approche de Braudel/Wallerstein. Cette théorie repose sur trois idées clés : structure, système social et dualité de la structure.

La structure se réfère, «en analyse sociale, écrit Giddens (1984 : 17), aux propriétés structurales permettant «l'agglutination» de l'espace-temps en un système social, les propriétés qui rendent possible l'existence de pratiques sociales similaires dans les divers espaces-temps et qui les constituent en système» [traduction de l'auteur]. Giddens ne donne pas la connotation «conventionnelle» de contrainte au terme structure. Pour lui, la structure ne se réfère pas à des aspects réels de la vie sociale, situés dans un contexte spécifique du temps et de l'espace. La structure «est ce qui donne forme et contour à la vie sociale, mais la structure elle-même n'est pas cette forme et ce contour» (Giddens, 1989 : 256). En d'autres termes, la structure n'existe que dans les activités des agents sociaux et qu'au travers eux : elle est rendue possible seulement par l'existence des règles et des ressources.

Giddens distingue nettement système et structure. La structure se réfère aux conditions de l'action tandis que le système se réfère aux types réels d'interactions à travers l'espace et le temps, dont le caractère institutionnel explique sa longue durée. Giddens définit les institutions comme des faisceaux de pratiques sociales. Il en identifie quatre en particulier : les institutions symboliques, les institutions politiques, les institutions économiques et les institutions légales. Les systèmes sociaux de Giddens sont historiques : ils sont des systèmes ouverts en état instable à cause du côté imparfait, fragile, hésitant des structures.

Dans chaque moment de la reproduction d'une pratique sociale, trois temporalités s'entrelacent selon Giddens (1981 : 20) : la durée de Bergson ou ce que Schutz appelle la réalité vécue ou l'expérience immédiate; la durée du «dasein», le cycle de vie des individus et des groupes; et la longue durée de Braudel, le temps institutionnel. Cette rythmique de flux temporels détermine les conditions dans lesquelles se structurent tous les systèmes sociaux et se déroulent les activités des agents sociaux dotés de réflexion, donc capables d'autonomie. En raison de la synchronisation de leurs activités dans les durées parallèles, les conduites des acteurs sociaux se reproduisent conformément à une structure dans un espace-temps donné. Ces systèmes d'interactions et de relations sociales, suivant le cas, peuvent être différenciés, constitués d'inégalité de pouvoir, de disparités régionales ou marqués de divisions entre groupes d'intérêt.

Les systèmes sociaux n'ont pas de structures, mais manifestent des propriétés structurales. Les structures sont en quelque sorte «instantanéisées» dans les systèmes sociaux. En plus, elles se manifestent aussi dans «des souvenirs qui orientent la conduite des agents humains intelligents» [traduction de l'auteur] (Giddens, 1984 : 17). Résultat : les règles et les ressources jouent en même temps au niveau macro dans le système social et au niveau micro dans la conscience humaine.

L'idée de système social chez Giddens vient de sa préoccupation avec les pratiques sociales. Bien que certains systèmes sociaux soient le produit d'actions intentionnelles, Giddens donne plus d'insistance aux conséquences

souvent imprévues de l'action humaine. Les conséquences imprévues peuvent devenir des conditions non voulues des actions et agir rétroactivement sur elles. Bien que ces conditions puissent souvent échapper aux contrôles des acteurs, ceux-ci malgré tout continuent toujours à exercer des résistances sur elles.

La notion de structuration chez Giddens est basée sur l'idée que «la constitution des agents et les structures ne sont pas deux ensembles donnés de phénomènes indépendants, un dualisme, mais qu'ils forment une dualité» [traduction de l'auteur]. Selon la théorie de la structuration, la structure est à la fois la condition et le résultat des pratiques qui constituent les systèmes sociaux où «le moment de la production de l'action est aussi un moment de la reproduction dans les contextes quotidiens du déroulement de la vie sociale» [traduction de l'auteur] (Giddens, 1984: 25,26). Il est clair que pour Giddens la structuration est une relation dialectique entre la structure et l'acteur. La structure et l'action forment une dualité; l'une ne peut exister sans l'autre. Toute action comprend la structure et toute structure comprend l'action. Les acteurs et les structures sont inextricablement entrelacés dans le flux de l'activité humaine et des pratiques sociales.

Pour Giddens (1976: 120) «étudier la structuration, c'est tenter de déterminer les conditions qui gouvernent la continuité et la dissolution des structures ou des types de structure» [traduction de l'auteur]. Giddens (1989: 300) généralise les étapes de son programme «structurationiste» comme voici. Premièrement, au lieu de centrer l'étude sur des sociétés humaines, déterminer «l'ordonnance des institutions aux travers du temps et l'espace». Deuxièmement, analyser les systèmes sociaux selon le mode du changement des articulations institutionnelles, matériau de construction de la distanciation temps-espace. Troisièmement, demeurer sensible à la manière dont la connaissance des dirigeants affecte les différentes institutions et la reproduction des systèmes sociaux. Quatrièmement, adopter une position de réflexivité concernant l'impact de sa propre recherche sur les pratiques sociales et les formes d'organisation sociale à l'étude.

La théorie de la structuration de Giddens peut répondre à la question de l'entrelacement de l'action des acteurs locaux et du cadre institutionnel de l'économie-monde en étudiant sur le terrain la structure de Braudel comme quelque chose qui ne contraint pas seulement l'action mais qui rend aussi l'action possible. Le concept de la dualité de structure relie l'interaction sociale et le processus de la reproduction des systèmes sociaux à travers le temps et l'espace à une réalisation contingente de la compétence des acteurs sociaux. Autrement dit, la dialogique entre les acteurs sociaux et la structure de l'économie-monde constituent et reconstituent au fil du temps les rapports sociaux qui s'inscrivent dans l'espace. Bref, c'est cette dialogique qui génère la structuration des systèmes historiques locaux.

## Conclusion

Le terrain conjugué à l'analyse des systèmes-mondes met l'ethnographe en état de comprendre le sens profond des structures, le rapport entre l'histoire et les activités des groupes marginaux, voire de démystifier les représentations culturelles partagées par les acteurs, de substituer «à l'étude des objets celle des différents processus du devenir-objet» (Sartre, 1960). Bref, la création d'une ethnographie dans l'économie-monde permettra de corriger les conceptions erronées de la réalité sociale, de démystifier la périphérie comme un espace qui déterminerait aveuglément les activités des acteurs sociaux, d'intégrer la pensée à la réalité concrète pour faire voir la périphérie comme une relation sociale asymétrique dans l'économie-monde, condition dans laquelle évolue les communautés locales et les activités des acteurs sociaux. Entre ces derniers et la structure de l'économie-monde, il y a un rapport réciproque de longue durée qui constitue et reconstitue les systèmes historiques locaux. La longue durée est la condition historique qui structure l'ensemble des sociétés dans l'économie-monde alors que les trajectoires particulières des systèmes historiques demeurent le résultat du hasard des gestes et des pensées des agents sociaux. En fait, ces trajectoires, peut-on dire, sont gouvernées par le «hasard corrigé par la nécessité» (Monod, 1970; Jacob, 1970).

Il peut paraître contradictoire d'associer la nécessité et le hasard pour expliquer la structuration des systèmes historiques locaux. Mais, le hasard fait partie des modèles d'explication dans les sciences naturelles. Notamment la théorie de l'évolution biologique attribue l'ordre dans la complexité de la vie à la sélection naturelle et aux lois de la génétique, sans plan ni prédestination (Ekeland, 1991; Monod, 1970). Le «dasein», notre existence, est le fruit du hasard d'une rencontre d'un ovule avec un des milliers de spermatozoïdes. Même si tout s'est déroulé à l'intérieur de lois connues, la science n'a pu prédire notre existence individuelle en tant que telle. Notre unicité est un grand mystère inexpliqué.

Selon Kontopoulos (1993), les institutions de l'économie-monde ne sont pas structurées hiérarchiquement comme le supposent la plupart des analystes des systèmes-mondes, mais hétérarchiquement. En effet, les groupes dans l'économie-monde au fil du temps changent

d'ampleur, de grandeur et de complexité de l'échelle locale à l'échelle régionale, puis mondiale et possèdent des logiques propres, parfois complémentaires, parfois opposées. Dans le fond, la réalité géo-historique de Braudel se constitue suivant ce mode d'articulations institutionnelles. La structure de son économie-monde se manifeste dans un système dynamique précaire, de stabilité précaire, n'ayant qu'imparfaitement réussi à imposer la logique totalisante du mode de production capitaliste.

Bref, l'économie-monde est un système complexe d'auto-organisation en équilibre instable unifié sur la base d'une structure «génétique» (Beart, 1992), voire «dissipative» (Prigogine, 1994) dont l'ethnographe doit tenir compte pour dévoiler «l'articulation des histoires cachées» (Schneider et Rapp, 1995). En étudiant la structuration des systèmes historique locaux, l'ethnographie peut contribuer à montrer, qu'en cherchant son unité dans le temps, l'économie-monde génère de la diversité rendant la prédiction des trajectoires locales incertaine. Son présent n'est pas gros du passé, mais est la création de possibilité engendrant simultanément des phénomènes désordonnés et ordonnés. Comme les phénomènes complexes irréversibles de Prigogine (1994; 1993), l'économie-monde est un système d'auto-organisation qui a deux aspects, une tendance vers l'ordre et une tendance vers le désordre (Balandier, 1988).

Par la critique du déterminisme culturel et aussi matérialiste, l'analyse des systèmes-mondes ouvre l'ethnographie sur de nouveaux possibles. Compatible avec la critique de la raison utilitaire (Caillé, 1989) qui ajoute la valeur de lien (Godbout, 1992 : 244-247) à la traditionnelle opposition échange-usage, elle fait comprendre la coexistence des économies formelles et informelles comme des rapports de production étagés de l'échelle locale à l'échelle régionale, puis mondiale, dans lesquels les acteurs obéissent à des logiques différentes : celles du don, de la contrainte et de l'intérêt.

La vie en société se déroule comme un flux organisé de fusion et de fission : le passé, le présent et le futur sont mutuellement liés dans la chaîne infinie de l'histoire. En fait ce qu'on appelle des sociétés sont des systèmes s'auto-organisant, non des structures d'institutions ossifiées. La société a d'abord dû être construite dans l'espace et le temps : ce processus de la construction symbolique des frontières locales se réalise avant tout en interaction avec les acteurs sociaux. Pour repérer empiriquement la liaison entre l'espace et la culture, comprendre la structuration d'un système historique local comme celui de la Basse Côte-Nord, il faut centrer notre attention, non sur le groupe local, mais sur le système construit de relations qu'est l'économie-monde.

La société n'est ni une somme d'individus, ni une entité holistique. Ces dichotomies sont le produit de notre mode de pensée linéaire et empiriciste, entrave à une solution théorique au problème du rapport entre le local et le global. D'une part, l'approche individualiste réduit la réalité sociale à des comportements individuels, donc nie la réalité ontologique du système global. D'autre part, l'approche holistique attribue à ce dernier un pouvoir omnipotent en le définissant comme un état en équilibre stable et dont la logique programme les actions, les événements et les processus mentaux. L'individu et la société sont inséparables : les deux sont opposés, mais mutuellement nécessaires et complémentaires. La structure et l'action ne sont pas deux pôles antithétiques mais deux moments d'une dualité. Structure et action vont de pair et se conditionnent mutuellement pour former les systèmes complexes. Ce processus se comprend comme structure structurante.

La structuration des systèmes historiques locaux se comprend comme un processus social, économique, culturel et démographique qui, tout en se produisant dans une région donnée, transcende cet espace tant à l'échelle régionale que nationale. Le local est intégré au global de manière à ce qui se passe au niveau local est structuré par des événements survenus à distance et vice versa. L'organisation du village est donc un processus dialectique dont les résultats sont incertains.

L'analyse des systèmes-mondes est un programme ouvert de recherche pouvant à la fois déconstruire l'ethnographie traditionnelle et corriger l'espace-temps tronqué dans la monographie. Elle permet de faire comprendre les communautés locales comme la synchronisation de la courte et de la longue durée et comme maillon dans la longue chaîne marchande qui structure l'économie-monde. Pour expliquer les mécanismes de la structuration des systèmes historiques locaux comme reproduction de l'économie-monde, il s'agit pour l'ethnographe, à partir d'unités sociales à faible dimension, de décrire la synchronisation des conduites des acteurs sociaux dans les multiples durées, d'analyser leurs interactions dans l'interface du micro/macro-système-monde. De telles études ethnographiques sauront donner une nouvelle cohésion à l'anthropologie actuelle et une compréhension plus réaliste de la complexité des communautés locales et du système-monde moderne lui-même.

Comme le souligne avec raison Forte (1998 : 96-97), la diversité, la variabilité, la périphérie, les «micro-espaces» dans l'univers mondial sont tous des objets de recherches de l'anthropologie, et ceci ne peut en rien s'opposer au cadre d'analyse des systèmes-mondes, au contraire. En fait, par sa pratique sur le terrain et sa con-

naissance des systèmes historiques locaux, l'ethnologue peut apporter une contribution à l'analyse des systèmes-mondes. Il est en mesure de faire voir comment les acteurs sociaux résolvent leurs problèmes à l'intérieur du faisceau de relations asymétriques entre le micro/macro-système-monde, de montrer comment les acteurs et la structure servent de vecteurs entre le local et le global pour comprendre les mécanismes de la structuration des mini-espaces-temps.

En résumé, l'ethnographie et l'analyse des systèmes-mondes sont des méthodes complémentaires. En analysant les relations dans l'interface du micro/macro-système, d'une part l'ethnographe peut contribuer à freiner la tendance de réifier les actions par les analystes de systèmes-mondes et, d'autre part il peut montrer à l'ethnologue comment enchâsser le temps ethnographique sur la longue durée. Pour réorienter le projet anthropologique et créer une ethnographie dans l'économie-monde, l'ethnologue doit prendre le temps de l'ethnographe comme point de départ et d'arrivée médiatisé par la longue durée. Pour comprendre la reproduction des communautés locales comme processus global et articuler les histoires cachées, la démarche ici proposée est récurrente: elle va du présent ethnographique au passé, et après quoi, elle revient vers le présent ethnographique, dès lors analysé et connu.

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# "The Sun Is the Poor Mayo's *Cobija*": Mayo Weavers Encounter Neoliberalism

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***Abstract:*** Mayo women of southern Sonora, Mexico have woven textiles for centuries. We undertook a study of contemporary Mayo weavers to determine the state of Mayo weaving, its significance to the homes and communities in which weaving is done, and its future prospects. We also wished to ascertain whether or not Mayo weaving is in a state of precipitous decline, as we had heard anecdotally from numerous sources, or in a state of expansion, as predicted by Burns (1979). Mexico's adoption of neoliberal economic policies within the last two decades has affected weavers. The isolation of Mayo weavers in an environment of increased organization of the Mexican economy along capitalist lines makes them an anomaly. Although weavers control the entire process and marketing of their cobijas and serapes, they lack support of government agencies and alternative trade organizations in facilitating the purchase, advertisement and sales of their textiles. Although the women face difficulties, they view weaving as fundamental to their identity, an important Mayo tradition they hope will be perpetuated.

***Résumé:*** Les femmes mayo du Sud de Senora au Mexique ont tissé du textile depuis des siècles. Nous avons entrepris une étude des tisserandes mayo pour évaluer l'état du tissage mayo, son importance pour les communautés et les foyers dans lesquels on le pratique et ses perspectives d'avenir. Nous voulions aussi déterminer si le tissage décline rapidement comme plusieurs sources le rapportent ou si il est en expansion comme l'a prédit Burns (1979). L'adoption par le Mexique, dans les deux dernières décennies, de politiques économiques néo-libérales a affecté les tisserandes. L'isolement des tisserandes mayo dans un environnement économique de plus en plus organisé autour des ambitions capitalistes en fait un cas spécial. Quoique les tisserandes contrôlent le processus entier de la fabrication et de la mise en marché de leurs *cobijas* et *serapes*, elles n'ont pas le support des agences gouvernementales et des autres niveaux de l'organisation du commerce pour l'achat et la promotion des ventes de leur textile. Même si les femmes font face à des difficultés, elles considèrent le tissage comme fondamental à leur identité; elles y voient une tradition mayo importante qu'elles espèrent voir perpétuer.

## Introduction

Mayo, an indigenous, Cáhita-speaking group of northwest Mexico,[1] are concentrated in small villages of several hundred residents and hamlets (*ranchos*) in the arid to semi-arid valley of the Río Mayo in southeastern Sonora, in the Río Fuerte in northwestern Sinaloa, and in small autonomous watersheds in between.[2] In the 1990 census they numbered roughly 60 000, making them the largest indigenous group in the region (INEGI, 1990).

Nearly all males over 14 and many women of all ages are employed—regularly or intermittently—as day labourers in commercial agricultural operations. Following World War II the delta of the Río Mayo and adjacent coastal lowlands were cleared of native thornscrub and extensive agricultural infrastructure was installed mostly at government expense. The river was dammed and an excess of 80 000 hectares (200 000 acres) of irrigated farmland were opened for cultivation (Calderón Valdés, 1985: 299-301). Mayos were hired for the clearing and construction of the water delivery system and have since provided the labour force for intensive planting, cultivation, and harvesting the varied crops, most of which are exported. Until recently, the increased demand for labour due to expansion of agriculture has absorbed most of the population increase in Mayo communities, so that most Mayo young people remain in the region. While other parts of rural Mexico have experienced high rates of emigration, mostly illegal, to the United States, few Mayos have migrated. While this has kept families intact, it means that Mayo kin have not benefited (as have hundreds of thousands of other Mexican families) from wages remitted to them by family members working in the U.S. (Yetman, 1998).

While vast wealth has been created by the export-oriented agriculture, little of it has trickled down to the Mayos, the inhabitants of the region at the time of con-

quest and well into the 20th century (O'Connor, 1989). Virtually all day-labourer jobs require few skills. As day wages tend not to keep pace with inflation, Mayo poverty has gradually worsened in recent decades. Mayo irrigation farmers, few in number, have experienced great difficulty in obtaining credit or government agricultural assistance that has been readily available for Mestizo farmers (German, Luis, Ríos, Flores, & Ayala, 1987: 108-112) primarily due to their poverty and racist ideologies that construct all indigenous peoples as such (O'Connor, 1989: 47; Yetman, 1998: 224). Many Mayo adults are illiterate and education beyond the sixth grade is not generally available. Young Mayos learn early that they will be scorned if their identity as Mayos is revealed, so they often repress their knowledge of the Mayo language and find themselves increasingly drawn to Mestizo values associated with urban areas (O'Connor 1989: 54; Yetman, 1998). Mayo settlements are marked by Mayos' social marginalization and poverty. Few homes have interior running water or plumbing. Cooking is carried on under outdoor *ramadas*. Though some remain unwired, most villages have been provided with electricity in the last decade. Few Mayo own motor vehicles. Most travel by public bus or mule-driven carts. Mayo families are large, usually five or more children. Women cook, wash, clean, sew, gather firewood and care for children and grandchildren. Weavers typically integrate spinning and weaving activities into their daily household routines.

## Mayo Weaving

For centuries Mayos, notably Mayo women, of southern Sonora have been known for their weaving (Acosta, 1949; 126-27; Beals, 1945; Cabeza de Vaca, 1972; Pérez de Ribas, 1645; West, 1993). At the time of contact with Europeans they wore woven cotton garments and slept on cotton blankets (Pérez de Ribas 1645). They almost certainly were weaving with wool after sheep were introduced by Jesuit priests by the late 18th century. European-style looms using foot-operated treadles were introduced to the nearby Yaquis in 1774[3] but, according to Mayo weavers, do not appear to have been widely adopted by Mayos. Earlier in the 20th century, locally woven wool blankets graced most homes in the Mayo region, and were a favourite of Mestizo cowboys as well. Mayos' reputation as weavers extended to a minor extent throughout the republic, but was especially well-established in the state of Sonora. Before World War II, Beals (1945) provided detailed descriptions of Mayo textiles. In the 1970s, Fontana, Faubert and Burns (1977) published a catalogue and history of contemporary Mayo weaving patterns and techniques in conjunction with an exhibition during summer 1977, held at the Heard Museum in Phoenix, Arizona. Burns (1979) published an illustrated article on a blanket collection from the 1930s. In the 1940s Mayos wove *cobijas* (heavy blankets or rugs), *serapes* (heavy, wide blankets intended to be worn) and *fajas* (sashes) used as belts (Beals, 1945: 23). While Mayo blankets and designs are well-known in the Mayo region today, they are not well-known abroad beyond the southwest United States, and have not been described in national publications or exhibited in museums. The cultural and economic importance of Mayo weaving has not been carefully analyzed.

**Figure 1**

Elvira Tajia Moroyoqui and Ana Lordes Tajia Moroyoqui (daughters of Vicente and Teresa), warping the *telar*.
Photo by Kathy M'Closkey

Although weavers may bring prestige to their village by attracting tourists and occasional buyers and even photographers, Mayo women's intellectual contributions are minimized in current social institutions. Nearly all of the women interviewed live in *ejidos* (communally owned, individually parcelized lands) or *comunidades* (communal lands reserved for indigenous people) governed by assemblies constituted by members.[4] In both cases the lands until recently could not be bought, sold, rented or loaned (for the recent changes see Yetman and Búrquez, 1998) and were thus characterized by long continuity in land tenure. In general, *ejidataria,* (female *ejido* members) and *comuneras* (female members of the *comunidad*) are subject to severe limitations on their ability to participate in the general economic life of the *ejido* or community (Zapata Martelo, 1996). While some women are *ejidatarias* and some are *comuneras*, they derived this standing due to the death of a husband, i.e., by default (Deere, 1993). Women per se are not viewed as legiti-

mate holders of usufruct rights. They are usually not permitted by the male members to express opinions during meetings of the *ejido* or *comunidad* (Yetman and Búrquez, 1998). Women find in their daily life that attempts at organizing or addressing questions other than domestic ones are usually met with scorn or contempt by males. The same men, however, usually approve of weaving, enjoy the additional income it brings to the household, and often bask in the publicity their wives' accomplishments bring when tourists or buyers admire their work, sometimes even taking credit for the production itself.[5]

**Figure 2**

Mayo weaver with her cobija.
Photo by Barney Burns

## Craft Production and Globalization

In many Latin American countries, intensified artisan production is frequently used as a viable household strategy to offset increasing impoverishment (Burns, 1996; Cook, 1993; Cook and Joo, 1995; Nash, 1993, 1994; O'Connor, 1996). Stringent austerity regimes in the form of structural adjustment policies (SAPs) imposed by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank have negatively affected Mexico's poor and Mayos are no exception (Loker, 1999; Nash, 1994: 11). Most families are primarily dependent on wages received by kin working as day labourers in commercial, export-oriented agriculture. In keeping with Mexico's commitment to privatization and decreased government intervention in the social sector, government subsidies to the poor for food, medical care and education have been drastically reduced as Mexico struggles to service its massive foreign debt (Barry, 1995; Beaucage, 1998).

The overwhelming proportion of Mayo weavers are women, a situation that is not unusual for Mexico. Identification of weaving and cloth with women's social roles has deep pre-colonial roots and is probably a perpetuation of precolumbian ideology (Klein, 1997; McCafferty and McCafferty, 1991). Mesoamerican men typically weave on mechanical floor looms (Cook, 1993; Hendrickson, 1995; Stephen, 1991, 1993). Stephen (1993) reports an increase in the number of male weavers in three Zapotec villages since the 1970s. In southern Sonora, art and craft objects produced primarily by men have achieved more notable market success than women's weaving. Men carve ceremonial (*pascola*) masks and kachina-like ceremonial dolls, wooden trays and utensils, and weave horsehair rope, hatbands, belts, wire baskets and agave-fiber *morrales* (satchels). These items find a more receptive market and are sold in retail outlets in the region and in the United States. They also cost far less than the most inexpensive woolen Mayo textiles. Ironically, a weaver from Camahuiroa recalled that, in the past, her best customers used to be Mayo men—*Pascola* (ceremonial) dancers who bought sashes from her as part of their costumes. Today the Pascolas tend to wear commercially woven and dyed sashes, and she no longer weaves. The isolation of Mayo weavers in an environment of increased organization of the Mexican economy along capitalist lines makes them an anomaly. Although their textiles are almost exclusively woven for sale, weavers still retain control over the entire process of production and marketing of their weaving. Although an aficionado primarily concerned with authenticity may celebrate weavers' autonomy, it is disadvantageous in several respects. Thus it is worthwhile to note the differences between the production and marketing of Mayo handweaving and that of several other Latin American examples.

In the literature on crafts and globalization, we are struck by the fact that many Latin American weavers frequently use commercially spun and dyed yarns and floor

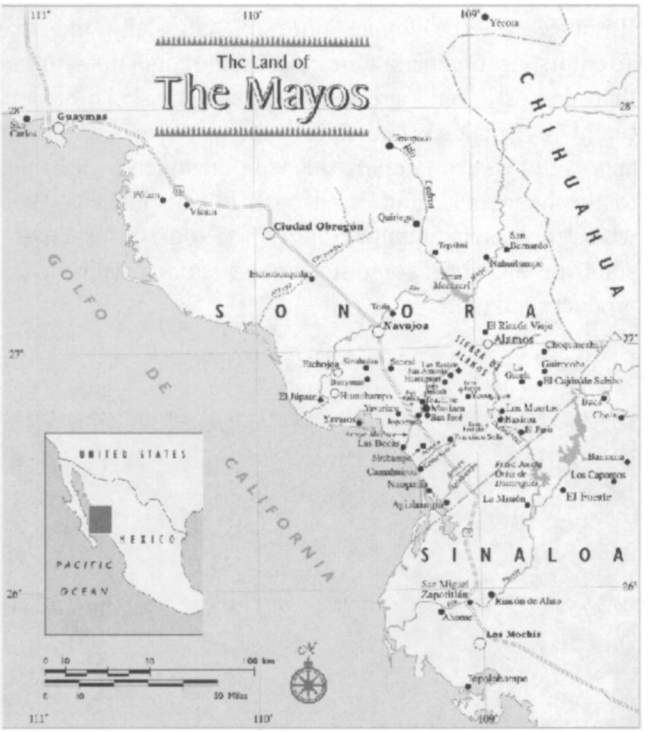
looms to expedite the process (Nash, 1993; O'Connor, 1996; Stephen, 1991). Many workshops utilize piece-workers, as the production process is divided or farmed out among specialists (Cook, 1993: 62-3). O'Connor (1996) describes the changes in raw materials, organization of labour, transformation in technology and types of articles produced over the past 50 years in Peru to capture a viable share of the global handcrafts market. Merchants may also extend credit to producers and make suggestions concerning the creation of new articles to attract market interest (Lynd, 2000; Stephen, 1993: 47). Waterbury (1991) describes similar developments among Oaxacan embroiderers. Klein (1997) highlights the concerted efforts by museologists and scholars to conserve textile traditions in several Oaxacan villages.

To offset the impact of recently imposed neoliberal policies, administrators of non-governmental and fair trade organizations, co-operatives and microfinance schemes have developed strategies to provide more favourable returns to impoverished Latin American crafts producers. The variable success rates and shortcomings of such strategies are discussed by several contributors to *Artisans and Cooperatives: Developing Alternative Trade for the Global Economy* (Grimes and Milgram, 2000). None of these agencies or policies are in place to aid Mayo weavers. For example, neither Mexico's National Indigenous Institute (INI), nor FONART, (Fomento Nacional de Artesanías) who have actively purchased handicrafts from indigenous producers for three decades (Eber and Rosenbaum, 1993: 166), has facilitated the sales and marketing of Mayo textiles.[6] Thus in several respects, the marginalization of Mayo weavers and their textiles parallels the decline in women's economic autonomy as exemplified in the women and colonization literature (Deere, 1993; Ehlers, 1990; Etienne and Leacock, 1980; Mies, 1982, 1988; Nash, 1993).

