Anthropologica

Anthropology, Feminism and Childhood Studies

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Sherpa student in a school dance performance, Chaurikharka, Nepal. Photo by Tom O'Neill, March 1991.

Anthropology, Feminism and Childhood Studies

Jane Helleiner
Virginia Caputo
Pamela Downe

Childhood, as a socially and culturally shaped category, has become increasingly contested in the current era of restructuring in a rapidly globalized world. Transformations have taken place in everyday life generating a great deal of scholarly attention focused on understanding the ways children face these changes in the context of local, national and globalized political economies. This increased attention has given rise to a rapidly growing interdisciplinary "childhood studies" (see James, Jenks and Prout 1998; Jenkins, 1998; and Jenks 1996) and more specifically, a reinvigorated anthropology of childhood (Scheper-Hughes and Sargent, 1998; Stephens, 1995). This special issue arose from our interest in extending the work of previous feminist scholars in attempting to bring together feminist and anthropological lenses through which to view children and childhood.

Relatively recently, feminist scholars including Barrie Thorne (1987), Ann Oakley (1994) and Leena Alanen (1994) have signalled the need for a broader engagement between feminism and childhood studies by arguing that the feminist rethinking of the "private/public" dichotomy has cast women and children into various public spheres. In emphasizing the need to focus on how "age relations, like gender relations are built into varied institutions and social circumstances" (Thorne 1987: 99), these authors thereby extend prevailing and persuasive feminist critiques to address the nature and effects of the "adultism" that is systematically embedded in social relations, culture and scholarship itself. These critiques have great relevance because they point both to the ways in which adult/child hierarchies articulate with other forms of oppression (such as those based on gender, class and race) and to the need for greater reflexivity among researchers in understanding their own positionings vis-à-vis different and unequally located children and childhoods. But despite this relevance, few studies have

taken up these issues. The paucity of works that embrace, and build upon, these foundational analyses reveal, we believe, the tenacity of an historically and culturally-bound model of children as pre- social, passive, dependent and part of a private "natural" domestic sphere beyond the realm of social or cultural analysis.

Anthropologists Sharon Stephens (1995), Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Carolyn Sargent (1998), however, have renewed and broadened the anthropology of childhood, citing feminism as an inspiration for this project. As editors they each have (1) drawn attention to parallels between the experiences of women and children, (2) emphasized how feminist theorizing can provide an analytical model for similar work in child research, and (3) included gender as a crucial variable in the creation of diverse and unequal childhoods. Clearly these editors acknowledge the centrality of feminist work in their theoretical thinking about children and childhood. Scheper-Hughes and Sargent (1998: 15) go so far as to argue that, "a child-centred anthropology contains all the elements for a radical paradigm shift, similar to the salutary effects resulting from the feminist critique of the discipline." It is therefore timely to consider ways to link feminist theoretical models and perspectives with childhood studies as we turn the corner of the 21st century.

In this historical moment when undifferentiated and homogenized "children" are simultaneously valorized and a site of moral panic, when far-reaching government pronouncements are increasingly targeting children and the symbol of childhood, anthropological work informed by feminism offers rich documentation of the specific processes (across time and place) that produce varied "childhoods." Importantly, feminist anthropological perspectives acknowledge that, like women, children must be viewed as active creators and reproducers of social relations and culture. Such an approach can provide a much needed and politically important challenge to the often essentialized and universalized "childhood" constructed through dominant discourse and practice.

In bringing together the set of papers for this special issue, it was our intention to contribute to an informed anthropological understanding of childhoods and children's diverse social experiences in a rapidly changing world by building on the debt to feminist scholarship. By attending to the ways in which various childhoods are constructed and experienced within vertical and presumed veridical structures of social inequality at the local level as well as within the broader fields of national and global processes, we have attempted to meet some of the challenges for childhood scholarship set out by Allison James (2000). In particular, we have sought to answer

her call to bring together analyses that represent children as active social agents, who contribute meaningfully to local and globalizing cultural production and circulation, with analyses of how children and adults craft the structural contours of childhood itself. Through our research projects, we have each engaged with this structure/agency dynamic in order to elucidate the cultural logics that inform the relationship between the two. We have focused on the production and significance of differentially constructed categories of childhood and we have taken up the diverse experiences of variously positioned children whose lives are infused with institutionally-based and culturally diffuse power.

Tom O'Neill and Jane Helleiner both expose how very different discourses of nationalism create emergent understandings of childhood and representations of children, girl children in particular. Helleiner uses textual analysis of political debate in post-war Canada to explore how gender, class, race and childhood were often mutually constitutive, while O'Neill combines textual analysis with ethnographic fieldwork to lay bare the processes by which "childhood" is metaphorically extended beyond the lives of children to demarcate national boundaries that were and are being redrawn. In each case constructions of childhood are shown both to obscure and articulate with other subordinated identities of gender, race/ethnicity, and/or region.

O'Neill's focus on the positioning of girls within the international movement of migrant labour that characterizes current waves of globalization, links well with Downe's research with girls involved in transnational networks of prostitution. Both papers point out the limitations of outsiders' accounts that, while problematizing the involvement of girls in such networks, may also cut off investigation of both the social circumstances that propel such movement as well as the girls' own understandings of their work and lives. That the agency of children is often written out of nationalist (and other) constructions of childhood, raises important questions regarding the lived realities of the children themselves. Downe and Caputo make these realities the central focus of their respective papers, examining how violence and voice emerge in the research bound narratives offered by children in different regions of Canada as well as Barbados. Downe's paper in particular follows through on themes of nationalism and globalization established so strongly by Helleiner and O'Neill, while Caputo examines the processes through which children create for themselves spaces within the highly contested terrain of childhood.

The papers by Caputo and Downe elucidate some of the strategies employed by children as they "play" with,

accommodate, contest, and refashion competing identities that include childhood itself. These ethnographic accounts reveal not only the importance of examining the fields of power in which this play takes place but also how the socially produced and categorical identities of "child" remain fragile and embedded within gendered, classed, racialized and national identities. Responding to the aforementioned need for greater reflexivity among researchers, Caputo and Downe offer insight into the generationed politics of anthropological fieldwork. In so doing, nuanced reflections on the process of writing about gendered childhoods emerge throughout both analyses and intersect once again with the rich analyses of political and media-generated discourses set out by Helleiner and O'Neill.

Taken together, the four papers elucidate the complexity of children's lives and the intricacies in conceptualizing and addressing childhoods at different discursive levels, including the macro level of elite political and media discourses as well as the intimate and specific interactions of fieldwork with children. By making relations of power and difference as well as agency and structure central and problematic, we believe that these papers make a strong contribution to the emergent and feminist anthropology of children and childhood.

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Anthropologie, Féminisme et les Études de l'enfance

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Traduction de Guy Laramée

À notre époque de restructuration dans un contexte de mondialisation rapide, l'enfance, en tant que catégorie modelée par la société et la culture, est de plus en plus contestée. Des transformations dans la vie quotidienne ont suscité beaucoup d'intérêt dans le milieu académique pour la compréhension de la manière dont les enfants font face à ces changements dans le contexte des économies politiques locales, nationales et mondialisées. Cette attention accrue a entraîné l'expansion rapide d'un champ interdisciplinaire, les «études de l'enfance» (voir James, Jenks et Prout 1998; Jenkins, 1998; Jenks 1996), et plus spécifiquement la revigoration d'une anthropologie de l'enfance (Scheper-Hughes et Sargent 1998; Stephens, 1995). Ce numéro spécial résulte de notre intérêt à poursuivre le travail des chercheuses et chercheurs féministes en essayant de combiner les lentilles féministes et anthropologiques, lentilles à travers lesquelles nous entrevoyons les enfants et l'enfance.

Assez récemment, des intellectuel-e-s féministes ont signalé le besoin d'un lien plus étroit entre les études féministes et les études de l'enfance en soutenant que le fait que les féministes aient repensé la dichotomie «privé/public» a positionné les femmes et les enfants à l'intérieur de plusieurs sphères publiques. En insistant sur le besoin de focaliser sur comment «les relations d'âge, tout comme les relations entre genres, sont enchâssées dans des institutions et des circonstances sociales variées» (Thorne 1987: 99), ces auteurs étendent la portée déjà convaincante des études féministes existantes pour aborder la nature et les conséquences de «l'adultisme» qui est enraciné dans les relations sociales, la culture et dans la recherche intellectuelle elle-même. Ces critiques sont tout à fait pertinentes parce qu'elles pointent à la fois vers les manières selon lesquelles les hiérarchies adulte/enfant s'articulent à d'autres formes d'oppression (comme celles basées sur le genre, la classe et la race), et à la fois vers le besoin d'une plus grande réflexivité parmi les chercheurs dans

le but de comprendre leur propre positionnement vis-à-vis des enfants et des enfances différentes et inégalement positionnées. Mais en dépit de cette pertinence, peu d'études se sont attaquées à ces enjeux. La pauvreté des travaux qui embrassent et utilisent ces analyses fondatrices révèle, selon nous, la ténacité d'un modèle historique et culturel qui voit les enfants comme pré-sociaux, passifs, dé pendants et partie prenante d'une sphère domestique privée et «naturelle» qui serait hors de portée pour l'analyse sociale et culturelle.

Les anthropologues Sharon Stephens (1995), Nancy Scheper-Hughes et Carolyn Sargent (1998), cependant, ont renouvelé et élargi l'anthropologie de l'enfance, citant le féminisme comme inspiration au projet. En tant qu'éditrices elles ont chacune (1) attiré l'attention sur les parallèles entres les expériences des femmes et celles des enfants, (2) souligné comment la théorisation féministe peut fournir un modèle analytique pour un travail similaire dans les recherches sur l'enfance, et (3) inclut le genre comme une variable cruciale dans la création d'enfances diverses et inégales. Manifestement, ces éditrices reconnaissent l'aspect central des travaux féministes dans leur pensée théorique à propos des enfants et de l'enfance. Scheper-Hughes et Sargent (1998 : 15) vont plus loin : elle vont jusqu'à soutenir qu'«une anthropologie centrée sur l'enfance contient tous les éléments pour provoquer un changement de paradigme similaire aux effets salutaires résultant de la critique féministe de la discipline.» C'est donc le bon moment d'envisager les manières de lier les modèles et perspectives théoriques féministes avec les études de l'enfance, alors que nous abordons le 21ᵉ siècle.

En ce moment historique, alors que des enfants indifférenciés et homogénéisés sont simultanément l'objet d'une valorisation et d'une panique morale, alors que des actions gouvernementales de grande portée ciblent de plus en plus les enfants et le symbole de l'enfance, le travail anthropologique qui s'abreuve au féminisme offre une riche documentation des processus spécifiques (à travers temps et lieu) qui produisent les «enfances». De façon plus importante, les perspectives anthropologiques féministes reconnaissent que, comme les femmes, les enfants doivent être vus comme les créateurs et reproducteurs actifs des relations sociales et de la culture. Une telle approche peut fournir une remise en question nécessaire et politiquement importante de «l'enfance», telle «qu'essentialisée» et universalisée à travers le discours et la pratique dominante.

En rassemblant cet ensemble de textes pour ce numéro spécial, notre intention était de contribuer à une compréhension anthropologique avertie des enfances et des diverses expériences sociales qu'ont les enfants dans un monde en changement rapide et ce, grâce aux apports de la recherche féministe. En prêtant attention aux manières selon lesquelles des enfances diverses sont construites et vécues à l'intérieur de structures verticales – et présumées véridiques – d'inégalité sociale au niveau local comme à l'intérieur des champs plus larges des processus nationaux et globaux, nous avons essayé de relever quelques uns des défis de l'étude de l'enfance, tels que mis de l'avant par Allison James (2000). Nous avons cherché tout particulièrement à répondre à l'appel qu'elle a lancé à l'effet de réunir des analyses qui représentent les enfants comme des agents sociaux actifs contribuant de façon significative à la production et à la circulation culturelle (locale et globale), avec des analyses de comment les enfants et les adultes façonnent les contours structuraux de l'enfance elle-même. À travers nos projets de recherche, nous avons interpellé cette dynamique structure/pouvoir des agents, dans le but d'élucider les logiques culturelles qui alimentent la relation entre les deux. Nous nous sommes concentrées sur la production et la signification de catégories différentiellement construites d'enfances, et nous avons abordé les expériences diverses d'enfants dans des positions variées où leurs vies sont imbibées d'un pouvoir reconnu institutionnellement et culturellement diffus.

Tom O'Neill et Jane Helleiner révèlent comment différents discours du nationalisme créent des compréhensions émergentes de l'enfance et des représentations des enfants, et en particulier des jeunes filles. Helleiner utilise l'analyse textuelle de débats politiques dans le Canada d'après-guerre pour explorer comment genre, classe, race et enfance ont souvent été des catégories qui se sont constituées mutuellement, pendant que O'Neil combine l'analyse textuelle avec le travail ethnographique de terrain pour mettre à nu les processus par lesquels «l'enfance» s'étend métaphoriquement au delà les vies des enfants pour faire se démarquer les frontières nationales qui étaient, et sont, re-dessinées. Dans chacun des cas, on démontre que les constructions de l'enfance obscurcissent les autres identités subordonnées de genre, de race/ethnicité, et/ou régionales, tout en s'articulant avec elles.

L'attention portée par O'Neill sur le positionnement des jeunes filles à l'intérieur du mouvement international de mobilité de la force de travail – qui caractérise les vagues actuelles de mondialisation, fait le pont avec la recherche de Downe au sujet des jeunes filles impliquées dans des réseaux transnationaux de prostitution. Les deux communications soulèvent les limites des comptes-rendus faits par des analystes distants qui, tout en problé

matisant la participation des filles dans de tels réseaux, peuvent ignorer les circonstances sociales qui propulsent de tels mouvements et ne tenir aucun compte de la compréhension que ces filles auraient développée de leur propres vies et de leur travail. Que le rôle des enfant soit souvent évacué des construction nationalistes (ou autres) de l'enfance soulève d'importantes questions concernant les réalités vé cues par les enfants eux-elles-mêmes. Downe et Caputo font de ces réalités le point central de leurs présentations respectives, en examinant comment violence et voix émergent dans les ré cits offerts par les enfants dans le cadre des recherches à travers diverses régions du Canada et de la Barbade. Le texte de Downe en particulier poursuit sur les thèmes du nationalisme et de la globalisation, thèmes si fortement développés par Helleiner et O'Neil, alors que Caputo examine les processus à travers lesquels les enfants créent pour eux-elles-mêmes des espaces dans les limites du terrain hautement contesté de l'enfance.

Les textes de Caputo et Downe élucident certaines des stratégies qu'utilisent les enfants alors qu'ils-elles taquinent, hébergent, contestent et remodèlent des identités compétitives, y compris l'enfance elle-même. Ces comptes-rendus ethnographiques révèlent non seulement l'importance d'examiner les champs de force dans lesquels ces jeux prennent place, mais aussi comment l'identité catégorielle et socialement produite d' «enfant» demeure fragile et incrustée dans des identités de genre, de classe, de race et de nation. Répondant au besoin mentionné plus haut d'une plus grande réflexivité parmi les chercheur-e-s, Caputo et Downe nous font entrer de façon perspicace dans la politique des relations entre générations à l'intérieur du travail de terrain. En agissant de la sorte, des réflexions nuancées à propos du processus d'écrire au sujet d'enfances sexualisées émergent tout au long des deux analyses et s'entrecroisent une fois de plus avec les riches analyses des discours politiques et médiatiques présenté es par Helleiner et O'Neill.

Pris ensemble, les quatre essais mettent en lumière la complexité des vies d'enfant et la difficulté de concep-tualiser et d'aborder l'enfance sur plusieurs niveau discursifs, incluant le macro-niveau des discours politiques et médiatiques d'élite, aussi bien que le niveau d'une interaction intimiste et spé cifique avec les enfants. En faisant du pouvoir et de la différence, comme du pouvoir des agents et de la structure, des points focaux et des problématiques, nous croyons que ces essais apportent une contribution significative à l'anthropologie féministe émergente des enfants et de l'enfance.

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"The Right Kind of Children": Childhood, Gender and "Race" in Canadian Postwar Political Discourse

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Abstract: Located within newer anthropological writing on the cultural politics of childhood that is in part inspired by feminist work, this paper explores constructions of childhood in the parliamentary discourse of the immediate postwar period in Canada. Political debates from this period are located within a postwar political economy marked by an expanding welfare state, Cold war dynamics, and shifting understandings of both "race" and childhood itself. Federal parliamentary debates provide the material for an examination of how discourses of universalized as well as gendered and racialized childhoods emerged and were deployed in the project of nation-building.

Résumé: Cet article se situe dans le domaine des écrits anthropologiques les plus récents sur les politiques de l'enfance qui sont inspirés en partie des travaux féministes. Il explore les conditions de l'enfance dans le discours parlementaire de l'après-guerre immédiat au Canada. Les débats politiques de cette période se situent à l'intérieur de l'économie politique de l'après-guerre marquée par l'expansion de l'État-Providence, la dynamique de la guerre froide et des transformations dans la compréhension des concepts de "race" et même de l'enfance elle-même. Les débats parlementaires fédéraux font l'objet d'une analyse qui révèle comment les discours d'universalisation aussi bien que de particularisation des enfances, du point de vue du sexe et de la race, ont émergé et se sont déployés dans le projet de construction de la nation.

Anthropology has a long tradition of contributing cross-cultural cases to the literature on child development and socialization but a renewed anthropology of childhood is beginning to augment studies of "child development" in different cultural settings with analyses of the "cultural politics" of childhood in the context of national and global arenas.[1] In this paper I show why part of this project must involve critical attention to how various "childhoods" are produced within and are central to political discourse. Using a single set of data: postwar Canadian federal parliamentary debates of 1945-55, I demonstrate how constructions of universalized, gendered and racialized "childhoods" were linked to nation-building in diverse and unequal ways.

The newer work on the cultural politics of childhood, has drawn in part upon feminist research for inspiration and direction. In the pioneering collections, *Children and the Politics of Culture* (Stephens, 1995) and *Small Wars: the Cultural Politics of Childhood* (Scheper-Hughes and Sargent, 1998), the respective editors note parallels between the experiences of women and children and draw attention to the utility of the analytical models provided by feminist writing for child research. In so doing they echo earlier articles by sociologists who also explicitly linked feminism and child research (e.g., Alanen, 1994; Oakley, 1994; Thorne, 1987).[2]

Child research stands to gain from feminist work that directs attention to the production of gendered childhoods, for example, girlhoods and boyhoods, within wider systems of power. It can also benefit a great deal from the feminist insight that gendered categories are in turn structured by such variables as nationality, class, "race"/ethnicity, sexuality, disability and generation in ways that challenge the privileging of "woman" as an ontological category (see Marshall, 2000).

Greater attention to diverse and unequal childhoods is an important part of a more general challenge to constructions of childhood as a still often-naturalized category. A reluctance to engage more fully with both the

diversities and inequalities of childhood may reflect the relative "mutedness" of children and childhood in anthropology (Caputo, 1995; Gottlieb, 1998) and/or a "strategic essentialism" deployed to establish the legitimacy of child research. Here too, however, there are useful warnings from feminist work on the limitations of such a strategy. This paper builds upon feminist insights by paying explicit attention to both gender and racism in its analysis of constructions of childhood in Canadian political discourse.

In this study the Hansard index was used to locate all debates where children or childhood might be directly or indirectly discussed during the time period of 1945-55. Using a deliberately wide scope, each itemized debate was then read through for references to "children," "boys," "girls," "juveniles," "young people," and/or related institutions such as "schools," and "families." Key debates of the period included those dealing with family allowances, education, citizenship and immigration, and Indian affairs. Pages containing such references were photocopied and filed by year. From these files more specific references to universalized, gendered and/or racialized children were identified.

While recognizing that there was no straightforward link between parliamentary discourse and the experiences of variously constructed children of the time, I suggest that the political talk of the powerful provided a context within which diverse and unequal childhoods were understood and lived. In the particular historical context of postwar Canada, the constructions of childhood in political discourse moreover illuminate tensions and contradictions in the project of nation-building at this time. Notably, while the ostensible needs and rights of Canadian children as a universalized collectivity were made discursively central to various political projects, constructions of more specifically gendered and racialized children, were distanced from or located outside of these same projects. Analysis of this particular site of political discourse illustrates the need for more critical analyses of discourses of childhood—both general and specific as they are located and deployed within wider relations of power.

Childhood and Political Discourse

In a special journal issue on the topic of Children and Nationalism, Stephens called for much more research to be done on the "roles children and childhood have played in the development of modern nation-states" (1997a: 11). Pointing out the striking parallels between the dichotomies of female/male and child/adult she argued that the "hardening" of both was part of capitalist and modern nation-state development. With feminist scholarship on the gendered quality of these processes well advanced, what was needed, she suggested, were more analyses of the positioning of "the child" within these projects (Stephens, 1995: 6).

In order to respond to such a call it is necessary to broaden anthropological analysis to include more systematic examination of the "large-scale social arenas... active in the constitution of difference" in contemporary states (Greenhouse and Greenwood, 1998: 8). My particular focus on parliamentary discourse is inspired by the work of van Dijk, who has argued, in the case of European racisms, that critical analysis of parliamentary discourses (as one of many forms of elite discourse), is important for anti-racist work, because such talk disproportionately influences the "production of public opinion and the dominant consensus on ethnic affairs" (1997: 33). Here I extend this insight to the topic of children and childhood suggesting that federal politicians frequently invoked children and childhood to legitimate diverse political goals and that this political discourse disproportionately contributed to and reproduced dominant ideas of childhood.

The centrality of children and childhood to political discourses both past and present has already received some attention within an interdisciplinary "childhood studies." Some scholars have described how, for example, the sacralization of "the child" in contemporary Western and Westernized settings means that political claims made "in the name of the child" are particularly powerful (Cooter, 1992; Jenks, 1996). Jenkins (1998) in his *Children's Culture Reader* discusses how in recent U.S. political campaigns both Republican and Democratic parties tapped into an "established mythology of childhood innocence" that located "children... in a space beyond, above, outside the political" (1998:2). The myth of the innocent child, he points out, has been useful to both the political left and right and has been used in support of and in opposition to American feminism (1998:7).

While Jenkins' discussion centres on the deployment of discourses of a universalized "child" in political debate, he also points to the ways in which such constructions obscure the lived reality of diverse and unequal childhoods. Similarly Stephens, also writing of U.S. political debate in the 1990s, noted how: "notions of the universal child, with pre-established needs and interests, tend to short-circuit more far-reaching political debates about... the place of various groups of children—differentiated by class, race, ethnicity, religion, gender and geographical location" (1997a: 8).[3]

A useful analysis of the ways in which political and other public discourses of childhood articulate with wider divisions and inequalities is found in Mankekar's (1997) examination of Indian textual representations of Ameena, a young Muslim girl who was "rescued" from marriage with an elderly Arab. She points out that the frequent use of children in political discourse occurs because: "childhood symbolizes an essential innocence that transcends politics and culture" (1997: 52) but then reveals through her specific case study how "far from being 'pre-cultural' or apolitical discourses of childhood were profoundly implicated in the politics of gender, sexuality, community and nation" (1997: 26). These observations point to the need for more critical analyses of political discourses of childhood, both universalized and more specific, in different historical and geographical contexts.

Childhood and Nation in Postwar Canada

After a period of war-time turmoil and loss, postwar Canada was characterized by political stability, unanticipated prosperity and an expanding welfare state. The immediate postwar period in Canada is often viewed retrospectively as the beginning of a "golden age" of universality given impetus by a concern for children. While several policy initiatives (e.g., in education and health) were partially legitimated through reference to the needs and rights of universalized Canadian children, the provision of universal family allowances in 1945 has been identified as the clearest marker of this project (i.e., Comacchio, 1993: 242). The provision of the federal allowances (while not without controversy given its federal origins and its overlapping with areas of provincial jurisdiction) was justified in part as a means of investing collectively in children—the nation's "greatest asset."

Dominique Marshall has argued that in Quebec, reforms such as federal family allowances marked a "peculiar moment in the history of modern ideas about childhood" (1997: 409). In particular she argues that the discourse of "children's rights" reduced wartime promises of "enhanced democracy" for all citizens to a narrower focus on a category in whom everyone allegedly shared a common concern (Marshall, 1997: 410). This political focus, she argues, defused counter claims from the left (i.e., for "worker's rights") and from the right (i.e., for "parental rights") and thereby contributed to the creation of an alliance that was crucial to the forging of the welfare state (Marshall, 1997: 429).

The political centrality of childhood was accompanied by changing views of child development. By the postwar period medical advances and the rise of psychology had facilitated a shift of attention from the physical

survival of infants toward the psychological health of all children. The new emphasis was paralleled by the decline of previously dominant hereditarian/eugenic thinking and the rise of environmentalist theories of child development (Gleason, 1999; see also Iacovetta, 1998). The environmentalist understanding of childhood was supported by and in turn supported the universalist thrust of social policy.

Political discourses of childhood were also integrally connected to Cold War concerns and rhetoric at this time. In Canada, there was an interpenetration of expressed concerns about familial "security" and national military "security." Family allowances and other "investments" in education and health were justified as a means of demonstrating that capitalist democracy was more successful than communism in providing for its citizens-especially its children.

Stephens' research on Cold War America argues that children at this time were constructed as the "atoms" of society whose "'natural' needs for security, stability, clear and firm gender differentiation, and protection from ... dangers called for and legitimated the construction of a complex national defense apparatus" (Stephens, 1997b: 112). Likewise scholarship on Canada has pointed to how the raising of "normal" children became linked to a national project of defense against both external and internal enemies (Whitaker and Marcuse, 1994; Adams, 1997).

Along with the identification of childhood as a crucial site of nation-building, there were constructions of the nation itself as a child. Gullestad (1997) in a study of childhood and nationalism in Norway points to the ways in which analogies drawn between "the nation" and "the child" serve a mutually constituting and naturalizing function. A similar process is present in the postwar Canadian parliamentary debates where a simultaneous construction of both nation and childhood as natural and "developing" categories was evident in numerous references to the nation as "young" and "growing up." During debate over the 1946 Canadian Citizenship Act (which defined citizens for the first time not as British subjects but as Canadians) it was claimed, for example, that the nation was "newly come of age but already sufficiently mature to accept proudly its high place in the world" (Croll, April 9, 1946: 694).

Williams' (1995: 203) analysis of the "interpenetration of ... kinship and nationalist ideologies" illuminates the many other references found in Canadian political discourse of this period to the nation as constituting a "family." Canada for example, was described as being built by "forefathers" and located within the "family of

the Commonwealth." In a debate on immigration policy it was suggested that just as: "men and women in Canada plan their families ... it is time we started to plan our Canadian family" (Croll, December 14, 1945: 3527). A conflation of "child," "family" and "nation" was further demonstrated in the suggestion (in the debates over citizenship) that just as fathers understood their maturing sons' moves to autonomy as part of a natural process, so too Britain would not interpret new citizenship provisions as evidence of any decreasing filial love (Michaud, May 3, 1946: 1172).

Along with the construction of the nation as a growing child was an extension of the nation into the future through its children and "children's children." The frequent references in political discourse to "future generations" may be understood in the context of Yuval-Davis' observation that in settler nations such as Canada which lack a shared myth of common origin, a myth of "common destiny" becomes crucial to nationalist discourse (1997: 19). This, combined with the modern Western identification of childhood with "futurity" (Jenks, 1996: 100-101), makes the invocation of "children" as the benefactors of various state initiatives a powerful trope. In what follows I look more closely at the positioning of universalized children vis-à-vis the nation.

Universalized Childhood

Universalized children, often described as "Canadians of the next generation," "citizens of tomorrow" or "future citizens" (and less frequently as "young Canadians" or "young citizens"), were consistently constructed as being in a transitional stage of apolitical dependency and vulnerability requiring state and parental protection.

References to "Canada's children" emerged with particular force in debates over federal versus provincial jurisdiction. Advocates of greater expenditure by the federal government in education and health developed the discourse of children as national "assets" with whom the future of the country rested. As one politician among many argued: "the greatest asset any nation can have is the children of the nation, because they will be the citizens of tomorrow. If we are to have a healthy and progressive Canada we should be taking very practical steps to see that the health and educational standards of our children are steadily improved" (Argue, January 20, 1954: 1285).

Interestingly the debates reveal that the naturalizing of the nation, on the one hand, and child/adult dichotomies and inequities, on the other, occurred in the context of a more concrete debate over the age-based boundaries of childhood and adulthood. On the one hand, for example,

there were repeated suggestions largely by Canadian Commonwealth Federation (CCF) politicians that suffrage should be extended downward from the age of 21 because of the civic maturity demonstrated by younger, overwhelmingly male, recruits during the war (e.g., Coldwell, April 29, 1946: 1038; MacInnis, April 26, 1948: 3317). Along with claims that teenaged Canadians had been "formidable opponents" in battle (Argue, May 19, 1950: 2671) were additional suggestions that increased education had created a new generation of Canadians whose knowledge made them qualified to vote at an earlier age than their "forefathers" (e.g., Coldwell, April 18, 1950: 1653-4).

In apparent contrast however, arguments were made in favour of extending the upper age limit for family allowance payments to students over 16. The provision of family allowances (which were credited with improving school attendance and retention rates) was said to be necessary to allow parents to support their children through a lengthening period of financial dependence. These discussions revealed shifting and contested boundaries of childhood and adulthood, but they did not weaken the dichotomy itself.

The language of investment in children through increased federal involvement in the funding of services was self-consciously universalistic, emphasizing that all children had the same "rights." For example, in a debate over federal assistance to education it was argued that such assistance would ensure that "Canadian children" received "their birthright" whether they were "English or French ... protestant, catholic, jew or gentile [sic]; and regardless of race, colour, the economic standing of its parents or the part of Canada in which it is born" (Noseworthy, January 26, 1953: 1337).

Such investment was also described as a necessary part of shaping children into "Canadianism" through state institutions, especially schools. Greater federal involvement in a provincial arena was repeatedly advocated as necessary to ensure the equality of educational opportunity that would forge class, racial and national unity out of diversity and inequality. "A country composed of so many racial groups," it was argued "needs to place special emphasis on education in order to ensure the development of that unity within a federal system that is so essential for national development" (Churchill, March 20, 1952: 632).

As these examples suggest, the discourse of universalized childhood was self-consciously juxtaposed to problematized images of diversity and inequality among children as part of an argument for more centralized federal control. Such arguments were made in the face of

resistance to greater federal responsibility for children on the part of some politicians—what is also of interest here is that detractors also drew upon discourses of childhood in framing their objections.

One representative from Quebec, for example, described federal efforts as a threat not only to provincial autonomy but also to "the natural right of parents to have their children educated in their own language and in the religious principles of their own creed" (Gauthier, February 9, 1955: 1003). Another pointed out that it was essential that Quebec "remain a place where our children will have the freedom and the right to speak the tongue and practice the religion of their forefathers" (Cardin, May 4, 1954: 4401). Others made reference to the right of the two founding "racial groups" of the country (British and French), to ensure the flourishing and development of their respective cultures through children (Girard, March 23, 1954: 3276). Such claims challenged invocations of ideally universalized Canadian childhood by introducing an alternative analogy between Quebec and its children.

The counter discourses employed by some politicians from Quebec point to the need to look beyond the constructions of universalized Canadian childhood to other, more differentiated categories of children in the political debates. In what follows I focus upon two axes of differentiation: gender and "race."

Gendered Nation, Gendered Childhoods

As feminist analyses have pointed out, nations are not only "young" or "old" but also gendered (Yuval-Davis, 1997; Nagel, 1998)—an observation that points to the need to pay attention to analogies between gendered nations and gendered childhoods. In the overwhelmingly male-dominated political discourse of the postwar federal debates, Canada was commonly constructed as "male." It was also clear that the ongoing reproduction of the nation flowed through the father (i.e., "forefathers")-son line according to what Delaney (1995) has described as a monogenetic theory of male reproduction common to many modern nationalisms.

Several scholars have noted how the postwar period saw a self-conscious attempt on the part of the state to shore up a domestic order predicated on male breadwinners and dependent women and children (see Whitaker and Marcuse, 1994: 16; Owram, 1996). Through intervening to support nuclear families based on heterosexual marriage and childrearing (e.g., through the provision of family allowances), the state reinforced particular family forms, as well as sexual and gendered and generational roles—in what has been described as a new public patriarchy.[4]

The gendered quality of political constructions of the nation was paralleled in gendered constructions of adult-child relations. As Stephens points out for the U.S. political discourse of this time, domesticated women were constructed as caring for particular privatized children while in the public arena men espoused concern for generic children of the nation (Stephens, 1997b: 120). Likewise in the Canadian postwar parliamentary debates, the few references to women usually emphasized their maternal and domestic role as exclusive caregivers, primary educators and transmitters of culture to children.

Some of the available literature on this period focuses on the implications of changing constructs of childhood for women—pointing for example to the ways in which childrearing advice insisted on full-time mothering under the tutelage of (usually male) professionals who constructed mothers as the "problem parent" (Arnup, 1994; Gleason 1999).

Along with producing particular constructions of gendered adult-child relations, Canadian parliamentary political discourse most commonly constructed children as either ungendered "children" or "youth" or as masculinized "boys," "young men" or "sons." While there were some examples of references to "boys and girls," "young men and women," or "sons and daughters" (where the sequential prioritizing of male children indicated their precedence in imagination of male politicians), independent references to "girls," "young women" or "daughters" were infrequent.

Marshall has suggested that the "the notion of universal entitlement" which brought children into the public sphere and "pointed at children as individual subjects" (Marshall, 1997: 321) was particularly important for girls who had been largely excluded from earlier political visions. Unlike women, who were receding from the public sphere in the postwar period, she suggests the imagery of both boys and girls in government materials showed them as autonomous subjects outside of the domestic realm (Marshall, 1997: 427-9).

In the parliamentary debates reviewed here, however, it was male children who continued to be most often and consistently linked to the project of nation-building. Thus, for example, it was suggested (in debate over a new flag), that national unity had "been cemented with the blood of Canadian boys in two great wars" (Rowe, November 14, 1945: 2123-2124). Investment in citizens of the future was also gendered when it was argued that federal support for post-secondary education would allow "able young men" to attend (Bruneau, October 17, 1951: 129) or (as the same speaker indicated) that a proposed federal youth department would offer

vocational guidance to the "young men of today" (Bruneau, December 1, 1953: 499).

As these explicitly gendered references suggest, in political discourse gendered adults and children were linked in differentiated ways to a gendered nation. The children in which the nation was urged to invest were most frequently either implicitly or explicitly boys or young men, while girls were distanced, usually through omission, from the nation-building project. There was a similar differentiation apparent in constructions of racialized children.

Racialized Nation, Racialized Childhoods

While there is little evidence that newly hegemonic environmentalism served to destabilize "naturalized" gendered and generationed categories at this time, there was some evidence of its impact in political debate regarding "race" and its significance in children's lives.

Postwar Canada experienced some challenges to official racism linked to economic growth that increased demand for immigrant labour from previously "non-preferred" regions of Central, Southern and Eastern Europe, a rejection of Nazism, human rights initiatives of the United Nations, the de-colonization movement, and lobbying by various racialized groups within Canada. Federal reforms after the war included the extension of full citizenship rights, including the federal franchise, to those of South Asian, Chinese (in 1947) and Japanese (in 1948) descent. Early provincial reforms included Ontario's 1944 Racial Discrimination Act and Saskatchewan's 1947 Bill of Rights.

Parliamentary talk of the period which sometimes questioned the ontological status of "race" itself. But more commonly, however, the concept of "race" was retained while ideologies of "racial" superiority or inferiority were rejected. Thus, for example, one politician stated: "there is no master race in this world. There is good and bad in all races" (MacKenzie, June 15, 1950: 3684). Another argued that because social science had demonstrated "no fundamental differences between races as far as inherent mental ability or superiority/inferiority are concerned" immigration should be based on "cultural factors or ethnic factors" (Dinsdale, February 18, 1955: 1289).

"Race" in the federal parliamentary debates was frequently used as a synonym for nationality as in the Irish, Ukrainian "races" or the "French Canadian" and "Anglo-Saxon" race but colour terminology, for example, the "white race" (already juxtaposed to "Indians," the "Japanese," "Chinese" and "Negroes" in the interwar period), was also common.

The meanings and politics of race and racism articulated with shifting meanings and politics of children and childhood. This was apparent in the ways in which children and childhood were invoked in anti-racist challenges. Masculinized youth, for example, were sometimes invoked by the left (i.e., CCF politicians) in favour of reforms as, for example, when attention was drawn to the perceived contradiction of "young men" who had fought against the concept of a "master race" returning to racist legislation at home (e.g., MacInnis, November 21, 1945: 2387; MacKay May 2, 1947: 2732). Likewise a need to ensure a non-racist future for children was part of the reformist discourse as, for example, it was argued that a bill of rights would work against discrimination thereby ensuring that: "our children may grow together in dignity and in grace, with equality and justice, and above all in brotherhood" (Stewart, September 13, 1945: 138).

Contemporary researchers have noted how children are often constructed as "innocent" of racism (e.g., Troyna and Hatcher, 1992). In the context of postwar challenges to "race" and racism in Canada, racially innocent childhoods were contrasted with adult prejudice and as in the U.S. civil rights debates of the same era, schools and classrooms were constructed as crucial locations of anti-racist challenge (see Goldin, 1998). Thus for example, it was claimed that "Children are not born with prejudices; when they are at school they get on as well as any children do" (Stewart, April 9, 1946: 700). Funding for agencies doing anti-racist work was described as important for children who were being "taught tolerance in the school" but were encountering "intolerance in their homes, in business circles, and in other fields" (Noseworthy, April 13, 1953: 3776).

The construction of childhood as a site of racial innocence was clear in a speech by the CCF member Angus MacInnis who repeated an anecdote he had introduced in earlier debates. He spoke of how in Vancouver: "even when racial discrimination and racial prejudice were at their height ... I could walk out any day and see youths of various colours, various nationalities and various racial origins walking together. I would see girls who were Chinese, Japanese, Scotch, English, Irish and every other nationality walking arm in arm along the street. ..." He added that the principal of a nearby high school had told him that children only became aware that "someone is Jewish ... Japanese or ... of some other nationality" when they left school (MacInnis, April 13, 1953: 3774).

In a rare reference (in this period) to anti-Black racism, another CCF member reported on the case of a "coloured boy" being prohibited from entering an ice rink in Toronto. The story emphasized the childhood sol-

idarity of his "white school friends" who responded to the adult racism by also refusing to enter (Matthews, December 17, 1945: 3699-700). Here there was an identification of childhood (in this case childhood peer-culture) as a site of racial innocence and/or transcendence that existed in opposition to adult racism.[5]

The suggestion of race-less children was a powerful trope in anti-racist political discourses but another striking way in which children emerged in debates over issues of "race," was in the context of repeated claims about the "suitability" of various ethnicized/racialized groups as measured by their children's "Canadianess." A frequent claim made at this time, for example, was that the children of earlier "non-preferred" European arrivals had successfully assimilated to "Canadianess" in a single generation thereby ostensibly confounding racist assumptions of inherent unsuitability and/or inferiority (and demonstrating the validity of environmentalist understandings of children's development).