## Methodology

In December 1997, we interviewed 33 current or former weavers in 17 locations, ranging from small towns to dispersed *ranchos*.[7] These locations represent nearly all the places where weaving is done in the region (see map), nearly all on the coastal plain southeast of Navojoa. Thirty-two weavers live in southern Sonora, one in Sinaloa. The interviews ranged from one-half hour to more than two hours. With some weavers we were able to engage in conversations that extended over several days. In the case of five weavers from Teachive (Mayo "scattered round stones"), Yetman has discussed their weaving with them over a period of nearly five years (Yetman, 1998).

**Figure 3**
**The Land of the Mayos**




Map by Paul Mirocha

We proceeded informally, chatting about many topics in addition to weaving. Several of the older weavers were more comfortable speaking their native Mayo language rather than Spanish. In those cases our questions and their responses were translated by Vicente Tajia Yocupicio, a native Mayo speaker familiar with the region and with weaving, who accompanied us at all times. His presence and familiarity with the Mayo language also served to make the informants more comfortable during the interviews. Some of our information is derived from extensive studies in the region between the years 1991 and 1998 (Yetman, 1998).

With one exception, the weavers were women ranging in age from 32 to 90 years. Several weavers reported that younger women and girls assist with spinning, but none actually weaves. A weaver from the impoverished village of Cucajaqui proudly pointed to a young daughter who was learning to spin (but not to weave yet). Another woman ordered her daughter to demonstrate her spinning technique. The wool (cotton has not been spun for many decades) is spun with a *malacate* (spindle), and woven on a *telar* (horizontal loom) strung up on two permanent beams (Mayo: *jiotori*) which are held in place by four upright posts (Mayo: *huicas*).[8] (Most of the loom

parts have Mayo as well as Spanish names.) The single male exception was the Sinaloan weaver, a man in his late 60s.[9] He spun a coarse yarn on an old wheel weathered from many seasons out of doors (the only weaver to spin on a wheel), and wove on a floor loom with pedal-operated shafts, adapted from a Spanish model. His loom was unlike any used by Sonoran weavers, and he described it using Spanish terminology. This weaver probably carries on a more purely Spanish tradition and traces his ancestry and weaving technique to Cáhita-speaking groups distinct from the Mayo. His language is technically Mayo, but is probably a Cáhita variant (Ahome or Zuaque) labelled Mayo by Hispanic chroniclers. (See Yetman, 1998 Ch. 2 for elaboration of this point.)[10] Although reasonably fluent in the Mayo language, he was only somewhat familiar with the Mayo terminology for the loom and its parts. His weaving is promoted in a regional artisan shop in El Fuerte, Sinaloa, where he is noted as the only remaining Mayo weaver on the Río Fuerte.

**Figure 4**

Adobe home built by Vicente Tajia Yocupicio (1964) with Teresa's cooking ramada adjacent.
Photo by Kathy M'Closkey

We interviewed these active or former weavers in their homes. Several women were in the process of weaving blankets. In some households the loom was either temporarily or permanently dismantled or there were no active weavers. We asked the women when and how they learned to weave, where they acquired fleeces and dyes, how they sell the finished product and other questions pertinent to their weaving histories, including whether they wove with one or three *chomas* (string heddles).[11] We queried whether there were as many weavers today as in the past. We also asked whether weavers could recall any songs or stories associated with weaving. We discontinued the last question after the first dozen or so interviews. None of the women interviewed recalled any song or story associated with weaving.[12] Our lack of success in obtaining this information may be a reflection of inadequate interviewing technique on our part, cultural reticence on the part of the weavers or the dampening presence of a male (or outsiders) in a discussion that may be intrinsically female and Mayo. It also may arise from our inability to detect indications of ancient themes symbolized in the weaving. Through these interviews and the associated conversations we attempted to determine the number of weavers in the Mayo region, the cultural and economic importance of weaving in Mayo life, the types of textiles produced and the viability of weaving as an art and as a commercial enterprise. More important, we hoped to gain an overview of the significance of weaving in Mayo culture, past and present.

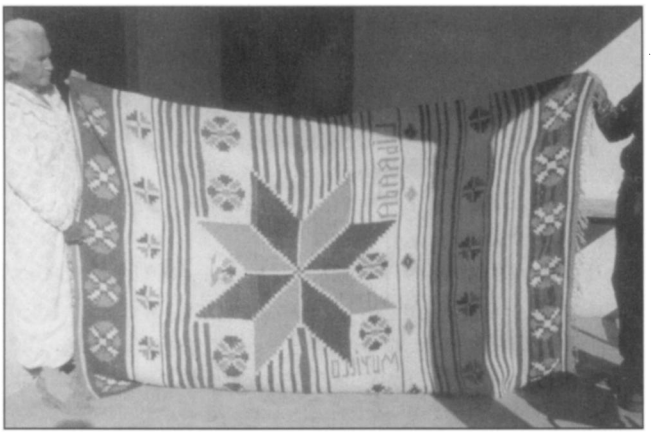
From our survey we estimate that 50 Mayo women and two Mayo men are active or former weavers.[13] All of the weavers we interviewed spoke the Mayo language. One spoke only haltingly (by her own admission) but said she understood others when they spoke. The average age of weavers is 50. No women under 20 are known to weave. A weaver from the very poor hamlet of Cucajaqui nodded toward her two granddaughters and noted that they were learning to spin and would someday weave. They smiled in agreement. This was our only such experience.

## Mayo Weavers' Responses

In general, the women we interviewed enjoy their weaving and reported finding it fulfilling, in spite of the difficulties attendant to it—the arduous work in obtaining fleeces, carding/cleaning, washing, spinning, dyeing, weaving and marketing. One weaver extolled weaving as a way of doing something productive while chatting with her daughters or neighbours. "I can enjoy myself and make a little money for the house," she said. Nearly all of the weavers recalled the first textiles they produced and what became of them. Most women spun before they began to weave, often learning to spin before they reached 10 years of age, only learning to weave over many years and usually producing a finished textile between the ages of 14 and 20, but occasionally earlier.[14] One woman revealed that she began to weave when she was seven and made her first real *cobija* when she was 10 years old. She is clearly an exception. The majority, but by no means all, learned weaving from their mothers. "I opened my eyes seeing my mother weave," joked an accomplished weaver from Teachive. One weaver learned to weave against her mother's wishes. "My father knew I wanted to weave, so he took me to another

house and, in secret, a woman there taught me to weave," she related with obvious delight. Another woman revealed that she did not weave her first *cobija* until she was 40 because her mother wanted her to spin the wool for her (the mother's) *cobijas*. An elderly weaver laughed when she recalled selling her first sash for 25 centavos. She was 15 at the time.

**Figure 5**



Dona Francisca Moroyoqui Mieyillo of Rancho del Padre, with a *Libra Choqui*, or star, woven in the centre of her blanket.
Photo by Kathy M'Closkey

In several cases, weavers remarked that weaving is an excellent occupation, for they could take it up in hours when household requirements slacken. By selling their homespun product, they supplement household income without the disruptive effect of being absent when they were most needed by husband, children or other family members. For the most part the weavers expressed fondness for weaving, especially seeing and selling the finished product: "just the smell of a *cobija* is a good thing," one said. Another remarked to us, "isn't the *carpintero* (a ripple design) pretty?" This fondness for a completed blanket, however, was seldom expressed by their daughters.

Few mentioned that weaving is physically hard work, especially hard on the back and knees, a message not lost on younger women. Two of the weavers interviewed had been forced to quit due to repetitive-stress injuries, and others complained of soreness and discomfort while weaving. One swore that her back pain tormented her so much that if she did not have to weave to survive she would quit. Preparation for weaving, that is, cleaning, spinning and dyeing of the wool and warping the loom takes more time than the actual weaving. Cleaning fleece and spinning are monotonous, even though they can be done while the spinner is engaged in conversation.

All weavers expressed fear for the future of weaving, and hoped that it would not die out. Most of them felt it was an important *tradición* (cultural tradition),[15] involving a knowledge that should not be lost. Women explained to us that pattern names pertain to plants, animals or places like Teachive, Saneal, Sinahuisa and Yavaritos. One weaver laughingly but proudly revealed to us a distinctive zigzag design from Bacabachi, where she was born. She called it *huitcha cantojoa* ("they make it with thorns"). A number of different villages have access to various plant dyes and often are known for their distinctive patterns. Unless they married men from nearby villages, weavers for the most part have lived in the same village, often in the same house, nearly all their lives. These places are, in turn, defined by the people and the cultural traditions they have perpetuated for generations, perhaps even prior to conquest. In *monte* near their homes the weavers and their ancestors have gathered wood, roots, bark, stems, trunks, leaves and flowers—materials for dyeing and for constructing their looms. The patterns (such as the design they refer to as *carpintero* [woodpecker] and another known as *chóparaguoqui* [raccoon track]) and plant-based colours—blue, red, yellow—they weave into their blankets are as much a product of the land as they are a product of the weavers' creative artistry. Thus they weave their textiles in a social and physical setting that reaffirms cultural values in addition to providing income.

Weavers also have a more independent existence than women who do not weave. In general, weavers, because of the respect they enjoy in their communities, are afforded greater freedom from the confines of the home than are non-weavers (Yetman, 1998). They travel (usually in the company of a relative or friend) to distant farms to purchase fleeces, which are not generally available near the villages, and into the *monte* to collect plant materials for dyeing.[16] Several women demonstrated for us the plants and plant parts they gathered in the monte to make their dyes. Women also venture regularly into other parts of the village when potential buyers (primarily tourists from the United States) arrive. (This is especially true in Teachive, which is spread out for nearly a kilometre on both sides of an *arroyo*.) The few weavers who raise sheep also walk into the *monte* from their homes to tend to their small flocks. In the case of one weaver, her meager income from the sale of her fine blankets enabled her to become a *fiestera* (fiesta sponsor) in the community, a post of great prestige and responsibility. As a fiestera, Aurora Moroyoqui was responsible for arranging the countless details of Mayo traditional and religious celebrations during Holy Week and the fiesta of San Miguel in late September. In addition the 24

*fiesteros* maintain and clean the cemetery and remind villagers of ceremonial events throughout the year. Without her weaving Aurora could not have undertaken that public and ritual commitment.

For most of the weavers, their work is a source of pride. They control the items they produce and are in charge of selling them. They take pride in controlling the entire process: cleaning fleeces, spinning, dyeing, setting up the loom, weaving and selling. Although Beals (1945: 27) reported men selling weavers' blankets, we found not a single man selling blankets made by women. The money women receive is theirs. A high percentage of men in the region are given to heavy drinking (Yetman, 1998) and spend a major portion of their earnings on beer or other alcohol. Some women explained that it is the money they receive for their weaving that sustains their families and not their husband's or father's earnings which is spent on alcohol.

Mayo culture has reinforced many of the machismo elements of Mestizo society, imposing more restrictions on women while correspondingly lightening the responsibility for family maintenance on men (German et al, 1987; Nash, 1994). Under Mestizo mores, women are usually expected to remain in the home, raise children, and provide meals, housekeeping, succour and tolerance for the philandering and excessive drinking of the husband and other male members of the family. A woman not at home must have some excuse, some justification for not being in her "proper" place. Women must seek their husbands' permission to carry out activities other than those associated with household maintenance. These expectations among Mayos do not in theory vary greatly from Mestizo values, but Aboriginal Mayo values placed far more responsibility for family maintenance on the father's shoulders (Beals, 1945: 62). Villagers tend to decry the tendency of fathers to drink away a family's assets or abandon their children or have children by women other than their wives; the same villagers ostracize a woman who deviates from the received standards of female decorum. One woman whose sexual affairs are well-known is scorned by other weavers, despite her considerable weaving talent.

## The Decline of Mayo Weaving

We asked each weaver to estimate how many weavers were producing in their village during their childhood.[17] Based upon that testimony we conclude that the number of weavers has declined, perhaps precipitously, in the last 40 to 50 years. Using statements made by weavers and others we interviewed, we project that 40 years ago there were more than 100 weavers in the region, probably as many as 150. In all areas we visited, the reported decrease in weavers was dramatic, with the exception of Teachive, where roughly a fourth of the weavers reside. While the number of weavers in Teachive has apparently declined, at least 10 weavers continue to produce *cobijas*. Teachive has long been known regionally and in the southwestern United States as a centre of Mayo weaving.[18] In the early 1940s Beals found Bacabachi, a village now of some 900, producing many fine blankets, but in Masiaca, of which Teachive is an associated village, he found only a few poor quality textiles (Beals, 1945: 26-33). Bacabachi now has one weaver while Masiaca (including Teachive and several other hamlets) has more than a dozen.

What has caused the decline in the number of weavers? The women gave the following reasons: (1) unavailability of fleeces; (2) the preferences of younger women for greater economic remuneration and the general lassitude of contemporary young women, including their unwillingness to undertake the difficult labour involved in weaving; and (3) the lack of a reliable market for their textiles. We discuss each of these factors separately.

### *Scarcity of fleeces*

All of the weavers clean the wool prior to spinning by shaking and beating the fleece, and removing dirt and plant parts with their fingers, as most of them do not own hand carders. Only four of the weavers raise their own sheep, and even these usually purchase raw fleeces to supplement what they shear from their ewes. Several weavers related stories of travelling salesmen who in the past, travelled among the villages by mule-drawn cart selling fleeces. Now weavers purchase their fleeces primarily from growers in the irrigated region around Huatabampo in the lower Río Mayo. These fleeces are usually of poor quality and are fouled with dirt and plant fragments. The need to buy fleeces works a hardship on many weavers, especially those from Teachive, who live nearly 50 kilometres from the wool-growing area and must travel to and from the sheep-growing region by bus. Purchasing the fleeces and the necessary bus tickets may consume 15% of the retail price of the woven item.

Nearly all weavers complained that fleeces are hard to obtain, many stating that the scarcity is a deterrent to potential young weavers. Many growers in the region have switched from a wool-bearing sheep to a meat-producing breed called *peligüé* raised for sale abroad. The hot climate of the region does not under the best of circumstances produce thick fleeces, but the year-round availability of irrigated pasture produces rapid weight

gain. The change in breeds has decreased the availability of fleeces. If the sheep are raised on irrigated pastures (nearly always the case), the owner must weigh the return from raising wool-producing sheep against the anticipated higher return on cash crops such as tomatoes, strawberries, corn, chick peas and beans, all destined for the international market. There are few economic incentives for raising sheep. Most of the herds we visited are grazed on stubble or are raised out of tradition or fondness for the animals, not for calculated economic return.

Even more important than the switch to *peligüé*, has been the increase in cattle grazing, promoted over the last three decades by the state and national governments (see, for example, Camou Healy, 1991). Cattle are raised by men, sheep primarily by women and young boys. Public emphasis on cattle production has increased forage pressure on rainfed rangelands, leaving less biomass available for sheep (Yetman, 1998). A woman in Teachive now has seven sheep, whereas her mother-in-law is reported to have once grazed more than 1 000 sheep. Many others who formerly raised sheep, now have none at all. For the most part, the decrease in weavers' flocks is due to decreased availability of suitable forage. In nearly all cases the weavers commented that pasturage for sheep is now inferior to what it was when they were younger. "There is no pasture for the *borregas* (ewes) now," a Teachive weaver lamented. "I used to have twenty, now I have only two." A weaver from Bacabachi related sadly the theft of her sheep, and suggested young men had stolen them. Weavers usually attribute the decline to decreased rainfall, however overgrazing by cows is the probable culprit for deterioration of pastures. Excessive stocking rates are hardly discouraged by the state and federal governments, which hope that increased beef production will meet national needs and that their sale on international markets will provide a source of needed foreign currency (Camou Healy, 1991: 92).

### *Preferences of young women for more remunerative work*

Outside of Teachive, few women under 40 were weaving in late 1998. Weavers attribute this lack of enthusiasm to the younger women's preference for other work, especially working as day labourers in fields, rather than weaving.[19] This preference is understandable. As one of the best weavers put it "*Batalla mucho la cobijera*" (it's a constant struggle for weavers). Neither of her two daughters weaves. A weaver can hardly hope to net more than two dollars U.S. per day at weaving, while a day labourer can earn up to six dollars. Working as a housemaid in Huatabampo (population 35 000) or Navojoa (population 100 000) pays nearly as well as agricultural day labour, and allows young women the additional enjoyment of life in the "big city" with its amenities and excitement, and liberation from rigid surveillance by parents, relatives and neighbours. The two daughters of a weaver from Jopopaco had left the community and were working—one in a *maquiladora* (assembly plant) in Hermosillo, the other as a housekeeper in Navojoa.

Nearly all the young women over 15 in the region have worked as day labourers, whether in the fields sowing, cultivating, harvesting or irrigating, or on road crews maintaining local roadways.[20] We spoke with several such young women, and found them to be uninterested in weaving, stating vague objections to the work as boring and difficult. They expressed a greater affinity for music, fiestas and fashions than for the perceived sedentary drudgery of weaving. While work in the fields is physically taxing, no young woman complained about the harsh working conditions. And none mentioned any interest in weaving as preserving a cultural tradition.

In some cases the older weavers were scornful of the younger women who refused to learn to weave, labelling them variously as hussies (*sinvergüenzas)*, lazy good-for-nothings (*huevonas)* and pleasure-seekers (*mujeres sueltas*). "The young women from here [Bacabachi] are ashamed to weave. They do not want to be known as *cobijeras*." A weaver from San Pedrito explained that young women would rather be "out in the fields picking cotton, harvesting tomatoes, digging and planting things like chiles and potatoes than stay at home and weave and make tortillas *the way they should*." A hard-working weaver from Cucajaqui denounced the behaviour of young women in general: "they care more about *billetes* (pesos) than about *lana* (wool, also slang for money)." The deeper message is that while the greater freedom weavers enjoy is desirable, women who leave their homes and villages for day labour also leave the protection and control of culturally conservative parents, relatives and neighbours. Several older women hinted that weaving was a good means to keep women (especially younger ones) out of mischief. Several weavers expressed the fear that younger women will not know how to weave and the art will be lost. Accompanying that loss, they fear, will be their way of life, which offers participation in Mayo fiestas, the quiet and uncompetitive lifestyle for which Mayos are known, (Crumrine, 1977; German et al., 1987: 16), and, in the case of older women, the distinct pleasure they derive from speaking and hearing the gentle sounds of the Mayo language. This fondness for the "Mayo way" appears to be rapidly declining among younger people who are edu-

cated in Mestizo schools and are heavily influenced by Mestizo culture. De Avila (1997: 136) found similar circumstances among weavers of many Oaxacan communities.

**Figure 6**

Cornelia Nieblas Moroyoqui of Teachive, spinning on her *malacate*.
Photo by Kathy M'Closkey

Most of the weavers (and nearly all the young people) have access to television. Television provides a glimpse of the world beyond the tiny villages in which Mayo live, and the young women yearn to see and be a part of the glamour and excitement they see portrayed on television.[21] Weaving commits the weaver to the comparatively unexciting routines of village life. Even as back-breaking and dreary as work in the fields can be, it is more sociable than weaving. It puts young people into contact with others as they travel by bus regularly through the (comparatively) exciting cities of Huatabampo and Navojoa on their way to the fields.

A corollary of the absence of young weavers is the general lack in young Mayos of any interest in Mayo cultural manifestations. Parents in most of the small villages do not encourage their children to speak Mayo, believing that if it is known that youngsters are Mayos, they will be cast as *indios* (a pejorative term) by their non-Mayo peers and thus find themselves at a severe social disadvantage (Yetman, 1998). As a result the vast majority of Mayo young people do not speak the Mayo language and understand very little of it. Much of the discourse about weaving is carried on in the Mayo language among weavers. Girls are thus left out of these conversations and the profound influence they wield. The conversations among women in Mayo reinforce distinctions between Mayos and non-Mayos, contributing to what O'Connor (1989) calls "Mayoness."

### *Lack of markets*

Although none of the weavers complained of the difficulty of selling their textiles, all mentioned that they usually sold their weavings by taking them to an adjacent city or by selling them to a buyer who paid only a fraction of what they were worth. All the weavers we interviewed sell their textiles individually, each negotiating as an independent producer with the prospective buyer. In some cases, weavers sold their products to a husband-wife team of North American traders well-known in the region, who paid fair prices and bought many blankets. These traders no longer purchase as many blankets as formerly, however (B. Burns, personal communication). The competition from other indigenous textiles woven in Latin America and abroad has placed Mayo weavers at a distinct disadvantage because of sophisticated strategies developed by alternative trade organizations and non-profit agencies to market textiles woven by other indigenous producers (Grimes and Milgram, 2000). Thus it is increasingly difficult for traders to sell Mayo blankets in the United States and cover costs.

Except for two or three weavers who have become renowned for their work through publicity from North American buyers and who manage to sell their blankets at a (comparatively) good price ($200-300 US), few weavers have an assured market. The sole central retail location is in Teachive, which has a tiny, unmarked cultural centre where blankets can be sold. Although Teachive is frequently visited by tourists, there are no scheduled times when tour groups visit the village. In other villages, weavers either sell to itinerant buyers who pay well below the fair retail price, or they journey by bus to the cities of Navojoa (one hour distant) and Alamos (two hours). In Navojoa they sell the blankets at

several outlets that retail the blankets only as a sideline. One shop, which was for many decades willing to buy blankets at any time, has recently closed its doors. The weavers must now sell to another buyer who will pay them between 50 and 70% of their asking price. Alamos, a colonial town 42 kilometres from Teachive by rough dirt road, is frequented by North American tourists. There the weavers may, if they are fortunate, sell directly to tourists; otherwise, they must sell to one of several vendors who will pay them a much lower price than tourists offer. In short, weavers must rely on their own resources to sell their wares.

Thus women frequently receive $125 US or less for a 5' x 7' blanket that takes two months or more to spin and weave. Their hourly pay for production is but a pittance. Most rationalize the tiny sums they earn by trivializing it as "women's work" and hence not meriting remuneration as it would be if it were men's work. As one weaver pointed out, "I can weave in my spare time and make a little extra money. It helps with the household." Many weavers mentioned its importance to household income. In fact, for most weavers the income is critical. At least 10 of the women we interviewed are widows or have been abandoned by their husbands. The sale of blankets is vital to their ability to have adequate food, clothing and medicine. Ironically, other villagers refer to the weavers as *cobijeras* (blanket-makers), thus identifying them by their work. In an economy where the vast majority of men are unskilled or semiskilled agricultural day-labourers, few men are referred to by their skill or trade: Men are referred to simply as *jornaleros* (day-labourers). Only weavers are identified by their work.

## Competition

Mayo women face stiff international competition for their products. With lowering of trade barriers and organization of weaving industries along pre-capitalist and capitalist lines, high quality hand-woven textiles (including woolen rugs and blankets) from southern Mexico, the Middle East, India and China have flooded world markets, and the Mayo women are ill poised to compete (Schneider and Weiner, 1991; Stephen, 1993: 48). Their techniques are highly labour-intensive and traditional. World markets are indifferent to traditions except as they can be commodified (Brown, 1999: 295; Garcia Canclini, 1993).

We took one of the weavers to visit the male Mayo weaver in Sinaloa. She was much impressed by his technique of spinning with a wheel and weaving while standing and using foot-pedals. He spins the wool for a blanket in less than one-fourth the time it takes the women using the *malacate*. Using the foot pedals (treadles) he produces a finished blanket in less than one-third the time it takes *telar* weavers. The women kneel while they weave and manually raise and lower the warp, alternating with a *choma* (string heddle) and *naibua* (permanent shed stick).[22] When the textile is completed and removed from the loom, the *huicas* are left in place, under the *ramada* or front room of the *casa*, until needed again.

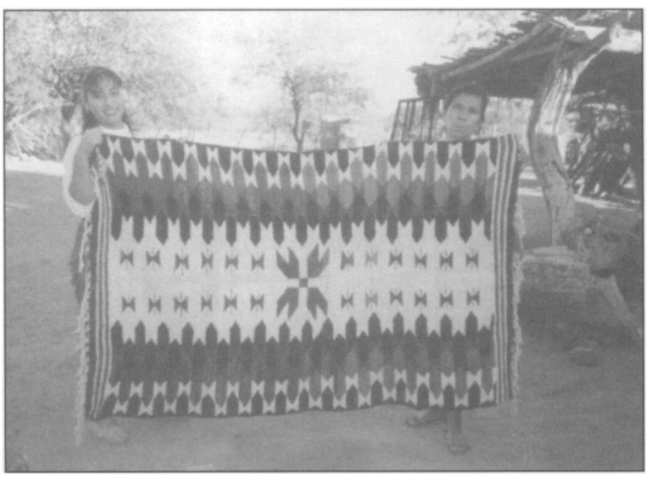
In spite of the mechanical advantage and speed of the foot loom, the woman showed no interest in changing her technique or in suggesting a change to her 32-year-old daughter who weaves. Her way is the Mayo way. "We don't do it that way," she said with finality. To change to the apparent non-Mayo style of production would be to alter a tradition.[23] It would introduce a mechanical device and a technological alteration, which would interfere with the women's vision of their own work. Floor looms are also bulky and consume considerable space.[24] They are too large for a Mayo kitchen or cubby hole.

Although the Sinaloan weaver enjoys an open-air "studio" utilized exclusively for weaving, his operation is still highly inefficient compared with more organized production elsewhere. The cottage textile industries of Oaxaca, for example, are sufficiently organized within families and under merchants to permit a consolidation and division of labour into carding, spinning, dyeing and weaving (O'Connor, 1996; Stephen, 1991; see also Waterbury's [1991] analysis of out-putting in the Oaxacan embroidery industry). The resulting textiles are finely woven and increasingly rival Navajo rugs in quality (and often in the design, appropriated from the North American people).[25] The costs of production for the Zapotec-woven products are considerably less. Yarn is usually purchased, often already dyed. The organization of production and sophisticated marketing of the textiles permits retail buyers to obtain a rug of quality as good or better than that of the Mayos for less money, and consumers are frequently aware of the price differential. Many of the textiles from India and Pakistan (although often produced with child labour) are of excellent quality and considerably cheaper than those produced by Mayo weavers. The market message is blunt: the retail price for a Mayo blanket is well above that for a handwoven, woolen textile of similar quality available in markets in southern Mexico or imports sold in the United States.

Yet the Taylorisms—the dissection of each motion of work into its component movements[26] —and the accompanying mechanical applications that are involved in the exploitable division of labour, would quickly undermine the powerful social basis for weaving blankets. Mayo women are willing to weave for less money because of

the satisfaction they experience in perpetuating a tradition apparently handed down for generations and something inexplicably rich in meaning. Almost all women, including weavers, have worked as agricultural day labourers. The work is hard and takes them away from their families, while weaving keeps them at home and allows them to maintain home vigilance. Their weaving complements their work as housewives in a way that, however economically demeaning, brings fulfilment to them. Waterbury (1991) describes the rapid emergence of a class structure that accompanied out-putting in the embroidery industry in San Antonio, Oaxaca, with the vast majority of producers remaining in poverty and only a few benefiting financially from the imposed re-organization. The Mayo women complete a work of art. The embroiderers of San Antonino produce a segment of an industrialized product.

**Figure 7**



Maria (Choli) Soledad Moroyoqui of Teachive, and her niece with Choli's recently completed *cobija*.
Photo by Kathy M'Closkey

In addition to national and international competition, the weavers' lot is hampered by their independence and isolation, especially in Teachive. While all the weavers there are familiar with each other and know each other's families intimately, they are highly competitive, even jealous of each other's work. They hustle to tourists, hoping to elbow out other weavers who are offering competitively priced textiles. Thus competition among weavers is keen, more so as markets evaporate. Even some sisters compete against each other. While weavers in other nations and elsewhere in Mexico produce textiles under conditions of enforced co-operation (under factory operations, through organized out-putting or by piecemeal arrangements), Mayo women remain isolated from each other. They seldom assist each other, do not share tools such as shears, hand carders or dyeing materials except perhaps within the family (Yetman, 1998). They construct their looms in isolation and approach visiting tourists on their own (or have a relative sell for them).

The competitive atmosphere also appears in the search for fleeces. The weavers seldom assist each other in acquiring fleeces; they tend to keep fleece sources a secret. Fleeces are scarce in the winter months in the region, when the wool is left on the sheep for protection against chill nights. One of Teachive's best *cobijeras* had suffered some personal and family misfortunes and we found her without any wool to weave and no means of leaving her household to venture to the Mayo Delta where the sheep are found. Much to our surprise (but not to hers), we learned that another woman had obtained good fleeces in a different town, and had kept the information secret so that her competitors would not be able to make their *cobijas*.

Whereas women might benefit greatly by co-operation, sharing techniques, tools, sources of wool and marketing strategies, they remain secretive about all. This individualistic isolation is at odds with the historic sense of community and co-operation that was reportedly characteristic of Mayo culture (See Crumrine, 1977; German et al., 1987; and O'Connor, 1989). It is not surprising, however, in light of the economic desperation they face and the socially competitive Mestizo culture in which they are immersed and in which co-operation beyond the immediate household is rare indeed.

## Threads of Identity

Schevill (1991: 5) has argued that "the study of cloth, clothing, and the creation of cloth can be an important index for understanding human culture and history." We agree. Indeed, one of the primary, consistently *enduring* material manifestations of Mayo culture is created through their woven textiles: the *cobija* (rug), *serape* (blanket) or *faja* (sash) and the tools used to produce them.[27] The clothing now worn by Mayos gives no clue as to the wearer's indigenous identity. While most older Mayos refer to themselves as *yoreme*, and consider themselves different from and perhaps a little morally superior to Mestizos, they cannot be distinguished from *yoris* (the Cáhita term for non-Cáhitas) by their appearance. Men, women and children wear humble clothing indistinguishable from that worn by poor Mestizos. The custom of women wearing towels or shawls over their heads in public, or twirling a shawl over the head and shoulders is

the only vestige of Mayo material culture to be seen in their dress, and even this may be derived from Mestizo dress of the 19th century (Yetman, 1998). The Mayo blanket, rug or sash represents one of the last vestiges of woven material culture. Through producing their distinctive textiles Mayo weavers transmit identification of themselves as Mayo. Yet their textiles are now made almost exclusively for sale as weavers cannot afford to keep them.[28]

These lingering artifacts in turn reveal deep ties with the land. That is, the identity of Mayo places with weaving, with history, and with traditions is a vital component of the weavers' product. Because employment for most *ejidatarios* or *comuneros* is sporadic and low paying—usually $6 US per day, the few extra pesos earned by the weavers may provide a margin of nutrition, medicine or clothing not otherwise available. Furthermore, weaving is a matter of great self-esteem to the weavers, who are noticeably more independent than women who do not weave. Weavers may travel to the cities of Navojoa or Alamos to sell their textiles, an adventure unthinkable for non-weavers. They are acknowledged craftspeople in their villages, with reputations that transcend village boundaries. Photos of Mayo weavers and their work appear infrequently in newspapers and magazines. All of these activities and the prestige are unavailable to women who do not weave. Indeed, a cursory examination reveals that women in Mestizo villages without crafts opportunities, are more restricted in their activities and more confined to their homes than Mayo weavers. One weaver informed us that a daughter married a Mestizo and moved to a Mestizo village. Her husband would not permit her to weave. Weaving was too obvious as a symbol of independence. Apparently, though, the weavers' daughters do not perceive the greater independence they might gain as a *cobijera* as an offsetting incentive to the greater opportunities afforded by the higher wages of field labour or domestic work in the cities. A decline in weaving thus symbolizes both the threat to culturally valued activities and a decline in the power Mayo women have to direct their own lives.

## Conclusion

Perpetuation of Mayo weaving is not merely important for its cultural expression and tradition. Weaving also plays a vital role in women's independence and in the economy of the weavers' families. If Mayo weaving is to survive, fleece availability and market conditions will have to improve dramatically. Both of these constraints could easily be addressed with modest government intervention (which would also include the supplying of brush carders, which women covet but maintain they cannot afford). At this point, however, based on the experience of projects in the Masiaca *Comunidad* (of which Teachive is a part), the *Instituto Nacional Indigenista* (INI, Mexico's Bureau of Indian Affairs) has undertaken only token assistance to weavers, preferring to invest in enterprises involving men. In general, the women are left to their own designs and resources. While it is easy (and perhaps realistic) to be pessimistic about the long-term survival of Mayo weaving, the dogged persistence of many of the weavers is a hopeful sign. We note the weavers' continuing willingness to acquire and clean fleeces—expensive and time-consuming though the processes may be. We note also their willingness to continue the labour-intensive preparation of natural dyes using local plants. The weavers are aware of the availability of aniline dyes, but, with one exception, all those we interviewed eschewed them, preferring the traditional labour-intensive indigenous dyes.

If the weavers know that they can make more money working in the fields, if they know that their work is difficult, time-consuming and economically risky, why, then, do they continue to weave? Our research suggests that women view weaving as their work and as an intrinsic part of their personhood (Hendrickson, 1995; Nash, 1993). This enduring stubbornness may be the salvation of Mayo weaving. We should not pronounce its demise until the last weaver has permanently dismantled her loom.

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## Notes

1 The term Cáhita refers to the several distinct groups that spoke languages related to present-day Mayo and Yaqui. In Cáhita "cáhita" means "there is nothing." Cook and Joo (1995) have argued "that external observer-analysis should cease to designate a given Mexican population as indígena unless they are prepared to demonstrate empirically" that certain criteria are satisfied. We note that Mayos (1) consider themselves as such (as opposed to Mestizos whom

they label *yoris*), speak the Mayo language, participate in Mayo fiestas and so on. O'Connor (1989) has proposed a continuum of "Mayoness" ranging from strongly Mayo to largely Mestizo. All the weavers we interviewed are clustered toward the Mayo end of O'Connor's proposed continuum.

2 For an excellent introduction to Mayo history see Spicer (1962).

3 This is the date when the secular priest Pedro Valdez retired from the Yaqui village of Potam to Baroyeca in Mayo territory. Valdez imported a weaving expert to teach weaving of wool to Yaquis (who already wove cotton skilfully).

4 Masiaca is an indigenous *comunidad*. It includes the villages of Teachive, Choacalle, San Pedrito, Cucajaqui and Jopopaco in which we interviewed weavers. No lands in the *comunidad* may be privately owned. The other villages are located in *ejidos*, which differ from *comunidades* in that their members need not have shown historic land tenure to be included in the *ejido*. Since 1992, *ejidos* are eligible for privatization. Some have rejected this option, most have approved it. For a fuller description of *comunidades* and *ejidos* see Yetman (1998).

5 Ehlers (1990) in studying weaving among Guatemalan women, found that the more successful women became in marketing their textiles and creating entrepreneurial business, the more likely their husbands were to appropriate their wives' earnings and their family labour into their own enterprises.

6 In its role in encouraging the perpetuation of indigenous cultures, FONART offers expositions of native Mexican arts and crafts and awards prizes for those judged best. Sonorans are at a distinct disadvantage in the competition due to their great distance from Mexico City, where the expositions are usually held, and Sonora's distinct reputation in Mexico City as being a wild, somewhat uncivilized province far away to the north. Sonorans have won prizes in wood carving and a Mayo weaver reportedly received a prize in early 2000. FONART also operates retail artisan shops in several locations throughout the Republic, but none in Sonora. It is FONART policy to purchase items of outstanding quality from throughout the nation and market them in their outlets, but no Mayo women weavers report any contact with FONART officials.

7 Las Ànimas, Bacabachi, Los Buayums, Camahuiroa, Chírajobampo, Choacalle, Cucajaqui, Jopopaco, Rancho Camargo, Rancho El Padre, Rincón de Aliso, Saneal, San José, San Pedrito, Sinahuisa, Sirebampo, Teachive and Yavaritos.

8 See Beals (1945: 23-27) for a description of weaving terminology and techniques.

9 While no men weave blankets among the Sonoran Mayos, men do weave horsehair ropes and hatbands. These are viewed as sufficiently masculine items to permit male production. Mayo men have long woven *morrales* (shoulder bags) from *ixtle* (agave fiber). Their manufacture was noted by Beals (1945) and continues on a very limited basis today. From a technological standpoint, among Mayos the products of men's weaving are manipulative or in the nature of tools, while the products of women's weaving are intended for bodily adornment, bodily protection or floor or bed coverings.

10 As Schevill (1991: 11) points out, under Spanish colonial influence, treadle-operated weaving became men's work.

11 This question enabled us to determine the relative sophistication of the weaver. Weaving with three chomas produces a twill. It is more difficult and time-consuming than weaving with one *choma*.

12 This corresponds with information gathered by Yetman (1998). He was unable to document Mayo folklore (myths, fables or sayings) due, he believes, to the suppression of Mayo culture, especially following the repression of the late 1920s carried out under the direction of future president General Plutarcho Elias Calles. Calles chose to punish Mayos for supporting his enemies and had his troops burn and desecrate many Mayo churches, plunder their saints and images and harass and persecute Mayos in general. It appears that since that time Mayos have lacked any distinctive dress that might tend to identify them as possible objects of persecution.

13 Our survey did not include extensive searching for weavers in the lower Río Mayo Delta, where we know some weavers continue to produce blankets, albeit sporadically. Based upon reports from other Mayos, including weavers, whose network of information is usually reliable, we estimate that five women in that region continue to weave and we have included that figure in our estimate. Some of the women weave only occasionally, others frequently. We encountered weavers who assured us there were no other weavers in their particular village when indeed there were. This misleading information may have been given to us in an attempt to avoid losing a possible sale to a competitor.

14 In general, spinning is viewed as the work of young girls and older women. Weaving is the work of women of reproductive age. This tradition dates from pre-Columbian times (McCafferty and McCafferty, 1991: 25).

15 The Spanish *tradición* connotes a more deeply embedded and culturally enduring persistence than does the English *tradition*.

16 We have documented 12 different dyes derived from plant sources. Producing dyes requires a sophisticated knowledge of plants of the region. The plants and the colour of dyes they produce are as follows: *Acacia farnesiana*, Fabaceae (blue); *Ambrosia confertiflora*, Asteraceae (green); *Erythrina flabelliformis*, Fabaceae (pink/purple); *Eysenhardtia polystachya*, Fabaceae (blue to black); *Haematoxylum brasiletto*, Fabaceae (red); *Indigofera suffruticosa*, Fabaceae (blue); *Jatropha cinerea*, Euphorbiaceae (mustard); *Jacquinia macrocarpa*, Theophrastaceae (yellow); *Krameria erecta*, Krameriaceae (mixed with others to produce pink or blue); *Krameria sonorae*, Krameriaceae, (mixed with others to produce blue to black); *Prosopis glandulosa*, Fabaceae (brown); and *Vallesia glabra*, Apocynaceae (yellow-brown).

17 We found that women were more comfortable responding to a question "How many weavers wove when you began weaving," than they were with the more specific "How many weavers wove 20 (or 30) years ago?" We view the resulting information as approximations. Some weavers responded after carefully enumerating their acquaintances and counting them; others merely guessed. Some responded by merely saying, "Many," or "More than now."

18 From 1994 through late 1997, a Japanese Peace Corps volunteer worked with the women of Teachive, encouraging them to weave, offering suggestions for improved market-

ing of their wares, and establishing a small cultural centre for selling their textiles. She sponsored workshops for the weavers and encouraged them to co-operate in weaving and in marketing. During the last days of her tour of duty, she expressed dismay about the refusal of weavers to co-operate and their extreme competition over resources. When she left, the co-operative effort lapsed and the cultural centre, which never received regional publicity, fell into disuse.

19 Nearly 210 000 acres of irrigated lands lie adjacent to the Mayo villages. The climate is warm and water for irrigation is usually adequate to permit a minimum planting of two crops per year. Consequently, work as agricultural day labourers is usually available, even to women. During harvest times, most adults in the region work as day labourers. Given the wide variety of crops, some crop or other is nearly always being harvested.

20 In recent years local governments have been the conduit for national funds to help ease the chronic unemployment in the region, especially following the peso devaluation of 1994, the effects of which are still being experienced. Workers are paid 40 pesos ($5) a day for work on road crews whose responsibilities are to smooth out the surface of dirt roads and remove brush and shrubbery from roadsides.

21 Young women who work as housemaids are profoundly influenced by *novelas* (soap operas). It has become a widespread custom for affluent Mexican women to watch the *novelas* for several hours each afternoon. Housemaids are often "allowed" to join their mistresses in watching the daily romances.

22 For a detailed history of the loom and a description of its parts, and of the historical role of women in weaving, we recommend Barber (1996).

23 The woman's lack of interest in changing technologies is perfectly intelligible in light of Chayanov's findings in the Soviet Union in 1925. He discovered that labour-saving technology was resisted, not for Luddite motives, but because the technology was gratuitous given the peasant-craftsperson form of production (Chayanov, 1966: 39-41). Mayo weavers may be influenced by proscriptions against significantly altering their looms as well.

24 We venture to speculate here about some cultural symbolism, unverified by comments from the weavers themselves. The upright posts of the Mayo looms (*huicas*) are pounded solidly into the earth, possibly symbolizing women's connection to the earth. That connection would be mediated differently with a floor loom. Among Navajo weavers, upright looms are associated with emergence, growth and ascendance (M'Closkey, 1998). The United States government attempted to introduce horizontal floor looms to Navajos during the 19th century. The attempt failed utterly. Furthermore, the *telar* (the Mayo loom), the Navajo loom and backstrap looms used by women, have continuous warps, i.e., the warp is never cut prior to weaving, and remains intact within the textile, whereas the warp of the floor loom must be cut prior to threading the loom. Messick (1987), Niessen (1985) and Tedlock and Tedlock (1985) highlight the linkages between weavers, fertility and reproduction.

25 Mexicans view themselves as Americans, but not as North Americans.

26 See the discussion of the de-skilling of labour in Braverman (1976).

27 Mayo fiestas involve elaborate paraphernalia worn by dancers and *fiesteros*, but these are used only by particular individuals on special occasions. These artifacts are also shared with other indigenous people of the region, i.e., Yaquis, Seris, Tarahumaras and Guarijíos. The musical instruments used in fiestas are derived from Iberian sources.

28 Vicente Yocupicio inadvertently provided the title of our article. One morning while waiting for the pre-dawn chill to lift, Vicente quipped: "the sun is the poor man's *cobija*." Most Mayo sleep under cheap manufactured cotton blankets as their handwoven woolen counterparts must be sold to provide households with much needed cash.

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# The Narrative Repatriation of Blessed Kateri Tekakwitha

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***Abstract:*** Blessed Kateri Tekakwitha, a 17th-century Mohawk convert, is one miracle shy of becoming the Catholic Church's first Native American saint. Contemporary devotion to her is widespread among diverse Native American communities, and she has become the symbolic figurehead of indigenous catholicism. This article explores the repatriation of Kateri through narratives, as told by her Pueblo women devotees. I suggest that in the women's counterhagiographical discourses, Kateri is translated from a historically silent figure, bordered by colonial Jesuit categories, into a multivalent intertribal Catholic symbol—a reclaimed Indian saint of creative and heroic character. In my discussion of ethnotheology of sainthood, I examine divergent understandings of Indian identity, Catholic community and the nature of sanctity. I trace the multiple voices which tell Kateri's lives—from the standardized colonial account to contemporary devotees' rescripting of and experiences with "their saint."

***Résumé:*** Il ne manque à la Bienheureuse Kateri Tekakwitha, une convertie Mohawk du XVII$^{e}$ siècle, qu'un seul miracle pour devenir la première sainte aborigène américaine de l'Église catholique. La dévotion à Kateri Tekakwitha est très répandue dans différentes communautés indigènes et elles devenue un symbole du catholicisme indigène. Cet article analyse le phénomène de rapatriement de Kateri à travers les récits des femmes Pueblo qui lui manifestent leur dévotion. Je soutiens que Kateri, une figure silencieuse, circonscrite par les catégories coloniales des Jésuites, est devenue, dans le discours anti-hagiographique des femmes, un symbole catholique intertribal polyvalent—une sainte proprement amérindienne d'un caractère créatif héroïque. Dans ma présentation de l'ethnothéologie de la sainteté, j'examine des conceptions divergentes de l'identité indienne, de la communauté catholique et de la nature du sacré. Je retrace les nombreuses voies qui racontent la vie de Kateri—du compte-rendu colonial standardisé aux revitalisations que ses fidèles provoquent chez et avec «leur sainte».

Blessed Kateri Tekakwitha, a 17th-century Mohawk convert, is one miracle shy of becoming the Catholic Church's first Native American saint. Contemporary devotion to her is widespread among diverse Native American communities, and she has become the symbolic figurehead of what devotees call "the voice, presence and identity of Native Americans" in the Church. This paper explores the repatriation of Kateri as a colonial symbol through narratives, as told by her New Mexican Pueblo women devotees. I suggest that Kateri, a quiet and paraphrased character in the 17th-century Jesuit accounts, is given "voice" by her contemporary devout in four interrelated narrative ways: first, by the rescripting of her deathbed words; second, by their daily dialogue and interaction with the proto-saint, encounters which are often perceived as miraculous; third, by the sharing of these miracle stories with other devotees, and last, by the group's popular proclamation of Kateri's full-fledged sainthood, an acclamation which challenges the Vatican's understanding of sanctity. This layering of reclamations constitute what I have termed *narrative repatriation*. Finally, I argue that in the women's counterhagiographical discourses, Kateri is translated from a historically silent figure, bordered by colonial Jesuit categories, tropes and epithets, into a multivalent intertribal Catholic symbol—a reclaimed Indian saint of creative and heroic character. Since her death, she has been transported along the intercolonial missionary rails from New France to New Mexico, through the locomotion of narrative.

I begin with the premise that saints *are* their stories; that is, that saints exist in and through the narratives that are told about them (Woodward, 1990; cf. Orsi, 1996). Thus saint-making—both in its official and populist dimensions, is a process whereby a life is transformed into a "text," broadly defined. My research focusses on the devotional stories which are told about Kateri by Pueblo women as narrative theology, in which both the divine and the self are revealed, and as counterhagiography, stories which challenge the colonial narra-

tives of this young Mohawk woman's identity and purpose.[1]

Here, hagiography becomes more than simply standardized stories about saints, but also stories about selves, both the official and the popular "selves" who transmit and translate Kateri's narratives (cf. Orsi, 1996). By the term "counterhagiography," I seek to underline the multiple, changing and often contradictory discourses which tell a saint's life. Such a notion of counterhagiography moves the story of a saint's life away from the traditional hagiographical practices which "do not manifest a Saint, [but rather] . . . mince him into spiritual lessons" (Woodward, 1996: 369, 370; cf. Noble and Head, 1995). My understanding of counterhagiography is closely linked to what I have called an "ethnotheology of sainthood"—the folk understandings about the lives, nature and function of saints.[2] In the specific case of Kateri, her colonial biographers and her contemporary devotees, I use the term "ethnotheology of sainthood" to refer to a situation where the people's beliefs and experiences override, or at least differ from, the Church's official statements and stories about Kateri (cf. Vecsey, 1997: 107). In employing these concepts, I hope to underline the populist dimensions of saint-making and the ways in which devotion to saints and the stories told about them shape saints' characters. At a general level then, this research is interested in the "conversations" between Kateri Tekakwitha and her devotional communities, and in the processes of decontextualization and recontextualization of Kateri.

In this exploration of the repatriation of a colonial mythico-historic figure through contemporary devotional narratives, it becomes clear that Kateri's story is not linear; there are multiple narratives with multiple endings; she is multiply "translated" (Behar, 1993). In the colonial version, she is trapped in the Vatican, waiting for a miracle; she is an unfinished chapter in the official canonization story, lacking the last plot move, a final evidence of sanctity to bring the Church to a "happily ever after" conclusion to the Jesuit/Mohawk encounter. The heavy printed volume of Kateri's *Positio* waits for other documents, written proof of the hero's activities. In a contemporary postcolonial version, her story takes us on a multisited speaking and appearance tour—from kitchens in adobe homes, to meetings in church halls in the centre of the hard packed plazas of many New Mexican Pueblos, to the sweltering August national meetings in universities across the U.S., where Kateri speaks to her devotees about her past and their future.

## A Mohawk in New Mexico

New Mexico is home to fully one tenth of the North American Kateri "Circles," small Catholic grassroots devotional groups dedicated to Kateri Tekakwitha. Native devotees of Kateri can be found in disproportionately high numbers in the Southwestern United States (Tekakwitha Conference, map in headquarters office; Vecsey, 1996: 204). Although the Pueblo people have a tradition of indigenous Catholicism and devotion to saints that predates Kateri's arrival in the Southwest (Vecsey, 1996), she is nevertheless singled out by many in the Pueblos as a representative and embodiment of what it means to be a Native Catholic.[3]

After her death, Kateri's cult flourished, and her life and death became central icons of Jesuit missiology in North America (Vecsey, 1997: 99). The evolution of her cult was predicated on the multiple translations and rewritings of Kateri's biography across colonial Europe. Despite the widespread intercolonial use of her story, it was not until the late 19th century when "concerted efforts aimed at securing Tekakwitha's canonization began in earnest" (Greer, 1998: 151). At the turn of the 20th century "an explosive proliferation of hagiographic materials as an Americanized version of the Kateri industry took flight" (ibid.). What followed was the creation of two parallel Vice-Postulators and canonization campaigns, one American, now based in Fonda and Auriesville, New York, and one French Canadian, centred on the mission site in Kahnawake, Quebec. (ibid.; cf. Vecsey, 1997: 100). According to the Native women I interviewed, Kateri arrived in New Mexico in the 1930s, via the missionary school system. As I discuss below, early childhood stories and school plays about a young Mohawk girl served to prompt devotion to the proto-saint later in the lives of her contemporary devotees.

This article is a product of 12 months of fieldwork between 1996 and 1999, during which I spent most of my time with the various Pueblo peoples, both on their reservations, particularly Isleta and Jemez, and in the urban centre of Albuquerque. I also interviewed people from the Mescalero Apache and Navajo reservations, attended three Tekakwitha Conferences, and conducted preliminary research and visited Kateri's shrines in Kahnawake, Quebec, and Auriesville and Fonda, New York.[4] In many cases, the Kateri devotees whom I met were acquainted with each other through the regional and national Tekakwitha meetings. Many devotees also had family on various reservations and I followed these kinship lines wherever possible.

While many individuals and communities plan and attend the annual Tekakwitha Conference, devotees also meet monthly in local reservation-based devotional groups called Kateri Circles. During my fieldwork, I attended many of the monthly meetings, each hosted by a local Circle, and became aware of several common themes and issues of interest. First, the Kateri Circles exist to prepare for and enact what happens at the annual Conference. Fundraising is a key issue, as many participants are elderly and on fixed incomes, and find the yearly travel to be financially challenging. Bake sales, bread sales, enchilada sales, bingo, and other activities are held throughout the year to raise money for travel to the Conference. As well, the tribal government is often asked for financial support, which is provided in some cases. Second, Kateri Circles pray in unison for the canonization of Blessed Kateri. On several reservations, a large statue of Kateri circulates between the members' homes, spending a month at each (cf. Behar in Badone, 1990: 101-102). Third, Circles discuss their roles in the community and consider their responsibilities on the reservation, and their spiritual and social functions as local members of the national Conference. Fourth, the Circles often try to attract new members largely through the vehicle of the Church by witnessing to the efficacy of Kateri and announcing events concerning the proto-saint before or after the local Sunday mass. The priority given to these ventures varies from group to group and is often a spirited topic of discussion of at meetings.[5]

This research focusses specifically on New Mexico Pueblo women's devotion to Kateri, who is identified by these women as both Native American and Catholic (cf. Rodriguez, 1994). My understanding of Kateri has been shaped primarily by the experiences and narratives of women. For the most part, devotion to Kateri is women's business. This is not to say that I did not meet or hear about men whose lives were radically changed by an encounter with her. However, those who attend Kateri Circle meetings regularly, plan and prepare for her feasts, tend, dress, adorn, and clean her statues, and tell her stories are primarily women (cf. Orsi, 1996: xiii). Further, the place that I came to hold in the communities of the Southwest centred on my own gender. It was "natural" for me to spend time talking to other women, and although I did speak to men, particularly priests, it was more difficult to arrange interviews with men. Men were less interested than women in talking to me, and there was an air of potential inappropriateness around those encounters with men. Essentially, I associated with, lived with, cooked with, and talked with women and was included in their networks.

It is difficult and even undesirable to circumscribe the area of one's research before arriving in the field. Before my extended fieldwork in New Mexico, I knew the kinds of places I wanted to go, the sorts of people I imagined interviewing, and I had a half a dozen good "contacts." But much of the forward motion and travelling in my research was prompted by an introduction or an invitation to another place or person. "Oh, you must go see so and so who lives in such and such a place. She knows a lot about Kateri." And so I would travel, following links of friendship and family, tracing lines of community around the diversity of Native Americans who claim Kateri as their own and who envision themselves as "her people." My exploration took on the rhythm of three weeks here, a month there, a few days here, and then back to where I had started.

My research is narrative-oriented, an ethnography of a symbol, rather than focussed on a single geographic community (cf. Tedlock, 1982). I follow the creation and adaptation of Kateri as a symbol and a metaphor for Indianness. I follow her story, its retelling, and the conflicts that ensue from this narrative and its translation (cf. Marcus, 1995: 106-110). The early French missionaries and the contemporary community of devotees are all bonded by these stories; it is this "social cartography," mapped across history and countries, which is the focus of my research (Marcus, 1999: 7). In brief, Kateri is a multi-sited phenomenon, multiply placed in time and space, and therefore, following her stories, colonial and contemporary, requires exploration of many "locales"—text, person, and myth (cf. Clifford, 1990: 64; 1997: 21, 27, 56, 67, 86; Dubisch, 1995: 7; Marcus and Fischer, 1986: 94).

## Kateri in the 17th Century

Tekakwitha was born in 1656 to a Mohawk father and an Algonkian mother on the south bank of the Mohawk River, near what is now Auriesville, New York. When she was four years old, a smallpox epidemic claimed the lives of her parents and brother, and left Tekakwitha weak, scarred, and with damaged eyesight. After encountering Jesuit missionaries in 1674, she began to take religious instruction. In 1676, at the age of 20, she was baptised and given the name Katherine, which was later translated as Kateri. One year later she moved to the Francis Xavier Mission (Kahnawake) near Montreal.

Kateri grew to fruition as a saint in the soil of the Jesuit mission at what is now, Kahnawake, Quebec, located 14 kilometres south of Montreal. Founded in 1667 as a Jesuit mission settlement composed primarily of Mohawk and Oneida, Kahnawake is the oldest of the Iroquois reserves in Canada. The community moved

three times between 1676 and 1716. Its residents finally formed the settlement called by the French missionaries, Sault St. Louis, and by the Iroquois, Kahnawake, after a Mohawk settlement in the Mohawk Valley (present day Fonda, New York) (Morrison and Wilson, 1986: 314).[6]

By many accounts a mission of remarkable vitality (Koppedrayer, 1993: 286), Kahnawake was an example of a "praying village," where neophytes were encouraged to live under the guidance of priests and separate from their former "pagan" life (Axtell, 1992: 162-163; Axtell and Ronda, 1978: 33). At Kahnawake, Kateri made a formal vow of virginity and practised extreme austerities and devotion such as flagellations, branding, exposure, and fasting. Kateri was at the mission just over two years before she died in 1680 at the age of 24 (*Positio*). Kateri's pious existence did not end with her physical death; her biographies include numerous accounts of miracles, visions, and prophecies, all attributed to Kateri's intercession, which is said to continue to the present day. Kateri's holiness has been recognized by the Church. She was declared Venerable by Pope Pius XII in 1943, and was Beatified by Pope John Paul II in 1980.[7] Yet Kateri remains one official miracle short of full-fledged sainthood, despite the widespread devotion, particularly in the Southwest, that her beatification prompted.