Claims that the "sons and daughters" of various racialized or national collectivities were a "credit to the country," were central to arguments over citizenship and immigration. The retroactive logic was applied in a self-congratulatory way by one politician who pointed out that many members of parliament were the sons of immigrants and had thereby demonstrated that "Their parents were the right kind of stuff. They produced the right kind of children, and they have been a credit to Canada" (Ferguson, February 9, 1951: 249).

The "right kind of children" were most commonly identified by their (largely masculine) accomplishments of military service and/or university education and/or professional status. Thus the "sons and daughters" of Ukrainian settlers were described by a Social Credit member as having "paid the highest price at Hong Kong, at Dieppe and on the beaches of Normandy in defence of this country" (Holowach, February 18, 1955: 1294) while another CCF member pointed to the fact that they were "occupying positions of distinction in every walk of life" (Stewart, February 4, 1947: 114).

The claim that those who had produced the "right kind of children" were retroactively demonstrated to have been the right kind of immigrant for Canada both challenged and reproduced notions of "racial" inferiority and superiority. The statements were most frequently made about the children of previously "non-preferred" Europeans who, as in the U.S. of this period (see Barrett and Roediger, 1997; Sacks, 1997), were experiencing a simultaneous process of upward class mobility and redefinition from racialized Other to 'white" ethnic. The result was that the environmentalist argument regarding child development was in practice most supportive of a broadening of "whiteness" rather than a wholesale rejection of "race" and "racism." This process illustrates not only how "race" in Canada has been "a moving target through time and space" (Backhouse, 1999: 11) but the ways in which ideas about childhood were part of this process.

Non-white or non-whitened categories of childhood were much more ambiguously linked to environmentalism and therefore alleged capacity for "Canadianess" than the universalistic discourses of childhood suggested. Although there were some attempts to use examples of children who had grown up to become doctors and lawyers as examples of the "suitability" of Asians (e.g., Coldwell, May 3, 1946: 1179) such claims were rare. More frequent were speeches that alleged that the children of parents of Japanese descent had "no chance" of assimilating (e.g., Pearkes, April 9, 1946: 70) and/or that the children of "mixed marriages" would never gain acceptance and would threaten the nation (e.g., Stirling, April 9, 1946: 72).

The withholding of environmentally created "Canadianess" from children of Asian descent was not confined to a few right wing politicians but was also implicit in Prime Minister Mackenzie King's speech of 1947, when he suggested that despite a repeal of the Chinese Immigration Act and revocation of order-in-council restricting naturalization, immigration from the "Orient" would continue to be restricted in order to ensure no "fundamental alteration in the character of our population" (Mackenzie King, May 1, 1947: 2646).

A similar logic was also apparent in a passing reference by a Conservative speaker to immigrants from Africa. While pointing out the lack of scientific basis for racial inferiority, (suggesting instead that each new "cultural group" simply needed three generations to become assimilated), he went on to add that an individual "whose culture is that of the heart of darkest Africa" was unlikely to "adjust suitably to our Canadian way of life" (Dinsdale, February 18, 1955: 1290). In this argument, "culture" replaced "race" but the denial of the capacity for environmentally shaped childhood was clear.

A category of non-white racialized childhood that appears frequently in the parliamentary debates is that of First Nation ("Indian") childhood and constructions of these children reveal some of the contradictions of the period. In the case of First Nations, there was a long history of inferiorizing the entire racialized category through constructions of "aboriginal infantilism." In the postwar period, however, such discourses encountered some contest. While some politicians continued to describe "Indians" as just "grown-up children" (Dion, October 24,

1945: 1454) others argued that it was time to stop "treating the Indians like children [and] allow them to live normal adult lives" (Croll, June 15, 1948: 5262). Some politicians also replaced earlier discourses of "wardship" with references to our "red brothers" (e.g., Castleden, August 27, 1946: 5483).

Challenges to aboriginal infantilism were closely linked to environmentalist arguments regarding child development. Some politicians, for instance, pointed to inadequate health services and segregated residential schools suggesting that these were responsible for high rates of illness, poverty and the existence of "a different psychology from white children" rather than "pigmentation or racial background" (Young, June 23, 1948: 5757-5758). Examples of co-education with "white" children were at the same time lauded by the CCF member, Coldwell, who noted that Indian children had the "same kind of ability as the average white child" and that skin colour made no difference to aptitude or intelligence. Such children were not, however, fully imagined as part of universalized Canadian childhood. In a telling slip even Coldwell contrasted Indian children to "Canadian" children before correcting his error by stating that "Indians are of course Canadians" (Coldwell, June 26, 1954: 6797).

Unlike the whitened "Canadian" children of many European immigrants, First Nations children were often portrayed in terms of either unrealized potential or regression from a promising start. Although there was attention given to those who had participated in military service and occasional references were made to children who had become adult professionals (e.g., Campbell, May 13, 1946: 1452), First Nations children were less often constructed as having provided perceived "good service" to Canada as adults and the focus on their (now environmentally created) "deprivation" reinforced negative constructions and "solutions" predicated on government intervention. Individual cases then were less successful in establishing the credentials of the racialized collectivity. Significantly, status Indians would not achieve the federal franchise—a crucial marker of legal adulthood—until 1960.

Despite challenges to racism and environmentalist thinking about childhood, these differentiated constructions of racialized childhoods suggest the limits of the universalized child in postwar Canada. The universalized Canadian child, with whom the nation was equated and in whom the nation was being urged to invest, was most frequently identified either implicitly if not explicitly as male and white. Those outside of this gendered and racialized location were in a much more ambiguous rela-

tionship to the project of nation-building. A dramatic example of the way in which some children could be positioned as central to the nation while others were excluded occurs within a speech of a Social Credit member who argued as follows:

> I believe that we are all brothers under the skin, but I should like to see us keep our places ... it must be borne in mind that the present Canadians, whose fathers came here, pioneered, fought and struggled to develop this country, could see their children and their grandchildren utterly dispossessed. ... Canada was explored, settled and developed by two great races.... the French and the British people.... Have their fathers no rights to see their children well provided for in this land they strove to gain for them? Have their children no rights to be well born into an environment in which they can succeed and be happy...." (Blackmore, February 11, 1947:342).

Conclusion

The centrality of discourses of childhood in political projects both progressive and regressive suggests the need for more critical analysis. In this paper I have examined one site of postwar political discourses of childhood and suggested that at this period both nation and childhood were naturalized through reference to one another.

Reading across categories of universalized, gendered and racialized childhoods in the postwar parliamentary discourse, however, leads to the conclusion that despite the importance of the discourse of universalized childhood in the forging of the welfare state, gendered "boys" and "girls" as well as racialized "white," "whitened" and "non-whitened" children were differently and unequally positioned vis-à-vis this project.

A focus on political discourse may appear distant from the real lives of children but it can facilitate the examination of the ways in which differently constructed children were and are targeted and/or neglected by the state even while "children" and "childhood" are discursively central to political rhetoric in support of state projects. Marshall suggests that universalized standards of childhood contained costs for those who did not meet with its standards. Her discussion reveals how poor children and families in particular became more vulnerable to stigma and disciplinary moves by the state even while prosperity was facilitating the spread of ideal "modern" childhoods marked by domestication, extended schooling and economic dependency. Likewise Stephens in her work on discourses of childhood in Cold War America suggests that invocations of the need to defend a univer-

salized child coexisted with nuclear testing sites and research on radioactivity which disproportionately victimized the children of particular minority groups—notably aboriginal populations and religious minorities (1997b: 116).

The finding that political discourse relies not only on constructions of childhood but that these constructions are variously universalized, gendered and racialized, points to the need for much more critical attention to the particular location of different categories of children. Such examinations can be part of an anthropology of childhood committed to the need to illuminate how "prior social histories, material structures and relations of unequal power place various groups of children into different sorts of relations to national projects" (Stephens, 1997b: 116). While this requires a deconstruction of naturalized discourses of childhood—a project that is not without costs, it nonetheless offers a critical childhood studies that has explicit links to analyses of social inequality more generally. This paper has suggested how anthropological attention to political constructions of childhood can be part of such a project.

Notes

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2 Another important body of work influencing the newer child research by anthropologists is the "childhood studies" literature more commonly associated with sociology, e.g., James and Prout, 1997; James, Jenks and Prout, 1998 and Jenks, 1996.

3 Clearly the point made here continues to be relevant to the present where Canadians have heard commitments to a universalized "children's agenda" in successive federal budget speeches. In the meantime eroding supports and services on the ground impact differently classed, gendered and racialized children and childhoods in unequal ways.

4 In Canada support for returning (overwhelmingly male) soldiers included medical care, disability support, land purchase assistance, subsidized housing, guaranteed return to jobs with seniority, allowances for those without, preference in public service, free tuition and living allowance for those in studies (Whitaker and Marcuse, 1994: 16).

5 Discrimination against children of Asian descent was clear in practices that restricted the ability of Canadian citizens to sponsor their "Asiatic" children for immigration. Efforts to sponsor children from China, for example, ran into a series of bureaucratic obstacles including lack of access to application

offices, the use of x-rays to establish age and identity, and sustained challenges to their familial status (e.g., allegations that they were not acceptable because they were adopted children and/or children of second or extra-marital relationships).

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"Selling Girls in Kuwait": Domestic Labour Migration and Trafficking Discourse in Nepal

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Abstract: The pace of economic globalization is accelerating, ironically, at a time when the movement of human capital is becoming more restricted. As the potential for legal migration is denied by states to would-be migrants, illegal networks form that place them at greater risk of exploitation. This paper examines a scheme by which Nepalese girls were "trafficked" to Kuwait to work as domestic workers, and how this was constructed as their immoral objectification by the Nepalese media and an anti-child exploitation NGO. I argue that "discourses of national honour," which hold girl children as the legitimate objects of state protection places opprobrium on those who facilitate illegal migration and ignores the decision-making of the migrants and their families. A meaningful discourse on the nature of a "new world order" for migrant workers must balance risk and autonomy for all migrants, regardless of gender or age.

Résumé: Le tempo de la mondialisation s'accélère, ironiquement, à un moment où le capital humain est de plus en plus restreint. À mesure que le potentiel pour la migration légale est refusé à des aspirants migrants par les États, se forment des réseaux illégaux qui les exposent à de plus grand risques d'exploitation. Cet article examine un système dans lequel de jeunes népalaises étaient «vendues» au Koweit pour oeuvrer comme travailleuses domestiques, et comment cet arrangement a été construit comme une objectification immorale par les média du Népal et une organisation non-gouvernementale consacrée à la défense des enfants. Je soutiens que «les discours de l'honneur national» qui considèrent des fillettes comme objet légitime de la protection de l'État jettent le blâme sur ceux qui facilitent la migration illégale et ignorent les décisions des migrants et de leurs familles. Un discours sensé sur la nature d'un «nouvel ordre mondial» pour les travailleurs migrants doit obtenir un équilibre entre le risque et l'autonomie pour tous les migrants, sans égard pour l'âge ou le sexe.

One defining aspect of globalization is the movement of economic migrants across national boundaries. Even though states regulate and control that flow thousands of migrants resort to illegal or extra-legal methods to access distant labour markets. The price that these migrants pay for remaining concealed from state regulation is the forfeit of legal protection against the physical, psychological or economic exploitation and abuse that may arise from illegal or extra-legal employment. Where those migrants are young and female, states and other agents intervene in their movement to labour markets under the pretext that they require more protection because of their age and gender status. However, efforts to protect young female migrants are articulated through discourses that are aimed, intentionally or not, to keep culturally subordinate people in their place by limiting their access to global labour markets. State protection thus conflicts with the interests of households where migration decisions are made.

In this paper I will discuss the "rescue" of 15 Nepalese teenage girls from a scheme to traffic them to work in Kuwait as domestic workers, and how this was constructed in the media and by agencies mandated to protect women and children. These girls were from a poor Tamang village located north of Kathmandu that I have been studying as a source of migrant carpet labourers, an occupation that was formerly accessible to female youth.[1] With the decline of that industry since the mid-1990s, people in that village have been searching for alternative sources of employment and, as few opportunities exist within Nepal, that search has expanded beyond its borders. While the "rescue" of these teenagers was consistent with a Nepalese government ban on all female migration to the Gulf, it contradicted the interests of their respective households. By conflating this trafficking scheme with forced prostitution and constructing the "rescue" as a legitimate act of intervention against the sexual violation of these girls, Nepalese media and NGOs deployed a compelling discourse that both ignores the

collective migration decisions of these Buddhist villagers and implicates the sexual morality of Tamang women, which departs from the conservative practices of Nepal's dominant Hindu majority.

The protection and "rescue" of these young domestic workers was considered necessary by the Nepalese state because of their potential physical and sexual exploitation by their Arab employers. Purnima Mankekar, writing about a similar case of child rescue in India, argued that it is motivated in part by a "synecdochic relationship between the purity of the girl child and the purity of the nation" (1997: 29). The violation of Indian women during the 1947 partition, interpreted by the Indian state as a violation of "national honour" in the context of political and cultural struggle rendered women's bodies as signs through which men communicated (Das, 1995: 56). The rescue of the Nepalese girls was justified in Nepal with recourse to similar discourses of physical and sexual violation, making them signs in an emerging struggle over human movement in an increasingly borderless world.

Perceptions of the risk of violation that young women working in Kuwait would suffer was sufficient for the Government of Nepal to ban all female migration to the Gulf in the fall of 1998 at a time when male migration to that region was being encouraged.[2] Nepal at this time instituted one of the most restrictive migration policies in the region; by state decree Bangladeshi women may not work in the Gulf unless accompanied by their husbands, India restricts those under the age of 30, and Pakistan sets the minimum age at 35.

The well-publicized death of Kani Sherpa, a Nepalese female domestic worker in Kuwait on November 9, 1998 illustrated for many in Nepal the physical and sexual dangers of female migrant labour. Sherpa, a native of the Sindhupalchok region, where these teenagers are also from, had been working as a domestic worker in a Kuwaiti household, cooking, cleaning and caring for children. She travelled there through a Kathmandu employment agency in 1997, when Nepalese law restricted female migration only to those over the age of 21. According to Nepalese media accounts, Sherpa had been raped and abused by the men of the family for whom she worked and was hospitalized after one of them threw her from a third-floor balcony in a fit of jealousy. Hospital authorities informed her that she was either going to be jailed as an illegal migrant, or be returned to the offending family. Sherpa became despondent and swallowed enough sleeping tablets to end her life (*Kathmandu Post*, 1998a). In this paper, I would like to look beyond Sherpa's death as a real event, and focus instead on how it was narrated into accounts of the "trafficking" of other girls to Kuwait.

In the first part of this paper, I review some of the literature on Asian domestic work. I then examine conditions in Sindhupalchok that compelled migration to Kuwait, and examine the social context in which decisions are made. I will then discuss how representations in local media and in informal gossip deploy a "trafficking discourse" that conflates illegal and extra-legal migration and employment of young women with forced prostitution and slavery. This discourse, I will argue, under-values the role that migrant families play in making these decisions by placing blame instead on shadowy middlemen and syndicates from whom their "rescue" is required. I will conclude by reflecting on how the fate of these teenagers contributes to the development of what Christine Chin (1997) describes as a "discourse on the kind of values and morals that are to inform social relations and interactions in the construction of a new world order."

Domestic Workers in a Transnational Economy

Paid domestic work is a growing phenomenon that draws female migrant labour from less developed countries to the newly industrialized countries of Asia and the oil-rich Arab Gulf States. In Singapore, Malaysia and Hong Kong, for example, women have entered formal sector employment, leaving their own unpaid domestic work to other domestic workers, often drawn from poorer regions. This work is tightly controlled by government visa regulations, and careful attention is given to mechanisms that prevent domestic labour migrants from settling permanently in the country. In addition, local discourses about foreign maids also constrain their ability to integrate into the host country.

Descriptions of female domestic workers in other parts of the Asian region resonate with many of the discursive constructs encountered in the story of Kani Sherpa's death, and how the events of that death were narrated into accounts of the attempted migration of the girls from Sindhupalchok. Many of these women are perceived to be dangerously "out of place," not only because they are working in a foreign country but also because they are working for wages in an occupation that was formerly unwaged, and as a result are regarded as morally suspect by their employers. Single, unattached women who work outside of their own household and country frequently elicit fears about uncontrolled sexuality, promiscuity and prostitution. According to Nicole Constable (1996), for example, Filipina maids compare unfavourably to celibate Chinese *sohei* matrons of the prewar period as well as to the often-abused *mui tsai*, or bonded "little sisters"

who were forced into domestic work in the past to repay family debts. Constable adds that Filipina maids are "out of place" in cosmopolitan Hong Kong, and are thus believed to be potential thieves and prostitutes (1996: 12). Her account focuses on the formation of identity through community participation and cooperation among Filipina women in Hong Kong, but she concludes that their resistance to the powers that constrain their lives is limited to adjustment, and does not extend to solidarity and activism in efforts to make for better job conditions.

Conditions of domination and docility are joined in an occupation that few people, including the workers themselves, see as a legitimate form of wage labour. Domestic labour is labour in the household, replacing the role played by women who formerly did unpaid domestic work but who now work in the wage economy. Even as paid domestic workers, migrants suffer from a characterization of domestic work as non-productive. According to Christine Chin, for example, Filipina and Indonesian domestic workers in newly industrialized Malaysia are not vigorously regulated because the work that they do is considered fundamentally unproductive, and thus until recently unworthy of the State's attention (1997). In Malaysia, state oversight has led to unchecked abuses; women who suffer at the hands of their employers have little legal recourse beyond returning to their home country. In the Malaysian media, moreover, moral panic against foreign domestics has been fomented.

Julian Groves and Kimberly Chan (1999) show how Filipina maids respond to a similar threat of moral stigma in Hong Kong; their professional organisations are more preoccupied with ensuring that the moral behaviour of domestic workers is beyond reproach than with advocating for better wages or working conditions. Domestic "professionalism" is aimed at undermining the association of domestic work with prostitution. The association between domestic work and prostitution is widespread and permeates treatment of this subject even in the most erudite social scientific journals. Lucie Cheng (1999), for example, discusses domestic labour in the same section as entertainment work and the sex trade in a recent review of women's employment and globalization in such a way that does not deconstruct this link. Filipina maids are not deconstructing this link either; they see it as a real threat against which they must maintain diligence.

Young single women are regarded as potential prostitutes in many Asian contexts because they are unsupervised by their own family and represent sexual competition for women in the host family. It is also feared that domestic labourers will resort to illegal prostitution if they lose their legal jobs. Globalization in the sex trade

is apparent in the Asian region, with Thai prostitutes in Japan, Burmese in Thailand, and Nepalese in Bombay (Skeldon, 2000; Johnston and Khan, 1998). The exotic "Other" is sexually desirable for potential customers throughout the Asian region and foreign domestic workers fall into this category. Said's (1977) analysis of the Orientalist discourse as a "tension between the admired and despised parts of Asian otherness" applies not only to the broad cultural divide of Orient and Occident, but also to internal evaluations of difference (Lyons, 1998: 109).

In most of the studies described above, the domestic worker appears as someone who autonomously decided to risk foreign employment for material gain. The central dynamic of power that is evaluated is the one in the host country—in the families that contract and exploit domestic labour, governments who limit access to this kind of work and agencies that contract and often strictly control the movements of their workers. Despite these constraints hundreds of thousands of women continue to migrate to do work that others no longer want, or cannot do. The new prosperity and changing economies of the newly industrialized world continue to inspire migration, even if a new position as a domestic worker carries the risk of servitude and/or sexual and physical abuse.

Defining "Trafficking and the "Trafficker"

The main problem in any discussion of informal networks is untangling different informal modes of migration, as the labels commonly employed to describe them are frequently imprecise and misleading (Skeldon, 2000). Singhanetra-Renard (1992), for example, in a discussion of migration between the Middle East and Thailand distinguishes between three types of networks; (1) patron-client relationships, where earlier migrants sponsored family members or fellow villagers as clients; (2) agents and labour recruiters, and (3) illegal syndicates. The third type grew exponentially after the Thai government regulated and limited legal agencies in the late 1980s. Most of these migrants were male; it was not until the late 1980s that the Thai government legalized female migration to other countries, partly in response for the demand for domestic labour (1992: 193).

Illegal syndicates are often labelled as trafficking operations in the international media and in the NGO literature. A distinction between exploitative and abusive trafficking and other more benign social networks is rarely drawn. Widgren (1995), for example, defines labour trafficking as a significant threat to "orderly migration," thus characterizing any form of migration that is extralegal as "disorderly" and, thus, "trafficking." Many peo-

ple living in less developed regions lack the financial and social capital required to surmount legal barriers to migration. What appears as "disorderly" migration from the perspective of those who wish to control human flows can be a highly organized effort to convey these people to new labour markets. Indeed, Van Hear (1998), argues that trafficking is an ambiguous activity where new labour markets are identified and travel to them is illegally or extra-legally facilitated.

Human trafficking is often understood as the total commoditization of human beings traded across borders, as is the case with any other good. Even though the employment contract is a kind of value transaction, human beings transported and traded for value violates an aspect of the liberal ideology implicit to globalization, that workers are free to sell their labour on regulated labour markets (Kopytoff, 1986). Employment agencies that are formally recognized and taxed can legitimately profit from this trade, but those who operate outside legal channels constitute "trafficking" because they evade state regulation and tax and are thus analogous to smuggling illegal contraband. One significant dissimilarity is that smuggled migrants often arrange for their own "sale" because, however risky or exploitative travel to foreign labour markets may be, they anticipate that they will personally benefit from migration.

Clearly, some traffickers prey upon and profit from the disorderly demand for employment opportunity by those who have little power to effect migration decisions themselves. But anyone who is involved in illegal or extra-legal means to facilitate migration is forced into the same category, whether they obtain passports or visas through bureaucratic loopholes or they are extorting long-term debt and exposing their clients to life threatening risks. The boundary between trafficking syndicates and social networks is blurred, and marked by state definitions of the legitimacy of migration. At the same time in discourses of migrant trafficking the autonomy of migrant decisions are displaced by the opprobrium directed towards the trafficker.

Nasra Shah and Indu Menon (1996) provide some information about how illegal networks function in Kuwait. In one case, for example, Turkish labourers were brought in by a long term Turkish resident in Kuwait who had local language skills and a large network of business associates. Kuwaiti nationals are issued visa permits for foreign migrant workers by the government, based on the size of their business and their demonstrated need. These sponsors (*kafeel*) are able to legally import cheap manual labour from the rest of Asia, but there are additional illegal means of doing so. Many busi-

nesses do not utilize all of the visas they have been allocated, and surplus visas are often sold illegally on the black market. A Turkish national who collaborates with his Kuwaiti partners may be able to purchase unused visa permits and bring in his own people with them. Once inside Kuwait, illegal Turkish migrants are directed to employers, but have no legal recourse to either the Turkish embassy or the Government of Kuwait, as the visa they have travelled on was illegally obtained.

Many South Asian countries have gender and age restrictions that restrict young female migrants. These constraints, however, do not completely curtail the flow of workers to the Gulf. Despite the regulatory control of the State, there were over 40,000 Indian women at work in 1996 in Kuwait, many of whom were under the legal age of 30. Domestic labour is one of the major forms of work for young women in Kuwait, and the demand for foreign domestics continues to grow (Shah and Menon, 1997). In the next section, I will discuss the social and cultural contexts in which families decided to send their daughters to work as domestic labourers in Kuwait, even though this meant resorting to illegal means of doing so.

Female Labour and Tamang Households in Helambu, Sindhupalchok

The village in the Helambu district of Sindhupalchok where the 15 teenage girls began their attempted migration to Kuwait is located in the Himalayan foothills, north of Kathmandu.[3] It is relatively well connected to the capital city and, by extension, to the world outside by a poorly maintained road, something that most other villages in Nepal lack. Most of the people there call themselves "Lamas" and are members of one of three Tamang clans with one cluster of households higher up on the ridge claiming to be Yolmo, or Helambu "Sherpa."[4] The Tamang are a predominantly Buddhist minority group who live in the hills immediately adjacent to the Kathmandu Valley and have a long history of isolation and cultural involution in relation to the dominant Hindu elites of the capital (Holmberg, 1989; Tamang, 1992). The Helambu region came to my attention during my fieldwork in 1995, when I discovered that a significant number of people were employed in the carpet industry in Kathmandu, both as migrant carpet weavers and as small-scale petty capitalist manufacturers who continued to maintain strong links to their native region.

One day in 1998 one of my principal consultants from the 1995 fieldwork, Nechung Lama, showed me four letters that he said he would take with him when he travelled up to Helambu for a brief visit. I noted that the

letters were addressed in English, and bore Kuwaiti stamps. I asked about them, and he told me that a number of young women from the village had found employment in Kuwait as domestic workers; something he said was a new development that would benefit both them and their parents. These same women only a few years ago would most likely have found work as carpet weavers in Kathmandu, but a recent contraction of the carpet industry had limited employment opportunities since then, providing the incentive to search for new labour markets. I was unaware, at that time, of Kani Sherpa's death, of changes in Nepalese migration laws forbidding domestic service for women, and that the letters were from young women living and working illegally in Kuwait.

For the people of Helambu immediate economic need is the most pressing incentive for seeking foreign employment. Nechung Lama, for example, lost a lot of money when the carpet market shrank after 1995 and he could no longer count on regular subcontract orders to maintain his factory. As debt mounted and carpet orders plummeted, Nechung's domestic situation deteriorated and he commented to me, in an e-mail after I returned to Canada, that he would have to send Phulmaya, his 18-year-old daughter, "out to the foreign country" as his situation was so desperate. By "foreign country" he meant Kuwait, where Phulmaya in fact later did work as a domestic worker for a year. Phulmaya's migration is a new variation on an older pattern of supporting the household in part through wage remittances.

The Tamang practice of ultimogeniture has, over the generations, yielded smaller and smaller plot sizes, making it difficult for agriculture to support large families. Temporary chain migration has been a feature in the economy of the Sindhupalchok region since at least the middle of the twentieth century, when relative political liberalization enabled people to travel to work in the wage economy for the first time. Previously it had been the unmarried men who had migrated, and eventually moved their families to more productive parts of the country, most notably to Kathmandu. The major international destination was India, where Nepalese men could find plenty of work on road-building crews or on other infrastructure projects in the Indian Himalayas (see, for example, Bishop, 1998). Female migration began with the development of a large carpet industry in Kathmandu. Weaving and working with textiles was considered to be appropriately gendered work for women, and unmarried daughters were expected to turn over part of their earnings to the households (Fricke, 1989, 1990).

A precedent can be found in the practice of sending teenaged females out of the household to work as *kaamgarne* girls, a strategy that many poor families employ in Nepal to relieve rural poverty. *Kaamgarne* girls are usually in their early teens or younger, and perform domestic labour in urban households. Many middle-class families in Kathmandu host girls from poor rural areas to cook, clean, and take care of children in their homes. These arrangements usually involve poor rural relatives or fellow villagers who send a daughter to work with more affluent families in the Kathmandu Valley. By working in the city for meagre wages, or no wages at all, these girls relieve a financial burden from their poor family, but they may also be exposed to abusive conditions and are often denied access to their own families or to public school education because of the long hours they must work (Shah, 1993). As *kaamgarne* girls mature, their role as household servants often comes into conflict with their own desire for autonomy and for marriage.

Young women from Helambu have been in great demand as carpet weavers who are paid at the same rate as males. Girls from Helambu put to work in carpet factories were often expected to remit a portion of their own earnings back to their families, but by 1998 the high cost of living in the city has meant that carpet weavers have not been a reliable source of remittances for rural households. Young Tamang weavers whom I interviewed in 1998 reported that intermittent carpet orders meant that they often became caught in cycles of debt when they took cash advances to meet necessary expenses. In addition, the prices of basic foodstuffs had skyrocketed in the capital to the extent that food accounted for one half of their monthly wage. Sending surplus rupees home under those conditions was not easily managed, but many Tamang weavers felt the need to provide remittances. As one admitted "... we have to save a little money without eating outside. We have to be misers. If we have 500 rupees, we send 200 rupees for our parents."

The flow of young Tamang labourers between Kathmandu and Helambu is partly due to their obligation to contribute to their households, as well as the lack of employment opportunity outside of subsistence agriculture. In the fall of 1998, in order to investigate this phenomenon, I travelled to Helambu with Nechung's daughter, Phulmaya, serving as my guide. When we arrived at the frontier town of Melemchi Pul we met a party of her relatives travelling in the opposite direction to catch the bus to Kathmandu. At a teashop we chatted about our travels and learned that three of the young women, ranging in age from 16 to 18, were on their way to Kathmandu to

join 12 others who would travel to New Delhi, India, and from there to Kuwait, where they were to work as domestic workers for two years. We spoke with the three girls and their families, who were accompanying them to Kathmandu. They told us that the girls had to travel to Kuwait via India, as this was no longer possible from Kathmandu. A *dalal* (middleman, or broker) had arranged for travel documents, and the families had to raise the hefty fee that he charged.

The village chairman told me that the families needed to pay the costs of the airfare, passport, visa and "administrative services," to a sum of 20,000 rupees, but their daughter's entire wage could be electronically conveyed to a Kathmandu branch of an Arab bank located in Kathmandu and put to use at home, initially to recover these investment costs. No one in the village questioned the legitimacy of the domestic labour scheme, but most could put the amount of the monthly salaries of the migrant girls precisely at 8,000 Nepalese rupees, whether or not their daughters were included in it. 8,000 rupees is a substantial sum for most villagers in Helambu; a carpet weaver working in Kathmandu in 1998 could expect to earn only about 2,000 to 2,500 rupees in a month, and most of that needed to be spent on living costs in Kathmandu. Everyone I spoke with expected that most of the 8,000 rupees would be remitted home, as this was above their daily living costs in Kuwait.

Another point on which most people agreed was that the *dalal* or broker who obtained passports, visas and airfares for these 15 girls, was a local person, but no one would reveal who he/she was. People also knew that the girls were flying to Kuwait by way of New Delhi because the government of Nepal would not permit girls to travel to Kuwait from Kathmandu, but no one really understood why, or, if they did, they did not wish to discuss it with me. Phulmaya told us that the passport applications were altered to report the age of the girls as 21, even though the girls we had spoken to enroute to Kathmandu a few days previously were well under that age. They also told us that an official who was co-operating with the scheme processed their passport applications in the district headquarters at Chautara. The age of 21 was the cut-off age for Nepalese women travelling to the Gulf through registered manpower agencies prior to Kani Sherpa's death and the general ban on all female migration to the Gulf was announced late in 1998.

Although the villagers I spoke with may not have understood the illegality of the enterprise, they shared enough knowledge of the details to indicate that its illegitimacy was of small concern. This knowledge seemed limited to the rupee value of the transactions, but the vil-

lagers I spoke with were unaware of Kani Sherpa's death, as was I at the time, and no one admitted to any fear for the girls' safety, nor did they question the *dalal's* fee. In interview, Pema Lama, who already had a daughter in Kuwait, described some of the elements of the Kuwait network and the methods of gaining passage:

Tom: I heard that many girls went to Kuwait a few days ago. For how long?
Pema: For two years.
Tom: Did they get a visa easily? How did they get the visa? Did a broker (*dalal*) get it for them?
Pema: Yes. They get visas from the district headquarters. From Chautara.
Tom: Then they have to go to New Delhi? They cannot go from Kathmandu, right?
Pema: They have to go to India.
Tom: Why can't they go from Kathmandu?
Pema: People went from Kathmandu before, but we have heard that people go from India now. We don't know about it.
Tom: Did the Government stop them (going from Kathmandu)? Why?
Pema: We heard the Government stopped them, but we don't know why.

This excerpt from this interview transcript illustrates the depth of knowledge that many people in the village had of the trafficking scheme, but there is much that Pema left unsaid. Although he, like other people I spoke with, claimed not to know the *dalal*, the fact that the girls had to get their visas from the Government Headquarters for Sindhupalchok indicates that their travel plans had to be known by village authorities, as signatures were required for their visas. His claim not to know the *dalal*, moreover, is a partial truth. Although he may not have known the principal smuggler in this scheme, the villagers who negotiated most of the details between the families of the girls and the *dalal* were his own neighbours, who had previously arranged for his own daughter's travel. Finally, his claim not to have known the reasons for the Nepalese Government's ban does not indicate his ignorance so much as his disinterest in those reasons. Legal barriers to his daughter's migration were seen primarily as obstacles to be overcome in order to pursue their household interests. The daughters appeared to be willing migrants, as one of the 15 girls later commented:

It is very hard to get enough food even though I work all day. I never see new clothes. So I thought I should go abroad to work. I said that I was willing to go. We were told that we would make 8,000 or 9,000 rupees per

month for doing housework, so I took a loan, got my citizenship (card) and passport (*Saptahik Janasatta*, 1998)

The age of the girls going to Kuwait is consistent with the age in which they had gone out to work in the past in the carpet industry in Kathmandu, and the *kaamgarne* arrangement provides a precedent for domestic labour. Few of the girls would have attended school, as, like most young women in rural areas, they did not continue past class 8, or until about the age of 12 or 13 (NESAC, 1998: 77).[5] Education was thus was not seen as an option for most of these girls, and posed no obstacle to their being sent to Kuwait. Practices of gendered and generational household labour allocation, then, were applied to a transnational network that promised much benefit for those households.

Selling Girls in Kuwait

I want to turn now from a consideration of some of the factors that produced young migrant women in Helambu towards an exploration of how that migration was constructed by other Nepalese after the events that followed my field visit. The discourse around female migration in Nepal is laden with powerful assumptions about female sexuality and who controls it. In the present case this is complicated by the fact that the young women in question were considered to be "children at risk" of total objectification and exploitation by morally corrupt adults. I take 'discourse" as an archive of knowledge from which claims about a subject are made, and out of which the unintended "effects of truth" that discipline that subject emerge (Foucault, 1972; 1980). The claim of the discourse on trafficking is that the rescue of girls from illegal or extra-legal migration is justified because these migrants are intended for sexual exploitation and bodily violation. One effect of this discourse is, however, that the sexual proclivities of young Tamang females are implicated in their own violation, and another is that they and their families are constructed as passive victims of outside coercion. A third effect is that these migrants are kept in their place as cultural, gendered and generational subordinates.

The morning after my return to Kathmandu from Helambu, I saw on the front page of the English language daily *Kathmandu Post* a photograph of a man I had previously met in Helambu standing with 15 girls, including the three whom Phulmaya and I had met in Melemchi Pul, all in custody at a police station at a suburb north of the city centre. The caption under the photograph gave the name of the man and described him as having conspired to smuggle these girls out of Nepal to Kuwait.[6] Later that morning, I telephoned the offices of the *Kath-*

mandu Post to request more details. When I asked why the girls had been arrested, a reporter declared emphatically in English that they were being "sold" to Kuwait. At first I thought that the reporter was only using a convenient English gloss when he told me that the girls had been "sold," but I gradually came to realize that this was how many people in Kathmandu understood such events. Female migration is broadly understood to be a form of trafficking, and the most widely known form of trafficking was of bonded prostitutes to Indian brothels. The description of female migration as the "sale" of young women appears in accounts of the female migration to the Gulf that appeared in the foreign media. In one case a European woman who worked with an anti-prostitution NGO in Kathmandu wrote:

> Information about these destinations (the Persian Gulf) is scarce. The Gulf States are totally dependent on their six million migrant labourers, of whom 20% are domestic workers. Increasing numbers of girls have been sold to Gulf countries during the past years, making a new market for "hard" trafficking. Through "manpower agencies" girls are sent to Saudi Arabia, Oman, Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates to work as domestic help, a job that is not included in labour legislation so that legal protection is denied. The companies' agents are usually aware of the fate the girls might meet: hard work and long working hours, humiliation, isolation, abuse, rape, torture and forced abortion. . . . Cases of girls who are trafficked to the Gulf states for prostitution are not known to me. However as the described trade in girls for domestic help comprises sexual exploitation it is included here. (Schubert, 1997)

A fundamental aspect of the trafficking discourse is that migrants are treated as commodities and are stripped of their agency. Like slaves, they suffer bodily ignominies and coercive discipline. The potential for abuse in illegal migration is high and deserves international concern, but accounts such as this go further by narrating the kinds of bodily violation that these women would suffer. These same themes recur throughout both international and Nepalese accounts of prostitution, where bodily abuse, torture and sexual violation are often graphically described as a means of controlling women, and forcing them into a life that they would not otherwise have chosen for themselves.[7] The effect of this violence may be to dramatize concern for the physical safety of female victims, but an implicit effect is that their interests and by extension the interests of the households where decisions about their labour deployment are made are not taken into account as elements in the migration process.

After seeing the news item and speaking to the reporter, I attempted to find out more about the arrest of the girls and the traffickers from some of my contacts from the Sindhupalchok region who were living in Kathmandu. One of the reasons initially given for the arrests was that there was fear that more girls might suffer the fate of Kani Sherpa who, as one local rumour related to me by Nechung Lama put it, committed suicide when she discovered that she was intended for sale into an Arab brothel. Although other people from Sindupalchok also claimed that the 15 Sindhupalchok girls were involved in a straightforward visa scam, the inference of forced prostitution had considerable impact on local opinion. Rumour had it that the man in the photograph had been involved in the trade of prostitutes to Bombay in the past.

Another account of the event in the Nepali language newspaper *Saptahik Janasatta* (1998), titled "Selling Girls in Kuwait: A Gang of Dacoits Arrested, One Girl Murdered" illustrates how the trafficking discourse served as a template with which the arrest of the trafficker and the 15 girls was narrated in local media. The "murder" in the title was a reference to the case of Kani Sherpa who had arrived in Kuwait through a registered employment agency in Kathmandu the previous year and whom the *Kathmandu Post* (1998a) had reported as a suicide. The change from suicide to murder and the association of her death with the arrest of the 15 girls emphasized the risks that the girls were expected to face in Kuwait. The story also obliquely linked the Kuwait trafficking network with prostitution when it provided the detail that the police had recovered a business card for a Bombay hotel from the main trafficker, identified in the story as a "dacoit," a Hindi term for brigand or robber. Bombay is a destination for many Nepalese prostitutes, but the traffickers denied any intention of sending the girls into prostitution. Who would or should believe a "dacoit"?