## The Colonial Narrative: Kateri's *Positio*

Let us start back in the 17th century, at the beginning of the story. In researching the historical figure of Kateri Tekakwitha, the *Jesuit Relations* stand alone as the record of the events and circumstances surrounding her life, death, and significance.[8] The *Jesuit Relations* are the annual reports of the French mission to the "New World," and incorporate the observations of all the missionaries. The *Relations* begin with the arrival of the Jesuits in the lands of the St. Lawrence River drainage in 1611 and cover a period of about 200 years.

The greater part of the material describing Native life in New France is found in the reports from 1632 to 1673, when the *Relations* appeared annually (Spalding, 1928: 883; Vecsey, 1997: 3-5). At the time of their publication, beyond their roles as missionary records for the order of Jesuits (Thwaites, 1896-1901), the *Relations* were held to be of "great ethnologic value due to the fact that they are a collection of all the references made by a large number of intelligent men who lived for years among the people of whom they wrote.... They are told simply and there is no reason to question their accuracy" (McGuire, 1901: 257). Joseph McGuire, a turn-of-the-century anthropologist, presents the *Jesuit Relations* as an "objective" source of information regarding Native peoples (cf. Vecsey, 1997: 8).

However, the *Jesuit Relations* were not without purpose and audience. They were intended for the edification and information of a general French readership and were designed to obtain support for the Jesuit missions in New France. Historian Christopher Vecsey states that, "Designed for public consumption, the *Jesuit Relations* were a witness to catholic faith; they were devotional literature meant to edify readers for the glory of Church and God, and to raise funds for the missionary endeavour" (Vecsey, 1997: 8). The *Relations* depict the process by which American Indians became imbued with Catholic culture and as such "were truthful propaganda, feeding the French curiosity about the Indians and the New World, and spurring pious zeal for the conversion of the Indians" (Wade, 1988: 25).

It is essential to note that Kateri comes to us primarily as a literary creation (Greer, 1998: 139; Koppedrayer, 1993; Shoemaker, 1995). Canadian historian Allan Greer claims that, "Of the Jesuits who knew her well, two wrote about her extensively: Pierre Cholenec, her confessor, and Claude Chaucetiere, who stood watch at her deathbed" (Ibid.: 138).[9] Greer goes on to say that these book-length accounts are the only sources about Kateri's life, and that, needless to say, "There is no Iroquois testimony on the subject that survives from that period" (Ibid.: 139). Perhaps most importantly, Cholenec's and Chaucetiere's texts were all written in the hagiographic genre; "these are not simply biographies, they are *vitae sanctorum*, lives of a saint" (Ibid.: 139; cf. Koppedrayer, 1993). It is from these early Jesuit writings that Kateri's *Positio*, the documents gathered when a hopeful saint's cause is first presented to the Vatican, was compiled. *In their story, the Jesuits are Kateri's voice, and she is their triumph.*

## The Quiet Colonial Kateri

In the Jesuit narrative, as well as in later contemporary and colonial reproductions of her story, Kateri is said to have had a "predisposition to the faith," and to have endured the "terrible circumstances of pagandom in which she began her life" (Bechard, 1980: 28; Brown, 1958: 161; *Positio,* 119-123, 241-244; cf. Bechard, 1967, 1992; Buehrle, 1954; Bunson 1992). This discourse of something wonderful emerging from the most unlikely circumstances serves to show how far Kateri had to progress to become pious and virtuous. Smallpox arrived with the colonists, and Kateri's encounter with this disease marks the first "sign" of her uniqueness. Kateri survived, but both her parents and her younger brother were killed. Kateri herself was left weak, scarred and with damaged eyesight. These disabilities, according to

her biographers, marked Kateri as an "outcaste" of sorts, left without family or beauty.[10] An "orphan" (according to Euro-American paradigms of kinship), she went to live with an uncle and an assortment of aunts who mistreated and tormented her, attempted to prevent her from pursuing her interest in Christianity, and tried to force her to marry against her wishes. In this narrative, Kateri becomes a misfit, further and further distanced from and even at odds with her life among the Iroquois. At the same time, she is described as "courageous," bearing the burden of the insults and cruelty of her people (Brown, 1958: 129-131; *Positio,* 139-141).

The Jesuits arrived like an answer to a prayer, providing a solution for all of Kateri's problems. Her first encounter with Jesuit missionaries occurred in 1667 when Fathers Fremin, Bruyas, and Pierron visited her village and were hosted by her uncle. Kateri was assigned to the missionaries' care during their stay, and it was then that her interest in Christianity peaked (Vecsey, 1997: 96-97). In 1674, Kateri met Father de Lamberville when he visited her home. She announced her desire for baptism and began to take religious instruction. On Easter Sunday in 1676, she was baptized and given the name Katherine (later translated as Kateri). Yet baptism only increased her troubles. Now a complete misfit among her "traditional Iroquois people," and tormented and teased by them, Kateri is said to have *fled* her village, on the advice of Father de Lamberville, to live at Sault St. Louis, the St. Francis Xavier mission near Montreal. This interpretation of Kateri's journey as flight to a "safe haven" is important. Kateri is described as "coming home to a place where she finally belongs" (*Positio*, 142-154, 246-249). As Greer argues,

> Space has a moral and spiritual meaning in all of the Jesuit *Vitae* of Tekakwitha. . . . Saints' Lives since ancient times tend to be organized around movement between a "bad" place and a "good" place; the subject experiences adversity in one locality—usually some version of a "desert" or a wilderness—and glorification in the other. Cholenec's Kateri conforms to this pattern to a striking degree. The move from the "abominable country" of her birth—"another Egypt"—to the "promised land" of Kahnawake is the primary spatial dynamic. (Greer, 1998: 149; cf. Brown, 1958: 150; *Positio*, 249-252)

Kateri lived at the mission for just over two years before she died. During this time, Kateri pronounced her vow of perpetual virginity, formally declared herself to be the "wife of Christ" and became, as the Jesuits called her, "the First Iroquois Virgin" (Bechard, 1980: 128-130; Brown, 1958: 183; *Positio* 287-289). These events mark the beginning of Kateri's "official" ascetic life. At the mission, it seems that "flagellations, branding, exposure, fasting, metal spiked belts, thorn-filled beds, and so on were Kateri's practice of Christianity" (Koppedrayer, 1993: 287; *Positio*, 181-183, 286, 289-293). Yet Kateri did not practise these alone. Cholenec documented the zeal and asceticism in his biographies of Kateri.

> The Mission of the Sault was at that time very fervent under the guidance of its holy missionaries. . . . Several times a week some of them chastised their bodies until they bled; others, while gathering firewood, wore iron bands around their bodies for entire days. . . . The women, who always go to extremes, did all this and more. (*Positio,* 282-284)

Ethnohistorian David Blanchard also mentions that Kateri was the leader of a "band"—a confraternity of women devoted to an imitation of Kateri's spirituality (Blanchard, 1982: 92-93). The Jesuit fathers understood this group of women to be imitating Montreal nuns. Chaucetiere says, "Kateri Tekakwitha is known to have visited Montreal and the nuns with Father Pierre Cholenec and some other companions in 1676" (Chaucetiere in Blanchard, 1982: 91). Further, in 1696, Cholenec declared that such a vow of virginity "was an unheard of thing among her people, and all the more to be admired in Katherine since those of her sex, being supported by what a husband brings home from the hunt, all aspire to marriage, and consider that they have attained the greatest happiness possible in this life, when they have met with a good hunter" (*Positio*, 291).

By contrast, Blanchard argues that although Kateri was responsible for first proposing the formation of an association of virgins, she did this in order to "resurrect" the traditional Iroquois belief that virginity created great power in an individual. Traditionally, Blanchard continues, such Iroquois "convents" were supported by the community until the arrival of the Europeans who "dishonoured the profession" (Lafitau 1974 in Blanchard, 1982: 92).

The *Relations* do indeed suggest that there existed a small group of women who practised extreme austerities, chose a life of virginity, and who may have seen Kateri as a model (*Positio,* 181-185, 262-273). Greer and Vecsey argue that it is possible that,

> During her lifetime, Kateri was simply one member among thirteen of a group of pious and ascetic young women, and Chaucetiere's mission history accords much more attention to that collectivity. These women

> not only resisted overwhelming pressures to fornicate, they renounced marriage itself and, in some case, cut off their hair to discourage suitors. (Greer, 1998: 141; cf. Vecsey, 1997: 90)

Moreover, Greer continues,

> Anyone familiar with Iroquoian cultural traditions will recognize the indigenous antecedents of the "sisters'" practises of female friendship, sharing, fasting, and self-torture, though of course the Jesuits chose always to depict these in the European language of Counter-Reformation piety. (Greer, 1998: 142; cf. Vecsey, 1997: 41, 42, 97, 98)

According to Chaucetiere and Bechard, Kateri's "sisters" or "band" *followed* Kateri's exemplary influence "in the practise of the most Christian virtues" (i.e., they were not part of a group instituted or even encouraged by the Jesuits and Kateri was the group's initiator) (Bechard, 1976: 157, 1992: 138-144; Thwaites, 1896-1901: 64: 122, 124, 62: 175-177). It appears then that Kateri was indeed part and perhaps leader of a group of women at the mission and that they participated in the ascetic fervour which marked Kateri's time at the Sault. It is provocative to imagine how and why Kateri was singled out by her priests and how her extreme practices were interpreted by the Jesuits who were writing her biography shortly after her death.

Kateri's life of piety ended in 1680 with her death. At the age of 24, having been sick and weak for months, Kateri uttered, "Jesus! Mary! I love you!" and went "to be with her Lord." She is said to have faced her imminent death with joy, secure in the knowledge that she was giving God what He had asked of her (Bechard, 1980: 30). According to Bechard, who, as Kateri's former Canadian Vice-Postulator may be considered as the key representative of her contemporary colonial biographers, "fifteen minutes after her death before the eyes of two Jesuits and all the Indians that could fit into the room, the ugly scars on her face suddenly disappeared" (Bechard, 1980: 152; Skanaieah, n.d.: 3). This "miracle," which rendered Kateri "beautiful," was at once taken as a sign of her saintly life.

Kateri's deathbed words are proclamation of love for the colonial pantheon and a cry of missionary success. These five words essentially constitute the only scripted line she has in the Jesuit account (*Positio,* 302). Of further significance is that this deathbed utterance of the names of Jesus and Mary is continually reproduced in a standardized fashion in later colonial biographies of Kateri (Bechard, 1980; Brown, 1958; Buehlre, 1954; Bunson, 1992; Skanaieah, n.d.). There are however, some reports of another dialogue she may have had with her female followers just prior to her death, the most popular line of which is "I will love you in heaven" (Bechard, 1980: 150-152; *Positio,* 204). Perhaps, following the lines of Koppedrayer's argument, this communication with her "devotees" might be seen as part of the literary creation of Kateri—a preview of her colonial sainthood, as understood and recorded by the Jesuits. All other accounts in the *Positio* of Kateri talking, such as her requests of the Fathers to start a "convent" for Native women, or to take a vow of virginity are paraphrased—pre-understood and pre-interpreted by her Jesuit audience and narrators (Bechard, 1980: 128-129; Brown, 1958: 179; Bunson, 1992: 113). Kateri is quiet in their account, speaking only obedience to their decisions and love for their God. As I will demonstrate below, Kateri's deathbed words are "rescripted" by her contemporary Pueblo devotees to convey a message of intertribal Indian identity rather than an affirmation of conversion (cf. Preston, 1989: 52).

The record of her spiritual practices and, undoubtedly, her final declaration of love for the Jesuit deities, deepened the piety of the French Jesuit community in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. Her name came to symbolize the miraculous transformational efficacy of Catholicism among Indian peoples (Vecsey, 1997: 99). For these early Jesuits, Kateri is holy *despite* her Indianness. She is "a lily among thorns," (*Positio*, 142) and, "like a lily," the colonial account declares that she too had her "roots in slime" (Brown, 1958: 114). On her tomb in the mission church in Kahnawake, Kateri is memorialized as the "fairest flower ever to bloom among the Mohawks." "Her people" were something to be overcome and transcended.

The 17th-century Kateri is historically silent, speaking only before her death, and at all other times before, according to the Jesuits, "this savage was perfect. She never said anything which could shock anyone, and if her tongue slipped through her impetuosity, she imposed a harsh punishment on herself" (*Positio,* 162). In the Jesuit narrative, she is an almost voiceless colonial extraction from the missionary encounter, her life "minced into spiritual lessons" and a standard hagiographical plot (Koppedrayer 1993; Woodward, 1990: 369, 370). The *Positio* divides her life into short lessons of cardinal virtues:

> [The Vatican's] Congregation for the Causes of Saints is quite precise in its understanding of holiness.... Holiness is manifest by a two-tiered structure of virtues: the three supernatural (so-called because they

> are infused by grace), virtues of faith, hope and charity (love of God and of neighbour), and the four cardinal moral virtues (originally derived from the ethics of Aristotle) of prudence, justice, fortitude and temperance. Since all Christians are expected to practice these virtues, a saint is someone who practices them to a heroic or exceptional degree. (Woodward, 1990: 223)

Kateri's virtues, as recorded in her *Positio*, and for which she was declared Venerable, are vast, yet predictable and precise. The account of these virtues constitutes a pointed narrative of her life that emphasizes her ability to be "a Christian by desire," "predestined by God to accomplish great things" (*Positio,* 29). The record of her holiness begins:

> Katherine had received at birth a naturally fine character. While she was still a child and a pagan, it was noticed that she shrank from all that was evil, that she was gentle, even timid, not curious, nor proud. Thus, even then she appeared prepared by nature for the practise of every Christian virtue. (*Positio*, 29)

In the key moments of her life, particularly in her chastity and obedience, her biographers argued and the Vatican agreed in 1943, that all the necessary saintly virtues were exhibited to an uncommon degree.

In this colonial narrative, Kateri is dislodged in two ways. She is, in the Jesuits' accounts, taken from her Iroquois home and sent to France. And it is their praying villages and fracturing of communities which precipitated Kateri's resettlement in Kahnawake. Further, in the colonial story, Kateri is dis-membered, in both senses, losing or perhaps foregoing citizenship among "her people"—and her life is broken by her biographers into standard European hagiographical tropes.

Contemporary devotees affirm and propagate the Jesuit images of and stories about Kateri; they too recount her virtuous love and charity and her deathbed cry for Jesus and Mary. Yet they also work creatively in the quiet narrative space between the heavy lines and bold summaries of Kateri's colonial life. It is important to note that the narrative creation and negotiation of Kateri as a saint points to a dialectic and dynamic relationship between popular and official religion, and not a simple opposition and competition between two discrete levels (cf. Badone, 1990). While contemporary devotion to Kateri is largely a grass-roots endeavour, the narratives about her have their origins in the "official" *Jesuit Relations*. The stories recounted about Kateri today encompass both "traditional" and innovated elements of her life, at once affirming and moving beyond the official biographies. Further, in the narratives of the devout, the Church's definitions of miracles and saintliness are expanded by the widespread miraculous experiences of Kateri's devotees. Finally, while Kateri is enmeshed within the Vatican process of saint-making, she also moves beyond these limits in her devotees' acclamations of her as already a saint.

In these facets, we have seen that the symbolic figure of Kateri cross-cuts the borders of orthodoxy and official Catholicism. Yet I am careful not to oversimplify Kateri as solely a popular character, nor to see devotion to her merely as a defiant act of the laity. The boundaries are simply not that clear. I seek to see beyond a theoretical construct of official productions and popular responses, or of folk innovations and official regulations. Kateri's sainthood is not so much a competition or struggle for moral and theological control between the folk and the Church officials as Macklin (1988), Margolies (1988) and Wilson (1983) suggest for other similar cases (cf. Gudeman, 1988). Rather, Kateri's case is more a matter of the expansion and contraction of definitions and functions of a saint, on both popular and official levels. In the fluid and dynamic space between these spheres, Kateri, as a symbolic figure, models and remodels the place of Native Americans, both historic and contemporary, in the Catholic Church.

## Making/Loving a Saint 300 Years Later

Contemporary devotion to Kateri is largely a narrative phenomenon; spoken or printed stories of her life and miracles are the primary impetus for involvement with her. Local priests, nuns, and catechism classes both in the Catholic boarding schools and on the reservations served to transmit the key elements of Kateri's life to Pueblo and Navajo youth as early as the 1930s, when the first stirrings of her cause were coming to the surface. Many contemporary Pueblo devotees recall hearing about Kateri, from their mothers or grandmothers, from this time.

For example, Aunt Grace, an Acoma woman in her late 70s, told me about the first time she heard about Kateri as we were talking over coffee in her trailer home on a cold and windy Albuquerque January afternoon in 1998.[11]

> I remember that at a church in Acomita [part of the Acoma reservation], there's a picture of her on the wall. I always wondered who she was, that Indian lady. I don't remember how old I was when I first saw that picture. I just wanted to know who she was. I had an aunt in Acoma and once when she was saying the

> rosary, I walked in and said "Hello Grandma." "Oh Grace! I was just praying for you to Blessed Kateri." "Who's that?" I didn't know her. My Grandma had probably heard from the Father in the church.

Similarly, Margaret, a Navajo and Choctaw semi-retired nurse who leads the Albuquerque Kateri Circle, recounted this story about how her family came to know Kateri.

> My cousin's mother knew about Kateri way out in Navajo [Nation] in the thirties or forties. She didn't know exactly the person's [Kateri's] name, but she talked about this Indian woman up from the New York area who was a holy woman. People from here may have gone up north to visit and found out about Kateri.

Annette, Margaret's Navajo cousin who lives in the small village of Lukachukai nestled against the Chuska mountains, told me how she had first heard about Kateri through her mother who,

> . . . heard about her from St. Joseph's boarding school where I went. Mom used to call her "the Girl of the Woods" and I had an old picture of her that Mother gave me of her wrapped in fur, but she didn't have a wooden cross. Mom gave me a medal of hers too. My mother told me the story of Kateri.

These childhood narratives seem to have formed dormant seeds of knowledge about Kateri so that when her beatification became headline news among Native American Catholics in 1980, her devotees easily recognized the proto-saint as part of their Indian familiar and familial heritage.

## Dying/Living Words

In the stories that contemporary devotees tell, Kateri is posthumously and retrospectively given new deathbed words. Kateri's rescripted voice speaks a message of unity between the "Indian" and the "Catholic" ways, and among diverse Native Americans—"her people"—an expanded and redefined community (cf. Marcus, 1999: 7). For many of Kateri's devotees in the Southwest, the question of the relationship between what they perceive to be traditional religion and Catholicism is one that works itself out in the life and person of Kateri. In the 17th century, Kateri's Catholicism was predicated on the *erasure* of her Indianness. By contrast, for her contemporary devotees, however, Kateri is said to embody what it means to be *both* Native and Catholic—two identities fragilely combined in post Vatican II permissiveness (Holmes, 1999. cf. Angrosino, 1994; Beaver, 1973; Biernatzki, 1991; Buckley, 1991; Cote, 1996; De La Cruz et al, 1991; Hiebert, 1984; Kozak, 1994; Schreiter, 1985; Stewart and Shaw, 1994; Tesfai, 1995; Thorogood, 1995; Yamamori and Taber, 1975; Verstraelen, 1995; and Zuern et al, 1983). On many occasions, Native American Catholic women told me about their experiences of Kateri's unifying message.

In February 1998, at the kitchen table in her adobe home, Heather, an elderly Jemez woman who has been attending Tekakwitha Conferences since 1984, recounted to me how she first heard about Kateri in the mission schools of the 1930s, and also, even at that time, how she perceived (or perhaps now perceives in retrospective memory) the unifying message delivered by Kateri on her deathbed. Of note as well in Heather's vision of Kateri is the way in which Kateri predicts her own saint-hood, not dissimilar in this matter to the way in which the Jesuits wrote about her life as hagiography.

> *Paula:* How did you first learn about Kateri?
> *Heather:* I first learned about Kateri from the mission school here at the Pueblo. There was a Mohawk Indian kind of play. That was maybe in the seventh grade, back in the thirties. So I knew about her already. It must have come through the nuns.
> *Paula:* What were you taught about Kateri at school?
> *Heather:* Oh, that she was an Indian woman who died of smallpox of the time. And the scars. In front of the bishops and the priests, when she had been lying there for fifteen minutes, they disappeared! She was just like the Blessed Virgin. I guess that's how the priests knew she was going to be beautified, beatified. And Kateri said that the Native Americans have to help. She asked for our help to make her the first saint. She said, "You must gather people from all different places and start having conferences."

Stephanie, another elderly member of the Jemez Kateri Circle, has devoted her life since the 1980 beatification to making Kateri's cause known. Stephanie accomplishes this by frequently telling the saint's story to family and friends, and by never being without prayer cards in her embroidered apron pocket, ready to give them to anyone who Stephanie thinks "needs a little cheering up." On this February morning, during that same week-long sandstorm in Jemez when I interviewed Heather and several other of the local "Kateri ladies," Stephanie and I were puttering around the woodstove in her old adobe house at the edge of Jemez Pueblo and waiting for some pinto beans to cook. While their spicy aroma filled the room, Stephanie recounted an experience at a Tekakwitha Conference almost 20 years earlier where she was struck by the penultimate message from Kateri.

There was this group of old Mohawk women and they were having this get together, all sitting in a circle. I said, "Am I welcome?" and the ladies said, "Sure." There was this one Mohawk lady who was ninety-three. She talked about how Kateri died and how her grandmother saw her and knew her way back. She said that when Kateri died, she was made a saint. When Kateri was little, she lost her mom and dad. You probably heard about that. Anyway, this old lady said that Kateri said this on her dying bed to her people and the priest. "I want my Indian traditional way and my Catholic way, combined together because they both lead us back to the One that gave it to us. It was given to us by just One, the Father Spirit. And to all my Indian people," she said, "When I put my foot down on that sacred ground of the Lord's, I want to do it on behalf of you, all my Indian people. You are going to grow beautifully in this way." That really impressed me so much, what that old Mohawk lady was talking about. There was another old lady that was sitting across from her in the circle and she said, "Yes! That's what my uncle told me too. He was saying the same thing." That means that Kateri was a *Catholic Mohawk Indian* girl—our Indian saint.

Later that afternoon, over a bowl of chili-hot beans and freshly made tortillas, Stephanie reiterated her understanding of what Kateri said before she died, the proto-saint's intentions for her people, and how this all fit into the postconciliar worldview and Indian unity.

Some of the old priests didn't like our Indian way. In fact, right here in the Pueblo, they called us pagans, because they didn't understand our Indian religion. By the time of the second council, what do you call that? Vatican II. It was there that was decided after Kateri and her group had already brought it up, they decided it was OK. Some of the priests had already found out about our beautiful way of prayer—our Indian language, our Indian way. That way the Catholic way and the Native American way can just build up. And that is what this young lady, Kateri wants. *She said so before she died.*

Heather's and Stephanie's stories recount Kateri's "own words" and give the silent saint a new voice. Rather than simply proclaiming her love for an imported Jesus, in these women's stories, Kateri speaks to "her people"—Indians everywhere—and that Indianness, once bemoaned and obscured in colonial times, is now celebrated, consecrated even, as Kateri tells her people how to be *both* Catholic and Indian. These contemporary deathbed narratives push at the boundaries of the Jesuits' reports. Her women devotees today relocate and reanimate Kateri's quiet colonial voice, giving her new words. Further, "her people" perceive in Kateri's articulation of Native Catholic identity, a new moral of the missionary story.

## Waiting for a Miracle

*For me, I see that she is already a saint. In my heart, in* my *book, in my living with her, her statue here, she is already a saint. If the Holy Father doesn't see it, well, . . .* (Aunt Grace's voice trails off, not quite ready to push orthodoxy and authority any further). *I say to Kateri when I pray, You are already a saint. You are already up there. You have already seen my husband and all the people who have been involved in the Conference who have passed on. They have already seen her as a saint. She is with them now. A lot of people say that in praying to her, she has answered all their prayers.* (Grace, interview, 1998)

*There's this Indian saint, Kateri. She's already a saint to me. Of course, the white people make too much to do with having all this documentation and paperwork. To me, she became a saint the day she died. She had that clear complexion when she died after having had smallpox. I've always felt that she was a saint to me.* (Margaret, interview, 1998)

The stories about Kateri's deathbed words and message form the basis of a relationship with the proto-saint in which she is understood to speak regularly and empathetically with her devotees. This interaction and dialogue with Kateri—stories which begin "Kateri said to me . . ." or "Kateri appeared to me . . ."—can be said to characterize contemporary devotion to the saint. This discourse, between a devotee and Kateri, as well as among the devout as a group, is dominated by miracle talk. As noted above, Kateri is one miracle shy of becoming the Church's first Native American saint. Waiting for that final miracle and for Kateri's canonization can be a frustrating and discouraging time. Many of her devotees feel passed over by the Pope and by the Church, pointing to the seemingly interminable span since her beatification, a time which for them has been filled with "miracles-to-me," visions and dreams of the proto-saint, experiences which are regularly recounted and shared in the devotional community. Kateri is a strong protagonist in these stories, and not a mere subject of Jesuit action and account. She converses with and acts on behalf of an engaged and responsive audience. The stories her devout then tell can be seen as resistance narratives where the silenced saint speaks and the colonized

respond. These kinds of counterhagiographical discourses are perhaps most clearly exemplified in devotees' popular proclamation of Kateri as a saint—a chorus of voices which pre-empt and even challenge the Vatican's hesitation in her canonization.

Despite the strong "saint-to-me" feeling of Kateri's devotees, making an official saint today has become a complicated process of colonial hagiography and Vatican decisions. The procedure begins with a collected biography of a potential saint's life, or *Positio*, which, when approved, will show her virtues to be exceptional, and will earn her the title of Venerable. Next, a proven miracle is required. After it is investigated and passed by the Vatican's medical board, the Pope beatifies the candidate and declares her Blessed. One more miracle, similarly scrutinized, will allow the Pope to canonize her and make her an official saint (cf. Margolies, 1988: 95-96; Woodward, 1990: 64-68, 99; 1988: 95-96; Wilson, 1983: 191-192). Yet despite the apparent strictness and rigour of the canonization process, there *are* different possible paths on the road to sainthood, and Kateri has followed one of these alternate routes.

In 1943, 263 years after her death, Kateri was declared Venerable on the basis of the information contained in her *Positio*, following the usual course. This document consists almost entirely of the writings of the 17th-century French Jesuit missionaries in New France and was collected and processed according to the orthodox lines of canonization. However, in 1980, Kateri was beatified on the strength of *rumor miraculorum*, on her *reputation* of virtues and *rumour—read: narratives*—of miracles, instead of one or more specifically accepted miracles (*Kateri,* 1985: 143: 25). Yet rumours and reputation aside, before Kateri can be officially canonized, the Pope is insisting on one irrefutable miracle, a medical cure for which Kateri only has been invoked and for which no local doctor nor the Vatican's medical consultants can find a scientific explanation.

In many ways, the saint-making process has become increasingly dependent on the co-operation of doctors and the availability of medical records. Moreover, advances in medical science have made it increasingly difficult to prove miracles. For the Vatican to accept it as "miraculous," a cure must be complete and of lasting duration and be inexplicable by all known scientific measures. As well, the recipient of the miracle must have invoked one saint only (Woodward, 1990: 206). Many a potential final miracle for Kateri has been discarded because the believer prayed to more than one saint at a time, so that it is impossible to know which one to credit with divine intercession. The difficulties in meeting physicians' requirements for medical miracles precipitated the 1983 reforms under Pope John Paul II which reduced the number of required miracles by half so that only one is needed to become Blessed and one more to be declared a Saint (Ibid.: 193-208, 85, 99).

In the mean time, stories of her many miracles granted to devotees, similar to those "rumours" which brought about her beatification, trace their way through Pueblos, onto the reservations, around the Kateri Circles, and into the national Conference. These miracles are proclaimed in testimonies, and shared among friends and family members. Many of those whom I met in the Southwest had themselves experienced blessings from Kateri which they considered to be real miracles. So Kateri *acts* like a full-fledged saint, interceding and responding to her devotees' petitions, performing miracles and answering prayers. Among her devotees there is both a fervent desire for Kateri to be canonized, and a concomitant realization that when she becomes a saint, it will not make any significant difference in their own devotional lives. Already, she is "a saint to us," say her Native women devotees. In their eyes, the Pope lags behind in his refusal to acknowledge Kateri's saintliness. They *know*, through their own dialogues with Kateri and those of others that she is indeed their saint.

Thousands of miracles *have* been attributed to her by her devotees since her death, yet none of these have held up to the Vatican's strict standards. Despite the current political or ecclesiological "good timing" to canonize her, and despite the thousands of miracles her devotees claim she performs everyday, Kateri is not yet a saint. The final miracle could come at any minute, or never. Her cult is still growing and the story of her life is spreading, yet she is not really—when measured by Vatican approved miracles—a single step closer to sainthood than she was at her beatification in 1980. During his canonization update at the 1999 Tekakwitha Conference held in Spokane, Washington, American Vice-Postulator Father Paret was clearly frustrated by the lack of co-operation from the medical community in several cases of miraculous cures attributed to Kateri. He urged the faithful to see her many miracles as blessings, even if they are not recognized as full-fledged miracles by the Vatican:

> We need one more authentic miracle, authenticated by the doctors in Rome. But this is *not* a cause for discouragement! I have *hundreds* of letters coming into my shrine thanking Kateri—so *many* cures, so *many* favours. This leads to more prayers, and more prayers get us closer to that one elusive miracle that would put Kateri over the top. There was this boy in Georgia a

few years ago who got a screwdriver in his eye. He was blind in that eye so they prayed to Kateri for him and he could see again. But when they got the medical records, nothing in them said that he wouldn't be able to see, even though the parents were told this. And, there was this Mohawk woman who was on oxygen and in a wheelchair for fourteen years. She was cured by Kateri too. I went to see her but again, nothing in her medical records said anything about her dependence on oxygen, even though she was. Once again, the medical records failed. These two cases are of no value for Kateri's canonization, *but* they should still *encourage* us. These are tremendous blessings, but we still need the medical testimony. They go over things very carefully in Rome, they won't just grant miracles.

Yet so many of Kateri's devotees have themselves experienced blessings from Kateri which they considered to be true miracles—ranging from physical healings and spiritual graces to new jobs and found objects. Tara is an active member of the San Juan Pueblo Kateri Circle and has known about Kateri since the Pope's visit to Phoenix in 1987. During my early spring visit to San Juan in 1998, she told me that "Kateri is the first person I turn to when something goes wrong." Such conversations and daily interactions with Kateri affirm the proto-saint's contemporary presence and participation in her devotees' lives. Kateri regularly grants what can be called "miracles-to-me." For example, Tara believes that Kateri has proven effective for averting disasters. One evening, in the chilly wooden pews of the local church where we were talking after the women had finished their choir practice, Tara recounted this narrow escape from an automobile accident:

> This was *a miracle to me.* In our Kateri Circle, we have a traveling statue of Kateri that each member gets to keep in her home for two weeks. I had had the statue in my house and I was bringing it over to the next person. I had her lying on the front seat beside me, like a little passenger. The weeds are tall on my road and I almost hit one of those four wheel drive vehicles coming the opposite direction. It would have been a head on crash! But all I saw was some dust to my right. That vehicle must have *flown* over my truck. I always thank Blessed Kateri for saving me that day. *That was a miracle. It happened to me.*

Of greatest consequence perhaps, is Kateri's ability to work medical miracles, many in cases which the devotee felt to be hopeless. Alane, a Navajo and Choctaw member of the Queen of Angels Indian Chapel congregation in Albuquerque, sister to Margaret and cousin to Annette, told me about her niece who, with Kateri's intercession, made a remarkable recovery from an accident.

> In 1995, my nine year old niece was hit by a drunk driver up near Lukachukai on the Navajo Nation. My dad's from there. They flew her to the University of New Mexico hospital in Albuquerque. She was crying, in terrible pain, in intensive care. She didn't want anyone to touch her. The following Sunday, at Queen of Angels, we had a Kateri Circle meeting. I mentioned her accident during our prayer circle. I went into the middle of the circle and everyone put their hands on me and prayed to Kateri for my niece. That afternoon, my sister Margaret and I went over to the hospital to see her. We laid hands on her with all the prayers that people had given us at the Circle. I pinned a medal of Kateri on her hospital gown and brought a picture of Kateri to put by her bed. The next day, she was out of intensive care. The next day she was walking with a walker. The next day, with crutches. The next day, all by herself. And the next day, they released her! The doctor was so surprised at how fast she healed. He said it was almost *impossible*! Ever since then, I've always prayed to Kateri.

Kateri is also credited for miraculous healings in Jemez. Stephanie, who experienced and then shared Kateri's rescripted deathbed words, told me about both her granddaughter, Shawna's cure, and her own rescue from the edge of death.

> My granddaughter came to us deformed. She could barely sit or walk. She was on the floor on her belly. Then I started praying to Kateri and as it is right now, she's walking with the crutches and leg braces. That was through the intercession of Blessed Kateri that she got that way. The doctor told us that Shawna would never walk, that she would need a wheelchair. But she walked! She's walking. She's been having a lot of problems with her legs, but she's OK. That's one of the intercessions where Kateri helped.
>
> And then myself. I was in the hospital a few years ago. I had had a heart attack and I was just laying there. That was the second one I had. I thought, "That's it." I didn't think I was going to be able to get well again. As I was laying on the table, I could not feel myself. But I could think. My mind was not gone, but my whole body seemed like it was gone. I started to think, "Mother Mary," thinking of how Kateri always called on Mary. "Blessed Kateri, help me! Touch me!' As soon as I said that, she touched me and I came back. I could feel my whole body again. She touched me. I heard one of the doctors say, "She's coming back," and then they started

> working on me. Right after I said, "Kateri, hold me! Help me!" she did right away. She touched me and my whole body came alive again. I said, "Thank you, Kateri."

The circulation of miracle stories such as Stephanie's is an important part of community life among Kateri's devotees in the Southwest. Victoria, the director of religious education in Jemez, and, in her mid-30s, one of the youngest members of the Jemez Kateri Circle, told me about some of the miracle tales she had heard, including Stephanie's account of her heart attack:

> Stephanie, who lives over by the entrance to the Pueblo, I heard that when she had a heart attack, she prayed to Kateri and she came to her and then her heart attack wasn't as bad as the doctors said it would be. She's up and around again now. Her whole family was gathered at the hospital because the doctors said it was really bad. But it didn't turn out to be. *I heard her story*. And another one, this lady who is half Isleta and half Acoma but is married to a San Juan man, she also prays to her. She was ill or something in the hospital and Blessed Kateri came to her and she got well. *I heard her story too.* The ladies always hear those kinds of stories at the meetings and Conferences.

As a result of this exchange of narratives, those whom I interviewed had not only their own miracle stories to tell, but also those of others they knew. These narratives were common property of the whole community of devotees to Kateri in the Southwest, experienced by some yet owned by all. The frequent sharing of the miraculous accounts, both in public venues such as the regional meetings or the Tekakwitha Conferences, and more privately among family members and friends (and anthropologists!), provides the vehicle for the propagation of Kateri's extraordinary powers. In these narratives, we see new plot developments, different from the Jesuits' testimony. In the contemporary stories that Kateri's devout both individually and collectively tell, the proto-saint is *not* waiting for a miracle, nor are her devotees. For them, Kateri is already a full-fledged saint, the active hero in the series of miracle stories told of her. She is a "loud" woman who speaks, appears, guides and intercedes for her people.

Kateri, then, is a saint by experience and by acclamation. In these popular miracle narratives, we see a community proclamation about the nature and true reality of a saint, statements which are largely in contradistinction to the Vatican's processes. Further, in the stories the devout tell about Kateri, we see again the potency of the rumour of miracles. Kateri is a saint by reputation—and by proclamation. At the 1999 Tekakwitha Conference, a Native nun gave an energetic and humorous speech to the general assembly during which she "accidentally" referred to Kateri as a saint: ".... SAINT Kateri. (pause). Oops, did I say *SAINT* Kateri? (a slightly longer pause). I meant... (breath in) **SAINT** Kateri! (picking up speed and energy...). Her and all those other Indian saints which haven't been recognized yet! Don't wait for others to do it! Canonize them yourselves!!!" The audience applauded in enthusiastic agreement, thrilled to be pushing the boundaries of orthodoxy en masse.

I heard a similar story a few years earlier during my field work on the Mescalero Apache reservation. I had followed advice from several devotees in Jemez: "You must go to Mescalero, Paula. They're real big on Kateri down there!" In the summer of 1998, I spent time in Mescalero with Sister Rachel, a non-Native nun. She had worked on the Apache reservation for several decades, and during our tour of the cavernous grey stone mission church there, she recounted this story of Mescalero's popular acclamation of Kateri's sainthood.

> When the Pope came to Phoenix in 1987, we took two busloads of people from here, including a dance group. We brought a big yellow banner, the one that hangs here in the church, to Phoenix too. It says, "*Saint* Kateri Tekakwitha, Bless Our People." We really expected her to be canonized then, but she wasn't. [Sister Rachel's downward glance betrayed the fact that she still feels that disappointment keenly]. But now, [she said, with her mood rising and a twinkling smile], whenever I'm giving a tour of the church or something, I tell people that Kateri has been popularly acclaimed as a saint in Mescalero!

The nun's proclamation and the audience's response at the Conference, as well as the visible presence of Mescalero banner, which hangs to the left of the altar, can be seen as counterhagiography. Both nuns and devout are nudging the limits of official sainthood, telling different stories about Kateri's life, narratives that end with Kateri as an active intercessor who appears to and converses with her devotees. Further, these beliefs and experiences constitute an ethnotheology of sainthood, where the popular stories about a saint shape her character and activity.

The basis for Kateri's popular canonization—those events which make devotees believe that Kateri is a full-fledged saint—are the visions, dreams, answered prayers and miracles that the faithful receive from her. She acts as though she were a saint, protecting, leading and healing "her people." And it is through these inter-

actions and conversations that Kateri becomes, as her devotees say, "a saint to me." Perhaps, as Orsi suggests, is it useful to think of the hagiography of a saint as "stories in two voices" (Orsi, 1996: 119). More accurately, I think, these are better understood as stories in multiple voices. In the Native women's counterhagiographical stories of their encounters with Kateri, we hear voices that tell Kateri's life and post-mortem and postcolonial existence creatively and expansively, beyond the silent limits set in the official accounts at the Vatican.

The silence of Kateri's short earthly life and her truncated official story allows for a great deal of imaginative space for her after-life interactions with those who claim her as their own. According to her devotees, Kateri acts broadly and miraculously in all areas of their lives. And perhaps most imaginatively and most miraculously of all, through her newly scripted deathbed words, Kateri serves to unite many Native American Catholics, bringing them under her mantle, into the Church, sweeping out a historical and spiritual space for their uniqueness. She both *tells* and *is* a new story, speaking with and modelling for a new audience a moral of miraculous unity, wellness, recovery and wholeness.

## Narrative Repatriation: Rumours and Shouts

Kateri's official hagiography may be "on hold" at the Vatican, waiting for a miracle, but for her contemporary devotees, her story continues along a different trajectory. The official hagiography of Kateri is a colonial monologue, a singular myth beginning in 17th-century mission encounter and ending in the judgements of 21st century medical science. In these contemporary postcolonial conversations and acclamations, in these dialogues, rumours and shouts, Kateri's story moves beyond the quiet tropes embedded in the colonial narratives of a saint's life. Freed from her dis-membered and decontextualized existence in the 17th-century Jesuits' recounting of her cardinal virtues, among Southwest Native American devotees, Kateri is re-membered, given citizenship in tribes beyond her blood kin, multiply re-contextualized, and even, one might say, repatriated.

Repatriation refers to the return of something valuable and sacred to its homeland, to its people. The term often refers to items of indigenous *material* culture which have been taken by non-Natives, and used for their own purposes whether educational, museological, or simply to satisfy greed. These objects were taken out of context and removed from their communities of origin for decades. Now, with the help of new attitudes, and in the United States, new regulations, many of these artifacts are currently in the process of being returned to their originating communities. I suggest that it is possible to view Kateri as a figure who has been taken "out of context," and used by Europeans and then Euro-Americans for missionary and theological purposes. Even now, boards of White males in and from countries far away from her place of origin control Kateri's canonization process. Yet through contemporary devotional stories, Kateri is being brought back home to the reservations, repatriated, reclaimed by many, and endowed with new words, purpose and identity.

These retellings of Kateri's deathbed words, the stories of saintly activities, the communal sharing and circulation of these narratives, and the folk proclamations of her full-fledged saintliness can, I suggest, be seen as a kind of *narrative repatriation*. The narrative repatriation of Kateri is a multilevelled process in which she is both given voice and spoken about. In this article, I have argued that among contemporary devotees, we see the repatriation of Kateri's words, of her character and activity, of a united indigenous community, and of her sainthood. First, Kateri's deathbed message has been reconceived by her devout. Her "original words"—"Jesus! Mary! I love you!"—constitute the key line of dialogue in the colonial account. For the Jesuit authors, Kateri's death is the penultimate moment where her significance as a "successful convert" and imminent saintliness is revealed and embodied in her immediate beauty. This scene is rescripted by Kateri's contemporary devotees. In the accounts of Heather and Stephanie, Kateri has new lines, and a new message, that of unity and advocacy. The significance of Kateri's death is placed into the mouth of the dying woman herself. She has a message for her people, prophetically uniting diverse Native Americans and previously diverse religious systems, the "Native" and the "Catholic." Her utterance is no longer simply a submissive cry of love for a colonial Christ and his Virgin Mother. Kateri's deathbed words, both colonial and postcolonial, can be said to paraphrase Kateri's significance, symbolic citizenship and ethnic identity. Yet the postcolonial moribund Kateri has much more to say than the quiet colonial subject of the Jesuits' account. In their repatriation of her dying moments, contemporary devotees rewrite and thereby reclaim their saint's final words.

Second, in Stephanie's and Heather's stories about the narrative moments preceding Kateri's death, we see a precursor of the kinds of contemporary conversations, interactions and mutual patronage between Kateri and "her people." These dialogues are largely focussed on the miracles experienced by devotees. Kateri speaks to and

intercedes for her people on a regular basis; "Kateri said to me . . . and saved me . . . that was a miracle to me." These miracles are owned by the group as a whole and told again and again as cherished proof of Kateri's efficacy and involvement. For her devotees, Kateri's prime character is no longer "a lily among thorns," but rather she is recast as a powerful intercessor, deeply connected with and an integral part of the community of the devout.

The sharing and circulation of these miracle stories in local devotional groups, regional meetings, and the national conferences can also be seen as kind of repatriation and reconstruction of a Catholic indigenous community. Kateri's "people" are no longer her fellow 17th-century converts, nor the Mohawk family she left behind. Rumours of Kateri's miraculous activities articulate and create a group of devotees which is inter-tribal and lives beyond the borders and boundaries of the missionary encounter. Moreover, the impulse towards inter-tribal unity is seen by many Kateri devotees as "miraculous." This miracle discourse seems to imply that such unity could not have been accomplished without the figure of Kateri as a model. Kateri is described first and foremost as "Native American like us." Her ethnic identity is broadened and her life is retold as one that manifests a message of unity to "her people"—that is, all Native peoples. For example, a play recounting Kateri's life that was staged during the 1996 Tekakwitha Conference ended with the miraculous resurrection of Kateri who appeared to her grieving friends with the message to love Jesus, love each other, and "above all, unite." Thus both her earthly life and her post-mortem existence are interpreted by contemporary devotees as embodying a divine message of Indian unity, a message which would be clarified, and a unity which would be cemented by her canonization.

Finally, in their witnessing of and testimony to Kateri's miraculous powers, audience and tellers are emboldened to proclaim her full-fledged sainthood. Kateri is "brought home" with shouts of acclamation as being "a saint to me"/ "a saint to us." The counterhagiographical stories about Kateri's words, actions, and life challenge the corpus of written documents which gather dust in Rome. The devout tell stories with multiple endings, stories which travel beyond Kateri's tomb, beyond the cardinal virtues into which her life story is minced in the *Positio*, to multiple sites and diverse peoples. Her Pueblo, Navajo, and Apache women devotees, along with other Native American Catholics, reclaim Kateri from the Vatican, from the 17th-century Jesuits, and from colonial mission history.

## Counterhagiography: Stories of Return

My vision of the Kateri movement is both multilocal—I take the reader into many communities both past and present, and multivocal—we come to hear hagiography, or the tales of saints' lives, as stories told by many voices. These accounts of Kateri, from those of the 17th-century Jesuits to contemporary devotional narratives, are positioned and audienced testimonies; they are "partial," in both senses of the word, truths (cf. Clifford in Clifford and Marcus, 1986: 1-26). Kateri's life, both earthly and post-mortem, is continually reinvented, condensed, expanded, and localized. The revelation of Kateri's saintliness and her incarnation as a Native American are ongoing narrative processes.

Stories are the vehicle by which Kateri is brought back from the colonial use of her as the ideal Mohawk convert and justification for missionary activity. Through these narratives, Kateri is taken out from behind glass showcases and colonial reflections. Those who claim her as their own are an expanded and diverse group of Native Americans. Further, Kateri is, it might be said, hesitantly *returned* by the Church. She is beatified but not yet canonized; that final step, that ultimate recognition is still sought. Yet in the counterhagiographical narratives we have looked at, this hesitation is pre-empted by proclamations and reclamations. Kateri has been translated and transported, largely through narrative, from the 17th century to the 21st, from obedient convert, silent, trapped in colonial categories, to powerful intercessor with a clear message to her people of unity, indigenous identity, ownership and belonging.

## Notes

1 This article is part of a larger project which began as my doctoral research conducted between 1996 and 1999, the manuscript from which has been contracted for publication by the University of California Press. My research has been generously supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council and McMaster University. I am most grateful to Sally Cole, Barbara Tedlock, Bill Rodman and the two anonymous readers for their guidance and suggestions for this article.

Geographically, my research stretches from north of Window Rock on the Navajo Nation, to just north of the Mexican border on the Mescalero Apache Reservation. I spent time in Laguna, Acoma, Jemez, Isleta and San Juan Pueblos; Lukachukai and Fort Defiance, Arizona; Ruidoso and Mescalero; and Albuquerque, New Mexico. It is important to realize that my research did not extend to the biggest Pueblos of Hopi and Zuni, where, to my knowledge, Kateri is not venerated, consistent with the largely traditional and non-Catholic nature of those communities. When I refer to "Pueblo women" in the article, I mean those prac-

tising Catholics and devotees of Kateri from the Pueblos listed above. The Pueblo people are a diverse group religiously, and my focus is on the significant and active yet not terribly numerous group who have found a home in a 17th-century Mohawk saint. Finally, the general term "devotees" refers to that self-articulated community of "Kateri's people" in New Mexico and Arizona which includes Pueblo, Navajo, Apache, Choctaw, and multi-tribal Native American women.

2 I borrow the term "ethnotheology" from T.J. Steele who uses it ambiguously to refer to the relationships of New Mexican santeras to the santos they represented in art (Steele, 1994).

3 There are nineteen Pueblos in New Mexico today, divided by language and geography. The Northern Pueblos are: Taos, Picuris, Nambe, Pojoaque, San Ildefonso, Tesuque, San Juan and Santa Clara. Southern Pueblos include: Jemez, Cochiti, Sandia, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Santo Domingo, Zia, Isleta, Acoma and Laguna. Finally, Zuni is located in western New Mexico and has its own administration. The Pueblos can also be classified by the language families: Tewa, Tiwa, Towa and Keresan (Sando, 1992: 6-7).

4 The Tekakwitha Conference National Center is a pan-Indian organization which claims to be the "voice, presence and identity of Native American Catholics" and to represent "a growing unity within Native Catholic communities with the special protection of Blessed Kateri." The Tekakwitha Conference began in 1939 as a support group for missionaries working among Plains Indians. In 1977, the purpose of the conference was challenged and it opened its membership to all "Catholic Native Americans and those in ministry with them." The year 1980 marked not only Kateri's beatification, but the beginning of the national movement and the establishment of the National Center in Great Falls, Montana (Tekakwitha Conference pamphlet, n.d.; Tekakwitha Conference Newsletter, 1981a, 1981b, 1982, 1988).

The goals of the Tekakwitha Conference are to incorporate traditional elements of Native spirituality into the Church; to unify Native American Catholics while respecting tribal differences; to pray for the canonization of Kateri; to share the story of her life; and to follow her example of holiness (Tekakwitha Conference pamphlet, n.d.).

The Tekakwitha Conference organizes annual meetings of members, the locations of which change each year depending on which tribe wants to host the gathering. Activities at the conference include daily masses, healing and reconciliation ceremonies, speeches, canonization updates, informal prayer groups, educational workshops, a powwow on the last night, and for the first time in 1999, an evening talent show.

5 Kateri Circle members receive direction from the national Conference headquarters in Great Falls, Montana, in the form of suggestions for activities in the *Cross and Feather News*, as well as from the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions in a monthly mailing to the president of each Kateri Circle. In this way unity is sought; yet at the same time, it is recognized that each Circle exists to minister to, respond to and evolve from the surrounding local community.

6 See also Koppedrayer (1993: 285-286) and Vecsey (1997: 96-100) on Kahnawake's history. Blanchard discusses Mohawk motives for founding Kahnawake, namely trade interests, avoidance of the debilitating effects of alcohol, and the desire to create a place where Catholic Mohawks could practise their religion yet still remain active in the affairs of the Mohawk Nation and the Iroquois Confederacy (Blanchard, 1982: 88-89; cf. Axtell, 1981: 83, 1982: 37; 1992: 162-163; Axtell and Ronda, 1978: 33; Koppedrayer, 1993: 295).

7 There are three stages in the canonization process. First, a candidate's writings and life history are collected and the cause is presented to the Vatican. When these documents have been examined, and the candidate's virtues deemed extraordinary, she may be declared Venerable by the Pope. Authenticated miracles are necessary to move the candidate through the next steps. One miracle is needed for Beatification (the candidate is called Blessed), and one more for canonization (the Blessed becomes a Saint) (Woodward, 1990).

8 There are a few other sources such as the letters of Fr. Cholenec, Kateri's confessor, published in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères parquelques missionaires de la compagnie de Jésus*. Arguably, these sources share the same audience and purpose as the *Jesuit Relations*.

9 See Greer's (1998) "Savage/Saint: The Lives of Kateri Tekakwitha" for an expert in-depth analysis of these two men.

10 This outcaste status is based on Euro-American notions of beauty and the nuclear family. Buehrle claims that "Kateri's life among the Iroquois would have been limited by her handicaps... She was disadvantaged in that she was scarred, was not pretty, had damaged eyesight and no mother to help her.... If she had been pretty, things might have been very different [i.e. she would have married]" (Buehrle, 1954: vii, ix).

11 Without children of her own, she is known by many as Aunt Grace. In 1997, I walked the 100 mile pilgrimage with Aunt Grace and her niece, June. Although in her late 70s, Aunt Grace kept pace with us in the water truck and served us little paper cups filled with water and orange slices every few miles on our journey. When we arrived at our destination, Chimayo, New Mexico, Aunt Grace held me as I cried from relief and exhaustion, and whispered in my ear, "You are my child now." From then on, I have been her adoptive niece and she has been "Aunt Grace" to me.

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# The Rise of McAnthro: Or, Reflections on the History of the Department of Anthropology

Dick Preston *McMaster University*

Prepared for the Department's 25th anniversary colloquium, October 22-24, 1999

Dick Slobodin's 1975 essay "Anthro at Mac" and the 1976 "Early Friends . . ." carried us from 1881 to 1970, with specifics of the faculty and courses in anthropology, characteristic good humour about the institutional processes, generosity in describing persons and modesty about his own role.

For me, the surprise was not that so little anthro was taught at Mac before the 1960s, but that any was taught at all. Few universities in Canada were teaching anthro at all until this time. In a sequel to Dick's essay, I'm going to reflect on the years that came after the initial loading and lift-off of the Department.

A personal view seems fitting in describing an unusually personable Department from my arrival in 1971 to my writing this little essay in 1999. Dick Slobodin had a great deal to do with my arrival, and I firmly believe that Dick's example set our standard for the collegial "No shoving allowed" ethos that I have enjoyed in my truly privileged career in the Department. I want to say a little about both these points.

I think that it was in 1969, when I was writing my dissertation and teaching at a small college in Pennsylvania, I heard Dick give a paper on Kutchin concepts of reincarnation at a conference in Ottawa. His ethnographic sensitivity and basic humanity deeply impressed me, and I thought that his was the kind of insightful ethnography that I wanted to develop in myself. And with five northernists (Dave Damas, Ruth Landes, Bill Noble, Ed Rogers and Dick Slobodin), McMaster anthro was unique in the entire world, and an ideal place for me.

Maybe it was a year later that I saw my destiny in an ad in the AAA Newsletter. Mac was looking for an ethnologist specializing in any world region, except the north. I saw the ad appear in the Newsletter again, and then a (ritually significant) third time. So I wrote and said that, if they couldn't find who they were looking for, I

sure would like a job in their department. I got a reply from Dick, saying that they "were not all that averse to another northernist," and to send my c.v.

When I came to give a talk and be interviewed, I recall being in a panic because I wanted the job so badly. I went in the wrong doors of KTH, found no elevators, and ran up the steps to arrive at the 7th floor lounge just in time to give my talk, gasping for breath. I read an unfinished (it still is) paper speculating uncertainly on Cree notions of metaphor. I tried to communicate my interest in the topic, noticed that Dave Damas had fallen asleep, took the paper to the point where I had stopped because of unresolved problems, asked for suggestions, and didn't get any takers. Not too auspicious. In desperation, I turned to Dick and blurted that he had suggested that I give an informal presentation. He readily agreed and saved my life by asking me to talk a little about Cree shamanism, which, of course, got the questions going.

I got the job. Dick babysat our kids while his wife Eleanor led us in the search for a house to rent; I finished my dissertation, and was put on the executive committee with Dick and Ed Glanville. At our first meeting Dick asked our permission to eat his bag lunch while we talked. This worked flawlessly until he brought out a huge carrot. We all looked at it and he said, "Too noisy, I guess." We protested that the carrot was OK, too. But he could be persuaded to eat it if only we each shared a chunk. We did. Kind of Indian, eh? Sharing that carrot made me realize that I had, indeed, come to the right place.

He was and still is a sensitive, erudite and helpful Godfather to the Department. I believe that we tended to behave in a collegial way (most of the time) in large part because we didn't want to offend his tangibly felt sense of fairness and dignity. Dick did not need to act in a dominant way to be very influential over others. I, and the rest of us, owe him a great deal. Thanks, Dick.

## McAnth after Takeoff: The Preclassic Phase

In 1971, Anth had a full-year, all-subfields introductory course, and I clearly recall my panic when I first walked into the theatre with nearly 400 students enrolled that September, and realized I had to hold their attention until April, covering the Boasian four fields of physical, archaeological, linguistic and cultural anthropology. I invite you to consider how you would feel in this situation, and how you would handle it. I tried to entertain my audience as I made my way through:

1. the Liberating Shift away from Abductive Locomotion (like chimps, eh?) to Extensory Locomotion, demonstrated with dancing my little bump-and-grind drama of The Australopithecine Hip,
2. the revolutionary Head-Levelling Function of the mastoid process, helping us avoid too much staring at the ground or at the stars, illustrated by some head flops,
3. the radically opposable thumb for a Precision Grip in Tool-Making, enabling the incredible time span of type-continuities in stone point-making,
4. the amazing psychological reality of the phoneme, evidenced with the curious ethnographic fact that the Cree language does not differentiate voiced and voiceless bilabial stops, and
5. some shamanism thrown in for the lure of the exotic.