The arrest of the traffickers and the girls was facilitated, according to the story, by *Maiti Nepal*, a prominent NGO in Kathmandu that works towards the elimination of child prostitution. Alerted to the scheme by a disgruntled partner in the "trafficking" organization, the director of *Maiti Nepal*, Anuradha Koirala, contacted police and herself participated in the arrest of the girls and traffickers outside a Kathmandu movie hall. There, according to *Saptahik Janasatta*, the girls were forced by gang members dressed as Buddhist monks to say that they were boarding buses to attend the 2,500-year anniversary of the birth of The Buddha at Lumbini near the Indian border. After the arrest, the 15 girls were accommodated at the home for recovered child prostitutes in Pashupatinath, north of the city, operated by *Maiti Nepal*.

On a subsequent visit to *Maiti Nepal*, I asked one of the staff why the girls were arrested. He proclaimed with conviction that the girls had not been arrested, they has been "rescued." He then referred our questions to a journalist who was working with the organization who described the persistence of the trafficking of young prostitutes from the Sindhupalchok region, in particular, as an enormous moral problem that the whole country faced. According to him every home in Sindhupalchok that was roofed in metal instead of wood or thatch was evidence that at least one daughter from the household had worked as a prostitute in India. Anuradha Koirala, in an interview with the *Christian Science Monitor*, even went as far as to say that she had been to Sindhupalchok, and found that none of the villages had young women in them as they had all been taken as prostitutes (Holmstrom, 1999).[8]

There is another dimension to Koirala's charge. Tamang women, particularly those from the Helambu region in Sindhupalchok, have a widespread reputation for being, as one long-time Tamang ethnographer puts it, "notoriously free from the Hindu notions of feminine propriety (Campbell, 1993: 14)." In contrast to the conservative feminine ethos of the majority of Hindu women, Tamang women have a reputation for sexual candour, something that is frequently seen as a factor in their participation in prostitution in India:

> The ethnic groups residing in the higher altitude and remote areas (Sherpa, Tamang, Gurung, and Magar) are compelled to send their girls to different cities in India for better employment opportunities. Because there are limited resources in these villages and no employment opportunities, illiteracy, social unconsciousness, and social acceptance of multi-partner sexual behaviour have all contributed to the migration of girls into prostitution, though unknowingly and reluctantly. (Rajbhandari, 1998: 88)

The discourse on female trafficking in Nepal is based on two contradictory claims. On the one hand, women are "unknowingly or reluctantly" being coerced, misled, drugged, or physically and sexually abused into prostitution. On the other hand, women from non-Hindu minority groups and especially those from Helambu are held to be sexually promiscuous and their ethnic groups to be socially and culturally inferior by many of the better educated, predominantly Hindu social activists involved in child prostitution rescue. One claim implied the other in the trafficking discourse; women are both the victims and the authors of their moral degradation.

The "rescue" of the 15 young women from Helambu thus becomes even more firmly linked with rescue from forced prostitution, and prostitution by Nepalese women in India is a much-narrated but poorly understood phenomenon. In a recent article on the subject John Fredrick (1998), a former UNICEF field director based in Kathmandu, argues that statistical estimates of the number of prostitutes in India is subject to frequent inflation by overzealous journalists and NGO activists. Fredrick points out that the number of prostitutes is almost impossible to know with any certainty given the informal nature of Bombay prostitution and, moreover, many in the NGO field are distorting the nature of traffic in women to Bombay. He uses the example of a popular Nepali language film, released in 1993.

In that film a young Tamang girl, Gita, has her marriage arranged with a distant but wealthy groom by her well-meaning parents. After the ceremony, the happy couple leaves for their new home, but Gita finds herself instead drugged and placed on a bus to Bombay. Once in Bombay, Gita is forced into brutal prostitution by a sinister Nepalese madam. After escaping to a Bombay NGO and returning to Kathmandu, Gita returns to her home to find that her family and friends have disowned her. She returns to an NGO in Kathmandu where she is later diagnosed as HIV-positive and dies, tragically alone. The point that Fredrick makes in relation to the film is that the notion that prostitutes are somehow coerced or forced into prostitution by strangers absolves people of what he calls "soft trafficking," that is, family and social networking that places young prostitutes in Bombay. Fredrick argues that this is by far the more common way that young women find work in Bombay brothels, but that the Gita story permits the illusion that no one is there by choice or inclination, and perpetuates a discourse of female victimization. The Gita story also is poignant because the site of her violation and contamination is India, that is, outside her home state. Her death and its redemption can thus be seen as a matter of national honour, and a metaphor for the way many Nepalese view the power of Indian culture and the Indian state.

The would-be migrants from Helambu are caught up in this same discourse. Not only is the attempt to circumvent Nepalese restrictions on domestic labour in the Gulf States equated with the illegal traffic of young girls to Bombay, but the girls in question and their families are constructed simultaneously as passive victims of cynical manipulation and as victims of their own culturally constituted sexual proclivity.

It is not clear to what extent a fate like Kani Sherpa's would await the girls on arriving in Kuwait. Unlike other South Asian countries where there is long history of migration to the Gulf States, to date only a very few other Nepalese girls have arrived back in Nepal after working in the Gulf. A few girls from a neighbouring village were reported to have returned from Kuwait even before their visas expired, and their experience of working in the Gulf may not have been a happy one. Indeed one villager told me ". . . 2 or 4 of them returned home. They ran away from there. We heard that they didn't have a very good job. They had to lift heavy machines. And we heard that it is very hot there."

Other South Asian domestic workers have fulfilled their work visas and returned only to find that their earnings in the Gulf have precipitated conflicts with their husbands and their families, and altered the gender balance at home (Gamburd, 1995). Michele Gamburd, (1999) who has documented this for returned Sri Lankan maids, argues that the "horror stories" about rapes, beatings and abuse play on Orientalist perceptions of Arab males in Sri Lanka and abroad though they are not representative of the broader situation. Nasra Shah, commenting on studies of returned domestic workers, states that most report general satisfaction with their experience of employment, and that the numbers in Kuwait who have fled to embassy shelters for repatriation constitute 0.4% of the total number of domestic workers (1997:21).

Sending young girls to work in Kuwait was considerably risky. Once there, they would have been unable to communicate effectively and thus relatively powerless to negotiate their needs. The illegality of their employment, moreover, meant that attaining outside help if they got into trouble would have been difficult. Given this vulnerability, there was plenty of potential for abuse.[9] Either the girls and their families were unaware of this risk or it failed to be considered in their calculations of benefit. Others, however, read into this risk obsessions with entrapment, debt-bondage and forced prostitution that reflect emergent anxieties about who controls young women and the appropriateness of their labouring for wages.

Given the uncertainty of the risks, then, the description of this migration network as fraught with dangers to the bodies of young women, either at the abusive hands of Kuwaiti employers or the exploitative hands of Nepalese labour traffickers must be seen as a discursive construct. A construct, moreover, in which the decision-making capacity of families, based on the calculation of the potential benefits of migration, is eclipsed by that of more powerful state and other agencies, based on imaginations of potential risk.

Conclusion

Kani Sherpa's body returned to Kathmandu in early December 1998. Her family was at the airport to receive her remains, where her grieving mother was quoted as saying that "the poverty of this nation ate my daughter" (*Kathmandu Post*, 1998b). This perspective on the reason for Kani Sherpa's death is as poignant as it is simple; for many Nepalese who remain isolated in agricultural villages the lure of the wage economy outweighs the potential risk of migration. Those risks necessitate an informed process of decision-making and an international infrastructure that works to obviate the most blatant and intolerable kinds of abuse. Kani Sherpa's death was a consequence of a poverty of cultural as well as material capital, as any knowledge about what may have awaited her was insufficient to overcome the need to provide the means to raise herself and her family out of what they saw as their desperate condition. The families from Helambu who sent their daughters abroad in the fall of 1998 made their decisions under similar conditions, but the intervention of the state and the NGO Maiti Nepal rendered those decisions illegitimate, and the risks to the girls unacceptable.

The decision to send these girls out to work in the international domestic labour market was taken largely by their parents, but it does not follow that this was against their own will. In the flurry of claim making that went on after their "rescue," however, those decisions were ignored altogether as the scheme came to be conflated with forced prostitution that was perpetrated by a *dalal* who was reputed to be close to traditional political authority. The girls and their families are thus both presented as child like innocents who were victimized by more powerful and more knowledgeable agents who prey upon that innocence. By protecting childhood innocence, state and NGO agencies invoke a "naturalized" model that constructs childhood as a sanctified experience beyond the politics of class and culture (Mankekar, 1997; Stephens, 1995). As this paper points out such constructions are also deeply gendered. The teenage girls of Helambu and their families are constrained by social class, ethnicity and a corresponding perception of their own backwardness from participating in any naturalized childhood.

In the introduction to this paper, I sympathized with Christine Chin's call for a "discourse on the kind of values and morals that are to inform social relations and interactions in the construction of a new world order." The obsessions over "national honour" and young female labour should be seen as a part of that discourse,

but a part that should warrant critical scrutiny. The "trafficking" of the young into wage labour is one aspect of emerging global interactions that should demand our attention but, ironically, it is the legal restriction on female migration of all ages inspired by those same obsessions that pushed this activity underground in the first place. The murky and mysterious workings of informal networks may increase the potential for abuse, but these legal restrictions certainly decrease the ability of states to protect migrants from abuse. Phulmaya, my guide during my visits to Helambu in 1998, for example, left for Kuwait the next year despite the accounts of Kani Sherpa's death and the "rescue" of the 15 domestic workers from Helambu a year earlier. Her illegal migration to Kuwait illustrates a growing trend in the Asian region that States are hard pressed to control. As Ronald Skeldon has recently concluded:

> The elimination of trafficking, no matter how desirable, is unlikely to be realistically achieved through legislation and declarations of intent. Rather, the improvement in the socio-economic status of the population, particularly through the education of girls, is likely to lead to reductions in its worst forms ... It is important to target the injustices created by criminal groups on the one hand while at the same time regularising or "managing" those forms of trafficking that benefit local populations and even those trafficked on the other (2000: 23)

The decisions of 15 families from Helambu to send their daughters to Kuwait must be understood as part of a household economic strategy. Currently, this illegal means is one of the few by which they can benefit from the world economy. The underground nature of this trafficking network left these girls vulnerable and without protection. I have argued that in the absence of sufficient information about it, a contradictory discourse about female trafficking reproduced moral obsessions that were directed, overtly or not, to restrict young women from international labour markets. The greater moral and physical risk to migrants may come from attempts to stop them from leaving the country at all.

Notes

2 At about the same time as these events were unfolding, the Nepalese Government speculated about a program to allow teenage boys to travel to and work in the Gulf States. Critics charged that they would do only unskilled work and neglect their education and other job training. The plan was subsequently dropped, only after many government MPs had their offices swamped by potential applicants.

3 I have intentionally not given the name of this village, as the events I describe in this paper currently figure in legal proceedings against the "traffickers" of these girls. I have also not provided a pseudonym, in order to avoid the identification of any village with these events. I have used a few pseudonyms for people, but no one involved in the events I describe here has been directly named for the same reasons.

4 For a discussion of the ethnographic composition of the Helambu regions, see Clarke (1980). I understand the ethnic distinctions in the region to be extremely fluid, however, and concur with Clarke when he states, "one person's Lama is another person's Tamang."

5 In their village, there is one primary school that holds classes, intermittently, up to class six. In order to attend advanced classes, students would have to travel two hours down the ridge to the next village, and beyond their School Leaving Certificates, the only option for education is in one of the cities of the Kathmandu Valley region.

6 Because this news item gives the name of the man and is a clear photographic likeness of him, I am not referencing the exact date of this item to protect his identity.

7 The same theme recurs in accounts of Nepalese prostitution in India. Pradhan (1993), for example, states that "... the young women who are sold against their will are tortured mentally, physically and sexually: their bodies are burnt with cigarettes, they are denied food and water, and they are isolated and gang raped. These and other torture techniques are used to break their will and make them surrender" (see also Rajbhandari, 1998).

8 This is either a conscious or unconscious allusion to the "girl-less villages" of 19th-century missionary discourse (Brumberg, 1982), and, like the metal roof story, darkly characterizes every migrant carpet weaver or domestic worker as a potential prostitute.

9 The International Labour Organization states that the inability of children to return home after work constitutes a prohibited "hazardous" type of work (White, 1999: 138).

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Playing with Names: How Children Create Identities of Self in Anthropological Research

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Abstract: Children have long been present in anthropological research but rarely does their involvement receive the critical attention that is given to adult participants. This paper examines what is revealed about the construction of identities of self when the research-related play of two girls in quite different ethnographic contexts is examined. Drawing on research in Bridgetown, Barbados, and Saskatoon, Canada, it is argued that through the playful search for a pseudonym, these two girls speak to issues of poverty and prostitution that highlight how they see, experience and contribute to the world around them as active agents, rather than passive recipients, of cultural processes.

Résumé: Les enfants sont présents depuis longtemps dans la recherche en anthropologie, mais leur implication a rarement reçu l'attention qu'on a accordée aux adultes. Cet article décrit ce qui est exprimé de la construction du moi quand on examine le jeu proposé à deux fillettes dans des contextes ethnographiques différents. M'appuyant sur une recherche à Bridgetown, aux Barbades, et à Saskatoon, au Canada, je soutiens que grâce la recherche d'un pseudonyme, sous forme de jeu, ces deux fillettes commentent des questions de pauvreté et de prostitution qui expriment la façon dont elles voient, subissent et contribuent à construire le monde autour d'elles en tant qu'agents actifs des processus culturels et non comme des objets passifs.

Introduction: Positioning Children in Anthropological Research

It appears as though the Victorian adage that children are to be seen and not heard resonates today throughout the many academic studies of global poverty, social adversity and personal despair. Heightening the visibility of children and persuading readers of the significance of the issue being discussed, images of children often emerge in these studies through thick descriptions of mundane and extraordinary human activity that takes place under adverse conditions. As Susan Moeller (1999) so aptly illustrates, this academic trend mirrors the prevailing discourses of disaster and aid projected through Western media in which the bodies of children and (to a lesser but still significant extent) women are posed and choreographed to reflect the ravages of disease, famine, war and death in order to elicit compassion and, of course, money from a more affluent audience that consumes these images. However, despite the undeniable visibility of children in these academic and popular representations of despair, rarely are the experiences, thoughts, actions and opinions of the children themselves explored analytically in a way that gives voice to these marginalized social actors or that elucidates what it means to be a child under such conditions. In effect, the children are seen, but not heard.

Anthropological research is certainly not exempt from this general trend. Indeed, much of my own work on the cultural constructions of disease, violence, invasion and risk (and hence my focus here on representations of despair) has involved children, and yet it has only been recently that I have begun to theorize childhood in any meaningful way. Although I consistently incorporated discussions of difference throughout my work in order to explore issues related to identity (such as dynamics of race, regionalism, nationalism and globalization), I unquestioningly extended adult-oriented perspectives of cultural

processes to children, viewing them as "little people" who are the objects, not agents, of those processes. Lest I become too mired in my own *mea culpa* here, it is important to note that I was not alone in doing so. Virginia Caputo (1995) cogently argues that children have long been present in our descriptive ethnographic accounts, but seldom central to the theoretical foundations in which these accounts are embedded. There are, therefore, few works within the field that can substantively inform our research with children or our thinking about childhoods. She notes that "In many of the societies where anthropologists carry out research, children are usually accorded a great deal of importance and concern. The problem remains, however, that anthropologists ... exclude children by representing them as appendages to adult society. Therefore, while it would be unfair to argue that children have not been visible in anthropological writing, the problem of their inaudibility remains" (Caputo, 1995: 22).

This "seen but not heard" approach to representing children may well be a reflection of the anthropological tendency to adopt "the historically and culturally-bound model of children as pre-social, passive, dependent and part of a private 'natural' domestic sphere beyond the realm of social or cultural analysis" (Helleiner, 1999: 31). However, this model—grounded in psychological and sociological theories of socialization wherein children are viewed as if always in a state of becoming and not, as Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Carolyn Sargent (1998: 13) put it, as "being-in-and-for-the-world" in a contemporary sense—has begun to be challenged by those who are establishing a unique anthropology of childhoods and children. These scholars are contesting, more so than ever before, the marginal status often assigned to children through their analytical absence and we now have ethnographies in which children are active participants, "setting agendas, establishing boundaries, [and] negotiating what may be said about them" (Scheper-Hughes and Sargent, 1998: 15; see also Caputo, 1995; Goldstein, 1998; James, 1993, 1995; Scheper-Hughes and Hoffman, 1998; Stephens, 1995; Thorne, 1993). This paper aims to contribute to this mounting challenge by presenting the ways in which two girls enthusiastically engaged as research participants in two different fieldwork settings, one in Bridgetown, Barbados and the other in Saskatoon, Canada.

Because children often relate to and represent the world around them in unique ways that reflect their contemporary social localities and individual interests, their investment in anthropological research often takes a different form from that of most adult participants. Through-

out my work, I have found that children become very interested in the performative aspect of research, acting out—in playful and what many adults would see as unfocussed ways—those cultural dramas that they feel are important and that I might want to see. Even under what I would consider dire circumstances of poverty and forced prostitution (to be considered here), research becomes a game full of laughter, unpredictable twists and turns, impromptu action, sudden stops and energetic starts. If the researcher partakes as a player in this game, systematic note taking and in-depth interviewing are often implausible. There are, therefore, very real methodological challenges for the anthropologist who has most likely been trained to conduct research among adults. But, as I have recently come to appreciate, there are also great possibilities to uncover important cultural dynamics through the engagement in and analysis of research related play. Indeed, one of the meanings of "play" that Barrie Thorne (1993: 5) explores in her ethnography of school children relates to "a scope of opportunity for action ... [that is] grounded in the concept of possibility." In this paper, I examine how two girls playfully acted to construct and reconstruct representations of self for an anthropological audience as a way to represent both who they believe themselves to be now and who they could possibly be in different worldly contexts. These constructions and reconstructions of self were mediated and expressed through the girls' enthusiastic search for the pseudonyms by which they would be known in the work.

Similar to children's place in anthropological research, the processes we use to name where and particularly with whom we work are familiar to most but critically analyzed by few. Usually, a very brief statement—most often buried in an endnote—informs readers that in order to protect the anonymity of our research participants, psuedonyms will be used for the people who worked with us in our endeavours. My aim here is to begin to excavate these naming processes from the endnote depths. I argue that looking at them for what they reveal about cultural constructions of identities is particularly relevant to a discussion of children and child research. I have found that among the children participating in my research projects, the idea of choosing a new name by which they can be known, even for a short time and in written work that they may never read, fascinates them, perhaps because they are more explicitly engaged in processes of language acquisition than many adults. These children are therefore very aware of the power of names and naming, a power that is also readily recognized by many anthropologists and social linguists. Richard Alford (1988), for

example, echoes many feminist scholars (e.g., Lakoff, 1975; Pramaggiore, 1992; Preston, 1994; Spender, 1984) when he argues that the suggestion that names are superficial and bereft of significant effect (reflected collo- quially in the well-known children's maxim "Sticks and stones will break my bones, but names will never hurt me") does not reflect the abstruse power dynamics of language and discourse that are played out in communi- ties of all kinds. Rather, "names do color our perceptions of named entities, whether they are objects, places, or people. Semantically meaningful given names . . . appear to have significant effect on their bearers" (Alford, 1988: 59). As children name, rename, and nickname those who are around them as well as themselves, we have a great opportunity to explore the cultural dynamics that under- lie their perceptions of self and others. My interest in this paper is particularly in how these perceptions are forged through children's involvement in research, how they craft an anthropological presence through their par- ticipatory search for a research name, and what we can learn from their efforts.

Kizzy's Search for a Research Name

> Sometimes I feel very tiny . . . Like I [could] fit in a thimble, like the tooth fairy . . . but all's I gotta do is imagine someone calling my name and I be feeling big again. That is why I like thinking about what name you should call me in your notes.
>
> — Kizzy (Bridgetown, Barbados, 1999)

I first met "Kizzy," a seven-year-old girl who lives with her grandmother in a very poor part of Bridgetown, Bar- bados in June, 1999, while conducting a study of how women and children relate the poverty and violence in their communities to their health status. Sandra, Kizzy's grandmother, was tremendously helpful to me in my work, spending many hours telling me about her life and the ways in which the escalation of violence and the pro- nounced poverty in her community were affecting her own health because her ability to care for her grand- daughter was being compromised. During our very first interview, I mentioned, as most anthropologists routinely do, that I would use pseudonyms—"fictitious and made- up names"—to ensure that their anonymity would be protected. Instantly, Kizzy sprung up and repeatedly asked "What name you be using for me?" I replied by asking her what name she wanted me to use and from that point forward, all of our subsequent meetings involved lengthy discussions and playful performances as she deliberated what name would best suit her. During these encounters, Sandra kept interjecting, "How 'bouts Kezziah?" but Kizzy always shook off the suggestion,

preferring Dinah, Lelanna, Sonya, Safeya and Jamaella. As she pondered each name, Kizzy would act out the characteristics that she thought the names conveyed, and these performances inevitably led to rather elaborate "what if" games in which Kizzy would craft identities for herself and others that she imagined could exist in a dif- ferent country or community. The name "Sonya" was Kizzy's favourite for several weeks. She explained that "it be pretty 'cause it be French and English and it be makin'" me feel like a *real* Caribbean girl 'cause with this name, I be from all over the Caribbean, not just Barba- dos." Despite the Russian origin that most scholars of onomastics attribute to the name, Kizzy believes it to be of regional significance, reflecting two of the major lan- guages most commonly spoken in the Eastern Caribbean. With this name and, as we will see, the rhyming varia- tions of it, Kizzy is able to transport herself to different "imagined communities" (Anderson, 1983) beyond Bar- bados, affirming her Caribbean identity. This kind of regionalism, which figures so prominently in Kizzy's attempts to construct an international research persona, reflects her awareness of the widespread migration that marks the Caribbean and has led many residents to "assume the permeability of national boundaries" (Thomas-Hope, 1992: 20) and "question the notions of a bounded state" (Carnegie, 1982: 13). Trinidad, the clos- est neighbouring island to Barbados, is one destination that Kizzy envisions as she "tries on" the names that reflect the imagined character of nation and individual:

> Yeah, I be liking the name Sonya, but I be liking Tonya and Lonya, and oh yeah, Shoshanna, and what's 'bout Bonya and Konya? . . . Tonya and Lonya, they be long, tall girls, both of 'em rich and fancy and stuff. They be from Trinidad for sure. If I were Trini [Trinidadian], I be a Tonya or Lonya for sure 'cause I know that I be rich in Trinidad. I just hate bein' so poor here . . . I know we's poor. Granny says we aren't but I be knowing we's real poor . . . But Lonya, she aren't poor . . . She's a beautiful rich girl. Maybe you should be callin' me Lonya in your notes so I can be rich! Rich! RICH!

Here, Kizzy constructs an image of wealthy, thin Trinidadian girls and in so doing embraces the popular- ized view of Trinidad as an island of economic prosperity and possibility (a view that is hardly endorsed by the Trinidadians who now live in Barbados) that she then contrasts with the poverty of her current life. She had great fun dramatizing Lonya's stature and wealth by pre- tending to throw what she called a "furry scarf" (a stole) around her neck, swivelling her hips, and imitating one of the dialects that reflects the East Indian heritage of many

Trinidadians. At first, her portrayal of Lonya seemed quite adult and, with the exaggerated hip gestures, sexualized; however Kizzy insisted that Lonya was only seven, proving how "rich, fisticated [sophisticated] and sexy them Trini girls be." After some thought, though, she decided that Lonya was "too far gone" from the reality of her life and she was particularly concerned that she would have to "be leavin' Granny behind" were she to assume this pseudonym. Her comments suggest that the anthropological presence she was crafting through her participation in my work and her engagement in this "what if" game were of consequence, for she was visibly distressed by her belief that were she to portray herself as affluent, she would sever the only immediate family connection that she had and that, at seven years of age, was dependent on for her survival. Perhaps, if Elizabeth Thomas-Hope (1992: 6) is correct in her claim that "Caribbean people order their external universe in direct relation to [the] opportunities for migration," Kizzy's paradoxical attraction to, but ultimate rejection of, this fictional Trinidadian identity may be demonstrative of the way in which she sees her childhood, and by extension all similar childhoods, as being affected by this focus on "external," global travel but at the same time necessarily bound by the immediate local and family contexts. As a social terrain, childhood is certainly one venue in which global visions and local realities play out in complex ways, and Kizzy's engagement with what she called "off-island girls" through our name game was a way for her to voice these complexities.

The attractive image of Trinidadian affluence that Kizzy associated with the names Tonya and Lonya were in direct opposition to the images she created through the "off-island" character of Bonya who she drew on to imagine herself in Jamaica:

> If I be a Bonya, I be a fat, smokin' [drug-using] Jamaican girl. But please don't be using that name in your notes 'cause I [wouldn't] be a Bonya, always walking 'round with my jaggabat [prostitute] hips and not be knowin' up from down. Bonya be doin' drugs, fat drugs, fat Bonya, fat Jamaica. Fat Bonya, Fonya. Jamaica Fonya, Jonya. Drug Jonya, Donya . . . That girl not be me, that's for sure . . . I never want to be doin' no drugs . . . Even though I be a poor Bajan [Barbadian] girl and I be an off-island girl—I mean I know I not be off-island yet 'cause I don't be travelling nowhere but I know I be someday—I not be doin' no drugs and gettin' all stupid. That's for Bonya, Fonya, Jonya, drug Donya."

As with her constructions of Lonya, Kizzy reaffirms her desire to be represented in a regional "off-island" way

and she draws on prevailing images of Jamaica and Jamaican women in this scenario. However, a negative and more immediately rejected identity is constructed here as the proposed Jamaican name is portrayed as being synonymous with an unappealing appearance ("fat"), prostitution ("jaggabat") and drugs ("smokin'"). The summer of 1999 was indeed a particularly difficult one for Jamaica because of the organized crime and drug trade that attracted so much international news coverage. In Barbados, a country with increasing but still relatively low rates of crime and drug-related community violence, this news coverage (along with various reactions to it) often included an undercurrent of caution, warning that the kind of violence erupting in Jamaica could "spread" to other Caribbean nations. Although Sandra made great efforts to reduce Kizzy's exposure to what she saw as alarmist warnings of violence, they evidently had noteworthy influence. Kizzy's comments suggest that were she to choose the name Bonya—or its rhyming derivatives Jonya, Donya and Fonya—she would become emblematic of the sexualized, drug-using and criminal girls who she believes live in Jamaica. It is as if that identity would be inevitable were she to don these names or find herself in Jamaica.

Although there is much that Kizzy's representations of her possible research identities reveal, what interests me here is the ways in which she uses playful pretence to imagine and describe these identities. As Laurence Goldman (1998: 2) explains, pretence involves "the creation of an artefact that stands for or portrays some aspect or knowledge of the world. In pretence an actor conjures up an alternative, counterfactual state that is temporarily overlaid onto a conventionally understood 'reality' conceived as veridical." Whereas pretence is most commonly modelled within developmental psychology as a "zone of proximal development" (Vygotsky, 1966: 16) that is indicative of the various stages in human growth and maturation (Bretherton, 1989; Dixon and Shore, 1993; Ellis, 1973; Piaget, 1962), it has tremendous relevance to an anthropology of children and childhoods because each episode of pretence play gives rise to "a dramatic mimesis of human behaviour; a mimesis in the sense not of bland reproduction but of something transformed" (Goldman, 1998: 21). This performance allows the children both to reflect and to distance themselves from the social order in which they are currently immersed, to construct a slippage between what is and what if, "to dance between the very same and the very different" (Taussig, 1993: 129). In Kizzy's search for a fictional name by which to be known in my work, she constructs fictional scenarios that allow her to craft iden-

tities of national others that she then overlays onto her reality, bringing together her locally based reality and regionally based fantasies. She draws on what she believes to be true in order to create a recognizably untrue or pretend character who would portray her in the anthropological drama of health and violence that I was creating.

This process is very telling because the identities of Kizzy's characters are decidedly gendered and classed in ways that reveal a great deal about the cultural dynamics informing her narratives. Lonya is alluringly thin, sophisticatedly sexualized and her wealth allows Kizzy to escape the poverty in which she currently lives. Bonya, on the other hand, is grotesque, drug addicted, vulgarly sexualized through references to prostitution, and uncontained as illustrated by the way in which Bonya is mimetically reproduced as Fonya, Jonya, and Donya. The strategic alliteration Kizzy uses to introduce these names indicates, once again, that these characters represent a particular and unappealing bodily, national and drug-induced state of being. In contrast to the way in which she portrayed her community poverty as something to be escaped in her construction of Lonya, that same poverty became a preferred scenario to that characterized by Bonya. Because Kizzy repeatedly distanced herself from this character and even humorously suggested at one point that I call her "Never-a-Bonya," she might be using this pretence as a way to minimize and relativize the extent to which she would ultimately be represented as a "poor Bajan girl." In addition, then, to what this pretence play might reveal about Kizzy's developmental process, what is of greater interest to me as an anthropologist is the way in which she, like most children in similar contexts, actively used this make-believe and mimetic name game to produce stories and scenarios as a way to represent herself and her local place within a wider cultural and geographical region.

The research context is certainly important here. Whereas children's pretence has been primarily seen and studied as "child-structured play" (Schwartzman, 1991: 215) that is "neither inspired, instigated, supervised by nor undertaken in the presence of adults" (Goldman, 1998: 12), this case was different. Not only did my presence motivate Kizzy's make-believe play, I was a participant in it and continually reminded her that, with her permission, I would be writing and talking about our imaginings. Her pretense play, then, unlike similar encounters with other children, had a sense of permanence about it, and perhaps it was because of this, and my relationship with her grandmother, that she ultimately chose the name "Kizzy" as her research name.

As noted previously, all of our playful encounters were set against Sandra's continued suggestion that "Kezziah" be her chosen pseudonym. Although a biblical name (given in the Old Testament to one of Job's daughters), "Kezziah" and its derivative "Kizzy" were made popular through Alex Haley's novel *Roots* and the ensuing TV mini-series. In this Americanized history of slavery, the name is explained as meaning, "you sit down" or "you stay put," and was bestowed on the character Bell's third daughter in hopes that, unlike her previous children, this girl would stay with her family and not be sold. Sandra has read this novel many times and the narratives that unfold throughout this fictional tale are woven throughout Sandra's her own life stories (bringing together an interesting clash and compliment of different national and cultural contexts), and she is particularly taken with several of the female characters who Sandra believes reflect her "heart and soul." She explains that,

Women who come from slavery be strong women and they know who they be. I want my Kezziah to be a strong woman, to never be forgetting the opportunities she [has] and what she always need be fighting for even still. I don't be wanting her to end up washing some white underclothes for them rich tourists ... She might as well be working the cane if that what she be doing. I be wantin' my Kezziah to be a strong Black woman and be really free and be making her own money.

Sandra's words echo the anti-slavery discourse that circulates throughout Barbados. Although this discourse takes many forms, it is expressed in part through the ongoing critique of the island's booming tourist industry which many local Barbadian people, including Sandra, see as a form of neo-slavery wherein Black labour is exploited to support White leisure (Gmelch and Gmelch, 1997). Proposing this pseudonym, then, is a way for Sandra to assert for her granddaughter an identity that separates the girl from the past oppression that Hilary Beckles (1989, 1990), among others (Bolles, 1993; Gmelch and Gmelch, 1997; Sutton and Makiesky-Barrow, 1981), argue still imprints on the lives of many Barbadians who constitute the racially marginalized majority.

It is also important to note that because it is the adults and particularly women who generally assign names to children in Barbadian culture, Sandra saw it as her job to name Kizzy. During one of our final interviews, Sandra firmly explained, "I be wanting her to be a strong Black woman but she [isn't] there yet, so I think I be naming her Kezziah." Before the ethical dilemma regarding which pseudonym I would use, and thereby whose wishes I would honour over the other's became over-

bearing, Kizzy surprised me by acquiescing to her grandmother's request without consternation. The one condition, though, was that rather than "Kezziah" she be referred to as "Kizzy." She explained her willingness to accept this name by stating that although it was fun playing our name game, she wanted to do as her grandmother wished:

> A grandbaby is s'posed to be doing as her granny says. And I still be Caribbean with the name Kizzy, I still be an off-island girl 'cause Kizzy be a name in Trini, for sure, and St. Vincent and Martinique, and Antigua for sure. But with this name, I be staying in my granny's heart, and I be staying in the house too, see? B'sides, Kizzy is like Dizzy and Dizzy is cute and fun.

She began laughing with delight as she spun around and around, associating the name Kizzy, not with symbols of racialized strength or anti-slavery discourses, but with family obligation, regional affiliation and fun. The integrity of the women-centred family configurations that characterize much of the eastern Caribbean (Barrow, 1996) was therefore maintained by Kizzy's choice to honour the cultural power of her grandmother and, on one level at least, she was performing what was expected of her as a child. In so doing, she was "upholding, rather than subverting, the dominant formulations of the category 'child'... reinforcing the categories that otherwise exert control in [her life]" (Caputo, 1995: 34). On another level, though, Kizzy crafted for herself a space within the anthropological process in which she could actively construct potential identities and her final choice was perhaps less of a compromise as it was a cultural compilation of many of the ideas and possibilities that had previously informed her play.

Kizzy was able to uphold the culturally recognized categories of child and actively select a revealing pseudonym that highlighted aspects of her identity as a Barbadian girl in large part because those around her readily recognized and treated her as a child. Had she been socially displaced from this age-category and positioned more as an adult, her ultimate engagement with the name "Kizzy" might have been different. In order to explore how young girls, who live and work in contexts that are usually and normatively reserved for adults, similarly construct identities of self through the research related assignment of pseudonyms, I turn to my second example, drawn from research on the health repercussions of international sex trafficking.

"Ashley-Mika": Mediating Metis Identity

> I think that them regular girls who, like, aren't in the [sex] trade have no idea what it really means to be a different kind of girl, a whore girl, you know. They, like, get all freaked out when an older guy looks at them or whatever... but when you're a whore, travelling all over and stuff, the guys do a hell of a lot more than look and your job is to, like, let them, you know? Then when you're with them regular girls and they're all, like, "oh he's so gross," what are you supposed to say to that? It's like you are a girl but you're not 'cause, like, you have nothing in common with them, you know?
>
> — Ashley-Mika (Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, 1998)

Approximately, and conservatively, two million women and girls every year, around the world, are forced or lured into sexual service by mostly male managers who are interested in the profit that the international sex trades can currently ensure (Altink, 1995: 22; see also Jeffreys, 1997). A fairly extensive global network in which the bodies of women and girls are exchanged among cartels is currently thriving and hundreds of international orders for girls and younger women (who are referred to as "fresh produce") are placed daily with sex brokers who work transnationally. This network relies on established trafficking routes and patterns that are uniting communities and regions in unprecedented ways. Although sex trafficking is by no means a new phenomenon, it is occurring today within the context of globalization and it is therefore embedded more firmly than ever before in the increasing international distribution of products, people, media and ideas. It was while I was studying the culturally based perceptions among prostituted women and girls of the health risks associated with this traffick and trade that I met Ashley-Mika, a 15-year-old girl who has worked as a prostitute for four years. Since she was 11 years old, Ashley-Mika has been trafficked quite extensively, from Saskatoon, Saskatchewan (the city to which Ashley-Mika ran after leaving home) to the Philippines, Vietnam, Tokyo, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Toronto, and then back to Saskatoon where I met her in the winter of 1998 when she was once again working on the cold streets that she thinks of as "home."

With an Aboriginal mother and Euro-Canadian father, Ashley-Mika identifies herself as Metis and, through the course of our research, she struggled to understand and articulate how this identity shapes her life in the differing cultural contexts in which she finds herself. Initially, she had heard about my work with women who had wanted to establish a Prostitute's Empowerment, Education and Resource Society (PEERS) in Saskatoon and because

she felt excluded from this initiative, largely because of the overrepresentation of Euro-Canadian and First Nations women who Ashley-Mika believed were too critical of Metis girls, she approached me to ask if I would assist her and several others in compiling an account of their experiences in the international sex traffick and trade. These young women hoped that this account, which graphically detailed the difficulties and dangers (including health risks) of sex trafficking, could circulate among and perhaps dissuade other young women from being lured into similar situations by promises of travel and adventure. This research, then, was framed by the girls themselves and constitutes a form of advocacy research that had as one of its primary goals the empowerment of the participants in a political and explicit way.

As noted in other advocacy research with prostituted women (Downe, 1999), the basis for much of this empowerment is in the collaborative and participant-driven research design that allows each of the women to configure very specific research personae. In this case, it was not adult women, but girls and young women (aged 12 to 18 years) who were the players in this process, unequivocally demonstrating the cultural agency that is so often denied to children in anthropological research. Yet these girls and young women exhibited agency in, and often based their research personae on, the experiences that they had while working in a highly sexualized environment that has normatively been reserved for adults. These girls and young women, then, are occupying a transnationally recognized age-category that defines them as children in the eyes of international law, pimps and clients, and yet they are firmly mired and well acquainted with what is simultaneously defined homogeneously as an "adult world." Negotiating the divide between child and adult while constructing a racialized identity of Aboriginality was a central occupation for Ashley-Mika in this research and, once again, her search for a pseudonym proved to be a tremendously revealing process.

While she is working in international settings, Ashley-Mika's pimp insists that she dress in stereotypical First Nations apparel—what she and the girls with whom she is usually trafficked refer to as "squaw gear" or "Pocahontas dress"—in order to attract clients, the vast majority of whom are tourists seeking out an "exotic" sexual adventure. Interestingly, and somewhat ironically, many of Ashley-Mika's clients are Canadian who travel to other countries as sex tourists to sample what is referred to by marketers and consumers as "the international buffet of bodies." Clearly, it is on the basis of Ashley-Mika's Aboriginal heritage that she is included

as one of the exoticized dishes in this buffet, and through the course of my research with her, and seven other Metis girls who have been prostituted internationally, she has recounted numerous stories of clients requesting her to "do raindances while [naked]," "make war cry sounds while they're getting off," and "talk gibberish 'cause they think it's Indian." The primitivist and stereotypical expectations of her have a strong influence on how she attempts to mediate a national and racialized identity for herself. She explains:

> It is just ultra-weird being squawed out so much when I'm away because I'm Metis, a half-breed, and so, like, I'm not *really* an Indian, but I have played one so much that I feel like it's kinda' part of me, too . . . But when I'm back in Saskatoon it's, like, the Indians think I'm, like, this little White [girl] working on their stroll, you know? I guess I'm both. I guess all Metis are in some way both [Indian and White] and so it's like ok for me to play that I'm Indian . . . But I guess it's, like, not so ok because, like, how I'm playing it, has nothing to do with being an Indian. It's just squaw sex, you know? Even though it sells, that's not what my Native part, or whatever, means to me . . . My Native part is the part that most White people don't like 'cause their racist [and] it's the part that most Indians don't like either because I'm not the *right* kind of Indian kid, you know? To me, though, I'm just this girl who likes to be Native because, like, I look Native, you know, and I play one so I guess I'm it . . . but I'm kinda' in the middle, you know?