It was an attempt at teaching with entertainment, but I was not exactly Bill Cosby. Most of the students stuck it out, and in the first set of teaching evaluations I recall a fair complaint, "speaks in a monotone," a potential epitaph, "he was good with the overhead projector" and a soul-destroying insult, "lousy bear stories." Sure I spoke in a montone; I was scared. But really, those were great bear stories.

We also had a Year IV full-year course in the history of anthropological theory. Dick taught the early history in the fall term, and I took over "on or about Boas" for the winter term. I enjoyed tracing some themes of 20th century theoretical explorations, but for most people theory is an aquired taste, and history is such sadly distant stuff. I think many of the students found (and still find) the fare an extensive but pretty dry and crumbly smorgasbord.

As far as I can recall, applied anthropology in the Department got its start in 1973. The James Bay Survey was in response to a request from Grand Chief Billy Diamond. On very short notice I found students willing to get away from it all to a couple of weeks' "northern exposure," and with Ed Rogers' help put together a checklist data form. During the middle of the fall term, three grads and two honours undergrads went to four coastal Cree communities to gather information on who shot or trapped what, where and when.

Brian Craik and Kevin Brown went to Waskaganish, where they got some checklists completed and Brian gathered a large amount of very detailed materials on hunting practices; Debbie Hawken went to Wemindji and in about two weeks got married to Walter Hughboy, who was then the band manager (she thereby became legally an Indian, but she didn't do many checklists); and Ed Buller and Rick Cuciurean went to Fort George. Rick also took a good initiative and went to Eastmain for more data. Brian and Rick have worked with or for the Crees ever since, Debbie is a lawyer and still married to Walter,

Kevin went to teachers college and then taught in Native schools in BC until he became an AIDS spokesperson, and Ed went on to be a fieldworker for the Federal Attorney-General's office. The survey was not a great success methodologically, but Harvey Feit tells me it was, nonetheless, useful to the Crees.

A few years later, Milton Freeman's Arctic Land Use Survey was a much more sophisticated and extensive applied project, including detailed mapping work all over the Arctic. It was methodologically very impressive and was nicely published in two volumes by a federal ministry.

About this time, the PhD program planning was underway. We optimistically took in our first PhD students (Jennifer Blythe, David Meyer) and taught our first PhD-oriented courses (700—Contemporary Anth; 722—Method and Theory) before we got the final Provincial approval. By the requirement of the Provincial approvals board, we had to show that it would not be redundant in relation to any existing program. But the only other anthro PhD program in Ontario was at the U of T, which had no discernable focus. This gave us the luxury of free choice. So our program was designed to build on our distinctive strengths, with regional foci on the Canadian North and Oceania, and topical foci on cultural ecology and cultural change.

We thought it a good idea to have a required course for all entering grads in "Contemporary Anthropology," to ensure a comprehensive scope of intellectual sophistication. The goal still sounds quite persuasive to me. Peter Steager and I team-taught this for two years, and we had great fun leaping from mountain peak to mountain peak while holding hands with Claude Levi-Strauss (*The Savage Mind*) and Gregory Bateson (*Naven*; *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*). Other faculty came in to give us an overview of their specialties. The intellectual scope was breathtaking.

Most of the grads were strangely quiet in this rarified milieu, though one or two flourished and a few others nervously told us more than they were sure they knew. Steager and I did not realize that, with all of the grads looking at each other around the same table, the pressure to compete was too strongly felt by some of those grads who were mystified by the nimble explorations of such adroit French and British intellectuals. No one failed the course, but after four years (the second two years were team-taught by Dave Counts and Matt Cooper) the course was deemed a failed experiment. Oh, well.

## McAnthro: The Pre-Postmodern Phase 1975-85

This was the year that Rosita Jordan came, organizing the chairman's myriad tasks and keeping them on schedule and responsive to an admiring administration. The Department had reached its maximum undergraduate and graduate student enrolment by this time, with three huge lecture sections of Year I in the day and another section in the evening, a full range of four-field courses in Years II, II and IV, about 15 MA students and about 5 PhD students admitted each year. The undergraduate Anthro Society, based in the archaeology lab, had strong continuity and put on an annual topical symposium. *The Journal of Anth at Mac* (now *NEXUS*) started its successful history of publishing student papers.

We had acquired a very good national reputation, with impressively large numbers of talented people applying to the grad programs, and very high success rates in getting SSHRC and OGS fellowships. And as part of the approval process for the PhD program, Grad Studies established a budget line to ensure that PhD students who did not win external funding for fieldwork would get there anyway. Our first PhDs got good jobs. Some of us thought we had the best Anthro department in Canada. We had six northernists and five Oceanists to give our regional foci a stronger complement than any other university.

This was especially distinctive because the discipline of anthropology was already moving in strong currents of self-doubt and fragmentation. We now label this postmodernism. One British grey eminence commented in print, "What, in heaven's name, are we trying to find out?" One American grey eminence commented in print that his department meetings managed to avoid open conflict by never addressing matters of substance. Anthropologists in Canada, and probably academics in most countries, identified their interests in words that emphasized each individual's uniqueness, avoiding the appearance of overlap with other researchers. Individuation of researchers, rather than a community of scholars, was and is the norm. We were no exception, but we got along pretty well.

Our four field faculty peaked at 16 full-time and 10 part-time persons. But it is hard for faculties to stay in focus over the long haul—even the Mac faculty. We were amused at the follies of our past, and then relieved to drop deep structure for other, less canonical things. We were getting very multivocalic. When I informally asked colleagues what they meant by terms such as "theory" and "method" I found not a Modernist Canon so much as

remarkably little overlap. More graduate students were interested in research closer to home, in a milieu that was less politicized than Melanesia or the Arctic and Subarctic. There were serious doubts raised about the wisdom of continuing our regional foci, and we moved more toward a variety of contemporary topical foci. Perhaps it was our spirit of liberal democracy, or perhaps it was diffidence about the future of our cultural program, but in any event we decided to give over two of our cultural positions to hire faculty to give us three faculty each in physical anthropology and archaeology, so as to include these sub-disciplines in the PhD program.

And then there were the chronic revisions to our PhD comps. We ran into problems trying to agree on how comprehensive we should expect grads to be. Most of the faculty looked back in anguish to their own comps experience, based on "surprise" questions. We aimed for a more collaborative system, where the grad would work out 24 essay topics (covering a fairly comprehensive scope, with references) and consult with her committee, and the faculty would choose some of these topics to actually be written. After the first grad passed through this system, we learned that incredibly, she had drafted all 24 essays in her preparation! We have been scaling down the numbers and the meaning of comprehensive ever since, pressured also by complaints from a series of Graduate Deans that our students take too long to complete their programs. When the PhD was offered also in the subfields of archaeology and physical anthropology, the "comps" became focussed on the intellectual context of each proposed dissertation (while most other Canadian Anthro departments just phased out their comps altogether).

## McAnthro: The Post-Classic, Post-affluence, Postmodern Adaptive Radiation, 1985-99

Our shift away from four (two regional; two topical) departmental foci was symptomatic of a general trend in anthro, and perhaps more generally in academe, toward individuation through a remarkably diverse differentiation of topical and regional interests. In the mid-1980s the self-descriptions of the interests of the roughly 600 anthropologists employed in Canadian academe seemed to go to the extreme, collectively listing about 300 topical specialties.

But while faculty and department programs were going into their adaptive radiation, it was not just PhD comps that shrank at Mac and at other universities. Funding cuts became cumulatively severe. Only a little relief came for a few high-employment areas like computers and business, and Mac's planned Arts IV building was changed into a School of Business building. For our Department, new allocations were put on indefinite hold, early retirements were obtained and work loads were increased markedly for the reduced number of faculty.

Remarkably, anthropology enrolment in both undergraduate and graduate programs held up very well. Year II and Year III course sizes went into the hundreds. Government and charitable funding agencies urged a pooling of available resources, including an increase in interdisciplinary and multi-university research and research initiatives with private sector partners. We already had some private sector partners, but they were not industries with funds to share. Applied anthro was already emphasizing problem-based research in political and ethical collaboration with Native organizations.

## McAnthro Now: A Prescription

One characteristic that Canadian anthropology as an institution now shares with universities generally, indeed, with service bureaucracies generally, is the stocktaking that this paper contributes to. We are deep into an extended period of the sustained rationalization (read: selective diminishing) of the expenditure rate of public monies, and thereby into the politics of competitive self-justification—how we are doing more with less. The "ripple" effect of federal strategies of restraint began to diffuse to university, faculty and department levels with considerable rapidity in the mid 1970s and is now, 25 years later, a serious impediment to our will and ability to provide high quality education. The cover of the February 15, 1999 *Maclean's Magazine* warns, "The U.N. says Canada is Number 1. But that can't last unless we make radical changes—lower taxes to better education."

Better education in McAnthro can take initiatives in several directions, but I have a prime one that need not wait on more funding and faculty. First and foremost, in my opinion, is a change in the way we encourage the development of writing skills—actually thinking and writing skills. We could change the present practice of any given anthro student writing dozens of undergraduate and graduate essays but almost never carefully rethinking and rewriting a paper until the PhD dissertation writing stage. This excessive repetition of first drafts is stuck at the initial stage of academic writing. Staying at that level is very wasteful of the potential for developing the ability to refine our ideas and to more adroitly contextualize these ideas in the theoretical literature. It would also allow for developing prose style. This would require a change in the curriculum and course

requirements, to make them more cumulative in what students write about, but it is a practical problem with a practical solution.

One of my assessments of the past 25 years is that most of the people who did not complete their PhD in this department got all the way to writing the dissertation and then gave it up. Some significant proportion of these drop-outs did so because the thinking and writing was too daunting a task—they felt that their prose was not professional-sounding enough. For some of these people, I believe it was largely a matter of inadequate training in writing skills. For some others, dropping out may have been a wise decision, since so much of academic careers centre on writing. Those who are truly suited to a career as an academic find a primary personal reward in the disciplined process of research, thinking and writing, and only a secondary reward in the number of interested and potentially influenced readers they can count on. If you want your writings to be widely read, publish a bestseller, or in magazines and newspapers, not in academic journals and books! Some few academics are able to do both. May their numbers increase!

# Book Reviews / Comptes rendus

**Julie Cruikshank,** *The Social Life of Stories: Narrative and Knowledge in the Yukon Territory,* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1998, illus., xxvii + 211 pages, ISBN 0-7748-0648-6 (cloth).

Reviewer: *Jennifer S.H. Brown*
*University of Winnipeg*

This is an important and useful book, although not entirely new. Three of its seven chapters are published here for the first time, while the other four are revised to varying extents from pieces that Julie Cruikshank published in diverse venues earlier in the 1990s. Her inclusion of a preface and epilogue helps to unify the book and to provide some personal reflections on the broad themes running through her work. The book has a retrospective quality as Cruikshank presents in modified form some of her writings of the last decade, adds to her thoughts on their topics, and looks back over more than two decades of working with Yukon elders and with the stories they have shared with her.

One ongoing feature of Cruikshank's work is her sense of ethnography as dialogic, interactive, and processual, as involving relationships that grow and shift and inform and enrich over a long period. Some of the most important Yukon elders with whom she worked are deceased, yet their stories and teachings continue to yield new insight and understanding for their communities and for Cruikshank herself as the years pass. The present participles in her chapter titles reveal this open-ended sense of process, of lack of closure: "Establishing Meanings through Story and Song" (chap. 2), "Confronting Cultural Erasure" (chap. 4), "Rethinking Objects of Ethnographic Collection" (chap. 5), "Claiming Legitimacy" (chap. 6), "Negotiating with Narrative" (chap. 7). Similarly, she cautions against treating oral sources as stable, reified "collectible texts" yielding "data"; rather, they, like humans, have social histories, and their "content depends largely on what goes into the questions, the dialogue, the personal relationship through which it is communicated" (p. 40).

For brevity, the following comments focus only on Chapters 1, 3, and 4, newly published here. "'My Roots Grow in Jackpine Roots': Culture, History, and Narrative Practice in the Yukon" borrows a quote from elder Kitty Smith to draw contrasts between narratives rooted in the Yukon and its people and those that come from outside, "periodizing history, categorizing the world" (p. 4). Indigenous stories and languages maintain connections to land and place, taking on fresh significance as land claims negotiations proceed. Naming places and mapping names evolve in meaning, as sites of local significance become "authorized boundary markers demarcating neighboring groups" (p. 20). Oral narrative endures and adapts, bridging social fractures as storytellers find means to communicate to younger generations and across languages to broader audiences.

"Yukon Arcadia: Oral Tradition, Indigenous Knowledge, and the Fragmentation of Meaning" (chap. 3) critically examines the rising attention being paid to indigenous knowledge, commonly under the rubric of Traditional Environmental Knowledge (TEK). Cruikshank offers important cautions about the risks of reifying indigenous knowledge as somehow free-standing, and as an outsiders' tool for ideological critique, such that local knowledge, relational and situated, is repressed or eliminated. TEK, part of what Cruikshank calls "the aristocratic history of indigenous knowledge studies," risks being constructed and appropriated for "problems created by modern states in terms convenient for modern states" (pp. 48-51). This reviewer found Chapter 3 the most freshly thought-provoking essay in the book.

Chapter 4, "Confronting Cultural Erasure: Images of Society in Klondike Gold Rush Narratives" synthesizes discussions of the Skookum Jim stories and others already analyzed elsewhere, but goes on to sharpen its focus on the prospectors' myths and values, juxtaposed to those held by the people they met. Prospectors celebrated Horatio Alger's individual enterprise and self-reliance; indigenous people, in contrast, unluckily presumed the newcomers to be some sort of cohesive group whose members, in case of strife, could be held responsible for actions of other members.

Anthropologists too are storytellers, Cruikshank points out, but too often, academics "frame the experiences of others with reference to scholarly norms." "We can never recognize the limitations of our own descriptions," she concludes, "unless we put ourselves in interactive situations where we are exposed and vulnerable, where these norms are interrupted and challenged" (p. 165). This book provides lessons that Cruikshank has learned in doing just that, and provides

an overview of a major scholar's work in a convenient, attractive form.

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**Adrian Peace,** *A Time of Reckoning: The Politics of Discourse in Rural Ireland,* Social and Economic Studies, No. 59, St-John : ISER Books, 1997, 197 pages.

Recenseur: *André Campeau*
*Université Laval*

Cette monographie présente une dispute entre une association de citoyens irlandais et une corporation transnationale d'origine américaine. L'objet de la dispute est l'installation d'une usine de produits chimiques dans une région agricole et le risque de pollution associé à une telle entreprise. Le lieu de la dispute est une institution gouvernementale, un tribunal administratif dont le propos est d'examiner des propositions de développement et juger de leur valeur. Cette monographie argumente qu'une institution gouvernementale peut assujettir des citoyens irlandais aux prises avec un projet de néocolonisation.

Dans le premier chapitre, l'anthropologue présente les quatre thèmes analytiques de l'affaire. Premier thème : des rapports de pouvoir et des enjeux moraux se jouent dans la confrontation entre une corporation américaine et un groupe de citoyens issus de la petite bourgeoisie agricole locale. Deuxième thème : dans le contexte de l'institution administrative, le discours de la science acquiert une hégémonie aux dépens du discours du peuple. Le discours est la monnaie dont les partis en présence se servent pour asseoir leur autorité et légitimer leur position. Troisième thème : le tribunal administratif *An Bord Pleanála* est présenté comme un théâtre de contrôle. Il s'agit d'un dispositif de domination visant la reproduction de la gouvernementalité de corporations transnationales sur les Irlandais. Quatrième thème : les séjours de l'anthropologue dans la communauté en 1983 et 1988 ont préparé l'ethnographie du mouvement social et des audiences du tribunal. Le travail anthropologique est le produit de situations et de rencontres où l'auteur a privilégié l'association de citoyens engagée dans un mouvement d'opposition comme ancrage de son analyse.

Le chapitre 2 contextualise la dispute entre l'association locale et les cadres de la corporation américaine. En faisant l'histoire de la politique d'industrialisation qui privilégie l'investissement étranger depuis 1958, l'auteur montre la mise en place d'un capitalisme de dépendance. La modernisation de cette politique par une nouvelle classe de politiciens et fonctionnaires s'est faite autour d'une politique d'industrialisation-par-invitation. Dans le comté étudié (celui d'*east Cork*), la propriété agricole est détenue par une nouvelle petite bourgeoisie. Leur prospérité a été le résultat de la transformation économique ainsi que du travail ardu de la ferme. L'ancienne classe de travailleurs de ferme a disparue, le travail étant effectué le plus souvent par la famille propriétaire. Cette petite bourgeoisie, dont la culture politique est caractérisée par l'égalitarisme entre propriétaires et le localisme, a porté le mouvement d'opposition contre le projet de développement de la compagnie transnationale.

Le troisième chapitre présente l'émergence du mouvement social dont la phase active a duré six mois jusqu'aux et incluant les audiences du tribunal *An Bord Pleanála*. La politique du mouvement était de projeter la menace du développement industriel pollueur comme un enjeu débordant toutes les distinctions politiques locales. Initialement, le mouvement a été l'expression d'opinions face à une rumeur sans spécificités. Dans la mesure où les premières informations acquises par les initiateurs du mouvement exposaient un projet concerté (mais non publié) et aucun lieu politique n'émergeait pour le contester, les initiateurs ont fait usage de leurs ressources habituelles d'autonomie pour monter une protestation. Une femme du mouvement a constitué un corpus d'informations à propos de la corporation transnationale et de cas similaires au leur. À ce stade, relativement peu était connu de la proposition de la corporation américaine qui exerçait une autorité à distance. Au cours de rencontres en vue de se connaître, la division culturelle entre les cadres corporatifs américains et les gens de la petite bourgeoisie locale s'est installée sur les plans de l'idéologie et du conflit de classes.

Dans le quatrième chapitre, l'auteur expose la prise de pouvoir local par le mouvement. Une assemblée a fait connaître le mouvement d'opposition aux gens du comté et dans la presse. Cette assemblée permit de constater que l'interprétation des discours scientifiques par les gens peut constituer une assise pour leur capacité de résistance. Des vidéos et conférences ont été utilisés pour susciter la discussion et l'adhésion à la résistance. L'assemblée fit ressortir l'opposition entre les détenteurs du pouvoir formel et les gens du comté. Le projet transnational serait colonisateur. Or, c'est la collaboration des fonctionnaires et politiciens irlandais avec un tel projet qui expose la néocolonisation. Et, c'est le désir de gagner contre la coalition apparente entre une corporation américaine et leur propre gouvernement qui a engagé les gens du mouvement d'opposition dans le dispositif bureaucratique, celui du tribunal administratif.

Les chapitres 5 et 6 ont trait aux audiences du tribunal administratif et au dispositif d'assujettissement. La rhétorique entretenue autour du tribunal confère à celui-ci une aura d'impartialité et d'indépendance relativement aux propositions de développement et aux régulations écologiques. Aussi, les tenants du mouvement ont-ils accueilli avec enthousiasme le fait que des audiences seraient tenues à propos du cas qui les concernait. L'anthropologue argumente que ce tribunal est un théâtre de contrôle qui, par le biais de ses officiers, exerce un pouvoir discrétionnaire pour arriver à certaines fins. Le cadre dans lequel les procédures et les témoignages se déroulaient était défini par ces officiers. Le langage techno-scientifique et le capital culturel qui soutient l'autorité du tribunal étaient privilégiés à ces fins.

Les principales étapes du déroulement des audiences ont été les suivantes. D'abord le cas fut déclaré unique en son

genre, ce qui excluait toute l'argumentation faisant appel à des données comparatives. Ensuite, les témoignages des divers mouvements d'opposition différaient sur un point. La plupart des autres mouvements souhaitaient un resserrement des règlements plutôt qu'un rejet du projet comme c'était le cas pour le mouvement issu de la petite bourgeoisie agricole d'*east Cork*. Alors que le pouvoir de mobilisation démocratique de ce dernier avait entraîné les autres mouvements dans le processus bureaucratique, ce même processus le marginalisait comme extrémiste. L'étape cruciale des audiences a été le déplacement d'un discours populaire vers un discours expert puis scientifique. Le discours expert, même celui prenant la part des mouvements, avait inclu et discuté la possibilité d'une installation industrielle. Ceci joua en faveur des cadres corporatifs qui proposèrent une installation industrielle incorporant toutes les modifications requises par les appelants.

Du point de vue de la domination bureaucratique l'examen attentif des contenus et du cadre par l'anthropologue expose le biais des officiers et du tribunal. Au cours de témoignages de consultants, certains modèles élaborés craquaient sous le questionnement de la partie adverse. Celle-ci exposait des règles sans fondement (*rule of thumb*) et des failles. Or, ceci n'a pas remis en cause la valeur du discours techno-scientifique. D'autre part, au cours d'un témoignage qui aurait pu exposer les déficiences de la protection contre la pollution aquatique, le cadre d'interrogation et des échanges a empêché le témoin de présenter tout ce qu'il savait.

En somme et en conclusion (le septième chapitre de la monographie), le tribunal accepta la proposition de développement de la corporation. Toutefois, l'usine ne fut pas construite. Une réorganisation plaçant la corporation impliquée sous une autre entité de gestion éliminait le besoin de construire une usine en Irlande. En dernière analyse, le tribunal est arrivé à ses fins en restreignant le contenu discursif et en hiérarchisant le discours scientifique sur le discours populaire. L'auteur constate qu'il y a eu violence symbolique exercée. Les gens ne connaissaient pas le tribunal auquel ils faisaient appel pour les défendre contre une menace extérieure. Ce tribunal, un dispositif bureaucratique, les a subordonnés à cette menace plutôt que de les protéger contre elle.

En comparant avec d'autres cas dans d'autres contextes, l'auteur fait valoir que les gens contestent les circonstances dans lesquelles les corporations les placent et que ce sont parfois les institutions gouvernementales qui les manipulent en vue de les soumettre. L'auteur fait aussi ressortir qu'à l'aide de moyens limités comme l'ethnographie, le point de vue des gens peut être produit à l'encontre de points de vue macro qui ne peuvent le faire. L'analyse des réseaux textuels et des enjeux qui sont circonscrits autour des institutions gouvernementales indique que l'exercice du pouvoir et la propriété du savoir sont liés. Les exposer suppose une double stratégie d'étude : cartographier les discours de développement et du gouvernement et aborder les gens sur leur propre terrain discursif.

La monographie d'Adrian Peace propose une construction critique à partir d'une ethnographie sur un terrain à long terme. La finesse de son ethnographie donne à voir la formation de la pensée locale et le mouvement des émotions dans une communauté de cette *petite nation* qu'est l'Irlande. La monographie n'est pas surchargée d'un appareil théorique lourd, au contraire. Or, l'auteur ne fait pas pour autant l'économie d'une brève histoire du genre dans lequel il construit son texte et de la base comparative qu'il utilise pour façonner son questionnement. De même, il expose les assises, notamment foucaldiennes, sur lesquelles il établit sa critique de l'instance gouvernementale et de l'usage des savoirs scientifiques. L'ouvrage constitue une contribution à l'anthropologie politique des institutions et du colonialisme.

Deux dimensions ont retenu mon attention au cours de cette lecture. La première est l'usage de la métaphore du théâtre pour rendre sensible à la lecture les structures ethnographiées par l'auteur. Ainsi, on ne perd de vue ni les éléments du régime mis en place, ni le point de vue du sujet. La deuxième est précisément ce point de vue du sujet adopté par l'auteur. Il ne s'en départ pas, tout en suivant cette ligne de risque qui consiste à présenter sans dénoncer les partis engagés dans les rapports de pouvoir et de savoir.

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**Winnie Lem,** *Cultivating Dissent: Work, Identity, and Praxis in Rural Languedoc,* State University of New York, 1999.

Recenseuse: *Manon Boulianne*
*Université Laval*

L'ouvrage de Winnie Lem s'inscrit, tout en la renouvelant sur au moins deux plans, dans la tradition des études de la paysannerie qui se sont intéressées au «sort» réservé à la petite production marchande lors de la pénétration du capitalisme dans l'agriculture. Ses protagonistes principaux sont les petits producteurs et productrices vinicoles d'une communauté rurale du bas Languedoc, dans la région du «Midi rouge» de la France, dont l'activisme politique est notoire. La densité de l'ouvrage ne permet ici que de souligner certains de ses apports qui m'ont plus particulièrement frappés.

L'auteure adopte une démarche matérialiste qui s'inscrit dans la perspective de l'économie politique. Ayant soin au départ de bien situer, aux plans historique et structurel, les rapports sociaux de production et de reproduction dans lesquels s'inscrivent les exploitations familiales en question, elle ne s'en tient toutefois pas là. D'entrée de jeu, elle adopte une perspective de l'action politique qui fait des hommes et des femmes concernés des sujets qui agissent sciemment, sur une base individuelle ou collective, quotidienne mais également générationnelle, pour maintenir leurs fermes. Bien que leurs actions s'inscrivent dans un répertoire préexistant de pratiques culturelles, Lem reconnaît bel et bien une agence aux individus concernés, lesquels ne disparaissent plus derrière les structures. Sur un autre plan, elle fait

ressortir avec clarté les rapports de domination/subordination qui s'exercent entre genres et générations au sein des familles et des maisonnées étudiées.

Le livre est divisé en deux sections. La première s'organise autour de l'identité et de l'action collective, tandis que la seconde s'arrête davantage aux rapports sociaux tels que vécus au quotidien. Tout au long de l'ouvrage, du matériel ethnographique provenant d'histoires de vie et de travail vient ponctuer les propos de l'auteure, ce qui permet d'illustrer de manière vivante les liens entre les champs structurel, organisationnel et individuel (Labrecque, 1997).

Lem ouvre avec une lecture assez classique, mais bien menée, du développement du capitalisme dans l'agriculture régionale et de la différentiation sociale qui s'en est suivie. Sont ensuite abordées, dans la perspective générale de J. Scott, les mobilisations collectives et les actes de résistance individuelle qui ont accompagné ce processus. Elles expriment la volonté des petits producteurs, fortement identifiés à leur entreprise familiale, de survivre au projet modernisateur de l'État français qui les a peu à peu marginalisés au plan économique. S'inspirant de C. Tilly, Lem décrit le «répertoire» des formes d'action politique mises de l'avant dans la localité et dans la région. Cet exercice lui permet de constater que l'évolution de la division «genrée» du travail politique reflète celle de la division «genrée» du travail agricole, les femmes ayant été graduellement exclues, avec la modernisation de la production vinicole, de la propriété foncière, du travail agricole et de la scène politique publique. Ces transformations ont provoqué leur domestication et une fragmentation accrue de leurs activités, qu'elles soient ou non rémunérées.

Est ensuite abordée la question de l'identité. À partir d'une analyse des discours de ses informateurs et informatrices, l'auteure constate un mélange d'identités (occitane, française, ouvrière) qui peuvent sembler contradictoires mais qui renvoient toutes à des rapports sociaux objectivement vécus.

La seconde section du livre ouvre sur les dynamiques des maisonnées. Lem montre, notamment par le biais de cas problématiques de succession, que la rétention de la main-d'oeuvre familiale dans l'exploitation vinicole ne va pas de soi et qu'elle donne lieu à des conflits de genres et de générations. La maisonnée et, du même coup, l'entreprise familiale, apparaissent donc ici comme des institutions qui fonctionnent en partie à la confiance et à la réciprocité, mais qui sont également fondées sur des rapports de pouvoir de type patriarcal. Elles s'intègrent à une logique marchande hégémonique même si les rapports internes y demeurent en grande partie non monétaires.