This interview excerpt is characteristic of the many attempts Ashley-Mika made through the course of our research to explain how she sees herself in relation to the dominant discourses of race and culture that currently prevail in Saskatchewan as well as in relation to the sexual exploitation to which she is subjected. She attempts to reconcile the performances of exotic "Indianness" that she engages in while working with her identity as a Metis girl. Such attempts are examples of what Elleke Boehmer (1995: 196) describes as "self-making" through the interplay and mediation of many reified identities, such as that of Aboriginal, White, girl and prostitute. However, this process of self-making was not only revealed through our interviews, but also through Ashley-Mika's search for a research pseudonym, a search that she engaged in with as much playfulness and enthusiasm as Kizzy.

Over the two-year course of this research, Ashley-Mika's interest in finding a pseudonym that would "capture what it feels like being in the middle" increased and she eventually asked me to buy a name book, the kind that she has seen expectant parents use when they are

considering what to name their new child. She pored through this small pocketbook but kept coming back to one of the early entries listed as a potential girl's name. "Ashley," she said "is a pretty cool 'White girl pop' name that these, like, regular girls get called." Interestingly, she ignored the name's meaning as set out in the book and instead developed her own definition of "White, rich and perky." Like Kizzy, she (very humorously) dramatized this by bouncing around, laughing loudly, and having a great deal of fun. Through the laughter and revelry of this name game emerged a very clear picture of the kind of girl who Ashley-Mika imagined as "regular": "You know, a 'regular girl' is, like, one who gets to think about what they want to be when they grow up, like a wife who thinks up names for her kids . . . A regular girl always knows where she lives . . . She isn't some half-breed having squaw sex all over the . . . world, you know." As she elaborated on this view of a "regular girl"—depicting material wealth, loving parents, community acceptance, and, above all, personal safety—Ashley-Mika described the kind of romanticized, future-oriented childhood that Sharon Stephens (1994, 1995) argues is a Western trope that has come to stand iconically for *the* authentic child. Because Ashley-Mika has never experienced childhood in the way she thinks "regular kids" do, she continually created an opposition between the conditions of her life and those typifying "regular" childhood. In doing so, she set herself apart from childhood, as if she did not qualify for it:

I'm fifteen now. Sometimes, you know, I like forget how old I am! I know that happens for older people, so, like, I guess that means that in some ways I'm older, and . . . I think that is true because I've been shipped around so much and I feel like I've been beaten down a lot, you know? I mean, I'm a fighter but most fighters are older, you know? So, like, I'm real old in lots of ways, maybe even, like, forty or something, like forty year old cargo . . . But then some days I wake up and I see this little Indian girl in the mirror and, like, I want to skip rope. For real, I want to jump and laugh, and so I do . . . but it's different, you know? Like I really shouldn't be doing that, 'cause you know . . . I'm like this Indian whore.

These words, along with those in the quote that began this section, appear to support Donna Goldstein's (1998: 411) claim that, for many, childhood "is a privilege of the rich and is practically nonexistent for the poor." For girls, like Ashley-Mika, who are caught in international systems of prostitution, it may be that the continual movement from one place to another, the lacking

sense of safety and home, the sexualized distortion of cultural heritage, and the racially-based discrimination they encounter and internalize mean that there is no room for a childhood which, in Western Canada, may be seen by some to be the reserve of privileged White children. Ashley-Mika may be carving a space for a childhood by engaging in pretence play and constructing a fictionalized image of "Ashley" that collides with the very real and very adult demands that are routinely placed on her body and mind. The name "Ashley" comes to represent the racialized and gendered girlhood that Ashley-Mika dreams about and she therefore lays this image over the veridical as a way to claim that identity for herself. However, Ashley-Mika was always quick to remind me that the imaginary Ashley is not entirely beyond her grasp because, as a Metis girl, she has a "real" and "blood" claim on a "White" identity. "Remember," she said, "I'm in the middle. So I have her in me, I know I do." Just as "Indianness" is exoticized in her work, "Whiteness" is romanticized in her construction of childhood.

The second half of her hyphenated name, "Mika," appealed to her because of its cultural associations and meaning. Attributed to a generic "American Indian" origin, "Mika" was defined by our name book as "wise little racoon." Recognizing racoons as homeless, urban pests, Ashley-Mika saw them as in need of care but still very intelligent, and she developed an ardent and reflexive affinity for this image. "They're just . . . poor little animals, you know, forced into the city for, like, reasons they don't even . . . know. I like them." I have no doubt that she was speaking metaphorically of herself and the way in which she felt forced to leave her northern community because of the ongoing sexual abuse she was subjected to by her mother's boyfriend, and the failure of the social service systems to deal adequately with the number of such cases they face each month. Ashley-Mika went on to describe the urban racoons as being unfairly persecuted by community residents who were unwilling to feel compassion for these "lost little things," at the same time as they "worship their own cats and dogs." Again, she is referring metaphorically here to the two constructions of childhood that emerge throughout her narratives, one being the unrecognized terrain inhabited by supposed urban, homeless pests, and the other being the esteemed category reserved for the deserving but exclusive "Ashleys." Clearly, she considers the former subaltern childhood more reflective of her current life as she emphasized the negative responses she elicits from people not participating in the sex trade as well as the clients and managers who "sneer and look down on us

girls, 'specially us half-breed and Indian girls who they would, like, hate 'cept for the fact that we bring them money and sex." Though such reactions from clients and mangers were of significant concern, particularly when they would manifest into physical violence, Ashley-Mika seemed more concerned with the reactions of other community residents who, in fighting child prostitution, vilified child prostitutes.

Although it is very difficult to assess how many women under the age of 18 are involved in the Saskatoon-based sex trade (in part because the profit associated with trafficking young women ensures that the population remains transient), the director of the city's most successful outreach program reported that in 1998, 90 children under the age of 14 and another 233 between the ages of 15 and 19 had reported being involved in prostitution to outreach workers (Zakreski, 2000). The numbers of children involved in the trade, therefore, appear to be quite significant and in those vicinities where prostitution is most visible, community residents have long described these children with a great deal of hostility. This is not exclusive to Saskatoon and my research with trafficked prostitutes in four countries (Canada, Barbados, Costa Rica and El Salvador) confirms Ashley-Mika's claims that children in the sex trades are often viewed with truculence regardless of where they might be. They are not the "right" kind of children nor the "right" kind of girls in that they do not exhibit the romanticized "Ashley"-like childhood that is fast becoming a globalized standard that girls everywhere are expected to meet (Stephens, 1994). Therefore, the name "Ashley-Mika" allowed a Metis girl, in the context of anthropological research, to bring together this idealized view of childhood with her lived reality as a young, trafficked prostitute, superimposing a globalized (and globalizing) category of childhood onto the comparably global rejection and marginalization of sexually exploited children.

In addition to speaking to the consistent hostility that she has experienced in her different working environments, Ashley-Mika was also drawn to this pseudonym, and particularly the hyphenated combination, because it provided a way for her to speak to greater length about her Metis identity. When she had settled on this name, she explained its meaning by returning again to the imagery of the racoon (a historically significant symbol of racialization in North America) and by describing the physical combination of colours as a way to discuss the blend of cultural and racial categories to which she sees herself (and by extension other Metis people) belonging:

Racoons, they got lots of colours on them, you know. I mean, they're like, all shades of black and brown and stuff, and . . . that's, like, how I feel. I'm, like, this medium brown 'cause I'm in the middle, like a mix, you know, of White and Indian . . . Half-breeds, we're like the Indians striped with White . . . kinda' like them racoons are striped. That makes sense, eh? . . . You see, I am, like, a "wise little racoon" but I got White girl in me, too. That's why Ashley-Mika is, like, such a good mix. Yeah, it's a mix.

In describing Metis peoples as "in the middle" and "a mix" of First Nations and Euro-Canadian heritages, Ashley-Mika echoes the ways in which those Aboriginal people of diverse heritage have long been viewed under colonial order. Indeed, Julia Harrison (1985: 11) notes that "The word 'Metis' comes from the Latin *miscere*, meaning 'to mix," and was used originally to describe the children of Native mothers and French fathers. Another term for the Metis is derived from the Ojibwa word *wissakodewinmi*, which means 'half-burnt woodmen," describing their lighter complexion to that of full-blooded Indians." As the number of people of mixed heritage has increased, and particularly as more people have begun to claim an Aboriginal heritage, "Metis" has, in many ways, become very contested cultural terrain. Whereas this term was once reserved primarily for those who are or were (either personally or through parentage) affiliated with the Red River (Fort Garry) communities in Manitoba, the Metis National Council in the late 1970s insisted that the term be used to "those who can trace their roots to the intermixing of whites and Natives in western Canada" (Harrison, 1985: 14). Those of similar heritage in the rest of Canada, it was argued, should be considered "Nonstatus Indians." Since then, much of the important work on Metis nationalism (e.g., Chartrand, 1991; Dickason, 1985; Foster, 1986; Sawchuk, 1978 and 1991) has concerned itself with and addressed the burgeoning and sometimes heated debates regarding where the cultural and ethnic boundaries should be drawn when determining who actually constitute the Metis people. Fuelling these debates are bureaucratic distinctions between those Aboriginal peoples included in treaty and scrip legislation, and those excluded by it. These distinctions were, and to some extent still are, based on "factors such as lifestyle, language, and residence or, in a word, culture" as well as self-identification (Waldram, 1986: 281). However, but because social roles shift and community affiliations change, these distinctions are, in fact, quite arbitrary.

Cultures are not static organizations with standing membership lists and yet cultural identities are repre-

sented in a variety of legislative and informal quotidian contexts, including the sexualized context of prostitution, as if they were. Ashley-Mika's struggle to define herself in relation to two seemingly dichotomous categories, "Indian" and "White," exemplifies this and is undoubtedly shared by others who continue to view and experience this supposed "middle ground"—represented by a proliferation of labels, including "Metis, half-breeds, non-Natives, 'borderline Indians', non-treaty, non-status and mixed bloods" (Coates and Morrison, 1986: 253) —as decidedly liminal. Her attempt to represent this middle, liminal position by bringing together one name that represents a privileged "White girl pop" childhood and another that highlights the marginalized vulnerability of a racialized "racoon-pest" childhood is a way for her to negotiate an identity that emerges through her forced association with exoticized "Indianness," her personal recognition of Aboriginal heritage, and her apparent desire for what she sees as a "regular" childhood. Therefore, while she is discursively bound by and thereby reinforces the dichotomous categories that serve to create this uncomfortable middle-ground, Ashley-Mika also undermines those same categories by overlaying one onto the other through pretence play and our research related name game. Attending to this game, engaging in it as a player and performer, better allowed me to appreciate how Ashley-Mika positioned herself in the world and in the various national and cultural contexts in which she has lived and worked.

Conclusion

Vernon Noble (1976: 4), one of the most frequently cited scholars of onomastics, states that "each personal name [has] a place in history, a niche in the story of its particular period." In this paper, I have presented examples of how two girls in quite different research contexts have created a niche for themselves—an anthropological presence—through the self-assignment of personal research names. Much of the anthropological focus on names has been on elaborate naming ceremonies that usually involve the assignment of identities given by adults to children (Alford, 1988; Geertz and Geertz, 1964; Maxwell, 1984; Price and Price, 1972; Rosaldo, 1984). Very little work has been done on the cultural implications of what, when and how children name themselves and in what contexts. There is even less consideration given to the ways in which anthropologists assign pseudonyms to research participants and what this research-based nomenclature reveals about the research process. Given the influence of postmodern ideologies on our ethnographic writings and representations, it is surprising that this has not

received more attention. Within the burgeoning anthropology of children and childhoods, attention to these naming practices may be of particular relevance because it further highlights the active role children take as agents as well as recipients of cultural processes that affect and define their lives. Although children have largely been seen and not heard in anthropological investigations and popular representations of all kinds, including those dealing with poverty and prostitution, there is much that can be learned from attending to the cultural agency that both constitutes and is constituted by children's play, laughter, rhymes and words.

In desiring a regional, Caribbean research identity, Kizzy engages in a kind of pretence play that gives rise to mimetic reproductions and transformations of national caricatures and international personas in relation to which she situates her own life. Because Kizzy ultimately acquiesces to her grandmother's strong suggestion regarding her pseudonym, she reinforces the familial power relations and established boundaries of childhood, but she gives nothing up in doing so for she still crafts an identity that signifies both the anti-slavery discourse to which her grandmother contributes and a broader regional identity that she finds so appealing. With comparable conviction and enthusiasm, Ashley-Mika plays a similar name game as part of a self-making process that reveals the tensions around negotiating her identity as a Metis girl within the sexualized context of prostitution. Through her engagement with prevailing categories of cultural heritage, she describes two oppositional constructions of childhood, one which she associates with racial and class privilege and the other she views as a subaltern childhood that is, in many ways, impossible to realize because of the prevailing demands that are put on her body and mind. Both she and Kizzy construct and reconstruct images and boundaries of childhood thereby demonstrating that it is not a bounded category defined solely by delimitations of age but is a contested and cultural terrain that is discursively created by children as well as adults.

While both girls stressed the ways in which their chosen pseudonyms reflect the cultural and regional aspects of their research-based identities, constructions of gender are interwoven throughout the name games. Kizzy, for example, drew on dominant stereotypes of femininity in her portrayal of Lonya, represented as a rich and sophisticatedly sexualized Trinidadian girl, and Bonya, represented as an unattractive and negatively sexualized girl. At one level, the feminine characters that Kizzy presented as a potential set of identities for herself represents a continuity in gender, suggesting that Kizzy

imagines and wishes to represent herself only in relation to these dominant images of girls (rather than images that could be interpreted as more androgynous or adhering to cultural stereotypes of masculinity). At another level, though, these imagined characters could be "ways in which quite fantastic images of the nation as female are rendered quite ordinary" (Probyn, 1999: 50) as Kizzy effortlessly and playfully gendered the various nations by drawing on the prevailing views of Caribbean femininity and then positioning herself and her poverty in relation to them. When I would question her about this kind of personification of, for example, Jamaica through the pretence of Bonya, she would find it difficult to comprehend that I would not understand that, of course, "Jamaica be a drugged up jaggabat. That be just how it is." And in her assertion that she be referred to as "Never-a-Bonya," Kizzy aligns herself with what she sees as the preferential national and feminine referent.

Ashley-Mika similarly intertwines conceptualizations of gender and gender-based girlhood throughout the self-making processes in which she engaged in the course of this research. As a trafficked prostitute, Ashley-Mika is continually called on daily, even hourly, to perform her gender sexually. As part of these performances of passivity and exoticism, her body is posed, marketed, penetrated and violated. Indeed, Judith Butler (1993) would argue that her body is in fact constituted by these performances and although some scholars of prostitution who represent very divergent views (e.g., Barry, 1995; Queen, 1997) argue that women and girls engaging in these performances can dissociate from them in order to minimize and perhaps even negate any potential effect on the crafting of selves, all of the now 58 prostituted girls (that is, under the age of 18 years) with whom I have conducted research have been intimately affected, to varying degrees, by these performances (see Downe, 1998). Certainly, Ashley-Mika's pejorative references to herself as a "half-breed whore" strongly suggest that the exoticized performances of "Indianness" and the gendered power dynamics that mark her encounters with managers and clients affect not only how she sees herself but also how she understands and experiences childhood. Her Aboriginality is constructed as being antonymous to a "regular" childhood, but it is in part through her sexualized and gendered performances in global and local contexts that she experiences this Aboriginality. Thus, in constructing and claiming a Metis identity, she negotiates gender and what it means to be a "regular" girl.

There is, of course, much more that could have been done in examining the nuances, complexities and contin-

gencies in the research identities crafted by Kizzy and Ashley-Mika. For example, I would have relished the opportunity (that never arose) to observe how Kizzy negotiated international identities with other Barbadian children who might have different experiences with or understandings of the countries she chose to represent through her play. How might a young boy have crafted a research identity that would have been set against different family and community dynamics? Similarly, because Ashley-Mika negotiated her Metis identity largely in the context of her current working conditions in a local context that most approximates a stereotypical view of "home," I would be very interested in knowing how she crafted similar identities for herself in other national contexts where the dominant social discourses of cultural heritage and racial identity are quite different. Would she, for example, find the imagery of "wise little racoon" as appealing and relevant were she attempting to represent herself in research that was based in those areas of Southeast Asia where she has worked? If so, how would she reproduce that image in these various contexts, and if not what other imagery might she embrace in order to craft such a meaningful metaphor for being in the world? Despite these unanswered questions, the participation of these two girls, like the many others whose involvement in my research has been equally enthusiastic and telling, has demonstrated to me the tremendous value in attending to and seeing children as active agents of culture, wielders of knowledge, and creators of play.

Acknowledgments

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Telling Stories from the Field: Children and the Politics of Ethnographic Representation

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Abstract: Bringing a feminist lens to bear on the study of children and childhood has progressed at a slow pace since the mid-1980s. Despite repeated calls for a broader engagement between feminism and childhood studies, the links between the two areas of study remain weak. This article aims to address this gap by examining the processes in which "truths" about children's gendered lives are produced. Drawing from fieldwork in an urban Canadian location, I argue that within the structure of adult beliefs and practices regarding what boys and girls "ought to be," children create spaces in which they are able to "play" with, resist, accommodate, refuse and create alternatives to such beliefs and practices. Based on my research, I explore the ways "violence" is one strategy used by children to create spaces for competing discourses of childhood to emerge. I conclude by reflecting on the implications of using a feminist lens for understanding childhood, maintaining that power plays itself out everyday in children's lives in largely invisible yet compelling ways.

Résumé: L'utilisation d'un éclairage féministe dans l'étude des enfants et de l'enfance a progressé lentement depuis le milieu des années quatre-vingt. Malgré des appels répétés à une plus grande collaboration entre le féminisme et les études de l'enfance, le lien entre ces deux domaines d'étude reste faible. L'article vise à explorer cet écart en examinant le processus par lequel sont produites les "vérités" sur la vie des enfants en tant qu'appartenant à un sexe donné. M'appuyant sur les données de mes recherches dans une localité urbaine canadienne, je soutiens que dans la structure des croyances et des pratiques des adultes en ce qui concerne ce que les garçons et les filles devraient être, les enfants créent des espaces dans lesquels ils peuvent "jouer" avec, résister, accommoder, refuser et créer des alternatives à ces croyances et à ces pratiques. Sur la base de cette analyse, j'explore les manières. dont la "violence" est utilisée par les enfants comme stratégie pour faire surgir des discours rivaux sur l'enfance. Je conclus avec des réflexions sur les implications d'avoir recours à une vision féministe pour comprendre l'enfant, et je maintiens que le pouvoir se joue tous les jours dans la vie des enfants d'une manière invisible mais contraignante.

Introduction

Over the past 20 years, the politics of ethnographic writing and representation have been of central concern for feminist anthropologists. A number of issues have been addressed including the processes of producing "truths" about women's lives, questions of difference and inclusivity, and the impact of research on research participants (Abu-Lughod, 1993; Cole and Phillips, 1995; di Leonardo, 1991; Stacey, 1988; Visweswaran, 1988, 1994). Serious scholarly attention has been directed to the gendered spaces in which women live by examining the social, economic, cultural and political dimensions of women's lives. This essay extends feminist anthropological analyses of (largely) women's lives to consider the problematic relationship between producing knowledge and ethnographic representation in anthropological child research.

In the past, anthropologists have engaged in limited ways with the subjects of children and childhood. For the most part, they have focused on children in the contexts of family life and motherhood. This is due in part to the tenacity of models of socialization and development. According to these models, children are conceptualized as moving toward full adult personhood. That is, they are valued for the future of their lives in the adult world rather than for their presence in the existing world. These models have been extraordinarily resistant to criticism and have persisted in dominating the creation of knowledge about children and childhood (cf. James and Prout, 1990: 22-23).

An emergent childhood studies, however, has been pointing to ways to conceptualize children as creative and competent social actors in a variety of social and cultural contexts (Amit-Talai, 1995; Corsaro, 1985; Qvortrup, 1987; Scheper-Hughes and Sargent, 1998; Stephens, 1995). As well, some childhood scholars have sought to identify and analyze the diversity of social scientific mod-

els presently available for thinking about childhood in their attempts to theorize this vast field (Alanen, 2000; Honig, 1999; James and Prout, 1990; James, Jenks and Prout, 1998; Jenks, 1998). For example, in outlining a paradigm for the new social study of childhood, Allison James and Alan Prout (1990: 231) argue for "... a theoretical perspective which can grasp childhood as a continually experienced and created social phenomenon which has significance for its present, as well as the past and future." Taken together, this work has redefined children and childhood as legitimate subjects in their own right, worthy of scholarly attention. In powerfully reconceptualizing childhood, this scholarship attests to the theoretically challenging stage that the field of childhood studies has reached.

Bringing a feminist lens to bear on the study of children and childhood, however, has progressed at a slower pace. Beginning in 1987, Barrie Thorne, and later Leena Alanen (1994) and Ann Oakley (1994), called for a revisioning of the study of children using a feminist lens in attending to agency and diversity. Similarly, anthropologists Sharon Stephens (1995), and Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Carolyn Sargent (1998) edited important collections that advanced the idea of a broader engagement between feminism and childhood studies. However, ethnographic scholarship directed at taking account of gender and the different experiences of childhood for girls and boys has not been a priority since Thorne's (1993) pioneering work.[1] Oakley (1994) offers a partial explanation for this inattention arguing that the focus of the new sociology of childhood has been directed to the broader category "children" rather than on the differentiated categories of girls and boys. She has suggested that this emphasis is a necessary first step in making children visible (1994: 22), thereby echoing an earlier feminist practice to focus on the category "woman." James, Jenks and Prout (1998), however, argue that playing down issues of diversity and the ways power works through gender, race, class and age results in theoretical analyses of children's lives that are incomplete. Clearly the links between feminism, anthropology and the study of childhood remain weak and much remains to be done. As Jennifer Ruark (2000: 22) notes "... childhood is [now] where women's studies was a few decades ago." This essay emerges from this theoretical and methodological context. It aims to contribute to a greater integration of feminist insights with childhood studies by addressing the processes by which "truths" about children's gendered lives are produced.

Following Honig (1999), I am interested in childhood in a relational sense whereby adults and children are implicated in its construction through sets of discursive practices. That is, children live their lives through a complex interaction involving a number of competing discourses of childhood. In shifting contexts, the boundaries around the categories child and childhood—as well as "girl," "boy," "femininity," and "masculinity"—are constantly negotiated, made and remade by both children and adults. Following Michel Foucault's work (1979; 1994) in addressing the ways in which subjects are produced within and through discursive practices, power is central to this matrix. Using material drawn from fieldwork (1992-93) with children in an urban Canadian location my goal is to illuminate, on the one hand, how children's childhoods are structured by adult beliefs and practices (including adult ethnographers' beliefs and practices) regarding what "boys" and "girls" or "children" and "childhood" are or ought to be. On the other hand, my interest is to investigate the ways children create spaces in which they are able to "play" with, resist, accommodate, refuse and create alternatives to such adult beliefs and practices. Based on my research, I use the example of "violence" as one strategy through which children were able to create spaces for competing discourses of childhood to emerge. I conclude with reflections on the implications of using a feminist lens for ethnographic writing and representation of childhood.

Constructions of Childhood

The numerous perceptions of childhood that have emerged in differing historical and socio-cultural contexts illustrate the variability of this concept. Harry Hendrick (1990), in his survey of the shifting constructions of British childhood since the end of the eighteenth century, argues that diverse understandings of childhood have often overlapped and co-existed, in turn, creating the conditions through which new perspectives emerge (55). These constructions emanate from cultural, religious, scientific and political influences. Likewise today there is ample evidence of competing models of childhood that co-exist, i.e., in the educational and legal systems, and the mass media. In this matrix, I would argue that an idealized and historicized model of childhood marked by characteristics including innocence, vulnerability, and passivity, exists alongside many other models of childhood that inform the ways children make meaning for their own social lives. The models also provide adults with a measure against which to interpret children's lives.

Insofar as idealized childhood is one of the dominant messages in society, it situates children in subordinate positions and ideally, outside of adult space. Moreover, idealized conceptualizations of childhood rely on a cen-

tralized notion of power. Power in this sense is best described as something that can be possessed by some members of society and exercised over others, i.e., adults holding power over children. In contrast, a fluid view of power sees it as being dispersed among members of society allowing children as well as adults to exercise power. Foucault (1994) expands on this fluid understanding of power by linking it with discourse. He states that "there can be no possible exercise of power without a certain economy of discourses of truth which operates through and on the basis of this association. We are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth" (1994: 210).

Power and discourse are key conceptual points in this essay given my role as an ethnographer of childhood involved in producing "truths" about children's lives while trying to understand the competencies and capacities of children as productive beings. Based on my research, I would argue that the model of power that is centralized and homogenous misses the mark when it comes to the ways in which power works in children's lives. While children are often dominated in many aspects of their lives by the power maintained over them by adults, they also exercise power by resisting and manipulating it.

The notion that children can be at once both powerless and powerful is an important conceptual contribution if we are to better understand the complex relationship between producing knowledge and representing children. Upholding a model of childhood defined in reified and bounded ways, and anchored by the notion of centralized power, limits our understanding of children's lives. Yet this model maintains a powerful hold over popular consciousness and academic thought, reifying the division between adult and child so that when this division is challenged by children, they are perceived as being out of control and in need of adult guidance. Conversely, children can be viewed as potential victims of adults' worlds who need to be properly directed and shielded from these dangers by adults. These diverse perspectives highlight the fact that childhood is a volatile concept situated in a dynamic social landscape requiring constant negotiation by children. Bronwyn Davies addresses this issue in her work exploring children's abilities to invent, invert and break structures in order to speak/write into existence other ways of being. Davies (1993) examines children's own experiences of being powerless or powerful and of the power of adult discourses to position them in powerless ways. She states that

a central tension in childhood as it is experienced in the modern world comes from the simultaneous struggles to be seamlessly meshed in the social fabric and to know and to signal oneself as a being with specificity. ... Each child must locate and take up as their own, narratives of themselves that knit together the details of their existence. At the same time they must learn to be coherent members of others' narratives. (16-17)

The need to operate at many levels at once involves a great deal of social competence on the part of children. That is, children need to understand how to be *knowable* in the terms set out by the available categories and discourses in which they are located. Taken one step further, not only must children understand the ways to be intelligible as "children," they must also be knowable as competent social actors according to other ways that they are socially situated. That is, each child is simultaneously positioned within other unequally produced constructions of gender, race, ethnicity, class, age and ability, to name a few.

The latter point once again draws upon feminist insights. Feminist work makes it clear, as Ginsburg and Tsing (1990) argue, that gender gains currency in many discourses which have the effect of shaping relations among social actors and maintaining patterns of dominance in institutions and social processes (cf. 3). As girls and boys begin to understand gender as a binary opposition as well as a situated and interactional accomplishment at a very early age, they are involved in the ongoing processes of identification and positioning themselves accordingly. Moreover, gender as binary opposition has become a site of great investment on the part of society's institutions and adults. It should not be surprising, therefore, that children are invested in the process of gender as well, both accommodating and resisting normative meanings in shifting contexts.

Furthermore, feminist scholarship has emphasized the articulation of gender with other forms of inequality, e.g., race and age. While recognition of such complex articulations is a feature of analyses of women's lives, it remains lacking in much child research. Thus in working to better understand the complex relationship between producing knowledge and representing children, it is crucial to reflect on both the power relations inherent in adult-child relations generally, as well as the adult-child relations involved in child research in particular.

"Doing" Childhood

In 1992 I embarked on a study of how children produce meanings of "gender," "child" and "childhood" through musical practices. This research involved fieldwork with

a core group of 25 children between the ages of six and 12 in the context of an after-school program at a downtown Toronto community centre. As a volunteer, my official role at the community centre was to assist staff in the after-school program. However, staff and children were also aware that I was also conducting a participant-observation study.

The group of children who attended the program came from a broad range of socio-economic backgrounds (ranging from single-parent families, families relying solely on social assistance to middle and upper class two-parent families) and cultural backgrounds (including French, Indian, Jamaican, Ghanian, Ecuadorian).

Over a period of eight months, I was able to observe and analyze the ways in which children actively worked to "perform" childhood in accordance, and sometimes conflicting with, adult meanings and constructions of this concept. For example, using "traditional"[2] musical practices as an access point with which to engage children, I began many of my informal "interviews" in the same way by asking groups of girls and boys if they knew of any skipping or clapping songs. During one exchange, I noted a conversation with a group of girls who had performed a clapping song for me ("Down Down Baby"). When they were finished, one of the girls in the group asked: "Is that the kind of song you want?" The question, and the ensuing conversation, were important for they signalled that the girls understood that I was interested in a particular English language oral tradition repertoire of songs over other repertoires. To ensure that their understanding of "children's song" matched what they thought mine to be, the girls asked if their choice of song was "correct." The questioning of the category demonstrated the girls' interest in being perceived as culturally intelligible as "children." Furthermore, not only were the girls attempting to comply with an adult centred construction of "childhood," they were also engaging with a gendered girlhood. Their question regarding the suitability of their choice of song accomplished both categories not only in their interaction with me but with each other as a group.

In this example, by selecting a "children's song" from a tradition that is an exclusively oral one and commonly associated with young children and girls' groups in particular, the girls "get it right" on a number of levels. To paraphrase Davies' point (1993: 16), each child must get its gender right to be seen as normal and acceptable at a societal level as well as for others who will be interpreting themselves in relation to it. Davies' argument may partly explain the absence in my research of boys publicly singing songs from this same oral tradition.

While many of the boys over the years have admitted to knowing this oral song tradition, sometimes very well, they rarely agreed to perform a song for me in front of their peers. The one or two who did, were usually the most popular children who wielded a great deal of power in their friendship groups or conversely, were marginalized children whose behaviours had been assigned labels with connotations of homosexuality, i.e., gay, "girly-boy."

In addition to "getting it right," the girls' song example also points out children's awareness of the potentially punitive consequences for those who exceed or do not remain intelligibly within the boundaries of normative categories of childhood and gender. The example demonstrates that in differing contexts, children learn what it means to "be a girl," to "be a boy" and to "be children" in particular ways. These meanings are censored and monitored by a number of societal groups including children themselves. In other words, children learn what lies within and outside of normative conceptions and how to negotiate the limits of the categories in making sense of their own social lives and relationships with others.[3]

If the performance noted above by girls can be understood as an example of how these girls conform with adult expectations regarding childhood and girlhood in particular, it is also possible to see in these same performances more active resistance or challenge to aspects of adult normative definitions. For example, many of the "children's songs" that have been collected by folklorists (Fowke 1969, 1977; Iona and Peter Opie, 1969) as well as in my own research, contain challenges to adult constructions of childhood innocence, asexuality, and vulnerability. Many of the songs' themes deal with subjects that are often explicitly located "outside" of childhood, notably sexuality and violence.

The apparent paradox that this represents is directly addressed in Valerie Walkerdine's work (1993) on young girls and popular culture. She describes how despite an ostensible separation of childhood and sexuality as normative categories, the erotic nonetheless enters girlhood through popular culture. As she states: "Little girls sing songs about sex, talk about being bad girls, sexual girls, forbidden girls" (20). Her work points to how children not only adapt to but may also (even simultaneously) evade, refuse, or actively resist elements of the representations of the category "child" (or "girl" or "boy") as encountered in the social world.

Thus the content of girls' songs point to some of the complexities of their engagement with powerful constructions of childhood and girlhood. Such complexities, however, became even more apparent in other exchanges during my field research. Specifically, using violent beha-

viour, some children attempted to disrupt and reconstitute boundaries around childhood and between childhood and adulthood in their encounters with me as a female ethnographer and with each other. It is this phenomenon to which I now turn in order to bring the complexity of children's lives into view.

Some scholars have argued that violence and violent behaviour complicate childhood by exceeding its limits. Violence disrupts child/adult boundaries because it pushes children over the boundaries of what it is to be a child (Jenks, 1996; Wyness, 1996). Chris Jenks, for example, argues that violence destabilizes childhood when children engage in behaviours associated with adults and adult worlds. Without clearly demarcated lines indicating where childhood ends and adulthood begins, Jenks argues that a kind of anxiety is created for adults who feel they must reestablish these boundaries. Thus the stability of the category "adult" works in tandem with the stability of the category "child." Adult spaces are kept intact by maintaining a certain degree of control over childhood.

While Jenks' argument is compelling, the notion that adults are able to contain childhood in a bounded way is problematic in that it retains three elements of an outmoded and idealized understanding of the ways children live their lives. First, children are incomplete social actors on their way to achieving full status in society (development/socialization models). Second, children live apart from, rather than amid, the world of adults; and third, it is implied that children live their lives in contexts devoid of power and violence. The reality for many children is that violence *is* a part of their lives. As many studies have shown, violence is a factor of childhood for many children whether as victims of abuse (Kitzinger, 1990), in situations of work (Boyden, Ling and Myers, 1998), as witnesses to violence in the home (Dobash and Dobash, 1998) as perpetrators or victims of violence at school (Callaway, 1999) as perpetrators or victims of violence in the family (Cummings, 1999), as consumers of violent messages in the media (Singer, 1998), and as perpetrators of crime (Sprott, 2000). Based on my research, violent behaviour is also integral to an understanding of the ways children assert agency and powerfully position themselves in relationships with adults and within peer groups. I explore these points in the next section of this essay using two fieldwork accounts.

Two Stories from the Field

The narratives presented here have been selected for what they can reveal about the ways in which girls and boys produce the categories that are meaningful in their lives. The stories are complex in that the children both reflect and challenge dominant conventions of childhood in differing contexts. The second story, of a boy whom I call Brad, is the one I most often tell of my fieldwork experiences with children. In light of the discussion above, I have reflected on why this is so and what "story" I am actually conveying—about childhood, boyhood, violence—in highlighting this particular account over others.

But first I tell a story of Katie and her friends as an example of the ways in which girls are engaged in simultaneously upholding and challenging "childhood" and "girlhood."

Hate Lists and Friendship Groups

Katie, an eight-year-old girl whose family was originally from Ghana, and her "best friend," Nadine, a nine-year-old girl of Jamaican heritage, had asked me to follow them to what they called the 'library area" of the community centre. This was a small closet-sized space at the back of the centre with a few books and a mat on the floor where children could sit and read.

As we sat together on the mat, Katie, Nadine and I discussed our favourite songs. The girls named popular songs that they had heard on the radio. Suddenly, the conversation shifted from music to focusing on other events in their lives. As we spoke, a boy named Julio wandered in. The girls immediately yelled at him to get out: "boys aren't allowed." When he left, they commented that he was fat. Then they proceeded to compare the body sizes of several children. "Fat Amanda" occupied the conversation for the next few minutes. "Fat Amanda," Nadine chanted "Oh she's smelly too. She stunk up the whole laundry room. When my mother went down there, she had to plug her nose."

Many times throughout my fieldwork, Katie and Nadine spoke about Amanda's appearance and used this in a powerful way to keep her out of their play group. As many of the girls had a strong interest and placed high value upon female beauty, pretty clothes and other material markers of stereotypical femininity, Amanda was clearly unruly. Her position in the girls' group was marginal at best. When the girls spoke about Amanda, they used phrases that described her as having "messy hair" or "dirty clothing" that "didn't match." They also commented that Amanda did not have as many "things," such as toys, games and material goods at her house as some of the other children. In addition to her undesirable physical appearance, Amanda's friendship with Mark, one of the boys at the community centre, was critically scru-

tinized and mocked. The two children, Mark and Amanda, spent much of their time at the centre together, either playing games (table hockey, for example) or sitting apart from other children and talking with one another. Based on her physical appearance and her relationship with Mark, Amanda exceeded the boundaries of both "childhood" and "girlhood" as defined by the girls themselves. As someone subjected to constant teasing, Amanda paid a substantial price for her inability to "do" childhood and girlhood "correctly." She was ostracized from the girls' group of friends for not "getting it right" and clearly suffered from poor self-esteem.

Amanda was excluded from the girls' friendship group by what amounted to a form of verbal harassment. This is one of the ways that I noted that girls' groups kept the boundaries around girlhood and childhood clearly circumscribed in particular contexts. Another tactic is exemplified in the following excerpt. Here, Katie strategically deploys the idea of "hate" as a boundary maker while simultaneously transgressing boundaries around conventional expectations of girlhood.

> *Katie and I sat together in the community centre library and began talking about her mother.*
> *Katie (K): My grandfather is stupid*
> *Virginia (V): Why do you say he's stupid?*
> *K: He doesn't know what he's saying.*
> *(Katie went on to describe his "balding head with hair that stuck up.")*
> *K: I hate my grandmother and my stupid cousin too.*
> *(Katie reached into her pocket and pulled out a list of people that she said she "hated." She began to read off the names she had noted.)*
> *V: Do you always carry a list of names of people you hate?*
> *K: Of course.*
> *V: Do your friends carry lists too?*
> *K: Yeah, lots of my friends do.*

Katie discussed the ways she and her friends made up the hate lists and notes and used them to include and exclude people from their group. For example, she stated that her group of friends considered each person individually and decided on their status in the friendship group, for the most part, on the basis of appearance. Hate list-making was one of the ways that Katie established and maintained relationships, a strategy quite different from those that I had seen employed by some of the boys at the community centre. Unlike boys' strategies that included joke telling, "dissin'" and rapping, the girls, as this example reveals, used less obvious and written forms of communication.

The lists are important to recognize as an instance of the ways girlhood is produced in the practices of everyday life. These practices are both material and discursive, producing girlhoods that challenge the fiction of idealized childhood in certain contexts but reproduce it in other ways (clothes, beauty). In this example, the girls affirmed and subverted notions of femininity at once by appearing to be engaging in cooperative relationships while embracing the idea of hate and utilizing these list-making and note-passing activities to mark and exclude particular children. Clearly, girls live their lives at the intersection of a number of competing claims about this time of life. Some of these claims are that girls are the objects of adult control and that they are presumably passive and obedient. As is evident in this example, for some girls the lists provided a way to disrupt these claims and the power relationships implicit in them. The lists become a vehicle to assert and redefine the boundaries around girlhood and childhood in differing contexts.

For Katie in particular, not only did list making facilitate her ability to wield power in her peer group, it became a vehicle to resist adult power as well. That is, Katie used the lists to remain within the bounds of an "obedient child," which she felt was expected of her by adults in her life, while challenging this obedience by transgressing childhood boundaries through her use of "hate" in concealing and secretly sharing the lists with other girls. What is important to highlight is that the movement between transgressing and complying with the boundaries of normative childhood and girlhood is accomplished at the expense of other children. On the surface, therefore, the girls' practices seem innocuous yet for children ostracized from the friendship groups through the hate lists, they are experienced as a real form of violent behaviour.

Like the story of Katie and friends, violence is a key feature of the next account from my fieldwork. This story depicts an exchange that took place between myself and Brad. Brad was 12 years old at the time. The following encounter occurred as I was making soup for the children. (One of my daily tasks was to prepare a snack for children returning from a full day of school using food provided by the local food bank).

"I'm Just Playin' with You."

> *The closer he moved toward me, the more intent his gaze became. He nudged up next to me and pretended to spit his gum out in my face, I thought he was joking and raised a brow and smiled. But he wasn't. He spit it out, much to my surprise and shock. In that moment, I tried to*

think of what to do and say and what came out was: "Your behaviour is totally unacceptable, Brad." He looked at me. Laughing, he replied: "white woman."

Later in the day, Cameron, the program director, spoke to Brad about the incident and [told him] that he should apologize for his behaviour. Brad reluctantly approached me as Cameron continued to coax an apology. I took the opportunity to tell Brad how I felt about the incident: "How would you feel if I did that to you?" I asked, hoping he would reflect on his actions. His response, again, shocked me. Brad replied: "You do that to me, I'll kill you." He continued in a louder voice: "You do that to me and I'll kill your boyfriend, your husband, whatever, I'll kill your whole family."

I contemplated a number of ways to react to Brad in that moment. I realized that Brad was testing me and that it would be best to stand my ground. Instead of backing away from him, I moved closer to where he was standing. I tried to control the anger in my voice. "I don't like it when you say those things to me, Brad." I said sternly. "It makes me feel really bad." Brad must have seen the look on my face. I had not found his outburst funny in the least. He looked at me and smirked. "I'm just playin' with you." He paused and then said, "You just don't understand my 'nigger ways.'"

The story of this encounter is important in understanding the ways in which Brad reproduced and challenged normative constructions of childhood through violence on a number of levels. First, my reaction to this exchange generally, and to its violent nature in particular, was one of shock and dismay. I had noted in my field journal following this encounter that, "I could hardly imagine such a violent reaction from a 12-year-old child." Clearly my reaction can be understood as a reminder of the ways in which as an adult female ethnographer I was deeply attached to powerful constructions of children as innocent of violence, and in this case racism as well. My interpretation of Brad's words did not appear to follow the prescriptions for "childhood" and it was this disjuncture that was shocking to me as an ethnographer. It is also this "shock" that I wanted to convey in my ethnographic writing as disruptive of dominant constructions of childhood in an idealized sense.

In addition to complex understandings of the concept of childhood, gender materialized in this account in particular ways. Brad used violent behaviour to contest "childhood" while simultaneously creating a space for a performance of hyper-masculinity. The fact that the performance unfolded in front of an audience of his peers

was significant insofar as it made him publicly "accountable" for "getting gender right."

Clearly, Brad's performance of masculinity had much to do with remaining intelligibly within the boundaries of boyhood/manhood in front of his audiences of peers and adults. The degree to which he sought clarity in this performance underlines his understanding of the positive and punitive consequences of this intelligibility.

Moreover, generational relations of power in this context marked Brad's performance. He explicitly acknowledged the unequal adult-child power relations in his relationship with me by redefining his actions as "just playin'" with me. In other words, he was behaving in a manner appropriately "childlike." He clearly understood my investment in the authority accorded to adult staff at the centre. On one hand, Brad wielded power by transgressing the lines around childhood through threatened violence that pushed him over the bounds of what is conventionally understood to be "a child." On the other hand, Brad upheld and reinscribed the lines between adult and child by acknowledging his unequal position of power vis-à-vis adults at the centre.

Importantly, Brad was one of the older boys in the after school program. He repeatedly tried to sneak into the youth program that was held at the building across the courtyard. Brad often publicly proclaimed that he was not part of the "children's group." He argued that he was "too old" for the "kids' stuff" in the after-school program. His insistence that he was "almost a teenager" and thus more powerful than the younger children demonstrated his recognition of the power of age groupings, and his active resistance to being positioned as a relatively powerless child.

On many levels, therefore, Brad fiercely challenged the tactics that myself and members of the staff at the centre used to order childhood in this setting. He gave meaning to the category "child" in ways that defied containment. In my role as both ethnographer and volunteer, I was constantly challenged with negotiating the boundaries of what it meant to "be a child" and to "be a boy" with Brad. Unable to anticipate the possible ways Brad would relate to me, I admit that I remained uncomfortable with this particular challenge throughout the course of the fieldwork.

In addition to his resistance to adult normative conceptions of childhood, Brad also effectively subverted my position by inscribing my "difference" and greater power in essentialized categorical rather than personalized terms. By referring to me as a "white woman," Brad emphasized not only the generational but also gendered

and racialized divides between us. By inscribing me as "woman" he confronted me on the basis of age and gender simultaneously. In addition to using the term "woman," Brad referred to me as "white" woman. At the same time, he identified himself using the inferiorizing label of "nigger." In doing so, he drew attention to my "whiteness" thereby both challenging and reproducing inferiorizing racist discourses. As with the contesting and reproducing of adult-child and male-female hierarchies, here the racial hierarchies white and "nigger" were invoked, asserted, challenged and reproduced by Brad in complex ways rarely acknowledged in child research (see also Rizvi, 1993; Troyna and Hachter, 1992).

Creating "Truths" about Children's Lives

As noted above, a particular discomfort accompanied me throughout the fieldwork process. Part of the discomfort I experienced in carrying out this research stemmed from what I had initially perceived as my task as an ethnographer of childhood; that is, to find "authentic" anthropological subjects. As I now reflect on questions of representation, however, I realize that I could not, and did not, render an "authentic" telling of childhood. Rather, my interest had been in investigating how childhood is lived in various ways, not with the intent of capturing some kind of "reality" but to find a way to open spaces for the stories and experiences that are disruptive and supportive of a coherent view of their worlds to emerge. As Britzman (1995: 232) argues, "in poststructuralist versions, subjects may well be the tellers of experience; but every telling is constrained, partial, and determined by the discourses and histories that prefigure, even as they might promise, representation." Thus one of the predicaments that I faced in writing ethnography had been in producing a persuasive narrative that convinced the reader of the credibility of my research efforts, on the one hand, while remaining true to the contradictions of this work, on the other.

One of my goals, therefore, has been to demonstrate how children create for themselves spaces within the highly contested terrain of childhood. These processes are interwoven in spaces that are deeply gendered. That is, the boundaries of childhood, girlhood and boyhood are continually made and remade by girls and boys as they attempt to remain inside of conventional notions, at times, and challenge these articulations, at others. The examples that I have presented in this paper demonstrate the fluidity of the research relationship as it is generationed, gendered and, in some cases, racialized. This final point creates challenges for working with children in the field and for writing and representing children's lives.

One of the "truths" about childhood that emerges from the two accounts that I have retold is that power, in its many manifestations, is an intrinsic part of childhood. Based on my research, the locations which children inhabit are replete with power. This power is accessed, manipulated and exercised by children according to shifting contexts and by their positioning according to lines of difference such as gender, race, ethnicity, class and age.

Furthermore, power is exerted by children through violent behaviours that are physical, verbal and relational. While children may not exhibit these behaviours explicitly in the presence of some adults, they are, nonetheless, ways that children manage their lives. While it should not be so surprising to find girls and boys using violence as a resource because it is abundantly at their disposal, at some level, it remains disconcerting. This is due in part to the persistent notion that children are not fully agential beings living amid the world of adults. Indeed, as I have argued, although there are a number of competing discourses of childhood that coexist in Western society, it seems that idealized childhood retains a particular conceptual strength moreso than other conceptions of this time of life. Yet in seeking to understand the spaces in which children live, ethnographers of childhood must begin to regard violence as part of the experiences of many childhoods. As in the fieldwork stories that I have presented in this essay, relational violence via the hate lists, and threats of physical violence, are only two of many forms that violence takes in children's lives.

By my own admission, the story that I most often tell is the story of Brad. It is one which exemplifies the competing and contrasting discourses through which children make meaning in their lives. For example, Brad verbally violates the conventional boundaries of childhood, invokes discourses of race, gender and age, and manipulates power in relationships with others around him while acknowledging power that situates him in particular ways. In highlighting this story in my own work, spectacularizing it as somehow lying outside of the bounds of conventional childhood, I have brought a particular kind of attention to bear on this representation that is similar to the kind of attention that is often directed at cases of sensational violence involving children (i.e., boys) who commit physical violence against others. In reflecting on the consequences of spectacularizing violent behaviour in children's lives in this way, a number of questions arise. At one level, I query the repercussions of highlighting Brad's story over others from my fieldwork. The boyhood/masculinity/violence

triangulation seems to supersede the activities of girls, especially those activities which outwardly comply to stereotypes of femininity and reinforce a predictable view of gendered violence (boys = physical aggression; girls = relational aggression). Arguably, this dichotomous understanding of violence perpetrated by females and males is superficial in that it leaves aside the complexity of the nature of gendered childhoods for both girls and boys (i.e., boys and relational aggression; girls and physical aggression). Furthermore, the repercussions of making the experiences of girls, and women, invisible is well known. In the case of Katie and friends, attention to the specificities of their lives in different contexts using a gendered lens reveals a complex range of power relationships.

Finally, it can be asked why the links between girls and violence continue to be ignored if we can so readily locate violence as one of the discourses through which both girls and boys break down, uphold and refashion notions of childhood, child, femininity and masculinity. Might this be due in part to its potential to explode the boundaries around childhood and, as Jenks would argue, boundaries around adulthood? What role do feminist scholars play in engaging or dismissing violence in girls' lives? It seems to me that recognizing that girls as well as boys can be violent invigorates the kind of imagination required for understanding children as fully human beings living in contexts wherein power and violence are abundantly present. This final point brings me back to the question that served as the impetus for this essay: As collaborators with children in producing "truths" about children's lives, which stories are most often told, which ones are not told at all and which stories are the most telling?

Conclusion

Questions regarding the problematic relationship between creating knowledge and ethnographic representation can be fruitfully addressed through an engagement between feminism and a progressive anthropology. This engagement can facilitate the kind of conceptual clarity that is necessary for understanding children as agential subjects living in powerful contexts informed by a number of competing discourses. While anthropologists interested in the cultural politics of everyday life highlight the ways children are actively involved in the production of the categories "child" and "childhood," a feminist lens seeks to understand these gendered practices through relationships of power. In bringing together these interests, the intricacies of children's lived experiences, including both the sensational and the less obvious ways that people negotiate their lives, become compelling.

In this process, feminist ethnographers of childhood will be faced with a number of methodological and theoretical challenges not least of which is to be constantly reflexive so that the voices that challenge prevailing truth stories are included. If the task at hand is to find ways to further our understanding of the lives of both girls and boys, as in understanding the lives of women in all their diversity, and in empowering girls and boys, bringing them from the margins into the centre of discussions of power, it is the stories that we do not tell that turn out to be the most "telling" ones. These are the stories about power played out everyday in a largely invisible yet compelling way in children's lives.

Acknowledgments

Notes

1 For important exceptions see Mankekar, 1997; Niewenhuys, 1994; and Thorne and Thai, 1999.

2 I am calling children's skipping and clapping songs "traditional" in the sense that they are part of an English language children's oral song tradition that is transmitted largely by children themselves. It appears to be self-sustaining, being passed from one generation to another, from child to child. The tradition abides by its own set of rules; songs must comply with the demands of the children themselves. (For more, see Caputo, 1989).

3 This may be one of the reasons for the preponderance of 10-year-old boys in my research who draw heavily on violent symbols such as guns, killing, bombing and other destructive acts in constituting masculinity in a circumscribed way. Whatever the case, children actively encounter, resist, adapt to and refuse elements of the representations of the category "child" from the adults and children they meet, in the culture industry's portrayal of competing representations of childhood, in mass mediated images which intentionally blur the lines between children and adults, and in institutional arrangements, to name a few.

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The Barbeau Archives at the Canadian Museum of Civilization: Some Current Research Problems

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The archives containing the field research documents of the late C. Marius Barbeau (1883-1969) of the former National Museum of Canada (now the Canadian Museum of Civilization—hereinafter CMC) are extensive and complex. Although the Barbeau Archives were not generally accessible until the early 1990s, some ethnologists had access before that. In the years that they have been more accessible, the Archives have provided valuable data for scholars in many disciplines, especially Anthropology and Folklore Studies, but their full potential as a research base have hardly yet been realized. Under the present organization of the CMC the archives are administered by the Information Management Services Division, Information Access Services. The very able Client Archivist, with whom most researchers work to establish access to the Barbeau Archives, is Benoît Thériault, who has an enviable knowledge of the Barbeau holdings.

The principal components of the Barbeau Archives contain a diverse range of materials on aboriginal, folkloric and historical materials from across Canada. They consist of documentary materials, sound archives (mostly of songs) transcribed from wax cylinders used in field research by Barbeau and other National Museum personnel, photographic archives (which even include photographs of potlatches in progress on the North Pacific Coast during the prohibition period), and an extensive correspondence with some of the leading ethnologists, musicians, public servants, politicians, artists, musicians and folklorists of Barbeau's day. In the Museum collections there are totem poles, clothing and basketry, silverware, clothing, religious items and folk art which he collected on his many journeys in North America.

On appointment to the National Museum in 1911, Barbeau wanted to continue his work on the social organization, the subject of his thesis prepared under R.R. Marrett at Oxford. Edward Sapir as Chief of Ethnology urged him instead to begin immediately on assembling ethnographic documents relating to the Huron-

Plate 1

Marius Barbeau (1883-1969) (left rear) on completion of the Diploma in Anthropology at Oxford University, June 1911. Diamond Jenness (centre rear) later became Director of the National Museum in Ottawa. W. D. Wallis (left rear) later wrote an ethnography of the Micmac of Eastern Canada. In the front row are their teachers (left to right): Henry Balfour, Arthur Thompson, and Professor R. R. Marrett. Photo donated by Marius Barbeau to the National Museum in July 1958. CMC neg. J-5337, with permission.

"salvage ethnology," an attempt to document information which could have disappeared quickly. Incidentally to this task, he collected much Iroquois, Mohawk, and other materials from Eastern Woodlands groups. In addition to textual, photographic and sound archival recordings, Barbeau collected many objects in Quebec which now reside in the permanent collections of the CMC.

Perhaps the best known and largest component of the archives is the Barbeau-Beynon Northwest Coast Collection. Barbeau began work in the Prince Rupert area in 1915, and he spent periods of time residing in the Skeena area (for example he spent 1921-22 in Terrace, BC, the location of much of my own present work with the Kitselas First Nation). During that time he brought many visitors to the Skeena and Nass River areas, including artists such as (Sir) Ernest MacMillan, A.Y. Jackson, Emily Carr, Langdon Kihn, Edwin Holgate and others.[1] His aim was to promote some degree of intercultural stimulation between the Skeena and Nass peoples and the Canadian arts, as well as to secure the technical advice and active collaboration of experts in music and the arts. Musicians Ernest MacMillan and Alfred Laliberté, and artists A.Y. Jackson, ad Arthur Lismer had collaborated with him on the Isle d'Orléans, at Ancienne-Lorette, and elsewhere in Quebec for the same purposes.

Barbeau first worked closely with a Tsimshian assistant Henry Tate, who had also worked with Franz Boas (see Tate 1910).[2]

The relationship with Barbeau terminated in disagreement after a short time, apparently because there was a disagreement over money, and because Tate seems to have been selling the same materials to Barbeau and Boas, although the details of the relationship with Barbeau are not fully clear.[3] Barbeau then recruited William Beynon (d. 1969), a Tsimshian from Prince Rupert, BC. Beynon was a man of considerable skills (especially in linguistic transcription) who worked in conjunction with Marius Barbeau until 1957. A very large number of the documents relating to the Tsimshian and the Niskae peoples were collected by Beynon, and not in the first instance by Barbeau himself, although the work was entirely under Barbeau's direction. Barbeau did spend extended periods (sometimes of many months) in field research among the Gitksan, Tsimshian, and Niskae peoples in the Skeena and Nass areas in (1914-15, 1920-21, 1924, 1926, 1927, 1929, 1939, and 1947), and he collected texts and other ethnographic data extensively. Until recent years the Tsimshian collection bore Barbeau's name alone, but is now generally referred to as the Barbeau-Beynon Collection in acknowledgement of Beynon's contributions.

Wyandot, and this was one of Barbeau's first tasks after his appointment to the Museum (Barbeau 1957-58: 57). Despite a widespread idea in Canadian popular thought, the Huron are not even now "extinct" in the sense of being eradicated; rather they were depopulated, dispersed and displaced. Barbeau interviewed Huron-Wyandot people particularly at Ancienne-Lorette near Quebec City and in Oklahoma, where many had taken up residence during the massive population displacements of Native peoples after the mid-17th century. Much of his work focussed on the displacement of the Huron and on their genealogies, many details of which were remembered early in the 1900s. Barbeaus's work was a kind of
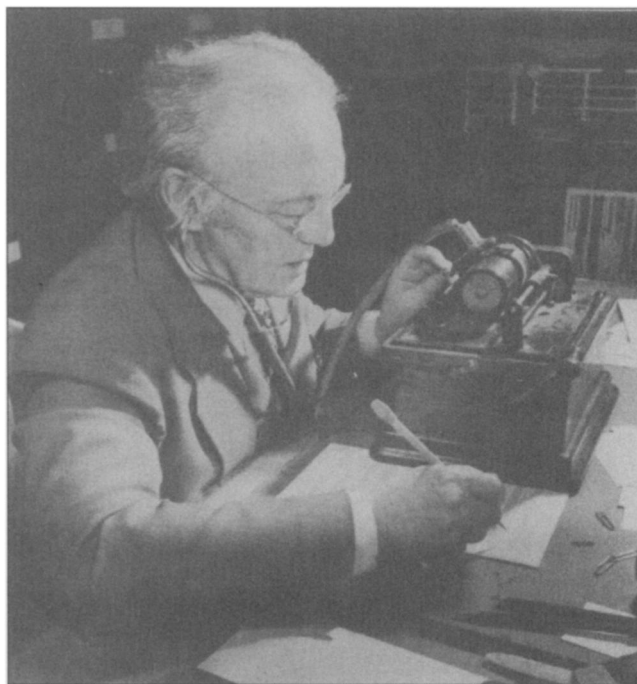
Plate 2

William Beynon (Tsimshian name Gusgain) (1889-1958) at Port Simpson, BC. Beynon was Barbeau's field research assistant in the Skeena and Nass areas until his death. He collected and translated a very large number of texts in Tsimshian and English for Barbeau, but also for Franz Boas. Barbeau apparently took the photo in 1947. CMC neg. 103016, with permission.

Plate 3

Marius Barbeau sometime in the late 1950s or early 1960s transcribing musical and other texts from wax cylinder recordings made during field research in earlier years. The apparatus, still in the CMC collection, was modified by Barbeau to play back through a physician's stethoscope. Their contents have been transferred to archival tape for better preservation and access. CMC neg. J-4840, with permission.

In my view, Beynon's linguistic "ear" was much more attuned and consistent than Barbeau's, perhaps in part because he was a native speaker of Tsimshian, but it should be said that he was a field researcher of quite substantial abilities whose contributions have not on the whole been adequately acknowledged. The form of transcription that he used was essentially that of Franz Boas, although Barbeau and Beynon used shorthand to transcribe a considerable number of field research texts when speed was necessary.[4] It is no simple matter, however, to transpose the Barbeau-Beynon transcriptions into contemporary orthography acceptable to both Tsimshian people and to linguistic scholars. Beynon worked with a number of other Northwest Coast scholars, notably Franz Boas, Viola Garfield, and Amelia Susman (a student of Boas') with whom he collaborated in the preparation of ethnological papers (Beynon and Susman n.d.).[5]

The Barbeau-Beynon Archives have been of tremendous value to some North Pacific scholars for many years. In recent years they have proved to be of immense value for North Pacific Coast peoples (especially the Tsimshian, Gitksan, Wets'ueten and the Niskae) in their own research into traditional territories, land-use patterns, and oral traditions. The documentation is of value for groups (such as the Kitamaat) whose territories adjoined the Skeena-Nass peoples. There is documentation in the Barbeau archives relating to (in traditional terminology) the Haida, Tlingit, Haisla, Kwakiutl, Tahltan, Carrier, Salish and others. The late Wilson Duff (1961) believed that the Tsimshian and Niskae corpus of the Barbeau archives represented the most extensive ethnographic corpus on the Northwest Coast, even greater in scope than the famous Boas Kwakiutl materials. My colleague John Cove (1985) produced the first systematic inventory of the Barbeau-Beynon Northwest Coast materials which has been significantly expanded and refined by Museum Archives staff within the past few years, and this task continues.

Wilson Duff worked closely with Barbeau in the 1950s and early 1960s with the intention of assisting

Barbeau to bring some of this massive documentation to publication. Barbeau had retired in 1948, but his actual engagement with the Museum continued formally for some time, and then on a less formal basis for some years. By the early 1960s a fairly serious rift between the two scholars had developed, and Duff withdrew from any further collaboration with Barbeau. Duff (1961) outlined his critiques of Barbeau's work mostly on the basis of anthropological method. His objections principally concern (a) his conviction that Barbeau had overstated the case, perhaps by a considerable amount, that Siberian origins for northern Northwest Coast peoples could be simply demonstrated on the basis of surface analogies in songs, narratives, and certain items of material culture; (b) a very serious objection to Barbeau's view that the Northwest Coast crest system derived in very recent times from the Imperial Eagle of the Russian American Company (which operated the fur trade in nearby Alaska), and from the beaver on the Hudson's Bay Company Flag, perhaps as late as 1840 (Duff 1961: 1, 10-18); (c) ideas related to Barbeau's apparently unshakable conviction that Northwest Coast totem poles were also very recent, in effect "byproducts of the fur trade." The critique was a serious one, and should be considered carefully again at the present stage of research in the Barbeau archives, along with a more contemporary critique in terms of recent critical social studies debates concerning ethnographic practice. That has yet to be done. Some of the other major scholars who have made extensive use of Barbeau-Beynon materials have included Margaret Seguin Anderson, the late Marjorie Halpin, John J. Cove, George F. MacDonald, James MacDonald and Jay Miller. Marsden's (2001) very recent work on Tsimshian-Tlingit relationships depends heavily on the Barbeau-Beynon materials.

Barbeau made an extensive collection of oral traditions and folklore relating to Quebec, especially of the Isle d'Orleans and other islands in the St Lawrence, the Chicoutimi area, and the comtés Charlevoix and Temiscouata, and the Gaspé. By 1916 Edward Sapir had explicitly encouraged Barbeau to assemble materials relating to folk culture in Quebec. Barbeau worked for many years at this project beginning in 1916 (Barbeau 1957-58: 61). Regrettably, the Quebec collections have been used almost exclusively by Quebec scholars, historians and museologists researching the Quebec patrimoine. These collections, however, are wide-ranging in their topics, including folklore, place names, local and folk history, mythology, music, folk medicine. These collections should first of all be of great interest to scholars and others with an interest in the dynamics of early European settlement in the Americas. The folk medicine materials should provide fascinating material for medical anthropologists. For some reason this has not occurred.

After retirement in 1948 Barbeau produced more than twenty monographs and other publications from his textual collections in Quebec, for example Barbeau (1948, 1957b, 1957c, 1958a, 1958d, 1962b), the Northwest Coast (e.g.: Barbeau, 1951, 1951-52, 1957a, 1958b, 1958c, 1961), and elsewhere (Barbeau, 1962a). During his lifetime, Barbeau produced about 1,000 published articles, monographs, newspaper and magazine articles, addresses and lectures.[6] Many of his monographs are avilable in English and French editions, and some have been recently reprinted. The electronic index for the CMC Library and Archives documents over 6,000 publications and blocks of documents for Barbeau. Some of the documentary blocks are very large indeed. He recorded music and songs—over 4,000 items in Quebec, on the Northwest Coast, and elsewhere—on wax cylinders, which have now been transferred to archival tape, and are about to be placed on compact disk.

Some of Barbeau's ideas are not widely accepted by contemporary anthropologists. For example, he was utterly convinced that Asian origins for North American peoples could be readily demonstrated on the basis of simple analogies in the appearance of material objects and in music, folklore, etc. (e.g. Barbeau 1932a, 1932b, 1933, 1934, 1940).[7]

Barbeau held a version of the Northwest Coast 'intensification hypothesis" which stated that the crest systems were of the Northwest Coast societies were essentially stimulated by, or even derived from, the flag of the Hudson's Bay Company or from the double-headed eagle of the Russian flag that northern peoples would have encountered in Sitka and Alaska until the US purchase of Alaska in 1866, for example Barbeau (1932c, 1939, 1942, 1951-1952). An influential text book in Anthropology accepted and taught these views, citing Barbeau as authority (Herskovits, 1948: 480-1). Such ideas are simply not accepted by most contemporary anthropologists outside of the hyperdiffusionists, but these ideas must never be considered to be incidental to Barbeau's Northwest Coast collections and the publications based on them. They literally became the main armature around which his collections were constructed so as to confirm his views. This means that counterinstances to his hypotheses get little consideration. In similar fashion, he was convinced that all of the main lineage groups of the Northwest Coast originated in some way as separate entities who each migrated into the Skeena or Nass drainages from a variety of locations to

Plate 4
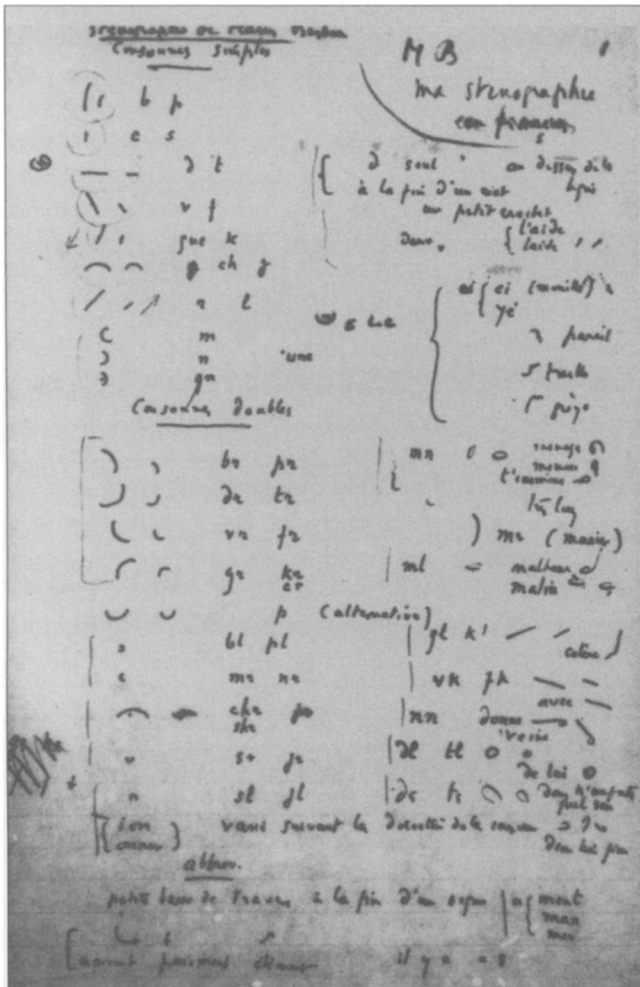
A page of Marius Barbeau's stenographic shorthand (French version) which he used for rapid transcription of texts in field research. The original page is standard letter size, although most of his notes were made in booklets approximately 12 x 20 cm. The booklets were later chopped up and their various texts sorted into topical files. CMC neg. J-6861, with permission.

archives and to the discourses embedded in them. It is imperative that we understand and appreciate the nature of Barbeau's enterprise in this light. A critical methodological inquiry may reveal important issues to be considered in work such as that recently undertaken by Marsden (2001). This kind of inquiry should not be threatening in the least. The time for careful assessment and evaluation of the Barbeau archive is long overdue.

Significantly, I think, Barbeau never produced a definitive ethnography of the Tsimshian despite Duff's (1961) assessment that Barbeau's corpus of Northwest Coast field research was one of most complete for any ethnographically known group on the continent. Barbeau may have been prevented from doing so by the sheer immensity of the task, but it is possible that his view that the Tsimshian were in effect a relatively recent federation of phratries of diverse origins meant that he favoured ethnographies of the separate phratries rather than a synthesis of Tsimshian ethnography. In fact, several completed manuscripts organized in this way exist in the archives (e.g., Barbeau n.d. b-i). These are frankly unpublishable now, and probably were so even in his own time. Duff (1961) stated that before he severed his connection from Barbeau after having assembled ethnographic text for several of the Tsimshian villages on the basis of the archives. These were never published.

Of great value to historians of anthropology, folklore, museology and related disciplines in Canada is a large manuscript of some nine hundred pages in which Barbeau (1957-58) recounted his memories of persons and events within the museum during his time there. He commented in the volume at some length on each of his major publications and research projects—a sort of verbal annotated bibliography. It exists in both English and French versions, regrettably with indexes which are not easily reconciled.

Barbeau's collections are very significant in the history of the formation of the disciplines of Anthropology and Folklore Studies in Canada. Many of his publications have been valued highly too by the interested Canadian and U.S. public—for example his two-volume study *Totem Poles* (Barbeau, 1951-1952), which has been frequently reprinted. He tended to collect prodigious amounts of materials on a wide variety of topics, but he did so in somewhat disorganized and undisciplined ways in terns of current ethnographic practice. It would be valuable at this stage to make clear what the underlying assumptions and framework of the assemblage might be.

In many cases, what he called "analysis" (his word) was little more than the recounting and publishing of unprocessed field research notations, as can be seen in

form what are *de facto* federations of phratric groups co-resident in an area rather than cohesive sociocultural groups that had histories and integrities of their own in which the lineages were interrelated parts. The serious intellectual and political consequences of such an approach have not yet been clearly explored. It must be asked what metatheoretical issues are behind Barbeau's views. How did such views shape the architecture of the whole archive? Since the archive has mostly been used as a sort of data-bank to be mined for smaller bits of ethnographic data, serious attention has not been given to the theoretical, methodological, social and political consequences of Barbeau's ways of assembling the

his work on totem poles. His methods seem to have included a very large zone of subjective, and when he was not particularly inspired or interested in a text or an object, in his "analysis" he dismissed such things as "boring, uninteresting" at the same time that he spent pages of notes on things that were by all accounts pretty trivial. This meant that of an array of texts or objects, the documentation seems to have been strongly affected by his state of mind at the time. His texts are therefore of quite uncertain value at times. But most importantly, since these texts appeared for publication in a fairly unprocessed form, we must ask what the consequences of his methods might be. May their overall significance be dismissed? Certainly not! But a careful discursive analysis of the whole archive is required. It may *not* be used unproblematically as a simple corpus to be mined for globules of data. His style of "analysis" pervades the archive, but it is presents in a particularly intensified form in the manuscript publications that Barbeau (n.d. b-h) assembled since selected them to prove his assumptions about Siberian origins and southward movements of northern Northwest Coast peoples. Treating these as simple data sources without considering the methodological issues could lead to serious distortions. The *form* of the archive and its effects on the content must be assessed. Consideration of such issues is now imperative.

I began investigation of Barbeau Archive materials in 1982. My task at that time was to examine a very large manuscript (over 1800 pages of typescript) in the collection entitled "A Calendar of Indian Captivities and Allied Documents" (Barbeau n.d. a) and to recommend how the document might be prepared for publication (Smith, 1984), partly because I had already edited Canadian captivity narrative material for publication (Jewitt, 1974 [1807]). I have published recent papers on the subject (Smith, 1999; 2000) which have come out of the work with Barbeau's manuscript. Barbeau prepared his "Calendar" mostly after he retired in 1948 and was active in its preparation and in attempting to publish the manuscript until the late 1950s and early 1960s. The topic is not conventionally ethnological, but Barbeau seems to have recorded extensive documentation of early encounters of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples. In addition there was some insistence by the Museum that he bring some of his extensive field research materials to publication. The manuscript on captivity narratives was considered unpublishable at the time, partly because it would have cost much more than the Museum's annual publications budget to produce, partly because the document would require such extensive editing that the task would not be

worthwhile.[8] Barbeau tried unsuccessfully for some years to have the manuscript accepted for publication by the Queen's Printer, the University of Texas Press, and others.[9]

Barbeau's first interest in captivity narratives may have gone back to his time at Oxford as a student of folklore. Some of his notations in the manuscript are to documents in Oxford's Ashmolean Museum. In a sense, captivity narratives have been very much part of North American folklore, and they certainly have been as a constituted a kind of hate literature (Melville, 1948 [1857]: ch. 26; Pearce, 1947, 1953; see Smith, 2000: 1-3). Such issues were not his primary interest, however, because his manuscript shows that he was more interested in these narratives as sources of ethnographic data.

Since Barbeau was fairly lax about dating his field notes, and since his booklets of notes were usually chopped up and sorted into separate files after they were returned to the Museum, it is sometimes very difficult to establish the exact date and provenance of some of the ethnographic material. The best indications of his activities on the manuscript is the correspondence which is filed with a copy of the manuscript.[10] In the early 1950s, Barbeau spent considerable time with the Greenwood family at Time Stone Farm near Marlborough in Massachusetts, who held a large private collection of captivities documents, and with other collectors of the narratives in New England. He corresponded on the topic with many scholars in the US and overseas. His title for the manuscript betrays something of his views of analysis. A "Calendar" in his view was a chronological arrangement of documentary materials. The manuscript is in effect an enormous annotated bibliography, the entries in which are of remarkably uneven quality, which did not seem to involve any clear method either for the selection of the materials or for the making of the annotations. The annotations are quite literally transcriptions of his notes made as he read each item.[11] This approach is apparent in many other manuscripts and publications. Although he frequently referred to his annotations as "analysis," his observations were essentially unsystematic and unprocessed. Does this mean the manuscript is worthless? I think not. Barbeau had sought out and identified captivity narratives and descendants of captives in the US and Canada otherwise unknown in his time. Given the perennial interest in captivity narratives, and the number of recent major works on the topic, for example Ebersole (1995), Hartman (1999), Namias (1993), Strong (1999) and Viau (1997), it is worth finding a way to condense and process Barbeau's work on captivities into a manageable form. His work must be understood as a record of

the investigations of one who had read and thought about the narratives and their anthropological and social value during an important period in the history of their academic evaluation. His readings of them are certainly not unproblematic, however. With a prefatory essay assessing Barbeau's large paper on the narratives (Barbeau, 1950), various indexes, and an essay on the formation of his research accompanied by an evaluation of his work on captivity narratives in light of recent scholarship, a volume of some interest and value seems possible. I am now more than halfway toward finishing such a task.

The Barbeau-Beynon Northwest Coast files have produced a number of published edited volumes (see Barbeau and Beynon, 1987; Anderson and Halpin, 1999) derived from Barbeau's files as were most of Barbeau's own studies. It now seems to be a valuable contribution to assemble and evaluate large sections of the documentation from the point of view of alternative histories of the process of encounter with non-Aboriginal peoples. I have undertaken to do this task which is now better than half-completed. It will result in a publication consisting of the first-person or near first-person documents, mostly recorded by Beynon, which record Tsimshian peoples' early experiences with the military, traders, missionaries, goldrush workers, etc.[12] The intended volumes consist of an assembly of these files with commentary and a prefatory essay on the experiences of the tellers, and on the views of history and memory that the documents reveal.

Finally, it is not widely known that a member of the Durkheim group (the French Sociological School), Henri Beuchat, the only one of the group ever to have been engaged in first-hand field research, came to Canada to direct the ethnological research of the southern party of the Canadian Arctic Expedition of 1913-16. Beuchat had already collaborated with Marcel Mauss in the publication of a very important article on the eastern Inuit on the basis of second-hand reports (Mauss 1906) and had published an encyclopaedic work of almost eight hundred pages on the archaeology of North and South America. The Mauss article is a significant theoretical treatment of materials which were largely treated descriptively at that time. A dossier of correspondence relating to Beuchat has recently been assembled for the first time in a common location at the archives of the CMC from a variety of locations in different locations within the Museum. The link between the Durkheim group and Canadian research seems to be linked through Barbeau (see Barbeau, 1957-1958:15-17). Barbeau, after his time at Oxford, went to the Sorbonne to attend a series of lectures by Marcel Mauss. There he met Beuchat at Mauss' lec-

tures. When the team for the Canadian Arctic Expedition was hastily assembled under Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Barbeau and the newly organized National Museum recommended Beuchat. Diamond Jenness, a classmate of Barbeau at Oxford, was recommended as Beuchat's assistant. His publication on American archaeology and his article with Mauss were probably grounds for his appointment as senior ethnologist. When the expedition ship *Karluk* sank in an ice-nip in North Alaska late in 1913, Jenness assumed Beuchat's role.

What is of considerable interest is that there seems to have been a close personal friendship between Barbeau and Beuchat. Beuchat shared Barbeau's accomodations in Ottawa when he arrived to join the Arctic expedition (see Barbeau 1957-1958: 15-17). Barbeau maintained some personal connection with Mauss until some time after the Second War. One of Barbeau's sons-in-law, Marcel Rioux,[13] a former Chief of Anthropology Division at CMC from 1948-59, also maintained the link with Mauss (Rioux, personal communication, November 1970). Despite the personal friendship, however, and despite the fact that Barbeau had at one time been a student of Mauss and presumably had been fairly extensively exposed to the ideas and works of the Durkheim group at a time when several key studies had been published (e.g.: Mauss, 1906, Durkheim and Mauss, 1912), there seems to have been very little intellectual influence of any of the main ideas of the Durkheim group on Barbeau's ideas and methods. This seems curious, for one would expect at least a certain intellectual homage under the circumstances. The relationship may have been so prolonged and personal because Barbeau was the one who had recommended Beuchat's name as a member of the Canadian Arctic Expedition. It seems that Barbeau had experienced great sorrow, and perhaps even guilt, about Beuchat's death. There is an extensive correspondence between Barbeau and Beuchat's mother in the years immediately after Beuchat's untimely death. Some of the correspondence concerns Barbeau's attempts to secure a modest pension for Mme Beuchat (Henri Beuchat's mother) in recognition of their involvement in the tragedy. Barbeau (1907) wrote Beuchat's obituary for the *American Anthropologist*. I have completed the research of a paper on the Barbeau-Beuchat connection based on the files recently assembled at CMC, and have begun the writing process.