Plus loin, l'auteure montre que les pratiques coopératives (échanges de travail, coups de main lors de la récolte, prêt de machinerie) communautaires sont délibérément maintenues et transformées dans la communauté à l'étude afin de mieux répondre aux conditions structurelles actuelles. Elles aussi contribuent à assurer la survie des petites exploitations. Elles constituent une forme de résistance additionnelle, qui vient contribuer à freiner la marchandisation des rapports sociaux.

L'ouvrage de Winnie Lem aborde la question de la reproduction de la paysannerie de façon rigoureuse et nuancée. Son analyse pourrait sans doute être élargie sous plusieurs aspects à l'ensemble des petites entreprises familiales alliant capital et travail, que ce soit en milieu rural ou urbain. Comme elle le souligne elle-même, les rapports de genre mis à jour dans son étude appellent à la prudence quant aux implications possibles des programmes de crédit voués au développement de micro-entreprises familiales dans les pays du Sud et qui se multiplient de façon exponentielle depuis quelques années.

En outre, ses conclusions rejoignent celles de Baines et Wheelock (1998) qui ont examiné des micro-entreprises familiales de création récente œuvrant dans le secteur des services aux entreprises en Grande-Bretagne. Ces dernières ont constaté entre autres que lorsque le projet entrepreneurial est endossé par deux conjoints formant ménage, leur engagement affectif mutuel se transforme en un engagement économique dans lequel les rôles sociaux de genre sont réifiés. En effet, les femmes y remplissent des tâches typiquement «féminines» et ont davantage tendance à s'ajuster aux besoins de l'entreprise, allant jusqu'à abandonner une carrière personnelle si leur travail gratuit est nécessaire à la survie de cette dernière.

De cette façon, en s'intéressant aux luttes quotidiennes des maisonnées-entreprises d'une communauté rurale qui peuvent sembler, au premier abord, inscrites dans une dynamique passéiste, mais qui s'activent au sein d'une économie nationale «post-industrielle» ayant adopté le langage et les pratiques de la nouvelle économie, Lem soulève des questions d'une saisissante actualité.

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**Lynne Phillips (ed.),** *The Third Wave of Modernization in Latin America: Cultural Perspectives on Neoliberalism,* Jaguar Books on Latin America, No. 16, Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources, 1998. xxiv + 200 pages, ISBN 0-8420-2606-1 (cloth), ISBN 0-8420-2608-8 (paper).

Reviewer: *Raymond E. Wiest*
*University of Manitoba*

*The Third Wave of Modernization in Latin America* is a collection of original anthropological essays that examine local changes in response to neoliberal policies in several Latin American contexts. In the words of editor Lynne Phillips, "The goal of this volume is to offer students the opportunity to see how anthropologists make sense of the massive changes being experienced by Latin Americans today in the name of neoliberalism and to highlight the contours and contradictions of Latin American modernity" (p. xviii-xix).

The expression "third wave of modernization" recognizes anthropology's attention to "modernization" and continuities with past modernization, e.g., ". . . imposition of value systems by the North, the development of the market, and the transfer of resources out of local communities and regions" (p. xiii). Consistent with this tradition, the abiding concern of all the authors writing in this collection is with such impact indicators as loss of local autonomy, forced shifts in livelihood, disruption of social nets, privatization of social supports, open and disguised political repression, rising family labour inputs without remuneration, disproportionate setbacks for women, declining quality of life and increasing marginalization of rural and urban underclasses. The hegemonic potential of neoliberalism appears throughout the book, but the analyses go beyond capitalist ideology to examine differential impacts on peoples' lives, multiple understandings of the process, and varied engagement with it, including public awareness of the gap between political rhetoric and program delivery, and resistance solidarity bases and potential. The work reflects well-grounded theory and convincing critical reflection on field-work experiences.

An introduction by Phillips offers an insightful overview of perspectives on change: modernization, dependency, debt crisis and structural adjustment, and the "third wave of modernization"—neoliberalism—"the process of a growing reliance on the market for organizing social and economic activities" (p. xvi). In the conclusion, Phillips briefly discusses theoretical similarities and differences reflected in the essays, and addresses implications of anthropological analyses of local-global dynamics.

The original essays are grouped into three categories. Within "Changing Rural Lives," Pierre Beaucage presents a history of liberalism in Mexico to set the context for response of the Nahua of Sierra Norte de Puebla—avoidance of repression of their coastal counterparts and their pragmatic insistence on modernity but only with technology under their control. The analysis suggests potential for effective local control. Michael Painter provides an historical overview of Bolivian development initiatives based in United States interventions that have led to profound dependence on aid, rapid inflation, rising costs of agricultural inputs, and declining prices in commodities, together driving small-scale farmers to coca production as their only viable livelihood alternative, despite the repressive war on drugs that conveniently targets easily identified and vulnerable producers rather than elusive and powerful distributors. Linda Green traces the recent history of state repression in Guatemala and how it has made possible a direct intrusion in peoples' lives in the shift to non-traditional exports reliant on cheap labour. She ponders implications of the decline of knowledge about, and interest in, the Mayan culture of production and work.

Within "Transforming Urban Enterprises," Linda Seligmann examines the interaction of gender and ethnicity among Peruvian market women in Cuzco, and how neoliberal policies affect both livelihood options and political participation. While neoliberalism exacerbates factionalism, generally diminishing organized protest, interrelationships of gender, ethnicity and class do not yield easily delineated responses. The Buechlers (Hans, Judith-Maria, Simone and Stephanie) focus on microlending to small-scale vendors and producers as part of the neoliberal agenda in Bolivia. Credit access increases competitive pressures and prohibits kin linkages; loan benefits appear to accrue to more established women and those who can mobilize a larger workforce for more rapid turnover. Florence Babb compares co-operatives that arose in Nicaragua under the Sandinista government with current neoliberal promotion of microenterprises. Both co-operatives and other small businesses have experienced failure in competition with larger industries through removal of favourable terms of credit and protective tariffs on imported goods. This has produced unlikely alliances in opposition to structural adjustment measures imposed by the IMF. Through past revolutionary experience Nicaraguans have learned to organize opposition for limited concessions from government.

Within "Restructuring Society and Nature," Lesley Gill examines the Bolivian teachers' strike of 1995 through views of people caught up in organized resistance to restructuring the education system without regard for Bolivian conditions. Teachers must turn to other means of support, effectively subsidizing public education with low wages. Parent-teacher commonalities and differences are central to the dynamic. For Gill, the case illustrates the continued importance of class-based organization as "key to understanding how people conceptualize themselves and their ongoing relationships to others" (p. 138). Constance Classen and David Howes adopt a postmodern approach to health and healing in northwestern Argentina. They suggest that juxtaposition and interaction of traditional ethnomedicine and modern biomedicine may result in disintegration of ethnomedicine, but may also demonstrate its "continued vitality and relevance" (p. 151); globalizing conditions promote wide valorization of local beliefs and practices. Marilyn Gates examines Mexico's record on environmental issues; environmental concerns have consistently had

lower priority than economic growth. Long-term ecological adaptations of peasant farmers in the Campeche region confront new ecological laws based in a Western model of sustainability compromised by the neoliberal agenda. Gates raises the prospect of an alternative approach to sustainable development, giving importance to "cultural as well as biological diversity, the right to democracy, and the satisfaction of basic human needs" (p. 171), similar to processes set in motion by the Zapatistas in Chiapas. Gustavo Lins Ribeiro and Paul Little take up a similar theme in their examination of Brazilian environmentalism discourse. "Environmentalism... has stressed... the value of local/global relationships for political action" (p. 186) through networks, brokerage, and local participation. Noting such dangers as co-optation of local leaders in Brazilian Amazonia, their view is that globalization offers opportunity for local populations to defend their interests against those promoted by outsiders, and potential for transformation of their agency.

This small book draws together distinct local-global interface histories, achieving thematic unity through the editor's conceptual analysis and some cross-referencing. Absence of an index is unfortunate. Overall, the book offers a compelling contribution on the dialectical character of local-global dynamics, and complexities of cultural creativity in the economic and political realities of peoples' lives. The essays provide accessible—sometimes vivid—reading for use in both graduate and undergraduate courses on globalization and/or Latin America.

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**Parnesh Sharma,** *Aboriginal Fishing Rights: Laws, Courts, and Politics,* Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 1998.

Reviewer: *Chris Hannibal Paci*
*University of Northern British Columbia*

> When I first embarked on this research, I expected to reach a different conclusion. At first glance, all indications pointed to a very positive interpretation and application of the principles enunciated in Sparrow. There were indications that the government was doing all it could, in an expeditious manner, to respond to the Supreme Court of Canada decision... an initial reading of the SCC decision, with its grandiloquent statements about mistreatment of aboriginal peoples, seemed almost enlightened... upon further research and critical analysis, my initial opinion gave way to disappointment and outrage. (p. 92)

In 1990, the Supreme Court of Canada handed down a mixed decision in *R. v. Sparrow*. While the decision established Aboriginal rights to fish it also subsumed Aboriginal fisheries within the Crown. Parnesh Sharma (1998:12) examines this decision "as well as the ability of subordinate or disadvantaged groups to use the law to advance their causes for social progress and equality." He examines the particular legal rights to fish before and after this decision. Sharma's sociological legal historic analysis of recent Supreme Court decisions expresses the same pessimistic view about Canadian courts as was advanced by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. RCAP (1996:683) noted that "courts are a blunt instrument... legal processes and direct action can delay projects... it is the treaty relationship that will establish a genuine reconciliation between Aboriginal peoples and other Canadians, based on the principles of mutual respect and sharing." The final reports and recommendations of the RCAP share divergence and convergence with *Aboriginal Fishing Rights*.

*Aboriginal Fishing Rights: Laws, Courts, and Politics* is plainly laid out in five chapters: "Introduction," "Aboriginal Fishing Rights before *Sparrow*," "The *Sparrow* Decision," "After the *Sparrow* Decision," and "*Sparrow*, the Law and Social Transformation." For anthropologists this book is a too brief, but nonetheless fascinating discussion of equality and social transformation since the establishment of the Canadian *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (1982), as expressed through a challenge to the Canadian Nation state by Aboriginal fishing rights. As a source book *Aboriginal Fishing* provides a summary discussion of the evolution of Aboriginal fishing rights in Canadian Courts. For students of cultural anthropology and environmental anthropology, the book serves to deconstruct the ideology of representative minority legal rights, laying bare the concept of ideology as central to discussions of law.

Anthropologists interested in fishing cultures, adaptations, social movements, technologies, and social-natural relationships, will find Sharma's book insufficient to fully understand the relationship of Aboriginal fishing and Canadian courts. The book is narrowly constructed and would have better served the author by fleshing out the arguments beyond the legalistic. Much of the historical developments leading to the contemporary fisheries in British Columbia are absent. Furthermore, Aboriginal fishing rights have had profound impacts outside of British Columbia and Sharma is noticeably silent on this point.

Many would agree that fishing people are by their very definition located or situated. Since European nations degraded and overpopulated Europe and the surrounding waters—outpacing local supplies, they began to cast their nets further ashore. The impacts of doing so have been subsumed under the rubric of colonization and imperialism. Sharma notes, "the history of colonialism and imperialism is a history created by the European powers and not by the vanquished. Indeed, recorded history remains the prerogative of those who have produced it" (p. 33). This statement is misleading, for his analysis really is a narrow focus on conditions in BC and says little about history. Since the colonial processes began in North America during the 1400s, fishing has developed a duality to satisfy local and market needs. The process replicated in Canada, and elsewhere, as a form of internal colonialism saw fishing companies accessing fishing stocks under conditions of frontier economics.

Sharma argues that, "the battle over fishing rights is really a battle over a valuable commodity and resource. It is a

battle between the powerful commercial industry and the aboriginal fishing communities who refuse to have their rights ignored and are asserting those rights with a persistence never seen before in Canada" (p. 30). Every single fishery in Canada has experienced the characteristics of: displaced Aboriginal fisheries, heavy depletions of stocks, enactment of fishing regulations, much fine-tuning, political-economic interference in fisheries management, struggles to control access to fish, excessive rates of exploitation and finally crisis. That there is anything other than salmon fisheries, harvested by First Nations, is not lost on this reader. For the uninitiated I would not recommend this book alone. In the final analysis it should be read with regional histories, such as writings by Diane Newell, Anthony Gulig, Frank Tough, Tim Holzkamm, Bonny McKay, to name a few from west to east coast.

Sharma's initial "strawman," cited in the preface of this review, needs to be questioned. With the history of Aboriginal fisheries in Canada it is no surprise that there is a struggle over Aboriginal fishing rights, a struggle that increased since Aboriginal and Treaty rights were enshrined in the Canadian Constitution (1982, [s.35(1)]). Before 1982 the federal government, through the Department of Fisheries and Oceans, and provincially through various Ministries of natural resources and fisheries, negated Aboriginal and Treaty rights to fish resources. I have spent the last five years studying Cree and Ojibwe knowledge of lake sturgeon (which they call namaew/name), and I can tell you that the historical displacement of Aboriginal fisheries occurred in Manitoba over a hundred years ago. In British Columbia, Salmonids are the main resources and the displacement of Aboriginal salmon fisheries mirrors what occurred a hundred years earlier in the east. That is until 1982.

The struggle has changed due to the Constitution. The focus on the right to fish as a cultural right to resources, a right to subsistence, and a right to commercial development, is indeed profound and misleading. The complexity of this "rights discourse" is based on a complex set of developments, including changing environmental histories, political and social developments, and a concentration of global capitalism through industrialization of fishing. The significant limit of this book is the research and analysis ends in 1996. Since then the Supreme Court has decided on the nature and test of Aboriginal title in the *Delgamuukw* decision (1997). It would be interesting to known how the analysis in this book would change when *Delgamuukw* is factored in. Does the decision further mystify and thwart Aboriginal economic and political development? Has the Supreme Court managed to integrate First Nations into the Canadian body politic? Has the establishment of Aboriginal title as a *sui generis* notion of collective title impinged further on the question of minority rights? Read *Aboriginal Fishing Rights* along with other fine books such as *Fishing Places, Fishing People: Traditions and Issues in Canadian Small-Scale Fisheries*.

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**Susan F. Hirsch,** *Pronouncing & Persevering: Gender and the Discourses of Disputing in an African Islamic Court,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998, xiii + 360 pages.


Reviewer: *Blair Rutherford*
*University of Regina*


Through carefully interweaving current thinking from linguistic and legal anthropology, feminist theorizing, and postcolonial Islamic and Africanist research into a multilayered text, Susan F. Hirsch has provided a rich, insightful and powerfully argued ethnography on the performance of disputing marital conflict in Islamic Kadhi Courts of Swahili communities in coastal Kenya. This latest book from the "Language and Legal Discourse" series from the University of Chicago Press pushes boundaries in many (sub)fields while offering an engaging understanding of current gender politics in an Islamic setting in postcolonial Africa.

Hirsch frames her ethnography around a current postcolonial feminist dilemma: how to understand, and write about, gender hierarchies without reifying nonwestern women into agentless victims or, the reverse, celebrating their "agency" in a way that whitewashes very real hierarchies and inequities. The dilemma is especially acute for Hirsch given her subject matter: Islamic women and Islamic law. A well-established academic and feminist literature, as well as common conventional understanding in North America (and elsewhere), depicts Islamic women as literally silenced by Islamic law, assuming that throughout the "Islamic world" this institution provides very few legal rights and protection for women and thus contributes to their general oppression under Islamic patriarchy (in contrast, as the established narrative goes, to the freedoms western women enjoy under liberal democracy). This image does resonate with a dominant discourse amongst Kenyan Swahilis regarding marital disputes which is summarized in the book's title: the husbands are authorized to make legal pronouncements of divorce while wives are encouraged to silently persevere through marital hardships. Yet, as Hirsch carefully and persuasively shows, alternative gender relations have been effected through this hegemonic discourse, thereby exposing its own limits as well as those of western essentializing discourses. For the catch, Hirsch's route out of this dilemma, is that since the 1970s Swahili women in Kenya have not only been initiating but also, and more importantly, been winning

the vast majority of marital dispute cases handled by the Kadhi's Court, the state-recognized institution that deals primarily with family law matters between Muslims in Kenya.

To make her case, Hirsch draws on various forms of evidence, especially the following: linguistic and feminist research on understanding legal disputing as well as gender relations and subject positions through narratives, performance, and discourse; her own ethnographic understanding of Swahili family dynamics and, particularly, concerns over respectability; and the changing position and attributes of the Kadhi Courts in postcolonial Kenya at the level of national legislation and Swahili community politics. Although she has a chapter on broad themes in the rich ethnography and historiography of Swahili communities, the key to her analytic argument is the unpacking of the linguistic means, features and contexts that have enabled Swahili women to generally win their cases by telling stories of family troubles which, in turn, opens themselves up for moral censure.

Through careful linguistic examination of the interactive speech of case transcripts she recorded in the 1980s and the broader enduring frameworks of discursive formations and linguistic ideologies that inform (but not determine) the court narratives of conflict, Hirsch asks the reader to understand the complicated and contradictory ways Swahili women and men are constituted as gendered speakers and subjects in court and how that has helped to transform gender relations. In particular, she focusses on how women narratively perform compelling stories of themselves as persevering wives in a context of family tumult. This performance of gender not only facilitates their victories in divorce and maintenance cases in Islamic courts but, at the same time, exposes them to censure for exposing family secrets, a trait Swahilis commonly associate with women. Thus these women simultaneously challenge and reinscribe gender hierarchies through their victories. Nonetheless, she stresses that by reworking gender relations in court and, she alludes, through other contexts, these Swahili women may, with an emphasis on the contingency of social action, be transforming gender hierarchies on a broader scale.

But, as Hirsch reminds us, for many of the women in her book, this is not a struggle waged under the icon of "women," but through being "persevering wives." Through attending to such culturally specific processes of gender hegemony and struggle, her ethnography demonstrates a felicitous analytical and political direction for postcolonial feminist anthropologists to follow—one that neither reifies nor romanticizes Islamic African women but rather examines the localized cultural and linguistic politics in which they wage their struggles.

Although I think that Hirsch's argument would be stronger if she included more evidence of the views of different Swahili women and men about this change in court results since the 1970s, and of the ways in which these court victories by Swahili women are effecting other changes in gender relations more widely in Kenyan coastal communities, I find her ethnography to be an astute example of the importance of attending to discourse at a variety of levels and in particular contexts to understand how social hierarchies are perpetuated and challenged in complex ways. Despite being theoretically dense in a few places, given the range of debates covered and the current importance of Hirsch's argument for those anthropologists (and others) engaged in understanding and debating postcolonial politics, *Pronouncing & Persevering* is an excellent ethnography for many, many audiences.

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**Wendy James and N.J. Allen (eds.),** *Marcel Mauss: A Centenary Tribute,* New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, xii + 260 pages.

Reviewer: *Andrew P. Lyons*
*Wilfrid Laurier University*

This volume contains a selection of papers from a 1998 conference at Oxford which celebrated the centenary of the *Année Sociologique*. The editors are to be congratulated for assembling a diverse collection of stimulating papers. There is barely a weak one in the bunch.

A paper by the Russian sociologist, Alexander Gofman, wittily pinpoints a central problem in Maussian scholarship:

> One could easily formulate a quasi-law whereby the more a theory or a concept is clear, well defined, and open to unequivocal interpretation, the less are its chances of success within the community of sociologists. And conversely, the more a theory or concept is ambiguous, obscure and confused, the more it is likely to dominate the sociological mind. (p. 64)

Mauss's work, like that of Marx and other important writers, is "rich in ideas but incomplete." It is full of ambiguities. Gofman and other contributors note and in varied ways evaluate the deceptive transparency of such notions as *the gift, total social facts* and *l'homme total*. Beyond doubt, they are Mauss's most influential concepts, but he did not advance consistent definitions for them. For example, Gofman observes that *total social facts* may denote the idea of social holism, which includes not merely all social institutions but the *totality of the actor,* individual and collective. More specifically the concept refers to institutions which are *total* inasmuch as they are simultaneously religious, political and economic in nature. For my own part, I always thought that the last of these meanings was primary.

No less than four essays (Tim Jenkins, Alain Testart, Paul Dresch, Ilana Silber) are devoted to the evaluation of the arguments of the *Essai sur le don.* In the first half of his paper, Jenkins outlines Derrida's critique of Mauss which has been advanced in *Donner le temps* (1991) and a couple of early essays. Derrida has developed an ideal-typical picture of the gift. Basically, it should not appear to be a gift at all. There can be no principle of reciprocity, because any acknowledg-

ment of such a principle immediately introduces an idea of calculated self-interest. Donors cannot acknowledge their status lest self-aggrandizement ensue (this is a form of return on the gift). Recipients cannot acknowledge their status, because that very acknowledgment is also a form of return on the gift. If such be a pure gift, then no such phenomenon was described in the *Essai sur le don* (pp. 84-87). Jenkins also gives an interesting explanation of Derrida's idea of *general economy* which relates two opposed principles: the excessive even violent display of conspicuous consumption which disrupts the cycle of social time, and calculated, long-term cyclical exchange based on production and the law of scarcity. The writing style emulates Derrida's abstruseness. Too much is attempted in too brief a space.

Three essays (Testart and particularly Dresch and Silber) make reference to Jonathan Parry's influential essay, *"The Gift, The Indian Gift and the 'Indian Gift'"* (Parry, 1986). Parry believes that a correct construction of tribal gift exchange in Mauss's work must stress that it simultaneously acknowledges the principle of obligatory reciprocity and emphasizes generosity, consumption and (sometimes agonistic) excess. Mauss's evolutionary perspective is evident in his argument that contemporary capitalism has divorced contractual reciprocity from the action of giving. Parry further explains that Hindu religious gifts do not fit Mauss's model, inasmuch as there is no expectation of human reciprocity, albeit there may be a hope of *karma*. Notions of pollution inherent in the gift and its recipient imply ritual danger in such transactions. In such cases, the "spirit of the gift" (a notion Parry endorses, *pace* Sahlins) does not compel its return.

Testart thinks that there is indeed a fundamental weakness in Mauss's argument: the obligation to return the gift may be no obligation at all, inasmuch as the donor may not even expect a return gift, or else has no enforceable claim-rights. Were he (Testart) to give money to a beggar, he would not expect the beggar to acknowledge any obligation. Potlatch transactions create obligations which may not be enforceable aside from social pressures (a chief who does not return gifts may lose face and position). The many poor people who are entertained at potlatches have no obligation to make return gifts. However, a kula trader who does not receive an appropriate valuable as return-gift may exercise a claim-right—an appropriate valuable may be seized from the defaulting partner. In this way, kula resembles pure contract. Testart disregards Parry's recension of Mauss's argument about the spirit of the gift, as well as forms of reciprocity in the form of reputational or moral rewards. He also fails to deal with Mauss's obvious heightened regard for collective obligation.

Dresch's paper is an historical and ethnographic exposition of views concerning exchange in Islamic societies. Trading may be a profitable activity in many Arab and Central Asian countries, but exchange is not a total social fact. There is no mystique attached to objects of exchange or the exchange process. Indeed, a strong egalitarianism and a desire to escape from dangerous social entanglements often inhibits exchange. Thus a rich person is enjoined by the Qur'an and Arabic tradition to escape from family obligations and spend riches in the granting of hospitality and in gifts to the poor. Marriage exchanges with strangers carry the risk of dishonour for either party. Endogamy is preferred. Islamic societies therefore express in a very strong form the salience of Mauss's remarks about the "poison" which may be inherent in the gift. However, Mauss had very little to say about the Middle East in the *Essai sur le Don.*

In an inventive essay, Silber discusses corporate philanthropy. Superficially, this is very different from Maussian exchange, nor does it fit easily into either of the contemporary spheres of gift and contract which (according to Parry) Mauss distinguishes. It is impersonal, involves money rather than objects with a personal history, and there is no obligation to return the gift. Furthermore, philanthropy may have disreputable motives, including a need to extend corporate power. However, Silber observes that a very personal element may still be involved in philanthropy. By selecting charities, designating worthy groups, and actively seeking some solidarity with them, philanthropists and members of the boards of charitable organizations endeavour still to ensure that donors, in bestowing a gift, give away part of themselves. Furthermore, some charitable functions may constitute an equivalent to Maussian exchange ceremonies. They may be total social facts.

Abandoning the strict sociological determinism of his uncle, Émile Durkheim, Mauss explored the interrelationship of society, the body and even the psyche in a series of essays produced in the 1920s and 1930s. That interrelationship is expressed in modes of bodily comportment, gestures, illnesses and also in the way the body is deployed in various technical activities. Such activities in turn may influence the social domain. Bruno Karsenti discusses a 1926 paper by Mauss which investigated the roles played by social, psychological and biological factors in the phenomenon we now know as "Voodoo Death." Claudine Haroche demonstrates the utility of Mauss's ideas in the comprehension of patterned bodily activities such as gestures of deference and precedence in processions. In a complex and brilliant essay, Nathan Schlanger reminds us that Mauss examined the possibility that activities such as weaving and ploughing (and not merely sacred ceremonial) might serve as models for social classification. It was, in fact, Mauss rather than our contemporary Bourdieu, who first used the word "habitus" to describe such social aspects of the human body. Schlanger also describes the diffusionism which became part of Mauss's ethnology by the 1930s, and the ways in which it differed from the nationalist form of diffusionism embraced by Marin and Montandon. He did not view cultural traits as the products of any peculiar national genius, and observed that they were eminently borrowable.

One of the editors, Wendy James, contributes an excellent introduction to the collection ("Marcel Mauss and

'English' Anthropology") as well as an article on Mauss's reviews of Africana in the *Année.* African societies were not utilized as models in the work of Durkheim and Mauss. However, Mauss learnt much about Africa from his voluminous reading. In his reviews, he is rarely guilty of the "sin" Johannes Fabian has dubbed *"allochronicity"* (James doesn't use the word), the false separation of traditional space/time from the "hot" political theatre of modernity in which "tribes" interact with both neighbours and colonizers. James draws particular attention to Mauss's comparison of the Masai to the Hebrews in terms of pastoralism, ritual, military organization and relationships (from hostility to symbiosis to mutual influence) with neighbouring groups, and his insistence that these similarities were evolutionary or functional parallels rather than the product of Semitic migration.

Two essays deal with Indian themes. Nick Allen, the second editor, builds on a small essay by Mauss *(Anna-Viraj)* to explore aspects of Hindu Samkhya cosmology with particular reference to notions of universal substance. The 25 *tattvas* of Samkhya are explored with reference to ideas of humours, moral qualities, colour and number symbolism, etc. Allen is a follower of Georges Dumézil, but in Samkhya as elsewhere he finds that, "Dumézilian triads are substructures within pentadic wholes" (p. 185). Jonathan Parry notes that Louis Dumont, as a pupil of Mauss, deliberately used traditional India as an extreme case to illustrate the principle of hierarchy, just as Beuchat and Mauss had once used the Inuit as an extreme case of seasonal variation in social morphology. He contributes an elegant defence of Dumont against detractors who claim that *Homo hierarchicus* was the work of a sympathizer with the pre-war Catholic Right in France or who advance the view that distinctions between status and power were a product of British colonialism, before which kings enjoyed both maximum status and power. He tries to show that such detractors quite simply have their facts wrong. Parry does offer his own views on hierarchy and complementarity, and in so doing reverses the usual criticism of Dumont by saying that the latter's stress on complementarity is a view from the bottom up. The Vaishya could not deny relationship with the Brahman, but the Brahman could indeed deny his relationship with the Vaishya, and might even renounce the world.