Barbeau, as one of my valued colleagues at CMC has said, was "pretty much a free spirit." He seems not to have been concerned primarily with anthropological method and theory in the conventional senses of his time, perhaps with the exception of his views on Siberian

origins or on the recency of Northwest Coast crests and totem poles. He preferred, it seems, to delight in massive ethnographic compilation. His work in ethnographic recording is nevertheless monumental within the scope of Canadian Ethnology and Folklore Studies both in terms of the archive and of his publications based on them. Most of the publications he prepared for publication in the years between appointment to and formal retirement from the National Museum (1911-1952) were smaller journal, magazine, and newspaper articles. Most of his larger monographs were prepared and published in the years following retirement in 1948. He knew enormous numbers of interesting people, politicians, and academics on an international basis. He was in many ways a cultural entrepreneur and a cultural broker who one way or another has had a huge impact on the earlier formation of the disciplines of Anthropology, Folklore Studies, and the arts in Canada. The task now is to produce critical and theoretical studies of Barbeau's work and of its connections to that of others at the CMC. Studies such as the recent major paper by Dyck (2001) are a step in that direction by providing an examination of the intellectual and political strands that were woven into the fabric of the foundation of the National Museum in 1911.

Our task now certainly contains some tensions. It is to evaluate Barbeau's work strenuously in terms of critical social theory. We should be able to do this without sentimentality or hagiography. His work demands this attention now—and it deserves the best analysis and evaluation that we can bring to it, for it is being used uncritically and simplistically. At the same time we must find ways to celebrate what he and his colleagues at CMC have contributed to the cultural and academic life of Quebec and of Canada. In Barbeau's case, that was a very large contribution.

Acknowledgments

I owe much to my colleagues at the Canadian Museum of Civilization, where I am a Research Associate, especially to staff of the museum: Dr. Andrea Laforet, Chief of the Canadian Ethnology Service; Dr. Ian Dyck, Curator, Plains Archaeology, Archaeological Survey of Canada; and I owe a most especial thanks to Benoît Thériault, Client Archivist, Archives and Documentation at CMC, who has taken an active interest in my research and whose knowledge and judgement have proved invaluable. The views expressed here are my own, and do not necessarily reflect those of the Canadian Museum of Civilization or any of its staff. I thank the editors of *Anthropologica* for the suggestion that I prepare this paper.

Notes

1 Barbeau was a close friend of Langdon Kihn—"nous étions devenus de bons amis" (Barbeau 1957-58: 81). A.Y. Jackson and Arthur Lismer worked with Barbeau on L'Isle d'Orléans; Edwin Holgate worked with him in northern BC; Emily Carr worked with him in the Nass area; Ernest MacMillan and Alfred Laliberté worked with him at Ancienne-Lorette; and Ernest MacMillan worked with Barbeau in northern BC in 1920-21 and 1929 (Barbeau 1957-58: 70-84, 115-117; 127-129). Artists with whom he collaborated illustrated Barbeau's books; they included A.Y. Jackson, Langdon Kihn, and Edwin Holgate. Musicians who collaborated in publication or in field research with Barbeau include MacMillan and Barbeau (e.g., 1928) and Willan and Barbeau (1929).

2 See Tate, Henry W. "American Indian Tales, Written by a Tsimshian Indian; Assembled by Franz Boas [?-1910]." American Philosophical Society Microfilm PS 1450 (copy in CMC Archives).

3 This impression was confirmed by personal communication with Benoît Thériault, Client Archivist, CMC Archives, May 2001.

4 For the key to the Barbeau-Beynon shorthand see CMC B 174 f 11.

5 The paper by Beynon and Susman (n.d.). At the CMC is a copy of an manuscript in the American Philosophical Society Archives, Boas Collection, on microfilm.

6 No definitive bibliography of Barbeau's work yet exists, although Cardin (1947) produced a published list of 578 items; Oyama Midori (1964) amended the list; and a list was made by Renée Landry (1969). A CMC Archives card index finding aid assembled by CMC staff contains a list of Barbeau's publications; it contains at least 1,000 items by my estimation. The CMC Library and Archives electronic index (GESICA) records over 6,200 items by Barbeau, some of these including enormous blocks of field research materials and very large manuscripts prepared

7 Files assembled to demonstrate these view, and on which his papers on the subject are based include B-F-294 "Siberian Folksongs"; B-F-295 "Study of Siberian-American Songs"; B-F-296 "Asiatic Origins of Indians as Indicated by Folksongs"; B-F-297 "Siberian Origins"; B-F-298 "Siberian Origins Proved by Songs"; B-F-299 "Haida Data on Dirges." These files contain over one hundred ethnographic texts. The issue emerges in many other files.

8 For correspondence regarding the publishability of Barbeau's "Calendar of Indian Captivities. . . ." see CMC B 215 to 218.

9 Most of the correspondence regarding the preparation and attempts to publish the "Captivities. . . ." manuscript is in CMC B 215 to 218.

10 See note 9.

11 The original handwritten research notes regarding captivity narratives is in CMC B 216 to 218.

12 In the Barbeau Archives see for example blocks of documents such as B-F-200 "The Poor Man's Trail"; B-F-205 "Yukon Telegraph Line (1886)"; B-F-206 "First White Man or White Man's Goods or Articles among the Indians";

B-F-207 "Missionaries among the Carrier and Tsimsyan (Gitksan)"; B-F-210 "Klondike-Yukon"; B-F-211 "Trail of 98"; B-F-212 "The Hudson's Bay Co. in B.C."; B-F-216 "White Men, Prospectors, and Adventurers in N[orthern] B.C. and the Yukon"; B-F-309 "Kanakas on the Northwest Coast"; B-F-311 "Literature on Clipper Ships and Whalers"; B-F-313 "More Information on Scrimshaw"; B-F-321 "Missionaries." These and other blocks of documents contain some hundreds of pages of notes and observations, including personal memories of specific non-Aboriginal people by name.

13 The lead article of the first issue of *Anthropologica* was by Marcel Rioux; it was republished in "From Our Archives" *Anthropologica* in 2000 (see Rioux 2000: 233-241).

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Indigenous Self-Determination and Applied Anthropology in Canada: Finding a Place to Stand[1]

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Abstract: The discipline of anthropology has been undergoing a period of self-reflection and self-doubt. Current wisdom suggests that anthropologists do best when we act to provide context and space for the voices of others and eschew our own voices and agency. I agree wholeheartedly with aspects of this wisdom. We are at our worst when we impose our voices on others, such as by speaking for them or speaking about them as though they were not there. However, withdrawing agency does not resolve the matter. Our agency, our voice is present in all choices, even the choice not to assert it. In this paper, I discuss an approach to asserting our agency in a manner I believe to be just and justifiable. It is based on the view, following Buber and Lévinas, that appropriate agency is fostered when we treat others in an I-Thou rather than an I-It relationship. I indicate, following from the work of Little Bear among others, that the notion of treaty as developed in one strain of Indigenous thought provides an articulation of the I-Thou relationship in the political realm. It fosters a political relationship based on what I term Self and Relational Other rather than Self and Oppositional Other. This form of framing promotes active agency on the part of all participants, including anthropologists.

Résumé: La discipline anthropologique a connu une période de réflexion et de doute sur son orientation. La prudence courante maintient que nous faisons mieux de fournir le contexte et l'espace pour la voix des autres et renoncer à notre voix. Je suis d'acoord avec certains aspects de cette prudence. Nous somme «au plus mal» quand noud imposons notre voix aux autres soit que nous parlions pour eux soit que nous parlions d'eux comme s'ils n'étaient pas là. Cependant, se retirer de l'action ne résout pas le problème. Notre action, notre voix est présente dans tous nos choix, même le choix de ne pas s'imposer. Dans ce texte, je présente une manière de revendiquer notre participation d'une façon que je crois juste et justifiable. C'est une perspective qui s'appuie sur la vision, à la suite de Buber et Lévinas, qu'il se produit une action appropriée quand nous traitons les autres en tant que personnes (I-Thou) plutôt que dans une perspective moi-chose. Je montre, à la suite des travaux de Little Bear entre autres, que la notion de traité telle que développée dans une ligne de pensée indigène fournit une articulation de type personnel dans le domaine politique. Elle favorise une relation politique sur la base de ce que je considère le moi en accord avec l'autre plutôt qu'en opposition avec l'autre. Ce type de cadre peut promouvoir une action de la part de tous les participants, y compris les anthropologues.

Introduction

I want to begin by thanking Jim Waldram and the nominating committee for presenting me with this award. It is quite an honour. I am particularly pleased to accept an award named for Sally Weaver and Adé Tremblay. I had the great pleasure of working with them at the founding and early development of CASCA. I learned much of lasting benefit from their attitudes and their approaches both professionally and personally.

I am also very pleased that this occasion gives me the opportunity to acknowledge my debt to Dr. Sol Tax. I took my first undergraduate cultural anthropology course from him at the University of Chicago in 1963. After graduation in 1965, I volunteered for a brief period on a project that he developed with the Cherokee in Oklahoma. Were it not for the intervention of the Vietnam War, I am certain I would have continued with that project rather than return immediately to the academy. What I have done in my research career owes a great deal to the vision Dr. Tax provided.

In my talk today, I want to share the understanding I have come to regarding my role as an applied anthropologist who works with First Nations and how this understanding has been informed by, and grounded in, both Western and Indigenous political thought.

I am taking up this topic for two reasons. First, I am finding that many students who intend to work with First Nations on matters involving Indigenous rights believe that they must limit their own agency to giving technical support or providing space for the voice of the First Nations. Second, since the summer of 1969 when my wife, Margaret, and I moved for a year to Wrigley (now Pi Dze Ki) in the Northwest Territories or Denendeh, I have spent the majority of my professional life engaged in issues surrounding Indigenous self-determination in Canada. I have played many technical roles and learned many lessons. This occasion gives me the opportunity to

reflect on these experiences in order to examine principles through which I have come to orient my own agency. This process has been helpful to me and I hope that the thoughts contained in this talk may provide some place for reflection for others as we all grapple with finding a place to stand.

Specifically, my comments are situated in the political relationship between First Nations and the Canadian state and I turn first to a brief summary of what has occurred. The past thirty years have borne witness to an incredible struggle, led by First Nations, to gain political and legal recognition of their proper relationship to Canada. It has had its significant successes as well as numerous setbacks. But the work is hardly over.

Indeed, the relationship has moved to a new stage. Courts, as in the Mik'maq fishing case, have gone fairly far in providing interpretations of treaties that recognize subsistence and economic rights. But governments have failed to enforce the law, with a resultant strong backlash. Similarly in British Columbia, where I now live, one political party, likely to form the next government, is determined to hold a referendum that intends, at best, to cut back on the limited range of remedies now provided for redress through negotiations. The courts, as I have detailed elsewhere (Asch, 1999), once an ally in expanding Canadian state ideology on the notion of Aboriginal rights, have all but closed the door and are quickly moving in the opposite direction. Most significant is the Supreme Court of Canada's decision in Van der Peet which excluded abstract political rights, such as a right to self-determination, from the definition of Aboriginal rights. Rather, it insisted that the settlement of Aboriginal rights be based solely on their presumed cultural distinctiveness. With that decision, we in Canada are hurtling toward a period much like that of Indirect Rule in British Colonial Africa where cultural difference, rather than colonial relations, formed the basis for the expression of any Indigenous rights.

I believe that Canadian applied anthropology has a crucial role to play especially at this time. I do not mean just our role as technicians where we can and do provide important support for resolving specific issues. Rather, I am talking about role as participants.

In considering this matter, I found it clarifying to review first the debate between Chomsky and Foucault on justice and power; second, Buber and Lévinas on the relationship between Self and Other; third, the application of this philosophy to political relationship; and fourth the voices of Little Bear, Venne and others on Indigenous thought concerning political relationship.

Chomsky and Foucault on Justice and Power

In 1971, Chomsky and Foucault had a debate on the topic of *Human Nature: Justice Versus Power* (Elders, 1974). This debate is best known to the anthropological community through Paul Rabinow's exposition of it in the Introductory essay to his 1984 book *The Foucault Reader* (Rabinow, 1984). Rabinow's essay emphasizes the differing view of the two thinkers on the topic of human nature. In this dimension, Foucault's insistence that concepts be grounded in historical moments rather than in some kind of eternal human nature, provided a welcome alternative to the reductionism of the scientific approach which dominated anthropology at that time (and still does, at least in some quarters). It provided a point of departure for an anthropology that is reflexive, self-critical and self-aware.

While the human nature pole of the debate is crucial in the development of a reflexive anthropology, it is not central to the matter I raise here. The exchange around the question of justice and power is. As I turn to that topic, I must stress that I can provide only the briefest excerpts from their comments here. (One can find the complete debate online at the website: http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Senate/3761/foucault5.html).

With respect to political matters such as a right to self-determination, Foucault emphasizes the dimension of power. He says: "It is true that in all social struggles there is the question of 'justice.' . . . But if justice is at stake in a struggle then it is as an instrument of power." That is, "one makes war to win, not because it is just." The emphasis on power leads Foucault to conclude, using the proletariat as an example, that: "When the proletariat takes power, it may be quite possible that (it) will exert towards the classes over which it has just triumphed, a violent, dictatorial and even bloody power. I can't see what objection one could make to this." As Rabinow aptly puts it, to Foucault, the metaphor for a social struggle is one of battle, not conversation.

In response, Chomsky emphasizes the dimension of justice. He asserts that, when speaking of matters such as Indigenous self-determination, we must speak: "in terms of justice—because the end that will be achieved is claimed to be a just one." Emphasizing this frame, Chomsky replies to Foucault's assertions respecting the proletariat as follows. "No Leninist or whatever you like would dare say 'we the proletariat, have a right to take power, and then throw everybody else into the crematoria.' If that were the consequence of the proletariat taking power, of course it would not be appropriate." He

states that, to support a cause such as self-determination, one must believe "some fundamental human values will be achieved by that transfer of power."

I am not concerned with which perspective is "correct" or provides a better explanation of the facts. In my view, each provides a valid perspective. The question is how reliance on each dimension influences one's orientation with respect to Indigenous self-determination.

Foucault's depiction describes well many aspects of the struggle over Indigenous self-determination in Canada. Indeed, it is my experience that parties to negotiations, particularly governments, have cynically manipulated the language of justice in order to gain tactical or strategic advantage in a game that they see as a contestation over power alone. Chomsky's views agree with this assessment of the real world. However, it is crucial to point to where they disagree. Following from Foucault's reasoning, the ultimate goal of any social struggle is solely to achieve power. To Chomsky, the goal of a social struggle, to be worthy of support, must be to further the ends of justice. The differences that follow from an orientation around power or around justice become clear with respect to the possible reign of terror that may accompany a change in power. While to Chomsky it is a result to be condemned, to Foucault, no objection can be made.

The orientation I adopt as the basis for the discussion on my role, adheres more closely to Chomsky than Foucault. This means that, at the end of the day, how I orient my own agency in a social struggle will, like Chomsky's, rest on its fidelity to furthering justice. The question I turn to now is how the social struggle around Indigenous self-determination in Canada relates to those perspectives.

Political Relationship as Treaties and Contracts

Both First Nations and the Canadian state seek to resolve their political relationship, but the ways in which they approach it differ greatly. Based on my experiences over 30 years, I can say with certainty that the predominant stance of First Nations is one that seeks to establish a relationship with Canada through treaties and based on what they describe as "sharing." From early treaties, such as the ones symbolized by the Two Row Wampum, to recent statements, such as testimony presented to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, the primary purpose of the treaty is to build a relationship between groups based on "peace and friendship." As Sharon Venne put it with respect to the numbered Treaties nego-

tiated on the Plains beginning in the 1850s (Venne, 1997:184):

> Indigenous Chiefs dealt with the arrival of non-Indigenous settlers into Indigenous territory in the same manner as they dealt with others entering their jurisdiction.
>
> Sharing the land through treaty-making was a known process. The only way to access the territories of the Cree, Assiniboine, Saulteau, and Dene was to enter into a treaty.

The power and depth of this idea struck me forcefully when I was working with the Dene Nation in the 1970s and 1980s. I recall two statements that spoke with great clarity at two crucial moments in recent Dene history. The first was made by a Dene leader in the 1970s at a time when the Dene Nation were fighting to stop the construction of a pipeline megaproject that was to cut through their lands without their permission. In speaking of the political relationship the Dene were hoping to re-establish through political negotiations, he said: "While others are trying to negotiate their way out of Confederation, we are trying to negotiate our way in (cited in Asch, 1984: 105)." The second was made in the 1980s by a Dene leader frustrated with the failure of government negotiators to understand that the true spirit and intent of treaties was sharing. After at least a decade of negotiations, at a meeting of the negotiations' team held the evening before what turned out to be the final session, he said (to paraphrase): We are trying to build a house with the White Man. The Treaty was the foundation and these negotiations are building the first wall. But the White Man wants to rip out our foundation and remake us in their image.

Leroy Little Bear has described the form of political thought that lies behind this approach clearly and concisely when he stated (1986: 247):

> The Indian concept of land ownership is certainly not inconsistent with the idea of sharing with an alien people. Once the Indians recognized them as human beings, they gladly shared with them. They shared with Europeans in the same way they shared with the animals and other people. However, sharing here cannot be interpreted as meaning (that) the Europeans got the same rights as any other native person, because the Europeans were not descendants of the original grantees, or they were not parties to the original social contract. Also, sharing certainly cannot be interpreted as meaning that one is giving up his rights for all eternity.

Governments in Canada use the rhetoric of treaty in describing the political relationship they wish to establish with Indigenous peoples. However, in their usage, a treaty is more like a contract than a partnership. It is about specific clauses rather than an open-ended relationship implied by the word "sharing." Largely, the intent of a treaty in their view is to subsume the political rights of Indigenous peoples within existing Canadian polity as through the delegation of powers to First Nations under the authority of senior governments. As a government official in British Columbia recently described it, the terms of a treaty are not to be based on the consideration of past wrongs or in terms of upholding any rights First Nations have. Rather, the terms are to be based solely on current interests of the parties. Treaties are considered "Final Agreements." They are not to be reopened.

The Canadian judiciary follows the same path. Their objective is to deny the need for Canada to enter into any political relationship with Indigenous peoples. Until recently, the courts rationalized this approach by appealing to a precedent in British Colonial law that followed ancient evolutionary thinking in anthropology. They asserted, with confidence, that Indigenous peoples in Canada were just too primitive to have a form of political organization that the superior British needed to recognize (Asch, 1992, 2000). The courts, I hope out of embarrassment if nothing else, have now dropped that rationale. In its stead they have adopted a form of legal reasoning worthy of Kafka. They have defined the rights that Aboriginal peoples have under the Canadian Constitution as specifically excluding abstract political rights, such as the right to self-determination or even self-government. In short, the position of Canada is that First Nations are not to be partners in a nation-to-nation relationship, but, whether by treaty or some other process, they are to be incorporated into Canada (Asch, 1999).

Support and Justice

Any anthropologist who seeks to work in this arena is faced with a highly polarized situation. It is possible to avoid controversy by standing aside, remaining neutral. But, at least for me, that is not a comfortable place to stand. I do not support the position of Canada. I believe that, following Little Bear, for justice to be advanced, the resolution of the political relationship must recognize the difference in the relative status of newcomers and the original peoples and create means for sharing wealth, power and other resources that respects the dignity and status of both parties. A treaty of political alliance on a nation-to-nation basis seems to me an appropriate method to achieve this result.

So, I support the position taken by First Nations. But I would not support First Nations, whatever position they take, nor oppose Canada on that same basis. I do not support one group or the other. I support the position of First Nations because it is based on an approach, treaty, which I believe enhances the possibilities for justice. Were positions to change, so too might my support. This is what I understand it means to take Chomsky's position on power and justice over that of Foucault.

At the same time, making a choice does not mean that I must refuse to work with governments, and indeed I have worked with them on occasion. I do not believe that providing good research and analysis on a non-partisan basis is inherently contrary to the achievement of justice.

Still, as an anthropologist I have a particular concern that is not shared by any other professional. The concern is serious and it is not new. Anthropology has a long history of appropriating voice. As we all know, there are some in our discipline who have treated Indigenous peoples as objects, speaking about them as though they were not there. Others have treated them as children, speaking for them. Our past is filled with ghosts. As a colleague of mine said recently: "Anthropology has a lot to answer for." Do I have a right to speak up? Is doing so, when I agree with First Nations, speaking for them? Is doing so, were I to disagree with a perspective they take, treating them as objects? These concerns paralyzed me at times and, I have found, can paralyze students who might wish to contribute to the conversation, rather than remain mute. Are there principles that both enable us to treat Other respectfully—with dignity, and also allow us to speak with our own voices? Is there such a place to stand? This brings me to the heart of my comments today.

Finding a place to stand

In considering this question, I am drawn to the works of two philosophers: Martin Buber and Emmanuel Lévinas. Buber, as you may recall from his book *I and Thou* (Buber, 1970), grounded his philosophy in two relationships: I-It and I-Thou. As Lévinas describes it (Hand, 1989: 63-64); the world as conceptualized in the I-It refers to "human beings when we speak of them in the third person." In this relationship, I experience Other, but I only explore the surface. "In the I-It, individuals do not enter into a ... unifying relation in which 'the otherness of each is distinctive.'" On the other hand, as he describes it (Hand, 1989), "The I-Thou relation consists in confronting a being external to oneself, and in recognizing it as such. The I-Thou relation is one in which the

self is no longer a subject who always remains alone. (Here), the relation is the very essence of the I: whenever the I truly affirms itself, its affirmation is inconceivable without the presence of the Thou."

Lévinas amplifies on the orientation of the I-Thou in his philosophy of ethics. His view is described succinctly in the following quotation from Eric Matthews (1996: 60):

> (A philosophy based on) (e)thics begins not with the sense of myself as a spontaneous or autonomous being, but with a sense of myself as in relation to an Other, a being who is not myself and who sets limits to, and so calls into question, my spontaneity or capacity for free action.
>
> It is the awareness of otherness, that (enables me to understand that) reality transcends my own consciousness of it and so is irreducibly independent of me, (awareness of otherness) is essential both to the possibility of knowledge and to metaphysics.

Thus, to Lévinas, a philosophy based on ethics necessitates that there are always two parties, a Self and an Other that cannot be reduced to one or the other. It respects that the difference between them must remain irreducible; and places them immediately in relationship. Both parties remain autonomous, yet joined. In that sense, both are responsible for themselves and for the other.

It seems to me that when we orient our encounters with Indigenous peoples around the I-It, we foster a perception that they are objects or children. We speak of them in the third person. We appropriate voice. However, when we orient our encounters around the ethics of the I-Thou, we foster a relationship that promotes respect and dignity for their humanity. We have a conversation.

Having a Conversation with First Nations

But can I have a conversation with First Nations about their political relationship with Canada? There appears to be an Indigenous understanding of the political relationship and a Western one. The two speak past each other, not to each other. There is a cultural divide that will inevitably separate our voices. There is no conversation.

But the perception does not match my experience. It is not that I reject the fact of cultural difference, or that cultural difference is not extremely important. Rather, I have found that cultural difference does not play the decisive role in determining whether one adopts a position consistent with the voice advanced by First Nations or Canada. To me, the fact of cultural difference invites, rather than precludes, conversation.

On Self-Determination

Let me illustrate what I mean by reference to my understanding of the way in which peoples who assert a right to self-determination understand their relationship with states that hold power in relation to them. In a recent paper (Asch, 1997), which is based in part on B. Neuberger's exhaustive analysis of this question (Neuberger, 1986), I concluded that assertions of self-determination are based on the following two perceptions about the party making an assertion (Self) and the other party in the relationship (Other):
1. The Self has a will to be free to act politically without reference to Other.
2. The Self sees Other as a party against which Self is struggling for freedom.

Elsewhere, I have labelled this, the relationship between Self and Oppositional Other (ibid., 1997). It is derived from Buber's concept of the I-It. And, like the I-It, it evokes a social space where parties see each other in the third person, as objects to be manipulated.

As Neuberger's analysis shows, many groups asserting self-determination express their relationship to states in terms of Self and Oppositional Other. It is clear that there are times, here in Canada, when First Nations express their relationship to the state in these exact terms. In short, the relationship evoked by Self and Oppositional Other is not an essentialized, cultural perspective that is held only by populations who come from Western intellectual traditions.

The approach evoked by the treaty relationship as described by First Nations belongs to what I consider to be and have defined as the relationship between Self and Relational Other (Asch, 1997). Here, a Self that is seeking self-determination sees its relationship to an Other, as based on these two principles:
1. The Self has a will to be free to act politically, but it is expressed with reference to Other.
2. The Self sees Other as a party with which it has the responsibility to seek a political relationship.

Treaty becomes the means whereby these two principles are formalized. And sharing in a manner that respects differences between groups—including differences in standing between original grantees and those who came later—is the means by which the principles are put into practice.

Casting this as the Self and Relational Other relationship derives from two sources. First, it is a reformulation of what I have learned from Leroy Little Bear and others with a deep understanding of Indigenous political thought. Second, it is a transference of the I-Thou rela-

tionship developed by Buber and Lévinas into the political realm. It is a place where parties face each other in the second person or as human beings with whom they have a relationship. It is Self and Relational Other that is also frequently advanced by Indigenous peoples throughout the world as a means of describing the relations between themselves and states. At the same time, glimpses of this approach may be observed in Western political thought and practice, as for example, when a state organizes political relations among ethno-national communities around a certain type of federalism or another form of consociation (Asch and Smith, 1992). Thus, the ideas of Martin Buber and Leroy Little Bear are consonant. The conversation may be about the I-Thou and it may be about treaty relations. They are the same conversation. In short, the relationship envisioned by Self and Relational Other is not an essentialized, cultural perspective that is held only by Indigenous peoples.

The fact that concepts of political relationship framed through I-It or I-Thou exists in both Indigenous and Western cultures convinces me that there is no cultural divide that inevitably separates our voices. We need not speak past each other. We can have a conversation. We can make decisions as to which path to take. And I can express my choice with my own voice.

Conclusions

It is evident that the conversation now taking place between Canada and First Nations is dominated by the discourse of Self and Oppositional Other. It is, in Gramsci's terms (Mouffe, 1979), the hegemonic discourse. It is a by-product of the power of Canadian governments and courts to control the terms of the conversation. At the same time, the fact that it is hegemonic makes it appears as though a resolution of this relationship based on the framing of Self and Oppositional Other is inevitable. Continuing with Gramsci's perspective, it is the job of those who disagree to remind us that this approach is not "inevitable"; that it is a choice. Therefore, it is possible that a time will come when the Self and Relational Other will become at least more prominent in resolving the relationship. Notwithstanding the setbacks referred to above, the beginning of such a process, I believe, is taking place.

The historic encounter with First Nations is changing Canada. Ideas and policies that went unchallenged 30 years ago are now under scrutiny. Here are two examples. The most notable is the work undertaken by Canadian political and legal theorists on political relations between Indigenous peoples and states and by extension between states and other collectivities (Alfred, 1999,

Borrows, 1997, Green, 1997, Kymlicka, 1989, Macklem, 1991, McNeil, 1989, Slattery, 1987). A by-product of this type of work has been to open up an important conversation between First Nations political and legal scholars who adhere to the treaty perspective and non-Indigenous political theorists who are seeking to re-conceptualize relations between Indigenous groups and settler states. The second example, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples comes from a place closer to the center of power. Among its numerous challenges to conventional wisdom on policy was the singularly important recommendation that the concept of treaty advanced in Indigenous thought play a significant role in how Canada seeks to resolve its political relationship with First Nations. Developments such as these advance the possibility that Canada and other states will resolve the relationship with Indigenous peoples in a manner consonant with the values of treaty and the perspective of the Self and Relational Other.

The voice of Canadian anthropology has largely been absent from this historic conversation. It is as though we feel that we are not entitled to speak; that we must remain muted. This is unfortunate. The concept of culture is gaining dominance as a principle upon which to justly resolve the relationship between First Nations and Canada. In its recent decision on Van der Peet, the Supreme Court of Canada determined, following Steward's theory of sociocultural integration, that trade could not have been a distinctive feature of pre-contact Sto:lo culture and therefore could not be justly protected under the Canadian Constitution. At the same time, political and legal theorists are beginning to rely on notions of cultural difference that derive from interpretative strains of anthropological theory as the basis upon which to justly reconfigure political relations. These ideas are welcome, but, to reiterate, we know from our intimate knowledge of the colonial experience in Africa during the period of Indirect Rule that reliance on cultural difference rather than colonial relations do not necessarily promote a just relationship.

In short, we provide valuable perspectives on culture, on colonial history and on political relations that are missing from the conversation; ones, which I know, can do much to enrich it and propel it forward as well as enrich anthropology in the process. We do not need to keep silent and remain on the sidelines. We can enter the conversation with respect and with dignity. We can find a place to stand. And, it is to this end that I offer these reflections.

Notes

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Le foyer des métaphores mal soudées. Forgerons et potières chez les Dìì de l'Adamaoua (Nord-Cameroun)[1]

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Résumé: Les Dìì de l'Adamaoua ont une caste de forgerons/potières qui disent être volontairement devenus endogames sans que ce statut leur ait été imposé. Bien que situés à part, ils ont une position plutôt positive alors que la plupart des voisins leur assignent un statut inférieur. Une brève comparaison avec ces voisins immédiats montrera ces modulations de statut.

Abstract: The Dìì of Adamawa have a caste of blacksmiths/potters which claim to have voluntarily become endogamous without this status being imposed on them by the rest of the society. Although in some ways "foreigners," they enjoy a rather positive status, whereas most of the neighbours relegate them to a low position. A brief comparison with the immediate neighbours will show these modulations of status.

Les Dìì de l'Adamaoua, plus connus sous le nom de Dourou, sont environ 40 à 50 000 personnes réparties dans plus d'une centaine de chefferies, kaa, formant chacune un village de taille très variable. Une partie est située au pied du massif de Poli, le long de la route bitumée Garoua-Ngaoundéré, depuis Mayo Boki jusqu'à la falaise de Ngaoundéré; une autre est établie sur le plateau de cette falaise, au nord-est de la ville de Ngaoundéré alors que la troisième s'étend du pied de la montagne jusqu'au nord de Tcholliré (voir carte). Les Dìì parlent une langue de la famille Adamawa du groupe quatre auquel on joint aujourd'hui le groupe deux (Boyd, 1989 : 182-184) qui se subdivise en plusieurs dialectes : le saan, le hụụn, le paan, le naan, parlés par la minorité de l'extrême pointe nord-ouest, le gụụm, représenté au centre et au sud-ouest de la plaine dìì et les deux dialectes principaux, le mam be' et le mam nà'a qui sont parlés à l'est, au pied et sur la falaise de Ngaoundéré. Les tribulations dues aux guerres avec les Peuls au XIXe siècle – qui se terminèrent par la soumission totale aux Peuls à la fin du siècle seulement – ont quelque peu modifié cette carte, plusieurs chefferies ayant migré dans une autre aire dialectale.

Les premiers rapports administratifs et les premières compilations concernant les peuples de la région ainsi que les guides touristiques des quelque trente dernières années font la part belle aux forgerons, quelques mentions affirmant même que les Dìì constituaient un «peuple de forgerons» (Frobenius, 1987 : 141 [1913]). Il est vrai qu'ils étaient plus nombreux autrefois et qu'ils ont pratiqué la réduction du fer jusque dans les années cinquante et soixante[2], après avoir été les pourvoyeurs d'armes exigés par les chefs des armées peules de Rey-Bouba et de Ngaoundéré pendant tout le XIXe siècle. Comme chez leurs voisins Dowayo, les Dìì et leurs forgerons se définissent comme des êtres d'essences séparées, les non forgerons, les Dìì à proprement parler, et les forgerons, Naŋ, qui forment un groupe endogame constitué de nombreux lignages, les femmes étant

potières. Chaque chefferie doit en principe inclure au moins un lignage de forgeron. Les Dìì expliquent le plus souvent leur structure sociale en termes de fonctions : il faut un chef pour organiser la cérémonie principale, la circoncision, un lignage d'autochtone pour balayer et arranger la place de la cérémonie, un circonciseur, qui fait aussi partie des lignages autochtones, pour pratiquer l'opération, et un forgeron pour en fabriquer ses instruments essentiels, les couteaux. Les Dìì de dialecte guum conjoignent la fonction de forgeron et celle de circonciseur, le forgeron cumulant l'une et l'autre, ce qui permet aux Dìì guum de se vanter d'honorer davantage leurs forgerons que les autres groupes linguistiques dìì.

Les Dìì croient-ils en leurs mythes?

Cette explication fonctionnelle cadre difficilement avec les versions «mythiques», d'une part, et «historiques», de l'autre, qu'il est impossible de mettre bout à bout pour en faire une périodisation linéaire. Les fonctions restent les mêmes mais l'origine profonde de la différence entre Dìì et Naŋ est sujette à de multiples ambiguïtés et contradictions. Bien des Dìì mam be' et mam nà'a (qui sont la grande majorité) ainsi que guum disent que les Dìì sont tombés du ciel avec une longue queue que le forgeron leur coupa pour les rendre plus humains : il s'appliqua ensuite à les circoncire pour parachever leur humanité. Mais ils oublient ici que l'origine de la circoncision, qui fait l'objet d'un autre mythe indépendant, vient de l'observation des singes qui, lors d'une de leurs circoncisions, furent surpris par une femme – les lignages forgerons précisent quelquefois qu'elle en faisait partie – qui, trouvant le pénis privé du prépuce plus esthétique, persuada son mari de subir l'opération à laquelle il souscrivit. Cette nouvelle preuve d'humanité vient donc du singe, auquel les Dìì empruntèrent aussi l'emblème principal de la circoncision, le faisceau de bambou, «bambou panthère», hęęg zág, qui sert à dissimuler les couteaux.

Les Naŋ seraient également tombés du ciel indépendamment des Dìì avec leur pince, 'màgan et leur marteau, mbigi, ou avec leur pince et un morceau de fer, hìì waa, «fer petit» sans qu'aucune version ne dise qui, des deux groupes, a atterri en premier. Le fait qu'ils soient tombés du ciel est expliqué quelquefois par le second sens du terme naŋ qui veut dire «il pleut», les forgerons étant tous tombés d'un coup comme une averse. Plusieurs Dìì prétendent que, à cause de leur nom, ce ne sont que les forgerons qui sont tombés du ciel. Quoiqu'il en soit de ces ou cette origine céleste ou non, les deux groupes, même s'ils se dénomment comme deux ethnies séparées, sont tous dits avoir été dìì et avoir parlé la langue dìì dès l'origine.

Leur rencontre se serait faite selon plusieurs modalités différentes : la plupart relatent que les Dìì ne connaissaient pas le fer auparavant, travaillant la terre avec des houes faites de lames d'un bois d'une espèce très dure, ɓèŋ, alors que d'autres, plus rares, prétendent que ces outils étaient en pierre, les deux sortes étant malcommodes et peu efficaces. Les forgerons, voyant ceci en rencontrant les Dìì, leur fabriquèrent des outils pour les aider à mieux vivre. Selon un lignage de forgerons – mais un seul! –, ceci incita les Dìì reconnaissants à leur donner la chefferie qu'ils refusèrent pour se confiner à leur travail, les deux tâches se révélant trop lourdes à assumer à la fois. D'autres versions affirment que les Dìì entendirent le bruit des enclumes et se dirigèrent vers sa source. Ils invitèrent ces créateurs d'outils inconnus et miraculeux à venir vivre avec eux. Une version de ce type, plus élaborée, dit que les forgerons s'étaient établis dans une grotte. Ils sortaient pour travailler mais rentraient précipitamment dans leur refuge dès qu'ils voyaient les Dìì s'approcher, intrigués par le bruit. Ceux-ci recoururent à une ruse pour mieux connaître ces farouches habitants des profondeurs : ils tressèrent un grand filet qu'ils fixèrent au rocher surplombant la caverne sur lequel quelques uns se mirent à l'affût. Une fois les forgerons sortis, ils déroulèrent leur filet devant l'entrée de la grotte pendant que d'autres s'approchèrent par devant. Les forgerons, en voulant rentrer dans leur abri, furent pris dans les rets. Après discussion, ils consentirent à joindre les Dìì[3].

Ces comptes rendus sont les versions traditionalistes. Plusieurs lignages de forgerons islamisés prétendent descendre, eux, du prophète David (Anabi Daouda) qui, dans une des traditions musulmanes, est l'ancêtre des forgerons. Podlewski (1971: 30), qui rapporte une de ces versions recueillie chez les forgerons de la chefferie de Gangasao, s'étonne que le prophète leur aurait expliqué les arts du feu au Mali. Mais les Dìì savent bien que les Peuls disent venir du Mali et cette narration ne fait que davantage islamiser historiquement ces forgerons puisque ce sont les Peuls qui introduisirent l'islam dans l'Adamaoua. Cette version, comprenant ici une migration, fait état d'un voyage périlleux en pirogue sur la Bénoué jusqu'à la falaise de Ngaoundéré que les forgerons de Gangasao escaladèrent pour s'établir avec les gens de la localité. Ce voyage, qui ne se retrouve pas dans les autres versions, ressemble à celui conté par Bouimon (1991: 268) pour les forgerons voisins moundang et tupuri. Une autre version islamisée stipule que les Dìì reçurent un prophète nommé Souleïmanou qui faisait tout le travail du fer avec ses mains sans se brûler. Il enseigna ses techniques à quelques Dìì et, avant de

retourner au ciel, il fit une prière à Dieu qui envoya une pince et un marteau pour que les Dìì ne se brûlent pas, une histoire qui est similaire à celle racontée par des forgerons hausa islamisés de l'Ader (Pilaszewicz, 1991 : 246, citant Nicole Échard (1964). Cette version vient de Novéé, un village proche de Ngaouyanga qui, lui, transmet une variante dérivée : les forgerons du village savaient comment fondre le fer mais ils ne réussissaient jamais à le sortir du foyer car ils employaient une pince en bois qui ne cessait de brûler. Dieu, dans les deux versions appelé par son nom dìì, Tayìì, envoya un prophète qui leur apporta une pince en fer.

Les Dìì saan, paan et naan (voir carte) ne partagent pas ces traditions, bien que certains les connaissent. Ils disent être venus du massif de Poli et prétendent ne pas être tombés du ciel, pas plus que leurs forgerons qu'ils affirment avoir acquis des populations voisines – surtout des Dowayo – en les «achetant» selon la procédure suivante : les Dìì adoptèrent soit une petite fille forgeron et la donnèrent sans dot à un forgeron impécunieux qui devint de la sorte leur client, ou alors, inversément, adoptèrent un jeune forgeron qu'ils pourvurent d'une épouse forgeronne, se l'attachant aussi de cette manière. Mais la question est plus compliquée car, dans toute l'aire dìì on trouve aussi des «forgerons dìì», Naŋ Dìì – une contradiction dans les termes – , qui sont des descendants d'un mariage en théorie interdit; il s'agit dans certains cas de celui d'une princesse et d'un forgeron ou, aussi à l'inverse, d'un homme dìì et d'une potière. Le statut matrimonial de leurs descendants varie selon les chefferies; certaines les assignent à la classe des forgerons alors que d'autres les assimilent aux Dìì.

L'histoire mythique fait donc état de deux groupes, les Dìì et les Naŋ qui vivaient sans chefs, à part dans une unique version Naŋ citée ci-dessus et niée par les Dìì, qui prétend que les forgerons furent élus chefs mais déclinèrent cet honneur. Les versions plus spécifiquement historiques, si on peut les appeler ainsi (Muller, 1999), relatent la création des chefferies dìì qui se sont formées à partir de gens sans chefs – mais comportant déjà les forgerons. Ils accueillirent un prince étranger qui fut mis dans la catégorie des Dìì. Celui-ci, grâce à ses dons, fut élu chef en rassemblant plusieurs clans d'autochtones et au moins un clan de forgeron pour créer sa chefferie. Dans d'autres exemples, les villageois choisirent tout simplement comme chef un homme du village riche et généreux. Dans tous les cas, le forgeron est intégré à part entière dans cette structure en tant que partie nécessaire au tout, comme les explications fonctionnelles que nous avons données plus haut le laissaient déjà clairement entendre.

Avant d'examiner comment le forgeron est inséré dans ce schème et quel est son statut, il nous faut revenir aux temps mythiques pour connaître les raisons de leur endogamie. Dans presque toutes les versions, les deux groupes se sont rencontrés, déjà constitués, et l'aspect d'endogamie réciproque n'est pas expliqué mais sous-entendu. Les forgerons sont aussi responsables de l'invention de la poterie, bien que la plupart des versions de la rencontre des Dìì et des Naŋ passent cet aspect sous silence. Il va de soi que, dès la rencontre, les femmes des forgerons, Naŋ kéé «femmes forgerons», étaient déjà des potières. La découverte de leur art découle directement de celle de la forge. Les forgerons et les potières disent que leurs ancêtres ont observé que les hauts fourneaux qu'ils érigeaient ainsi que les tuyères, tout deux en terre argileuse, durcissaient lors de la réduction, devenaient imperméables et résistaient au feu. Tout le monde, à cette époque, cuisait la nourriture en faisant chauffer à blanc des pierres qu'on jetait dans des calebasses contenant de l'eau et de la farine – et même des morceaux de viande – pour faire de la bouillie. C'est une méthode qui est encore quelquefois utilisée lorsqu'on va en brousse pour la journée. Une autre technique, plus spectaculaire, était de chauffer avec force bois des roches comportant des creux. Lorsque la roche était bouillante, on balayait les cendres, on remplissait les trous avec de l'eau à laquelle on ajoutait la farine pour faire cuire le tout. Les hommes, voyant la résistance au feu des hauts fourneaux et des tuyères, demandèrent aux femmes d'aller chercher une argile particulièrement malléable signalée par les terriers et les déjections du crabe de terre, kąąg, argile qui leur semblait la plus appropriée, et d'en façonner des récipients qui pourraient être mis au feu. Ce que firent les femmes qui, ensuite, perfectionnèrent leur art en observant les pratiques de la guêpe maçonne, dįdìì[4].

Pour préserver ces deux arts du feu, hen túúli á ti sa, /chose/forger/ne/perdre/pas/, les forgerons refusèrent de donner leurs filles aux Dìì et se marièrent entre eux. Les Dìì qui prétendent avoir donné une de leurs filles après avoir trouvé un forgeron tombé du ciel, – mais qui adhèrent à la règle d'endogamie – disent que leurs enfants se marièrent à d'autres enfants de forgerons pour mieux conserver leur savoir faire. La découverte de la poterie engendra donc plus tard l'endogamie et Dìì et Naŋ partagent la même interprétation. On notera ici que, contrairement à la plupart des autres sociétés africaines dans lesquelles forgerons et potières sont castés, ce ne sont pas les forgerons qui ont été exclus ou marginalisés par la majorité; ce sont les forgerons et les potières qui l'ont fait d'eux-mêmes pour protéger et conserver leurs activités conjointes.

Mais les Dìi croient-ils à ces histoires? Paul Veyne (1983) s'est posé la question à propos des Grecs. Dans un livre célèbre, il nous montre que la question est bien plus compliquée qu'elle n'en a l'air et que dès les premières apparitions des mythes par écrit, ceux-ci ont engendré maints commentaires des intéressés eux-mêmes sur ce qui, en eux, était vrai et ce qui était faux, et rien ne prouve qu'il en allait différemment avant l'apparition de l'écriture... Les premiers ethnologues ont surtout transcrit des versions mythiques complètes, sans nous donner les commentaires locaux sur ce que les gens croyaient et ne croyaient pas; la génération lévi-straussienne a montré les mythes en transformation mais, dans les deux cas, les ethnologues laissent souvent l'impression d'avoir toujours obéi à un invariant, celui de tenir pour acquis que les énonciateurs des mythes y croyaient. Or, c'est justement une pomme de discorde chez les Dìi dont beaucoup mettent en question la véracité des histoires de leur origine et de celle des forgerons. Nous avons dit que l'origine céleste des uns et des autres était contestée par au moins une partie des groupes linguistiques dìi et même de bien des membres de ceux qui officiellement en colportent l'histoire. Leur argument est que personne-chrétien, musulman ou traditionaliste – n'a jamais vu quelqu'un tomber du ciel – et encore moins des gens nantis de savoirs importants. Ceux qui adhèrent à la croyance y mettent néanmoins un bémol en disant qu'après tout, nul n'était là à l'époque pour confirmer le fait et qu'ils se contentent simplement de répéter ce que leurs grands-pères leur ont dit. En revanche, l'invention de la poterie dérivée de la forge est vue comme tout à fait plausible mais il reste à justifier celle de la métallurgie qui pose problème. Si le forgeron n'est pas tombé du ciel nanti de ses savoirs, il les aurait connus de prophètes musulmans venus les leur enseigner, ce qui provoque des haussements d'épaule de bien des gens, incluant des musulmans. Il reste toutefois une dernière possibilité logique que plusieurs Dìi envisagent sérieusement: le forgeron aurait découvert la métallurgie tout seul-ou l'aurait à moitié inventée selon la version musulmane dans laquelle il ratait la fin de l'opération puisque sa pince en bois brûlait avant qu'il puisse sortir le fer du feu. Ceci prouve sa grande intelligence, bien plus aiguë que celle des simples mortels. Enchaînant sur cette constatation, quelques Dìi plus radicaux que les autres, dont certains chefs de villages importants, disent que c'est précisément cette capacité à inventer des choses extraordinaires qui fait dire qu'ils sont tombés du ciel. Cette conclusion part de l'étonnement tout à fait légitime devant une telle réussite technique. Elle est si surprenante qu'elle ne peut se penser comme une

création de l'homme; les anciens Dìi n'auraient rien trouvé de mieux pour l'expliquer que de la faire émaner d'un ailleurs super-humain. Si les Dìi affirment que les forgerons sont tombés du ciel, c'est parce qu'ils n'ont pas voulu croire à la valeur intrinsèque du forgeron qui les surpassait en intelligence. Mais ce plaidoyer à partir du mythe, qui est en même temps une explication de celui-ci, nous ramène sur terre puisqu'il prétend que le mythe découle directement des activités terrestres presque miraculeuses du forgeron. Mais la situation est loin de s'éclaircir car la réalité est aussi coriace à interpréter que les disputes sur les mythes.

De quelques scories métaphoriques difficiles

Malgré tout le crédit qu'on leur accorde, on entend quelques commentaires ironiques au sujet du refus des forgerons de pratiquer l'agriculture. En effet, forgerons et potières ne s'y adonnaient pas, la forge et la poterie étant des activités à temps complet, ce qui n'est plus tout à fait le cas aujourd'hui puisqu'on a cessé de réduire le minerais – autrefois recueilli autant sinon plus par les potières que par les forgerons. La poterie est faite toute l'année; la forge est aussi en activité l'année entière de même que la fonte, les fourneaux étant protégés par de larges auvents. On dit quelquefois que forgerons et potières ont choisi de se spécialiser par paresse pour éviter d'aller aux champs et de grelotter sous la pluie en restant bien au chaud dans leur forge à fabriquer les outils qu'ils donnaient aux Dìi du village contre du grain ou d'autres récoltes. Ils seraient donc des profiteurs utilisant leur monopole pour se protéger des intempéries. A quoi les forgerons et ceux qui leur sont reconnaissants ont beau jeu de répondre qu'en premier lieu, il fallait d'abord savoir forger pour bénéficier du bénéfice marginal de rester à la maison, près du feu. En effet, le forgeron était client d'un certain nombre de familles qu'il approvisionnait en armes et outils. Les familles aisées le rémunéraient en grand style lors de leur battage de mil prestigieux auquel le forgeron et sa famille étaient invités. Abritée et honorée sous un auvant pour la protéger du soleil, la famille forgeronne sirotait de la bière et rentrait chez elle le soir avec une partie de la récolte. On raconte que les forgerons, à l'annonce d'un battage de mil d'un de leurs clients, forgeaient fébrilement d'un coup tout les outils et ustensiles qu'ils pensaient nécessaires à sa maisonnée, quittes à ne pas dormir pendant quelques jours, et les lui apportaient à cette occasion.

Mais ce n'était pas sa seule source de revenus. Outre la vente ou l'échange avec d'autres ethnies proches

de blocs ronds de fer brut (environ 25 kilos) – dont j'ai encore vu quelques exemplaires –, plusieurs forgerons s'unissaient souvent temporairement pour faire à la chaîne un certain type d'outil ou d'arme – le nombre d'une centaine faite à la fois revient comme un cliché – et envoyaient un des leurs les vendre en ville, au marché de Ngaoundéré. Ce travail à la chaîne se fait encore quelquefois pour les couteaux qui se vendent dans tout l'Adamaoua et jusqu'au Bornou. Aujourd'hui, on vend surtout à la pièce, sur commande, bien qu'une petite quantité d'objets puisse s'écouler au marché. Mais cette absence d'activité agricole met aussi les forgerons, au moins pour plusieurs Dìì, du côté du chef à qui il était interdit de pratiquer l'agriculture. Ceci est vrai mais d'autres font remarquer que le chef n'avait pas le droit de travailler de ses mains. La prohibition de cultiver met le forgeron du côté du chef mais ses activités manuelles le plaçent exactement où? Pas du côté des agriculteurs mais de son propre côté exclusif, qui inclut aussi l'usage d'une harpe géante, dite «harpe du forgeron», kòŋ naŋ, qu'il se réserve (Grelier, 1999).

La symbiose et la complémentarité entre forgerons et agriculteurs, est expliquée en termes d'échange, pìn, d'outils contre des denrées vivrières. Elle justifie la prohibition – en voie de disparition – pour un Dìì de manger et de boire après un forgeron dans la même calebasse. A extrapoler la littérature anthropologique consacrée à cette question, on en conclurait vite à une protection contre une contamination due au statut impur attribué au forgeron dans nombre de sociétés africaines. Cependant, il n'en est rien car les Dìì ont une vision résolument maussienne de la chose basée sur le don et le contre don : puisque toute nourriture et toute boisson vient des grains donnés par les Dìì aux forgerons, manger après eux de leur nourriture reviendrait tout simplement à leur reprendre d'une main ce que l'autre leur à donnée! Ce serait ni plus ni moins que les voler . . . Cette justification est encore plus appuyée par le fait que, pour bien des Dìì, cette prohibition ne vaut que pour les forgerons de leur chefferie, en particulier ceux qui ont participé à sa création, et qu'elle ne s'applique pas aux autres. C'est l'échange de deux types d'objets incommensurables mais complémentaires qui dicte la prohibition et non une question d'impureté. Par extension métaphorique, les forgerons s'abstenaient de manger de la viande de mouton – consommée par les Dìì – car sa peau trop lâche ne pouvait servir à faire les soufflets. La même extension, dans l'autre sens, leur réservait la viande de chèvre qui était interdite aux Dìì – car sa peau, plus dure, servait pour les soufflets. Ces prohibitions alimentaires ne sont plus respectées aujourd'hui.

Cet aspect de complémentarité nous permettra d'aborder le statut du forgeron au sein des chefferies dìì car un lignage forgeron, au moins, est étroitement associé à celui du chef de village. Les forgerons dìì ont toujours été très mobiles, allant où le travail était payant, quittes à revenir chez eux après des exils plus ou moins longs ou à émigrer définitivement[5]. Comme l'indique la structure des chefferies, un lignage forgeron a toujours été un des éléments nécessaires à leur établissement. L'on dit même, au village de Ze'ed, qu'il cumulait les offices d'autochtone, de forgeron et de circonciseur mais qu'il se plaignit d'un surcroît de travail, ce qui incita le chef à créer les offices séparés d'autochtones et de circonciseurs. Le lignage forgeron le plus proche du chef est souvent appelé zig tù gbaŋ, «lignage du surveillant, ou gardien, du chef» pour le distinguer, s'il y en a, des autres lignages de forgerons. Les lignages forgerons appartenant vraiment à la chefferie sont dits «sortis» avec celle-ci; ils en sont les forgerons originels qui ont participé à sa constitution. Même s'ils ont émigré au loin et que leur rôle a été donné à un forgeron nouveau venu, ils sont toujours référés comme les «vrais» forgerons de leur chefferie d'origine. En l'absence d'un représentant du lignage forgeron originel, ce qui est très fréquent, on donnait – et donne encore – l'office de «surveillant» du chef à un autre lignage forgeron qui devient le forgeron officiel de son village d'adoption. Dans les villages qui n'ont plus de forgerons, leur forgeron originel est invité à venir effectuer son travail rituel dans son ancien village. Si le lignage s'est éteint, on fait venir un remplaçant d'un village voisin.

En plus d'être le chef des forgerons du village, le gardien a-ou plutôt avait, car l'office n'est plus aujourd'hui que nominal – un rôle important à jouer au point de vue rituel. Ce surveillant est choisi par le futur chef juste avant son intronisation, parmi les jeunes gens déjà circoncis du lignage forgeron. Il accompagne le chef à la place de circoncision lors de sa seconde circoncision et il le surveille – d'où son nom – pendant sa cicatrisation pour l'empêcher de se gratter lorsqu'on le lave avec des lotions urticantes. Il fait les commissions du chef reclus et s'occupe alors des contacts extérieurs. Lors de la sortie de réclusion, il est – comme le chef – somptueusement habillé et il passe beaucoup de temps auprès de lui, agissant comme son confident le plus proche (Muller, 1993). Cette position privilégiée lui donne le statut métaphorique de «première épouse du chef» car celui-ci se confie davantage à lui qu'à sa femme. Il est aussi «première épouse» car il est chargé de faire la paix entre les vraies épouses du chef en cas de zizanies domestiques. Il accompagne le chef en voyage pendant lequel il

fait office de goûteur de plats de crainte qu'un ennemi ne veuille l'empoisonner. Il supervisait le travail aux cuisines lorsque le chef donnait des festins publics à certaines périodes de l'année. Bien que ne vivant pas à la chefferie, il y passait, au moins dans les premières années de règne, la plus grande partie de son temps et agissait en majordome. S'il mourait, il n'était pas remplacé et, si le chef décédait avant lui, il perdait son titre, le nouveau chef s'attachant un autre gardien plus jeune. Il redevenait alors simple forgeron.

Les forgerons sont aussi très valorisés car ils fabriquent les couteaux de la circoncision qui sont des sortes d'esprits assimilés à ceux des morts, yǫǫb. Ils sont puissants et ont la faculté de découvrir les coupables lors d'ordalies requises dans des affaires embrouillées. Les couteaux sont sortis, mis sous un lit de feuilles que le suspect doit enjamber tout nu. S'il est coupable, les couteaux lui hacheront les intestins et l'estomac, le condamnant à mourir d'hémorragie interne. Ces couteaux, en grand nombre dans chaque chefferie, étaient remisés dans une hutte spéciale érigée dans l'enceinte de la chefferie avant que l'islamisation forcée des années 60 et 70 ne les exile dans une cache en brousse. Lorsque le forgeron remplaçait les exemplaires rouillés, abîmés ou réformés, le chef lui donnait un costume luxueux. Le forgeron a donc une position très importante qui, dans ce contexte, le met tout près du chef, d'autant plus que celui-ci effectue une partie des rites d'intronisation assis sur une pièce ronde de fer brut d'un poids de plus d'une vingtaine de kilos – déjà mentionnée comme objet de troc – pour lui donner le poids et la résistance du métal.

Mais le forgeron, sauf chez les Dìì guum, n'est pas le maître de la circoncision, malgré son rôle crucial dans la fabrication des couteaux. Ce rôle échoit à l'un des groupes d'autochtones, waa hág «enfants de la terre, du territoire» qui ont donné la chefferie au nouveau venu choisi comme chef, les autres lignages autochtones ayant un statut moindre. Ce lignage principal, tout de suite derrière le chef, est sans conteste celui du circonciseur, dòŋ nàà, qui est le grand prêtre de la chefferie. Il est le seul officiel avec le chef à être salué par le terme de Bàa qu'on pourrait traduire par «Monsieur», laissant les autres lignages autochtones se disputer un ordre hiérarchique dont personne – à part les intéressés – ne se soucie vraiment. On peut donc dire que, vis à vis du chef, le circonciseur et le forgeron sont, quant à leur importance, difficiles à départager. De plus, lors des circoncisions collectives, les fils de chefs passent en premier, avant tous les autres mais, si une circoncision particulière comprend un fils de forgeron, il est circoncis avant ceux des

autres groupes d'autochtones, incluant le circonciseur, pour honorer le lignage producteur des couteaux. Cette place variable donnée au forgeron, au circonciseur et aux groupes d'autochtones selon le contexte est exprimée surtout en disant que le chef est «devant», les uns ou les autres étant «derrière» lui, en suivant leur ordre particulier en chaque occasion. Les Dìì voient bien qu'il est impossible de donner une hiérarchie stable à leurs lignages, sauf celui du chef. Ils résolvent la difficulté en disant que le forgeron n'est ni en haut ni en bas, ni derrière ni devant, mais simplement «à côté», kɔkɔd, un terme qui signifie aussi à la fois «en dehors», «à part» ou «différent».

Mais, d'un autre côté, la perception populaire des choses assigne aussi des stéréotypes assez négatifs aux forgerons, stéréotypes qui sont abondamment discutés parce qu'ils sont loin de faire l'unanimité. Les forgerons sont tenus pour voraces et gloutons, toujours prêts à faire la fête. Ils ont des comportements exhibitionnistes lors des réjouissances publiques (le lieu où se trouve actuellement la sous-préfecture de Mbé est dit «le lieu du bas-ventre» car des forgerons se mirent à y danser tout nus – une grosse indécence chez les Dìì – à l'issue d'une réjouissance très arrosée). Mais là-encore, cette gloutonnerie est ambiguë car elle est aussi partagée par les circonciseurs qui officient en même temps que les forgerons. Ce groupe est collectivement appelé zanan, «les panthères de la boule de mil», pour souligner cet aspect de gourmandise. Dans les chefferies qui n'ont plus de forgeron, on en fait venir un ou deux pour la circoncision et l'accent est mis sur leur voracité en disant qu'il n'est pas bien difficile d'en trouver un car il suffit de leur montrer un pot de bière pour les faire accourir à toutes jambes. Les forgerons sont aussi tenus pour insouciants, imprévoyants, distraits et sans attaches. Ils vont et viennent selon les opportunités et s'établissent facilement ailleurs s'ils y trouvent leur compte (ce qui est aussi le cas de bien des Dìì (Muller, 1996), mais on passe cette similarité sous silence). Pour faire contrepoids à ces allégations ironiques, on assure aussi que les forgerons prennent tout sur eux et savent employer leur statut ambigu pour le plus grand bien de ceux qui les respectent et à qui ils sont fidèles. Pour illustrer ce point, on raconte l'anecdote suivante :

> Un forgeron était très ami avec un chef de lignage important. Celui-ci, lors d'une réunion formelle à la chefferie à laquelle assistait aussi le forgeron, lâcha un pet incongru. Le chef sursauta et regarda sévèrement le coupable. Le forgeron immédiatement s'accusa en s'excusant, sauvant son ami d'une solide réprimande.

Figure 1

Carte ethnique des Dìì et de leurs voisins
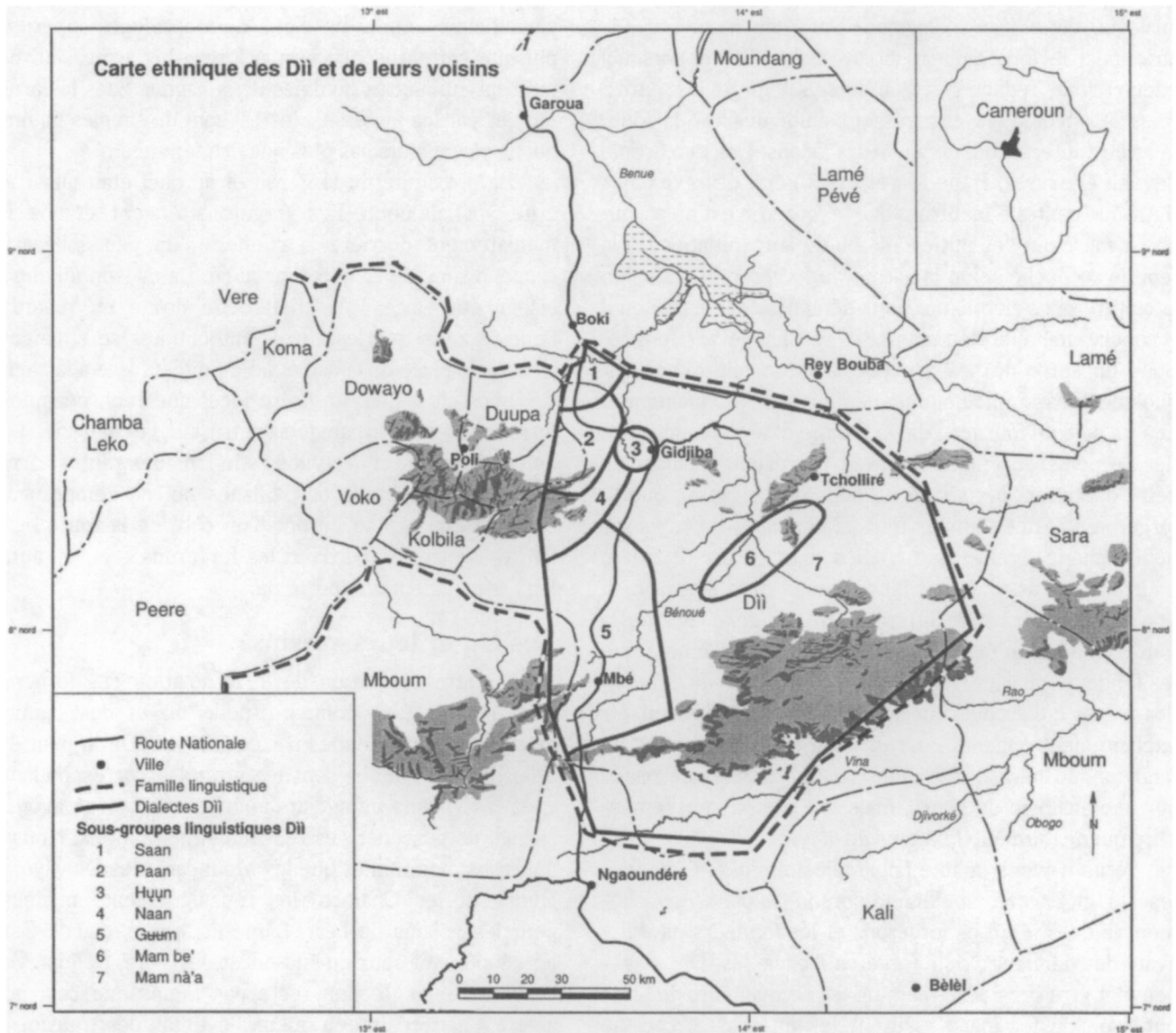
De plus, quelques rares Dìì les brancardent aussi en disant qu'ils sont des femmes parce qu'ils n'allaient jamais à la guerre. Ce statut de femme métaphorique est le sujet de débats casuistiques – comme le fait d'être tombés du ciel – que ne renieraient ni les théologiens médiévaux ni nos classes de rhétorique. Nous avons mentionné que le gardien du chef est sa première épouse métaphorique parce qu'il reçoit toutes ses confidences; il en sait plus que la vraie première femme et régente les autres femmes du chef en cas de disputes intestines. Mais les Dìì voient plusieurs modalités d'être femme. Dans ce cas, on dit qu'il est la première femme du chef – ou comme la première femme – tant qu'il est dans le bâtiment de la chefferie mais

qu'il redevient un homme dès qu'il en sort. Il n'y a donc rien de réellement féminin dans cette comparaison. Les tenants de cette théorie rejettent aussi l'opinion de ceux qui assimilent tous les forgerons aux femmes parce qu'ils n'allaient pas à la guerre : il n'y a qu'un forgeron femme, le gardien du chef, et encore seulement lorsqu'il est auprès de lui et ceci n'a rien à voir avec le statut féminin assigné aux forgerons qui ne faisaient pas la guerre car cette absence au combat était due au fait qu'ils forgeaient les armes qui permettaient aux autres hommes de le gagner, leur conférant par là un statut masculin complet et, soutiennent certains Dìì, plus important et relevé que celui des simples utilisateurs de ces armes.

Ces métaphores assimilant les forgerons aux femmes selon le genre (*gender*) le sont pour d'autres raisons que celles qui les placent avec le sexe féminin en suivant une analogie, cette fois, biologique. Dans plusieurs sociétés africaines, le forgeron est dit accoucher du fer lorsqu'il effectue une réduction et/ou lorsqu'il forge les outils. Mais là encore, les choses sont ambigües car la fonte peut être interprétée de plusieurs façons. Dans un article devenu classique, P. de Maret (1980) cite des exemples d'Afrique centrale montrant que le forgeron est un accoucheur masculin des initiés à la fin de leur initiation. Si la femme accouche selon la nature, le forgeron le fait selon la culture mais rien ici ne nous démontre que parce qu'il accouche métaphoriquement, il se change en femme. Sous un autre de ses aspects, la fonte elle-même est quelquefois assimilée simultanément à un accouchement et à un coït : le fourneau est la femme et le tuyau du soufflet un pénis; le minerais extrait représente l'enfant de cette opération. Mais rien ne nous dit, ici aussi, que le forgeron soit une femme : tout au plus peut-on supposer qu'il conjoint éventuellement les deux sexes. Il existe pourtant un cas vraiment bien attesté où le forgeron, si l'on peut dire, change littéralement de sexe lors de la fonte : Y. Monino (1983 : 305-307) dit expressément que les fondeurs gbaya – voisins des Dìì au sud – deviennent des mères qui accouchent du fer lors de la réduction, fer explicitement engendré par un père qui est l'esprit d'un fondeur décédé. Ce n'est plus ici une métaphore basée sur une analogie de genre, mais une métonymie temporaire qui ne dure que le temps de la fonte.

Nous n'avons qu'une faible allusion de ce type chez les Dìì et encore, seulement lorsqu'on pose explicitement la question. Les forgerons et les fondeurs dìì – il y avait des fondeurs non forgerons chez les Dìì saan – peuvent être considérés comme les accoucheurs de leurs outils ou du fer mais, assurent les intéressés, ceci ne veut strictement rien dire car les potières aussi – et elles confirment également en riant – accouchent non seulement de leurs enfants mais aussi de leurs pots. Il n'y a là rien de plus que des jeux de mots... Ceci est encore plus évident lorsqu'on découvre que les termes «engendrer» et «accoucher» ont souvent le même sens. Engendrer, se dit haa aussi bien pour les hommes que pour les femmes alors qu'accoucher ou enfanter, koo, s'applique normalement aux femmes mais on emploie souvent les deux termes l'un pour l'autre, et ce pour les deux sexes. Chez les Dìì, la métaphore biologique est plutôt un sujet de plaisanterie lorsque l'ethnologue l'évoque[6]. Il ne reste plus que la métaphore de genre que les Dìì soumettent soit au traitement restrictif du seul chef des forgerons – comme épouse du chef – , et encore uniquement

lorsqu'il est dans la chefferie, ou à celui de l'étendre à toutes les femmes, mais par un trait analogue différent du premier – ne pas aller à la guerre – interprété aussi par ailleurs comme un signe de masculinité supérieure puisque cette absence sert à forger les armes qui permettent aux autres hommes de la gagner. Sans les armes forgées par les forgerons, les Dìì sont de simples hommes qui ne valent alors pas plus que des femmes[7].

La proximité du forgeron et du chef était aussi inscrite spatialement. Les forgerons étaient établis immédiatement derrière la chefferie, un peu à l'écart à cause, dit-on, du risque d'incendie. La maison du circonciseur était face à la chefferie à droite en regardant l'entrée alors que les autres autochtones se situaient à gauche, la place de danse étant au milieu, face à la chefferie, mais c'est plus un ordre idéel que réel, néanmoins formant un tout organique centré sur la chefferie. Lors de l'établissement des villages le long des routes carrossables, les forgerons des villages qui en comprenaient encore beaucoup se mirent d'un côté de la route et les Dìì de l'autre. Aujourd'hui les forgerons – et les autres Dìì – s'installent n'importe où.

Les Dìì et leurs voisins

Après cette exposition de le la position des forgerons dans la structure politico-rituelle dìì et des opinions divergentes entretenues par ces mêmes Dìì, il peut être utile de voir quelles sont les attitudes correspondantes chez les voisins immédiats pour lesquels nous avons la chance de posséder des renseignements utiles. Nous ne pourrons mentionner que les Moundang, les Dowayo, les Duupa et les Chamba, les renseignements manquant pour les voisins de l'est, Lamé et Mbéré, ceux du sud, les Mboum, et ceux du sud-ouest, les Péré, Kolbila, Voko et Vere/Koma. Il n'en reste pas moins que ceci nous aidera à cerner un peu mieux l'éventail des transformations – ou des variations – entre les diverses positions des forgerons dans ces populations voisines.

Chez les Moundang, situés à l'extrême nord-est des Dìì, les forgerons sont traités à l'égal des chefs, jouissant du même prestige (Adler, 1982 : 126-131). Les forgerons ne sont pas castés; leurs clans originaux viennent du sud du territoire moundang et ont joué un rôle important dans la protection des Moundang lors des guerres contre les Peuls au XIXe siècle. Le forgeron n'est pas le maître de la circoncision; celui-ci provient d'un clan dìì de l'extrême nord du territoire antérieurement dìì, qui introduisit à la fois le couteau métallique et les masques chez les Moundang, alors que ceux-ci pratiquaient déjà la circoncision mais avec des éclats tranchants de tige de mil. Il est, en somme, le pendant dìì du circonciseur.

Si l'on se tourne maintenant vers les Duupa, à l'extrême nord-ouest des Dìì, on remarque que les forgerons – et les potières – forment aussi, comme chez les Dìì, une caste endogame. Ils peuvent être circonciseurs, comme d'autres agriculteurs dont ils étaient les clients. Ils n'ont aucun rôle comme fossoyeurs (Garine, 1995 : 10-11). Ils semblent être venus d'ailleurs, sans qu'on sache bien d'où, et leur spécialisation comme circonciseur n'est pas totale, des agriculteurs étant aussi responsable de ce travail, bien qu'il semble que les forgerons seraient peut-être les introducteurs de la circoncision chez les Duupa.

Au nord-ouest, un peu plus au sud des Duupa, les Dowayo qui jouxtent les Dìì au sud-est de Poli ont, comme eux, des forgerons castés endogames, vus comme une ethnie différente et dont les femmes sont également potières (Barley, 1983 : passim et 123 pour un utile index). Ils vivent un peu à l'écart des «vrais» Dowayo; ils ne peuvent normalement ni partager leur nourriture ni leur boisson avec eux, pas plus qu'avoir de relations sexuelles. Les forgerons ne peuvent entrer dans la maison d'un homme ou d'une femme dowayo. Ils sont les clients d'hommes riches qui leur payent leurs dots et, même s'ils sont dits riches, ils sont «sales.» Alors que leurs femmes, outre le travail de la poterie, sont des sages-femmes et accoucheuses, le forgeron est fossoyeur. Comme le dit joliment Barley, l'une introduit les Dowayo au monde alors que son mari à pour tâche de les en faire sortir. De plus ils sont enterrés séparément. Le forgeron est associé à la mort et aux excréments. Les relations d'évitement sont encore plus fortes entre un forgeron et un faiseur de pluie; le premier ne doit en aucun cas se rendre dans un village ou réside un des seconds sous peine de le faire mourir et celui-là, s'il se rend près d'une potière entreprenant une fournée, fera éclater les pots en cours de cuisson. Tout se passe comme si les Dowayo ordinaires étaient un moyen terme entre deux pôles opposés et antithétiques, le forgeron et le chef de pluie (Barley, 1983 : 14-15).

Un peu plus au nord-est se trouvent les Chamba qui, eux-aussi, ont des relations ambigües avec les forgerons. Ils sont castés et leurs femmes sont potières. Ils ne peuvent vivre parmi les Chamba, ne peuvent les épouser ni participer aux cultes des uns et des autres, ni manger ensemble. Les forgerons sont, à première vue, l'antithèse du chef Chamba. Ils sont supposés venir d'ailleurs – de chez les Vere voisins dans la région qui nous concerne – et investis de valeurs négatives : saleté, mort et sorcellerie opposées à celles du chef. Mais ces attitudes négatives sont contrebalancées par d'autres, plus positives. Certaines de celles-ci le créditent de l'introduction

du feu et de la poterie pour cuire les aliments, la manière exacte de copuler pour faire des enfants, l'accouchement naturel[8], les outils de fer, les façons d'enterrer les morts et de faire des portes aux maisons[9]. D'autres valeurs l'associent au chef : les forgerons sont nécessaires à plusieurs rites annuels de la chefferie. Ils sont les tambourineurs des doubles cloches et des tambours royaux. Comme le chef et les sous-chefs, le chef des forgerons porte un des insignes royaux et il est salué comme un chef. Lors du rituel royal de Yeli, le chef et le forgeron s'assoient ensemble sur une natte neuve tissée par le forgeron pour attendre le cortège revenant du cimetière (Fardon, 1988 : 225-234). Ce chef des forgerons est «like a shadow image of the chief» (Fardon, 1990 : 83); il est choisi dans un patriclan alors que le chef provient d'un matriclan. Le chef représente les qualités chamba essentielles et intrinsèques tandis que le forgeron est censé venir d'ailleurs, même si c'est un héros culturel majeur. Le chef doit être sérieusement protégé contre la pollution alors que le forgeron est pollué de manière permanente.

Cette petite excursion en terres voisines montre plusieurs choses : les Dìì paan, saan et naan, à l'extrême nord-ouest du territoire, expliquent l'origine de leurs forgerons exactement comme le font aujourd'hui les Dowayo qui les jouxtent : ils disent les avoir acquis en payant le prix de la fiancée d'un forgeron que le village s'attache ainsi, comme les «big men» Dowayo se les subordonnent. Ceci confirme encore que ces Dìì sont plus récemment descendus des montagnes pour joindre le gros des autres Dìì. Les Dìì guum conjoignent les fonctions de forgeron et circonciseur, ce que font partiellement les Duupa voisins des paan, des saan et des naan sans qu'on puise dire, cependant, qui a influencé l'autre. Alors que les forgerons dìì des groupes mam be', mam nà'a, hųųn et guum disent qu'ils sont tombés du ciel – avec quelquefois les autres Dìì – près des Dìì, ceci soit avant eux soit après, les forgerons duupa sont censés être venus d'ailleurs. Ces trois populations, Dìì, Duupa et Dowayo ont des forgerons castés mais si les forgerons duupa sont censés venir d'ailleurs, rien n'est dit d'une origine géographique extérieure tant chez les Dìì que chez les Dowayo. Comme Duupa et Dowayo n'ont pas de chefs politiques, il ne saurait y avoir ici de comparaison mais il existe tout de même une opposition cardinale entre forgeron/potière et chef de pluie chez les Dowayo.

Les forgerons chamba sont aussi censés être venus d'ailleurs mais, même si ce sont des héros culturels majeurs, ils sont en quelque sorte des inverses du chef matrilinéaire. Bien que le chef des forgerons soit une figure positive, les autres forgerons sont polluants et les explications des interdictions de manger après un forge-

ron rappellent celles des Dowayo, celles d'éviter la pollution. Les forgerons chamba sont aussi soupçonnés d'avoir des liens avec la sorcellerie. Ceci fait contrepoint avec la position des forgerons chez les Dìì qui est plus positive. Le chef des forgerons est étroitement associé à la chefferie, à tel point qu'on le place très haut dans la hiérarchie, les prohibitions de manger et de boire après un forgeron s'expliquant de manière tout à fait différente de ce qu'on a l'habitude de trouver dans les sociétés africaines, et aussi dans les sociétés voisines. Ce n'est pas la crainte de la pollution qui les motive mais le fait qu'en mangeant ou buvant après le forgeron, on lui reprendrait ce qu'on lui avait donné, la nourriture ou la bière qui vient des grains cédés en échange de ses services artisanaux. Aucune connotation avec la sorcellerie ne s'y trouve et les forgerons connus et réputés peuvent informellement être crédités – comme d'autres hommes de même réputation – d'être justement des anti-sorciers, kpìn, qui protègent le chef par leurs pouvoirs occultes. L'ambivalence est ici plutôt du côté positif.

Elle continue sur cette lancée chez les Moundang au nord-est des Dìì où les clans forgerons, autochtones ici et provenant du sud, sont non castés et forment des clans salués comme les chefs. Ce sont, dans ce cas, des Dìì non forgerons qui ont apporté les masques et les couteaux de la circoncision.

On trouve ici, ordonnées, presque toutes les possibilités qui accompagnent les relations entre forgerons et population hôte, forgerons et chefs qui vont d'un chef forgeron – comme c'est le cas célèbre des Bakongo – à un forgeron méprisé. Cet éventail nous rappelle les hypothèses de Lévi-Strauss (1961 : 49-52), reprises ensuite par de Heusch (1963) sur les ambivalences entretenues par la société envers les spécialistes, comme les forgerons, et les physiciens atomistes actuels qui sont soit honnis soit adulés. Ces êtres hybrides incitent les autres membres de la société à les voir soit comme des héros culturels – allant jusqu'à les faire rois, ainsi qu'il en va chez les Baguirmiens relativement voisins au nord-ouest (Pâques, 1967) soit comme des porteurs de désordre potentiel qu'il faut contenir et rabaisser. Dans le premier cas, il est vu comme un facteur de progrès de par ses nouveaux outils et ses nouvelles armes et il est alors placé très haut. Dans le second, au contraire, il est perçu comme un élément potentiellement perturbateur, ses inventions, comme les armes de métal plus efficaces, pouvant servir à anéantir la société qui l'abrite.