Last but not least, the volume contains an interesting "intellectual self-portrait" by Mauss himself. This is a translation of a memorandum written in 1930 when Mauss was a candidate for election to the Collège de France. It is of much historical interest as a memento, but it is not particularly informative to those who can already trace an outline of Mauss's career and intellectual development. Significantly and not surprisingly, it makes no explicit reference to Mauss's religious background which is the theme of an essay by W.S.F. Pickering. The latter concludes his piece with a somewhat peculiar binary contrast between Durkheim and Mauss. Inasmuch as Christianity tends to formal creeds, dogmatic theology and rationalism, and Judaism has precisely the opposite tendency (apart from Spinoza), Durkheim, who liked Descartes and favoured grand theoretical statements, may be described as a follower of Enlightenment Christianity, whereas Mauss, who preferred themes to systems and investigated the "connectedness" of human life, was loyal to his Jewish ancestral roots. Pickering, who has contributed so much to our understanding of Durkheim's statements on religion, seems strangely unaware of the rationalist stream in contemporary Judaism or of the agnostic reflections on Jewish religious practice which, more than any fictional corroboree or half-imagined totemism, probably underlie the exposition of such notions as effervescence, the positive and the negative cult. I do not believe that Durkheim's "Jewishness is the key to his sociology" (p. 48), but I do think that Pickering may not appreciate the subtlety of Durkheim's stance toward the religion he partially abandoned (see Lyons, 1981).

Above all else, this well-organized and well-edited volume demonstrates that Mauss, rather than Tylor, Morgan, Frazer or Durkheim, may be seen as the true founder of social anthropology, inasmuch as so many of the questions he raised continue to demand attention.

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**Nicolas Peterson and Bruce Rigsby, (eds.)** *Customary Marine Tenure in Australia,* Oceania Monograph, 48, Sydney: Oceania Publications, University of Sydney, 1998, vi + 263 pages.


Reviewer: *Colin H. Scott*
*McGill University*


In the past quarter century anthropology has ostensibly shed the blinkers that occluded our view of customary marine tenure, impelled by the decolonization of island and coastal peoples, proliferating marine resource crises, and indigenous rights actions. Peterson and Rigsby, in an instructive introductory chapter on the burgeoning literature, examine the mutually conditioning influences of ethnography, property theory and indigenous rights in shaping this development. Sharp, focussing on the Celtic fringe of Britain, attributes the historic "invisibility" of marine tenures to the capitalist enclosure of terrestrial property, and the hegemonic efficiency of an accompanying imperial doctrine of "freedom of the seas." In a quite different vein, Pannell critiques customary marine tenure ("CMT") as a recent anthropological invention, a cate-

gory more reflective of contemporary scholarly and political preoccupations than of its ethnographic referents.

The chapters present case ethnographies from 11 local or regional settings around coastal Australia, weighted to the tropical north. Together, they raise a spectrum of theoretical and methodological questions connected to the study of customary marine tenure. The relatively advanced state of inquiry in Australia on these questions makes the book, as a whole, important reading for anyone engaged in these issues elsewhere.

Rigsby's chapter considers theories of property applicable to marine tenure, with insightful triangulation on the nature of Aboriginal "communal" or "joint" property in sea/land—and its possible histories. He suggests, based on contractual and cost-benefit models, that property rights to offshore areas and resources developed only when Aboriginal people of the tropical north gained the technology to hunt dugongs and sea turtle on reefs and seagrass beds. An economic bias, however, neglects less utilitarian cultural conceptions of property. As Rigsby and Chase observe, property is not confined to that which is materially controlled and possessed, but includes all things to which some people, as against others, have particular rights and interests. Several chapters illustrate the diversity and flexibility of criteria and processes according to which rights are recognized internal to indigenous tenure systems (descent, birthplace, affinal ties, etc.). The conventional emphasis on the right and ability to exclude others from possession, occupation, use and enjoyment of property needs to be rethought in relation to cultural specifics.

Peterson and Rigsby note general agreement among Aboriginal people that permission is needed to hunt in their sea-land estates by people from other tenure groups, yet that permission is almost never refused. This circumstance, these authors caution, might lead people granted permission to attempt to convert into a legal *right* their normative expectation of non-refusal. This caution, however, bears qualification, depending on how we address a further issue: at what social scale is legal recognition desirable and practical? Is it the role of the state to adjudicate between the granters and recipients of permission? The rights of owners, together with normative expectations of permission, are a subset of social relations within broader functioning systems, and legal claims are often pressed by more inclusive polities. At this level, what rights might members of the polity-at-large command by virtue of what Rigsby refers to as "dominion" or "sovereignty" over lands and waters? In some cases, more particular lineage or clan estates have undergone "tribal"-scale amalgamation (Rigsby and Chase). How then, as Sullivan asks, can sea title be given corporate expression in terms legally recognizable as a form of Australian land/sea tenure?

Related to these questions are the following. Are property institutions a sufficiently discrete subset of wider social/cultural practices to be "excised" for Native title recognition? Or must the sovereign spaces of cultures-at-large be accommodated to protect indigenous rights and interests? Most contributors stress the embeddedness of land-sea property in holistic cultural relations that conjoin the economic and the religious, the material and the spiritual. Dreamings, understandings of community as encompassing human and non-human environment, and hunter-animal co-dependencies (Bradley, Cook and Armstrong; Southon) underwrite the moral as well as the practical knowledge dimensions of tenure—shaping its role in exchange and resource stewardship.

What are the seaward limits, ethnographically speaking, of marine title? Are they defined by the limits of visual surveillance? Of areas regularly used and occupied? Of areas about which detailed cultural knowledge exists? Do they extend to the full sphere of ritual influence (Memmot and Trigger; Cook and Armstrong)? How inclusive are the bundles of rights comprising ownership? Are rights to waters, seabed, and airspace included; and to which associated resources? What is the relationship between contiguous sea and land estate? Are the marine portions subject to the same kind of rights, duties and responsibilities as the land portions? While in some cases it seems that they are, at least in the nearshore (see Palmer), other evidence indicates divergence in conception, rule and practice (see Barker; Bagshaw).

A final set of questions raised by the volume concerns the implications of change, and cultural continuity through time. What has been the impact of colonization, of changing technologies and production patterns, of competition for resources, on the reduction and expansion of tenure conceptions and practices? What bases are there in "traditional" practice for addressing the question of subsistence versus commercial fishing rights in modern contexts? This bifurcation, assumed by the courts, posed a serious problem in the New South Wales case described by Cane—an instance of the more general risk of rights being undermined by changes in the customs and traditions regarded as the legal source of those rights.

The all-embracing character of customary marine tenure, the multiplicity of its definitional aspects, is evidence for Pannell of its tendency to anthropological fetishization. While clearly the category is a recent construct, historically situated at the intersection of ethnographic, legal, and indigenous discourses, the chapters of this volume also demonstrate, for the most part, its meaningful reference to everyday cultural experience. The multivocality of the category owes, in part, to the phenomenologically interwoven practices that configure relations of rights and responsibilities with respect to sea, land and resources. And it owes too, in part, to the politically contested condition of all influential theoretical constructs.

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**George E. Marcus (ed.),** *Corporate Futures: The Diffusion of the Culturally Sensitive Corporate Form,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Reviewer: *Paul G. Letkemann*
*The University of Lethbridge*

Ten diverse chapters in this fifth of an annual series of edited volumes entitled "Cultural Studies for the End of the Century," attempt to illustrate "the facts-and-figures-oriented corporation's turn towards its soft cultural underbelly, and to things cultural in general" (p. 2). This book is not centrally concerned with the relationship of corporations to surrounding cultures, instead showing ways that internal corporate culture is changing and why these changes must begin with alternate, innovative forms of managerial ideology and practice.

The first chapter provides an historical and theoretical background to questions surrounding the apparent lack of effective or innovative leadership practices existing at the managerial level. Included is a discussion of how the integration of human relations (or the cultural side of corporations) with organizational decision-making and structure was partially implemented, and met with resistance within corporations and through socio-economic and political change. This historically comprehensive account argues that internal corporate cultural awareness can occur only through innovative managerial practice. The following chapters include discussions between authors and a variety of middle and upper management corporate executives. Frontline workers and their ideas are ignored, although these corporate members are paradoxically referred to in general, as very innovative people. This selective interviewing means that the cultural dynamics and heterogeneity presented are more properly those of corporate *managerial*, rather than "inclusive," culture.

This selectivity notwithstanding, the chapters in this book often prove fascinating, especially in those cases where the interviewees are given equal narrative space as the authors, thus becoming true interlocutors engaged in an unimpaired dialogue. This, as one of the stated purposes of the text, is ultimately its greatest strength. Chapter 2 presents an engaging illustration of how the neglect of relevant human corporate elements in the assessment of businesses in the stock market ratings index can result in a more volatile stock market, especially in terms of providing only partial information to investors, as well as to community, environmental and other public interest groups.

Chapter 3 centres on the interview of one very successful and innovative middle-manager, and his perception of corporate culture in general, as well as his role in it. Innovative humanistic techniques and theories are described. Interestingly, while strict top-down decision-making is seen as undesirable, managers retain the role of "orchestrating" or "directing" what are otherwise seen as "chaotic" undirected ideas. The result is a somewhat ironic dialectic between acknowledging collective participation in innovative ideas and decisions, while at the same time taking individual credit for a manager's very distinct role.

Chapter 4 provides a highly descriptive look at a unique adaptation of Japanese cultural elements in a photo-developing firm in Columbia. The images of kimono-wearing employees in Columbia, along with quasi-Japanese "business philosophy" are interesting, but lack any theoretical framing. Further, the high turnover of beginning employees is mentioned, but not explained. Here, in particular, the opinions of frontline workers become highly salient, yet remain absent. Incorporated in Chapter 5 is a truly balanced narrative dialogue dealing with the fascinating process of developing future scenarios-as-myths for the world-wide policy directives of the Shell corporation. These scenarios are tightly integrated with data from a multidisciplinary team and then extensively discussed by numerous thought groups, providing invaluable and creative corporate planning. A very different, more "traditional" approach is illustrated in Chapter 6 with the example of a German banking firm's methods for deciding which national markets would be financially rewarding for investors, and which to dismiss as "irrelevant." Although the bank's speculators see themselves as using only a wealth of objective data in their decision-making, the author uses pointed questions and interspersed quotations to highlight ironic and inconsistent narrative. The tension between this perception of "hard financial science" and many, largely unacknowledged yet equally considered cultural (and even racial) factors, becomes obvious through this emphasis on irony and paradox. The author also elicits ways that workplace practice perceived as dealing exclusively with "hard objective data," may affect values and concepts of home and family lives.

In Chapter 7 a medical practitioner/biotechnologist narrates how he found creative freedom in a biotechnology firm to be as prevalent as in the academy. The developmental process of a new drug for cystic fibrosis is used to show co-operative multiple group collaboration, one dominant form of the new "corporate cultural organization." Unfortunately, biotechnological and genetic details sometimes overshadow the social dynamics. The evolution of a very liberal American "think tank" organization over an almost 30-year period is dealt with in Chapter 8. The co-founders describe their roles, organizational dynamics, problems encountered from within and outside the organization, and how the organizational principles were compromised. The related theme of community-based political activism is introduced in Chapter 9. Much like the innovative manager's account in Chapter 3, these activists describe their roles as mobilizing, informing, and especially orchestrating political or environmental movements, in which a diverse population needs "direction" to focus on specific issues rather than personal differences. Chapter 10 differs in thematic content from the rest in outlining ways that "traditional" hierarchical corporate structures can be imposed even upon the supposedly "autonomous" artistic world, ultimately affecting artistic expression.

This book provides intriguing insights for anyone interested in corporate managerial culture, and how this heterogeneous, dynamic culture is changing, affecting corporate culture in general. The level of academic jargon varies from chapter to chapter and thus the book as a whole does not provide a very consistent reading style, although the chapters do complement one another. The bulk of theoretical discourse is found in Chapter 1, and connecting this to following chapters, as well as understanding relationships between chapters, is sometimes difficult. I would recommend this book for use in fourth-year undergraduate or graduate program courses. As intended, the volume does illustrate the complex interplay between social science and managerial dialogue. The volume is intended to complement, not supplant more holistic ethnographical material (p. 3), and would be well-supplemented by texts providing narratives of frontline workers and workplace and/or managerial theory in more detail.

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**Ralph Maud,** *Transmission Difficulties: Franz Boas and Tsimshian Mythology,* Burnaby, British Columbia: Talonbooks, 2000, 174 pages, $16.95 (paper).

Reviewer: *Christopher F. Roth*
*Barat College*

This volume concludes years of research into the collaboration between Franz Boas and his Tsimshian informant Henry Wellington Tate which resulted in Boas's *Tsimshian Mythology* (1916). Maud compares published texts with originals in preserved correspondence and manuscripts and uncovers disturbing and extensive "transmission difficulties" which Boas never acknowledges in print. Boas lets readers believe they are reading original narratives transcribed from the mouths of tellers and translated thoughtfully into English. In fact, Tate never transcribed face-to-face; he wrote in English, then translated into Tsimshian; and he cribbed from earlier publications, which Boas had sent him as models. Then Boas doctored the texts, often to disguise Tate's methods but sometimes also in the service of prudery or now-discredited approaches to textual "purity." Surely Boas's methods compromise the authenticity, immediacy, and usefulness of the result.

In showing this, Maud provides a valuable service. But in many ways *Transmission Difficulties*, with its meager bibliography and no index, is a troubling book. First, readers will be put off by Maud's attacks on Boas's character, of a ferocity almost never seen in scholarly writing. Not content to analyze the theoretical context for Boas's methodology, Maud attributes any problems in *Tsimshian Mythology* to Boas's personal failings. He calls him "silly," "officious" (p. 23), "uncaring" (p. 31), "ethically mixed up" (p. 39), and "egocentric" (p. 42), refers to Boas's "cowardice," "hypocrisy" (p. 43), "rank sophistry" (p. 65), and "strangely diminished intellectual state" (p. 42), and opines that Boas "gives pedantry a bad name," deserving not "even the noble name of drudge" (p. 31). Nor does Boas's other great informant, George Hunt, escape such vitriol; Maud calls Hunt's texts "quite possibly the most dreary literary production that the world has ever been presented with" (p. 92).

Maud frames his attacks as a crusade, though he largely ignores a long tradition criticizing Boas's assumptions and methodology. This criticism is the foundation of North American anthropology as we know it, but Maud imagines himself a lone dissenter against a cult of Boasian divinity.

In the most egregious passage, Maud cites Tate's 1907 letter admitting omitting "very bad things" in stories because Tsimshians now live a "Christian life." In reply, Boas urges unflinching completeness, asking Tate not to be ashamed of "horrid customs of olden times" that are "quite distasteful to us" (pp. 37-38). Here Boas, like any ethnographer, gropes for a discourse in which to discuss discontinued practices. For Maud, however who misunderstands the integrative role of Tsimshian Christianity and interprets any Christian influence as anti-traditional—Boas's wording reveals an ethnocentric arrogance which "disqualifies Boas as an anthropologist" and surely convinced Tate that "Boas hates Tsimshian culture." After inferring baselessly that Boas was "genuinely horrified by savage practices" of the Tsimshian such as "head-hunting" [*sic*!] and "lineage boasting in the interminable garage sales called potlatches," Maud, who is not an anthropologist, offers his own version of anthropological ethics, by which anthropologists should even be prepared to "identify with . . . the necessity . . . and joy . . . of 'ethnic cleansing'" (p. 39). By this point it is no longer Boas's level of enlightenment (unimpeachable for his time and place, incidentally) that should concern the reader.

Regarding the botched Tate texts, Maud writes that "it has to be done over." But it has been done over, in a mountain of texts and ethnography by Marius Barbeau, William Beynon, Viola Garfield, and others which recapitulates, then dwarfs and eclipses Boas's clearly flawed book. This accounts for the silence over Tsimshian Mythology's shortcomings that so baffles Maud (pp. 9-10): by the 1930s everyone knew the book was obsolete. Maud sees Tate's original English manuscripts, in all of their vernacular immediacy, as the real treasure trove; hence his 1993 edited text-collection (*The Porcupine Hunter*, Talonbooks), which did little more than reformat Tate's English with line-breaks. But his contention that Tate's compositions were original bricolages is untested against what we know about Tsimshian cultural rules governing memorizing and reciting. The rich post-Boas ethnography could have highlighted for Maud how Tate mostly neglects lineage histories he was culturally forbidden to relate precisely the narratives Beynon, who was Tsimshian, knew to elicit only from authorized tellers. Instead Tate mostly sticks to the far less culturally significant Raven cycle, which is "public property."

Maud is at his least facetious in an extended discussion of the "Story of Asdiwal." Clearly he enjoys these narratives

for their own sake. He rightly chastises Boas for mining this tale for "story elements" but neglecting larger meanings, and he calls Lévi-Strauss's famous analysis of "Asdiwal" an oversimplified "flight of fancy" (p. 93). But, after tearing down other approaches, Maud's own lengthy analysis contains mostly questions which the ethnographic record could have answered for him. Maud conjectures that "Asdiwal" is an Eagle-clan saga (p. 105, p. 141), though it bears none of the hallmarks of lineage histories, such as protagonists who leave matrilineal descendants. This is obvious to anyone who has spent sufficient time with the Barbeau-Beynon corpus.

Maud's own "flights of fancy" abound. Maud complains that little is known of Tate's identity and offers a confused genealogy identifying him and Beynon as brothers (p. 14), but much could have been cleared up by consulting Garfield's and Beynon's preserved notes. Of Tate's relative, the Tsimshian diarist Arthur Wellington Clah, Maud assumes that Clah is from Chinook Jargon and was a sobriquet given him by a missionary (pp. 11-12), though records are clear that it derives from Wellington's Tsimshian hereditary name La'ax.

Whether it is details or larger issues, Maud seems obsessed with Boas's injustices to Tate's work but strangely uninterested in its context as elaborated elsewhere in the literature. The ludicrous suggestion that a lineage history is unreliable when told by a member of that lineage (p. 91) is a case in point.

Finally, in an epilogue, Maud complains of *American Anthropologist*'s rejection of his earlier paper on Boas and Hunt: "Boasians closed ranks with a vengeance, and the piece was not published" (p. 129). (One wonders: are there any more Boasians?) For a scholar to speculate about possible politics behind a rejection is only human, but airing conspiracy theories publicly is unsavoury. Any readers making it that far in *Transmission Difficulties* will remain unworried about A.A.'s review process but may well wonder what exactly is going on over at Talonbooks.

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**Caroline B. Brettell,** *Writing against the Wind: A Mother's Life History,* Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1999, xxiv + 193 pages.

Reviewer: *Sally Cole*
*Concordia University*

The title of anthropologist Caroline Brettell's "life history" of her mother recalls Nisa's words to Marjorie Shostak in *Nisa: The Life and Words of a !Kung Woman* (Harvard University Press, 1981): "I'll break open the story and tell you what is there. Then, like the others that have fallen out onto the sand, I will finish with it, and the wind will take it away." As Shostak sought to do with Nisa's words, Brettell hopes to ensure that, by recording and publishing a life of her mother—a practice Susan Geiger calls "writing against the wind"—her mother's words and life will not be lost to the wind after her death. This life history is also Brettell's attempt to come to terms with the loss of her mother to cancer in 1991.

Zoe Bieler was a talented woman whose life began on a farm in the Okanagan Valley in 1915. As a child she was an avid reader who dreamt of other worlds and who early discovered writing as a tool of self-realization and exploration of life's possibilities and alternatives. Zoe was profoundly curious about the world and trained herself to be a keen observer and a good listener through the practice of journal-keeping which she began as a young teenager. At the University of British Columbia during the 1930s, she worked on the campus paper, the *Ubyssey*. Through the gift of a savings bond, her dying mother encouraged her to travel to Europe after graduation and Zoe faithfully recorded her observations of that year, 1938-39, in a travel memoir. A few years after her return to Canada, she was launched in what became a lifelong career in journalism in Montreal working first for *The Standard* (1943-1954), then for *The Montreal Star* (1954-1979). In an appendix, Brettell provides a fascinating sample of Zoe's writings as a journalist on topics such as adoption, divorce settlements, single mothers, working mothers, sexuality, genetics and pay equity.

Brettell organizes the book around the different genres of writing her mother explored throughout her life: the adolescent diary, the travel memoir, the published journalism. In addition to these sources, she draws on her own memories and those of relatives and her mother's friends and colleagues as well as the weekly letters she and her mother exchanged from 1967, the year Brettell left home to study anthropology at Brown University, until a month before Zoe's death in 1991. "As mother and daughter we were bound by writing," Brettell recalls. Brettell's structure for the book effectively creates a multiply voiced text: each chapter begins with a quote from Zoe, then a prologue in Brettell's words as daughter-author-social scientist in which she situates the account that follows in social, historical and literary context. The text that follows relies largely upon Zoe's words chosen by Brettell both to help "compose" her mother's life and to offer her mother's words as an observer of the world of women of her time and place. "It is my mother's production of words that provides both the foundation and the structural framework for this book," Brettell writes (p. xviii).

In her Introduction, Caroline Brettell—who has previously published the life histories of three Portuguese emigrant women in *We have Already Cried Many Tears* (Waveland Press, 1995)—reviews the anthropological literature on life histories and the issues of voice, authority, self and other that are present in all life writing and ethnography. In reading *Writing against the Wind*, I was reminded of *A Very Ordinary Life* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1974), anthropologist Rolf Knight's life history of his mother who also grew up in British Columbia in the early years of the 20th century. When Knight had asked her if he could record her life history, his mother had replied: "Why would you want to tell my story? I've lived

a very ordinary life." Brettell had wanted her mother to write her life story during her retirement but Zoe had felt there was not much of a story to tell. Why would people be interested in her life, in her career? she had asked (p. xi). *Writing against the Wind* joins the best of anthropologicial life histories of "ordinary" people in giving us extraordinarily rich ethnographic insights into the diversity of ways of being human in particular times and places.

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**Karsten Paerregaard,** *Linking Separate Worlds: Urban Migrants and Rural Lives in Peru,* Oxford: Berg, 1997.

Reviewer: *Susan Vincent*
*Mount Allison University*

Paerregaard begins his book by invoking the long-standing image of Peru as two separate worlds, one modern, official, urban, Spanish-speaking and capitalist, while the other is traditional, informal, rural, Quechua-speaking and peasant. While early treatments largely left the connections between the two worlds unanalyzed, over the past two decades these connections have been made the subject of anthropological research. Paerregaard contributes to this focus on connections by writing about migrants as the manifestation of the links between the worlds.

This is a wide-ranging book, replete with fascinating detail about the lives of the villagers of Tapay in the southern Peruvian highlands and of Tapeño migrants to Arequipa and Lima. The strength of the book lies in the way disparate aspects from sports to religion are shown to be linked together. Paerregaard refuses to portray an easy homogeneous picture of Tapeño society and culture. Instead he weaves polyvalent themes of history, ethnicity and folklore, religion, kinship, livelihood and politics around the movements of migrants to present the complexity of Tapeño identity. This is an ethnographic rather than a theoretical book: Paerregaard's framework is to present a multitude of perspectives on Tapeño identity, rejecting the functionalist representation of homogeneity of much past anthropological writing.

The major focus of the book relates to ethnicity and identity which Paerregaard demonstrates to be complex and dynamic. For example, a discussion of the impact of the immigration of a family of Spanish-speaking mestizos in the 19th century, a priest and his brother and sister-in-law, reflects a combination of history, migration, kinship, politics and economics. While the priest's children (!) were identified as local people (*runa*) since he could not acknowledge paternity, his brother's children continued to be considered *mestizo* and formed the local elite. This domination ended when return *runa* migrants, with a command of Spanish as well as of political and economic process, were able to displace the *mestizo* family. Paerregaard then goes on to demonstrate that the current state of ethnic identity is differently formulated from the inherited class/cultural/linguistic division of the past. Thus, in Chapter 8, Paerregaard presents a discussion of ritual in both rural and urban spheres, demonstrating the dynamic and contextual hybrid that comprises folk identity.

Paerregaard's focus on migration allows for a rich analysis of the interplay between ideas deriving from rural and urban worlds. For example, in Chapter 7, a discussion of Catholicism and of conversion and reconversion to different Protestant sects in Tapay is set against a background of politics and migration. The necessary abstinence from drinking, music and dancing that Protestantism entails in Tapay leads to social isolation for converts, making it difficult to participate in rural social life. Thus, Paerregaard argues that Protestantism is linked to migrants, whose image of being Tapeño is less invested in close reciprocal social ties than non-migrants. Still, many lapse back into Catholicism as they attempt to adjust to a workable identity in the context of peasant life.

Much of the literature on rural-urban migration in Peru takes the economy as a central focus. While Paerregaard's concentration on identity overshadows economic processes, livelihood activities are a part of identity. Thus, the barter-based economy of Tapay is contrasted with the participation of migrants in capitalist markets. Barter and reciprocity do not imply harmonious social relations as, within Tapay, the vertical ecology is described in relation to the competing claims of the different regions in the community: there are social and political tensions between herders and agriculturalists, and among the agriculturalists there is rivalry over access to irrigation water. Clearly, the rural and urban economies are related as the wide range of activities in which Tapeños families get involved in order to meet their needs has extended to include urban work as migration becomes a part of a family's strategy. The family, like the community, is realistically portrayed, as he shows the contradictions and disagreements which arise as children and siblings grow up and have different experiences and expectations.

The message Paerregaard conveys is complex and even confusing. He is at pains to emphasize the great differences between urban and rural Tapeño lives and insists that these worlds are separate and incompatible. Nevertheless, he simultaneously shows the ways in which these worlds are intertwined and mutually defined as migrants and villagers move or visit back and forth, send agricultural produce or money to each other, and derive their identity from being from Tapay. On top of these opposing binaries of rural and urban, separate and united, Paerregaard adds a third: anthropologist and Tapeño. He notes that "An essential observation in my study of Tapeño villagers and migrants is that the separation of Peru's rural and urban worlds is as real to the people I studied as to myself as anthropologist" (p. 250). However, he says, unlike the anthropologist, the Tapeño is not disconcerted by living a contradictory double life and, indeed, finds that this "engenders strong feelings of unity" (p. 251). For the anthropologist, the living of contradictions *is* the problem to be analyzed and that is what Paerregaard has done here. There is no "dark side of the moon" (p. 250) as Paerregaard has shone a light on

both rural and urban worlds by focussing on the movement between them. Still, his emphasis on rural and urban as ineluctably distinct is odd, given the way they are shown to inform and define each other.

Still with respect to the anthropologist/Tapeño binary, Paerregaard makes the important observation that "While anthropologists call for a dissociation of our traditional concepts of culture and territory, Tapeños make every effort to localize their identity within a territory. While we deterritorialize and deconstruct culture, they territorialize and essentialize it" (p. 252). This reflexivity allows a critical understanding of both anthropological and experiential practice.

There are minor faults here. Although Paerregaard does not ignore women, I could wish that gender were a more significant conceptual tool in this analysis. Also, while the qualitative data are wonderful, the statistical data are poorly explained. From his total census of 1780 people, he chose a representative sample of villagers and migrants to survey (p. 16). The size of the survey is not given, nor is information about the bases on which the representative sample was chosen.

Overall, *Linking Separate Worlds* is a wonderfully rich and wide-ranging study that is as readable as it is informative. Researchers interested in Peru, migration and ethnographic writing will find this book a great resource.

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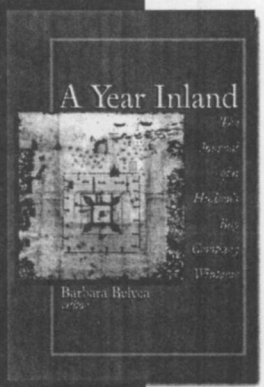


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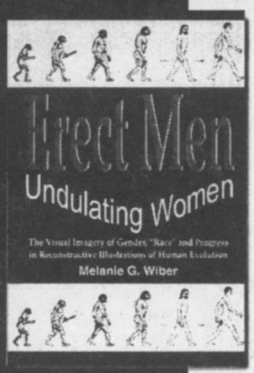


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