On aurait ainsi des sociétés traditionnelles à tendances «modernistes» qui approuvent le progrès en se mettant du côté de son promoteur principal, allant jusqu'à le faire roi. Elles soutiendraient ce virage techno-logique en magnifiant les novateurs alors que d'autres sociétés, plus «réactionnaires» celles-là, se préoccuperaient davantage de contenir d'éventuels dérapages technologiques futurs, tout en admettant, avec réserve et restrictions, ces porteurs du progrès technique, le mélange des facteurs positifs et négatifs oscillant de manière variable dans chacune des sociétés que nous venons de voir, ainsi que dans celles situées plus au nord (Seignobos, 1991a), ceci de manière ordonnée pour préserver, ou créer, des différences entre elles à l'intérieur de ces deux pôles extrêmes.

Notes

1 Le travail de terrain dont est tirée cette contribution s'est étendu, au cours de plusieurs séjours, sur deux ans. Rapidement entrepris par une étude exploratoire financée par le fonds CAFIR de l'Université de Montréal en été 1990, il fut poursuivi de septembre 1991 à mi-janvier 1992, durant les étés de 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995 et 1996 grâce à une subvention du CRSHC (Canada), pendant l'été 1998 et le printemps 1999, stipendiés par une subvention de l'Université de Montréal et le fonds FCAR (Province du Québec). Les deux premiers séjours furent grandement aidés matériellement par le regretté Institut des Sciences Humaines de Garoua dont le directeur à l'époque, l'éminent historien Eldridge Mohammadou, m'avait suggéré les Dìì comme un terrain de recherche prometteur. Les six derniers séjours ont bénéficié de l'aide technique et secrétariale du Projet Ngaoundéré-Anthropos, financé conjointement par les Universités de Ngaoundéré (Cameroun) et Tromsø (Norvège) que je remercie ainsi que mes assistants de toujours, MM. Adamou Galdima et Oussoumanou Babbawa. Je remercie aussi la Mission Évangélique Luthérienne du Cameroun à Ngaoundéré et Mbé, particulièrement les linguistes Lee Bohnhoff, Kadia Mathieu et Lars Lode. Cet article est plus spécialement dédié à la mémoire de M. Salmala (décédé en 1998), dit «le forgeron de Ngɛsɛg», Naŋ ŋgɛsɛg, qui, bien qu'originaire d'une autre chefferie était, par ses talents et ses connaissances ainsi qu'à cause de l'émigration des «vrais» forgerons originels «sortis» avec Mbé, le chef des forgerons de cette chefferie.

2 Dans les années cinquante, le village de Ngaouyanga avait encore cinq hauts-fourneaux et quinze forges en activité employant quarante forgerons. Les villages de Nabun, de Gandi et de Man étaient les principaux producteurs de fer; les forgerons étaient exemptés des corvées imposées par Rey-Bouba. Le village de Gandi était auparavant sur les contreforts du Plateau mais Rey-Bouba le déplaça pour avoir les forgerons plus près de lui. Quelques forgerons dìì, au contact de forgerons haoussa établis chez le chef peul de Rey-Bouba, ont appris au siècle dernier la fonte à la cire perdue. Cet art a aujourd'hui disparu, plus aucun forgeron dìì ne le pratiquant bien que plusieurs puissent encore en décrire les techniques.

3 En ce qui concerne l'introduction réelle de la forge chez les Dìì, il faut pour le moment se borner aux indications de Seignobos (1991 : 121) qui remarque que le terme «pince» dans plusieurs populations situées au nord des Dìì est dérivé de

son nom arabe, magas, comme le semble celui utilisé par les Dìì, 'mạgan, réminiscent des noms de même racine utilisés par ces populations emprunteuses du terme arabe.

4 La forge précède ici la poterie alors qu'il en va du contraire plus au nord, chez les peuples du nord et de l'ouest de Maroua qui avaient des tessons de poterie comme outils agricoles avant de rencontrer des forgerons migrants (Seignobos, 1991 : 64 ; 178 et passim).

5 Le nombre des forgerons a drastiquement diminué en territoire dìì depuis la disparition de la fonte. Plusieurs se sont établis au sud, chez les Mboum et les Gbaya où ils ont fait souche. Nombre d'entre eux n'exercent plus que partiellement la métallurgie, consacrant le reste de leur temps à l'agriculture, leurs épouses demeurant potières. Le nombre de ces dernières ne semble pas avoir diminué et certaines femmes de clans non forgerons ont augmenté leurs revenus en devenant potières. Pour plus de renseignements techniques et esthétiques sur – entre autres – la poterie dìì, voir Wallaert (1998 : passim) et (2001 : passim).

6 Elle est spontanément citée pour les potières des Chamba voisins qui font métaphoriquement des enfants en cuisant leurs pots mais, comme elles en font beaucoup, on en infère une sexualité débridée (Fardon, 1990 : 83).

7 Ces discussions dìì et ce qui précède sur les analogies entre forgerons, fondeurs et femmes nous font prendre avec un grain de sel les hypothèses généralisantes de Sterner et David (1991). Le genre est discuté et manipulé chez les Dìì de façon multivoque et contradictoire. Il n'en reste pas moins vrai que l'introduction du genre comme élément essentiel à prendre en compte dans l'analyse des représentations variées et quelquefois antithétiques que les populations concernées se font des forgerons et des potières reste incontournable, comme le montre bien l'exemple dìì et de nombreuses citations des deux auteurs ci-dessus.

8 Fardon (1988 : 230-231) cite une histoire recueillie par Frobenius qui raconte qu'après s'être mise a copuler correctement selon les préceptes du forgeron, une femme tomba enceinte. Les hommes lui ouvrirent le ventre, tuant ainsi la mère et l'enfant. Le forgeron les instruisit sur la vraie manière de procéder pour un accouchement réussi. La césarienne originelle chamba fait écho à celle des Birom (Davies, 1949 : 154) du Plateau de Jos qui ignoraient l'accouchement naturel, avec pour résultat la mort de bon nombre de femmes et d'enfants jusqu'à ce qu'une femme enceinte, voyant en brousse une antilope naine accoucher naturellement, décide de se cacher aux alentours du village et d'attendre. Son retour avec un bébé vivant fit cesser la césarienne.

9 Cette histoire des maisons sans portes est rapportée dans le cas d'un village dìì, Yan, dont les habitants ignoraient les portes, se mettant à l'ombre sous la paille qui débordait du toit. Lorsqu'il pleuvait et ventait, ils tournaient autour de la maison pour échapper aux rafales. Ce comportement de fou, yạŋ, légèrement modifié pour ne pas les vexer, donna son nom au village, dont les habitants eux-mêmes racontent aussi cette histoire. Lors d'une de leurs circoncisions, des invités du village de Mbow se moquèrent d'eux et leur montrèrent comment faire des portes.

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Re-Creation in Canadian First Nations Literatures: "When You Sing It Now, Just Like New"

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Abstract: Canadian First Nations literatures include both traditional oral performative genres and written texts. This paper reviews First Nations poetics as represented in oratory, fictional literature, presentations to Canadian courts and the visual arts. It concludes that contemporary expressive forms recreate those embedded in oral tradition. The paper cites examples from both oral and written sources. It concludes that a First Nations narrative technology continues to energize contemporary literary and expressive genres.

Résumé: Les littératures canadiennes des Premières Nations comprennent à la fois des genres de performance orale et des textes écrits. Cet article passe en revue des oeuvres poétiques des Premières Nations, qu'elles appartiennent au domaine oratoire, à la littérature de fiction, aux plaidoyers devant les cours canadiennes ou aux arts visuels. Il conclut que les formes d'expression contemporaines recréent celles qui s'exprimaient dans la tradition orale. L'article donne des exemples tirés de la tradition orale et de sources écrites. Il conclut qu'une forme narrative des Premières Nations continue à nourrir les genres contemporains d'expression artistique.

Introduction

"When you sing it now, just like new," said Tommy Attachie of Dane-zaa songs and stories. It was the summer of 1998 and Tommy and I were cataloguing material for a CD of songs and oratory by the Dreamer Charlie Yahey. Tommy is a Dane-zaa elder and song-keeper. He told me that:

> All these songs, how many years ago.
> Makenunatane yine [songs of the dreamer, Makenunatane],
> and Aledze, Maketchueson, Nachan [names of other dreamers].
> How many years ago. Old prophet.
> When you sing it now, just like new.

Each rendition of a song from the Dreamer's tradition evokes the stories of a particular Dreamer's life and teaching. When you sing the songs of the old prophets, the stories become "just like new." To use a distinction made by Dennis Tedlock (1991: 315), they are recreations rather than reproductions. Stories in Zuni oral narrative, he said (and then wrote), are interpretive performances:

> They exist only in the form of interpretations
> and it takes a multiplicity of voices to tell them.
> (Tedlock, 1991:338)

Like song, Dane-zaa oral narrative is a performance genre. In performance, Dane-zaa singers and storytellers recreate rather than reproduce material from their cultural tradition.

Stories from First Nations oral tradition are interpretive rather than canonical. They live in the communal space shared by storyteller and listener. They live when a knowledgeable storyteller gives them voice for a particular audience. They live in a succession of creations and re-creations. They live in the breath of their tellers.

Storytellers have kept their oral traditions alive by "singing them now," and by so doing, making them "just like new." Each telling is an interpretive re-creation rather than a recitation. Each telling realizes a shared creative authority.

Storytellers now cross the borders that separate oral and written literatures (Fee and Flick, 1999). Stories in both media contextualize information by reference to shared experience. Authors and readers of First Nations literature similarly participate in dialogue by sharing experience. Communicating by crossing between orality and literacy is Indian business. First Nations writers like Thomas King and Tomson Highway vigorously exercise a sort of intellectual corollary of the Jay treaty, easily transgressing the boundaries that separate orality and literacy while remaining at home within their own country.

In this paper I discuss how contemporary Canadian First Nations writers, orators and artists continue to re-create their narrative traditions using the wide variety of settings and media now available to them. I suggest that narrative traditions continue to be instrumental to First Nations adaptive technology. First Nations people communicate their understanding of the world in the languages of narrative, ceremony, visual representation, dialogue and oral tradition. I engage with First Nations literature in a variety of voices and media. Anthropologists have debated, nearly to the point of exhaustion, whether postmodern literary theory has anything to say to us, but have paid less attention to literature itself as ethnography. I suggest that we should be sharing theoretical as well as ethnographic authority with First Nations traditions by conversing with their narratives and narrators, rather than with the obfuscating and literarily barren language of postmodern theory (Ridington, 1999a).

First Nations Narrative Technology

First Nations literature is, I suggest, part of a long tradition of what I have elsewhere called "narrative technology" (Ridington, 1999b). Literature is more than a pastime in First Nations tradition. It is where stories become experience and experience gives rise to stories. In the pages that follow I present examples of First Nations oral and written literatures, some of which go beyond the conventional definitions of literature as intentionally written composition. As I suggest throughout the paper, a reading of First Nations literature must necessarily expand and transgress the boundaries that conventionally separate ethnography and literature.

Although all technology may be viewed as being knowledge-based, the techniques with which First Nations people have always related to one another and to their environment are particularly dependent on knowledge held by individuals. Knowledge passes from one person to another and from generation to generation through discourse and oral tradition. Both men and women in First Nations cultures maintain intimate physical and interpersonal relations with the animal people and personified natural features of their environment. Humans and animals are principal characters in stories that define their relations to one another. Their material world is also a storied world (Cruikshank, 1990; 1998). Communication within a matrix of social relations that includes relations with animal people is central to the forces of production in a traditional aboriginal economy. Communication within a circle of "all my relations" continues to sustain First Nations storytellers in an economy that includes pizza and microwave ovens and computers.

The stories of Okanagan elder Harry Robinson, as told to and transcribed by Wendy Wickwire, demonstrate the range of experiences and narratives possible within an oral tradition. Robinson's work is particularly important because it does not rely on translation at the level of the text. That is, he integrates translation and performance by telling his stories in English. In one story, Robinson describes the vision quest among his people as a form of discourse between people, animals and what we would call inanimate objects:

> You got to have power. You got to, the kids, you know. They got to meet the animal, you know, when they was little. Can be anytime till it's five years old to ten years old. He's supposed to meet animal or bird, or anything, you know. And this animal, whoever they meet, got to talk to 'em and tell 'em what they should do. Later on, not right away. And that is his power. (Robinson, 1992: 10)

One of the stories in Robinson's *Nature Power* illustrates his point. It tells about hunters taking a boy to an avalanche-strewn gully to obtain power from a stump that had survived there for centuries. After the hunters left, the boy encountered a chipmunk living under the stump. The chipmunk spoke to him as a boy like him:

> You my friend.
> You boy, and I'm a boy.
> We both boy.
> So, it's better to be friends
>   instead of making fun out of me.
> Now, I'm going to tell you something.
> This stump—you think it's a stump—
>   but that's my grandfather.
> He's a very, very old man.

Old, old man.
He can talk to you.
He can tell you what you going to be.
When you get to be middle-aged or more. (Robinson, 1992: 29)

The boy then saw the stump as an old man, who tells him that his power will be to ward off bullets, just as the stump has resisted avalanche stones. The power becomes part of the boy's identity through the agency of a shared song:

And he started to sing.
He sing the song.
That old man.
And the chipmunk was a boy,
turn out to be a boy.
He sing the song.
The both of 'em talked to him.
And he sing the song.
The three of 'em sing the song
for a while. (Robinson, 1992: 30)

This story illustrates the dialogic nature of First Nations narrative technology. The boy obtains power through conversation and song. When he joins the old man and the chipmunk in singing the song, the old man's power becomes "just like new." Harry's stories are not limited to "traditional" experiences such as vision quest empowerment. In his version of the creation story, for instance, Harry describes how the creator instructs Chinese and whites as well as Indians by presenting them with written documents. He tells the Chinese person:

And this paper, you take this paper.
You have 'em in your hand.
Then I throw you.
Wherever you landed, that's yours.
Then you open up the paper
    and that'll tell you what you going to do
        from the time you landed in there
            till the end of the world.
It'll tell you what you going to do.
And you got to follow that.
That's in my thought.
I want 'em to be that way. (Robinson, 1989: 41)

Because his world includes writing and people from foreign lands, Harry's narrative includes, explains and connects them to Indian experience. Each story may be understood in its own right, but each story also contains reference to every other. First Nations narrators have always archived information about human and non-

human persons through multiply linked stories and shared experiences. Their system of information is analogous to the web of linked information available electronically on the world wide web (despite the obvious differences in means of accessing information), in that stories, motifs or characters are multiply linked to one another. Stories are stored in a way that resembles the distribution of visual information in a holographic image. Each part both connects to other parts and retains an image of the whole. Parts of stories are still stories. Stories remain meaningful even in small segments. Each story suggests every other story. Each one bears a metonymic relationship to an entire corpus. In the technology of storied experience, the events of a person's life suggest connections to the voices and actions of both human and non-human persons. Individual storied experience is a meaningful part of an entire storied world. When the experience of First Nations people includes a full range of contemporary situations, their narratives reflect these accordingly. It made perfect sense for Harry's narratives to include both power songs and written texts.

Because First Nations people have always brought their world into being through dialogue with each other, and with a variety of other human and non-human persons, their narrative traditions have entered the contemporary world through a variety of media. First Nations people continue to use the modes of discourse that are familiar to them, even as they take part in the affairs of nation states. They still converse with one another, and with outsiders, through the discourse of oral narrative, conversation and oratory. In addition to using these traditional media, they also speak and write about land claims cases, communicate as teachers, create visual art and write fiction, non-fiction and poetry. First Nations oral and written literatures enact modes of discourse based on shared experience and mutual understanding. First Nations literature now exists in and about a variety of contemporary contexts.

Narrative Tradition, Contemporary Media, and the Pizza Test

Oral tradition has it that in a case involving the demonstration of aboriginal rights by a First Nations group, lawyers for the Crown asked a plaintiff about what foods she ate: fish, moosemeat, berries, grease—"Yes." Then came the clincher. What about pizza? "Well, yes, I eat pizza sometimes." Voilà! The lawyer argued that she could no longer claim aboriginal rights because pizza is not an authentic aboriginal dish. This argument has

entered a folklore shared by participants in land claims issues as "the pizza test." The Canadian government applied the same principle with an even heavier hand when, for a time in the nineteenth century, it automatically removed Indian status from any aboriginal person who received a university degree, on the grounds that "educated" and "enfranchised" Indians were no longer real, i.e., primitive Indians.

More recently, British Columbia Supreme Court Chief Justice Allan McEachern wrote in his Delgamuukw decision (McEachern, 1991) that while the Gitksan and Witsuwit'en plaintiffs were aboriginally, "a primitive people without any form of writing, horses, or wheeled wagons," (25) "witness after witness admitted participation in the wage or cash economy" (56). For McEachern, such participation negated the plaintiffs' claims "for ownership and jurisdiction over the territory and for aboriginal rights in the territory" (297). In his eyes, the plaintiffs had failed the pizza test.

Mode of Thought—Mode of Discourse

The narrative traditions of First Nations people do not come to an end with the first taste of pizza. Instead, storytellers are quick to incorporate new experiences into their storied world. In my work with the Dane-zaa, I was initially puzzled by a story about choices made by the first people on earth that included a reference to cartridge belts (Ridington, 1999a: 178). When I asked the translator what word the narrator had used, she told me it was atu-ze, literally "belonging to arrows." Rather than fixing Dane-zaa identity by reference to discontinued items of material culture, the narrator and translator told the story with reference to contemporary experience. The story was about how people continue to use tools and a knowledge of the environment in making a living, not about defining Dane-zaa hunters as users of bows and arrows.

Aboriginal people who eat pizza (or those who have law degrees or teach in universities or write novels or practise in the visual or dramatic arts) remain authentically Indian. Pizza and writing do not forever remove them from what Walter Ong (1982: 78) called "pristine or primary orality." Rather than having had their consciousness restructured (Ong's term) by literacy, First Nations writers have used their orality to restructure the conventions of western literature. They continue to use aboriginal modes of discourse and narrative technologies as they negotiate relations within the larger society. They continue to live by the dialogue through which they negotiate relations with one another and with other persons in the world surrounding them.

Narrative Technology and the Law

Because the adaptive strategies of First Nations people continue to be embedded in dialogue, narrative and mutually shared experience, their literatures continue to serve contemporary members of First Nations communities. In addition to the continuing practice of narrative discourse within the confines of face-to-face communities, First Nations people participate in a number of performance genres through which they seek to negotiate relations with the nation-states within which they find themselves. Some of these have involved presenting themselves in courts of law. A classic case of representation and negotiation occurred in the aforementioned Delgamuukw case. Hereditary chiefs of the Gitksan and Witsuwit'en First Nations of northwestern British Columbia brought a court action against the provincial and federal governments to establish aboriginal title to their traditional lands. In his opening statement, Chief Delgamuukw told the court that:

> For us, the ownership of territory is a marriage of the Chief and the land. Each Chief has an ancestor who encountered and acknowledged the life of the land. From such encounters come power. The land, the plants, the animals and the people all have spirit - they must be shown respect. That is the basis of our law. (Gisda Wa and Delgam Uukw, 1989: 7)

The chiefs went on to explain that oral traditions (ada'ox for the Gitksan, kungax for the Witsuwit'en) are empowering stories that constitute title to traditional territories. The Witsuwit'en described their kungax as a "trail of song" that links "the land, the animals, the spirit world and the people" (Gisda Wa and Delgam Uukw 1989: 30). The testimony that Delgamuukw [the spelling now in most common usage] and other First Nations witnesses gave before the court was a challenge to the language and premises of western law. It asked the judge to consider the validity of alternative legal principles. In his trial judgment, Mr. Justice Allan McEachern limited his definition of aboriginal rights "to the use of the lands in the manner they say their ancestors used them" (McEachern, 1991: 15). He implied that contemporary First Nations experience is not authentically aboriginal.

The plaintiffs appealed McEachern's trial judgment, and the Supreme Court of Canada overturned his rulings on the validity of oral tradition. Before that happened, though, members of the plaintiff communities had an opportunity to express themselves in a conference organized to review the implications of the case. One of the participants was Witsuwit'en chief Wigetimstochol (Dan

Michel), who spoke in a way that embodied the genre conventions of First Nations oratory. He told conference participants of the lessons he teaches his grandchildren when he takes them out hunting:

> God created us to be what we are, an Indian. We belong to these lands. It would be like those animals—there's a horse and a cow, and it's impossible for a horse to try and be a cow. That's how it is if we're going to try and be a white man. We're not created to be a white man. (Cassidy, 1992: 62)

Michel went on to describe the importance of what his grandfather taught him about the land and its animals:

> I met up with the grizzly bear about six or seven years ago. It just came back to me what my grandfather said about this great animal. He said, "When he is coming at you, don't get nervous or excited. Just face him. He wouldn't run over you." I remembered that, and as soon as I remembered those words, I was so calm. I wasn't even nervous. I had my gun ready and trained on him. I let him come just as close as these first row of seats. That's when he stopped. (Cassidy, 1994: 64)

He followed this story with another about encountering a grizzly bear with some officials from the Department of Fisheries and Oceans.

> I said, "Have you ever seen a grizzly bear go fishing?" They said, "No." "Well, again, it was given to him by the Creator. That grizzly bear has got his right to go fishing the way he was supposed to do. Nobody tells him how to fish. If you see a grizzly bear out fishing, do you give the grizzly bear a permit to go fishing?" They said, "No." "So therefore you don't need to give me a permit. I go fishing when I need to go fishing." (Cassidy, 1994: 65)

Dan Michel's story applied the teaching of his grandfather to his relations with government officials. The story uses metaphor to demonstrate that his relationship with the grizzly stands for the overall relationship of his people to their ancestral lands. His story articulated fundamental principles of Witsuwit'en law. Fisheries officers are not part of aboriginal Witsuwit'en culture. They are new, but unlike pizza and cartridge belts, they threaten to override that culture rather than enhance it. In his narrative, Chief Wigetimstochol applied traditional law to a contemporary situation. The Witsuwit'en identify their law as yinkadinii'ha ba aten, "the ways of the people on the surface of the earth" or as deni biits wa aden, "the way the feast works" (Mills, 1994: 141). According to Mills, "The principles of Witsuwit'en law

define both how the people own and use the surface of the earth when they are dispersed on the territories and how they govern themselves and settle disputes when they are gathered together in the feast" (1994: 141). She quotes Chief Samooh (Moses David) as saying:

> Kus (eagle down) is like a peace bond. This is the way our law was passed on by our forefathers and grandfathers. This is the way we should be living today, each one of us, instead of following the White man's law. (Mills, 1994: 141)

Chief Wigetimstochol's beautifully crafted oral performance used a traditional narrative form to apply the law Chief Samooh described to a very contemporary situation. Rather than being obsolete and archaic, Gitksan and Witsuwit'en narrative technologies continue to provide an appropriate means of dealing with current legal and political disputes. Their literatures continue to enact relations of power.

Narrative Technology, Pizza and Contemporary Performance Genres

First Nations oral narratives are dialogic and in their genre conventions and therefore novelistic. They use metaphors that relate to shared experience and mutual understanding. They often include dialogue embedded within a third person's narrative. Sometimes they even become theatrical when the narrator forsakes his or her own voice to present dialogic quotes in the voices of other characters. Episodic interrelated vignettes performed by a knowledgeable narrator are typical of First Nations oral literatures. Each story builds upon every other in a network of interconnection. Each telling of a particular episode allows the listener to recreate it and the entirety of which it is a part. He or she puts the pieces together in a way that is similar to the process by which the reader of a written text becomes an author of his or her particular reading. The story has its being as a conversation between narrator and listener. As Tommy Attachie told me, "When you sing it now, just like new."

According to Bakhtin, the novel is a living form of expression. He writes, "Life by its very nature is dialogic. To live means to participate in dialogue" (1984: 293). The act of reading brings a written text into the conversation of a person's life. It is not surprising that a number of First Nations writers have chosen to express themselves in the dialogic genres of novels, short stories, poetry, and drama. Like works in the oral tradition, First Nations written literatures are full of references to mutually shared experiences that enable the reader-lis-

tener to be comfortable as critic, interpreter and even author. These literatures make sense because of their dialogic relationship to the lives and experiences of their listeners and readers. "When you sing it now, just like new."

In her recent thesis on "Storied Voices in First Nations Texts," Blanca Chester argues that First Nations writers give new and revitalized tellings of old stories by adapting familiar narrative strategies to new situations. "Every act of representation," she writes, "also tells us another version of an old story, the interpretation itself becoming a part of the narrative in its new context" (Chester, 1999a: 232). In contrast to Walter Ong, who argues a sort of literary version of the pizza test (writing restructures consciousness and obliterates pristine orality) Chester suggests that First Nations writers "construct dialogic interactions between readers and written texts that resemble the interactions between storytellers and audiences." Thus, she writes, "The reader is part of the story of each novel; the story is an old story" (238).

Thomas King's *Green Grass, Running Water* is particularly close to the genre conventions of First Nations oral literature in its use of voice and dialogue. It tells old stories in new settings. It tells stories from the western tradition as part of First Nations literature. King gives full credit for the voice he uses in his novel to Harry Robinson (Gzowski, 1993). His work presents a strong case against the pizza test of aboriginal authenticity. King himself is of Greek and Cherokee descent, and his work is informed as well by the time he spent listening to Indian stories when he was director of the First Nations Studies department at the University of Lethbridge. The novel is, among other things, King's reading of North American literature, literary theory, First Nations history, and popular culture through the images and genre conventions of American Indian oral tradition. King's characters include Blackfeet university professors and four old Indians named The Lone Ranger, Ishmael, Robinson Crusoe and Hawkeye who turn out, the reader discovers, to be First Woman, Changing Woman, Thought Woman and Old Woman in disguise. Written as a collage of episodes in which each story contains something of every other story, the novel is held together by the narrative voice of Coyote acting as contrary, trickster and even God.

In a paper called "Theorizing Coyote's Cannon: Sharing Stories with Thomas King," I suggested that, "If academic theorizing is usually a product of argument and monologue, First Nations theorizing would have to be the product of conversation and dialogue" (1999a: 19). King uses the novel to demolish literary critic Northrop

Frye's monologic and Euro-centric structural theory. Dr. J. Hovaugh, "whom King models on Northrop Frye" (Chester, 1999b: 49), is the head doctor in a mental institution for old Indians. First Nations theorizing, I wrote, "sounds different from that of non-Native Americanists. Its vocabulary and genre conventions are those of oral narrative, ceremony and visual representation" (1999a: 22). When the name is spoken out loud, King's J. Hovaugh transforms into Jehovah. King portrays Frye, who described the Bible as The Great Code, as playing God. His reliance on monologic authority prevents him from entering into conversation with First Nations reality. In contrast to Frye's image of Canadian identity as a "garrison mentality," with hostile and incomprehensible savages lurking in the wilderness, King and other First Nations writers centre their narratives in a richly storied homeland where new experiences (like pizza) simply create new stories.

One of the characters in King's latest novel, *Truth and Bright Water*, is a "big time Indian artist" named Monroe Swimmer. The name itself refers to King's Cherokee heritage and, more subtly, to his assertion that Indians can own both orality and literacy. Swimmer was a Cherokee healer who in 1887 showed anthropologist James Mooney a book of sacred formulas written in the syllabary devised by Sequoyah (also known as George Guess) in 1821. Swimmer told Mooney that performing the sacred formulas made it possible for desired events to take place in the physical world. Hunters, he said, paid as much as $5 for a single song, "because you can't kill any bears or deer unless you sing them" (Mooney, 1891: 311).

United States President James Monroe was the author of a policy of removing Indians to "Indian Territory" west of the Mississippi. Cherokees were particularly hard hit by the removal and refer to their experience as "the trail of tears." In *Truth and Bright Water*, Cherokees from Georgia arrive at a Blackfeet reservation during "Indian Days." They are still on their way to Oklahoma ("the long way around"), and stay at the Happy Trails Trailer Park. The name is, of course, an inversion of the "Trail of Tears." The visitors include George Guess, John Ross and Rebecca Neugin, all of whom are real characters in the history of Cherokee removal (King, 1999: 102).

In King's novel, Monroe Swimmer the artist activates the stories of both his names to reverse the painful history of Cherokee removal from their homeland. He returns to Truth and Bright Water, buys an old church, and proceeds to paint it into the landscape, starting with the east-facing wall. Like the images used in the Paiute prophet Wovoka's Ghost Dance (also documented by

James Mooney), Swimmer's painting literally removes the colonial past from the perceptual environment. Also like Wovoka, Swimmer places images of buffalo back on the land, where they come alive and begin to move out onto the prairie. Monroe Swimmer is a "big Indian artist" and a trickster, who reverses the history of Indian removals. By a clever shift of syntax, Swimmer transforms Indians from the subject of removals into agents of their own re-creation. As Wovoka prophesied, the church of the whitemen does disappear. The buffalo do return. In King's novels, Indians recover their history. They remember Monroe and Swimmer. They remember the buffalo who died and the skulls of children sequestered in museums. They remember and, through narrative, they restore these physical remains as cultural and physical presence.

Swimmer is also an agent of repatriation. He recovers the bones of Indians held in museums and returns them to a river called "the Shield." In Plains Indian tradition, shields are painted with medicine signs that realize the owner's empowering visionary experiences. Swimmer knows the efficacy of sacred formulas. He knows that Truth and Bright Water are a single country; Indian country. He would agree with Tommy Attachie that, "When you sing it now, just like new." Once again, King tells an old story in a new setting.

There's lots more going on in *Truth and Bright Water*. The book is narrated in the present tense by a 15-year-old boy whose name turns out to be Tecumseh, thus referencing another history of Indian removal and resistance. The narrator's cousin is a runner who represents the Apache war shaman, Geronimo. The names of Truth and Bright Water resonate with the town of Truth or Consequences, New Mexico, formerly known as Geronimo Springs before it was appropriated by a television game show. Other resonances include a brave dog named Soldier who plays the role of Plains Indian Dog Soldier, pledged to defend all his relations to the death. There are "the Cousins," half-wild dogs originally brought by missionaries "to keep the Indians in line" (38), who watch over events like a Greek chorus as the drama unfolds. The book abounds with references to King's friends and colleagues. These are literally "all my relations," the phrase that contemporary Plains Indians use to enter or exit ceremonial spaces, and also the title of a collection King edited.

King currently writes and performs with two Cree actors in a weekly 15-minute radio show on the CBC radio network, ironically called "The Dead Dog Cafe Comedy Hour." Like his novels, the show uses a contemporary comedic medium to convey serious messages about the enduring qualities of aboriginal experience and narrative tradition. It offers biting social commentary from a First Nations perspective. King has also produced a series of ironic portraits of First Nations artists wearing Lone Ranger masks. In King's version of the Lone Ranger story, the "masked man" is masked in order to conceal that he is actually an Indian (King, 2000). The truth of a story, King says, lies in its pattern of relationships rather than in the events of a particular telling. In a paper entitled "How I Spent My Summer Vacation," King presents multiple versions of a story he may or may not have heard from a woman named Bella at the Blackfeet Sun Dance. His narrative is an example of the recursive epistemology he describes, in that the story is itself a retelling of Canadian author W.O. Mitchell's classic novella, *Summer Vacation*, whose narrator tells the same story in multiple versions. In King's version of the Mitchell/Bella story, he comments that academic historians,

> like our history to be authentic. We like our facts to be truthful. We are suspicious of ambiguity, uneasy with metaphor. We are not concerned with essential relationships. We want cultural guarantees, solid currencies that we can take to the bank. (King, 1998: 248)

Bella, by contrast, "believes that history and story are the same. She sees no boundaries, no borders, between what she knows and what she can imagine. Everything is story, and all the stories are true" (King, 250). Bella's view reflects that of the reader/author in the following exchange between Coyote and the authorial "I," in *Green Grass, Running Water*:

> "I got back as soon as I could," says Coyote. "I was busy being a hero."
> That's unlikely," I says.
> "No, no," says Coyote. "It's the truth."
> "There are no truths, Coyote," I says. "Only stories."
> "Okay," says Coyote, "Tell me a story." (King, 1993: 326)

The truth is in the story, as well as in its parts and particulars, which are also stories. Transformations are possible and indeed necessary. George Guess, who "reads books," (King, 1999: 102) shows up at the Happy Trails Trailer Park. Archetypal creation goddesses become four old Indians with names from English literature. Atu-ze become cartridge belts. Ownership of territory becomes a marriage of the chief and the land. Witsuwit'en law defines how the people own and use the surface of the earth. Indians become professors of English literature. Indians eat pizza and put on a radio

show from the Dead Dog Cafe. Indian writers continue to work within an oral tradition.

Humour and irony are highly developed in the work of contemporary Canadian First Nations visual artists, such as Carl Beam, Bill Powless, Gerald McMaster, Shelly Niro, Lawrence Paul and Jane Ash Poitras. Some of their work is textual as well as visual. It embodies what Allan J. Ryan, quoting Carl Beam, calls "the trickster shift" (Ryan, 1999). A typical work is McMaster's ironic painting entitled, "Shaman explaining the theory of transformation to cowboys." The image is of four impressionistic cowboys in silhouette facing an abstract horned skull. The title, written across the bottom of the painting, sets the viewer's mind in motion as much as the image itself. Indian theory is embedded in narrative performance. Like King, McMaster plays transformative games with the popular stereotype of cowboys and Indians. He says of this painting:

> What I did there was to show the incongruity. The life of a cowboy is generally quite profane. Cowboys sit around the campfire and sing songs. The notion of intellectual conversation and bantering isn't really there. It's fairly simple. On the other hand, scholars and Native peoples and so many others have tried to understand what a shaman is and nobody can. We get an idea of what he does and who he is. It's so complex a field—to begin to understand what a Native person is as represented by the shaman. (Ryan, 1999: 33)

A passionate and articulate proponent of First Nations discourse is Jeannette C. Armstrong, a novelist, poet and director of the En'owkin International School of Writing in Penticton, British Columbia. As a native speaker of her Okanagan language, Armstrong has tried to achieve an English prose form that does justice to the thought patterns and imagery inherent in Okanagan. "Times, places, and things," she writes, "are all made into movement, surrounding you and connected to you like the waves of a liquid stretching outward" (Armstrong, 1998: 190). In her novel, *Slash*, she consciously uses English syntax and vocabulary to evoke the Okanagan sense of movement.

Armstrong suggests that even, "Okanagan Rez English has a structural quality syntactically and semantically closer [than standard English] to the way the Okanagan language is arranged" (1998: 193). The Okanagan stories that Harry Robinson told in English to Wendy Wickwire illustrate this point (Robinson 1989; 1992), as does the Robinson influenced dialogue in Thomas King's work. Armstrong writes that Okanagan reality (like that of other First Nations):

> ... is very much like a story: it is easily changeable and transformative with each speaker. Reality in that way becomes very potent with animation and life. It is experienced as an always malleable reality within which you are like an attendant at a vast symphony surrounding you, a symphony in which, at times, you are the conductor. (Armstrong, 1988: 191)

In Okanagan storytelling, she goes on to say:

> ... the ability to move the audience back and forth between the present reality and the story reality relies heavily on the fluidity of time sense that the language offers. (Ibid.: 194)

This distinctively aboriginal quality of moving the audience back and forth between present and storied reality helps explain the transformations and trickster shifts of storytellers from Robinson to King. Every story does contain every other. Swimmer, Tecumseh, Geronimo and Sequoyah can meet at the Happy Trails Trailer Park for "Indian Days." Coyote and pizza and paper can exist within the same narrative. Rather than being contaminated by Ishmael and the Lone Ranger, aboriginality thrives upon these additions to and transformations of the storied universe. Harry Robinson's creation stories contain references to Chinese and white people precisely because these people are part of contemporary Okanagan experience and need to be explained. Dane-zaa stories about the first people mention cartridge belts because they are part of contemporary Dane-zaa experience. In "Coyote's Cannon," I suggested that, "Tom King's work is neo-premodern, not postmodern" (Ridington, 1999: 35).

As Julie Cruikshank suggests in The Social Life of Stories, First Nations storytellers "use narratives to dismantle boundaries rather than erect them," while at the same time constructing "meaningful bridges in disruptive situations" (Cruikshank 1998: 3-4). Cruikshank traces Yukon narrative deconstruction to disruptions of the 19th century, but I think she would agree with Armstrong that First Nations storytellers have always moved their audience between present and storied realities. In a very real sense, the listener has always shared authorship with the narrator; the symphony has been one in which, at times, "you are the conductor." Thomas King makes a similar point when he identifies the "I" of his novel as the reader who becomes the storyteller (King, personal communication).

Conclusion

Harry Robinson tells about the creator giving written instructions to the people he creates. Thomas King transforms Northrop Frye into Jehovah and Coyote's dream into a contrary Indian dog who thinks he is God. Gerald McMaster's Indians teach cowboys about the theory of transformation. Jeannette Armstrong sees Okanagan thought patterns in "rez English." Delgamuukw tells the Supreme Court of British Columbia that "ownership of territory is a marriage of the chief and the land" (1989: 7). Chief Samooh tells the same court that "Eagle down is our law." Dan Michel informs a conference of lawyers and academics that a Grizzly Bear instructed fisheries officers about aboriginal fishing rights. Monroe Swimmer instigates a policy of non-Indian removals.

Narrative technologies that helped people negotiate relations with the non-human persons of a natural environment can be adapted to the purposes of negotiating and articulating relations with the institutions of nation states. First Nations literatures include oratory, ceremony and the visual arts, as well as written texts. First Nations people have been successful in presenting themselves to courts of law and to courts of public opinion. Through an astute combination of honesty and irony, they have made themselves known in jurisprudence, in written literature and in the graphic and performing arts. First Nations literature is alive and well in Canada. Canadian anthropology has much to learn in conversation with this ongoing narrative. When you sing it now, just like new.

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Errance, sédentarité ou la naissance d'une ethnie prohibée : les Silmimoose du Burkina Faso

Zakaria Lingane

Résumé : Les récentes recherches ont démontré les difficultés de la définition des réalités ethniques qui ne recoupent pas forcément les critères habituellement utilisés que sont l'histoire, la culture, la langue, la généalogie, le territoire[1]. Fondé sur le cas de l'«ethnogenèse» des Silmimoose (sg. Silmimoaga) du Burkina Faso, nés de la rencontre entre Moose (sg. Moaga) agriculteurs sédentaires et Silmiise (sg. Silmiiga)[2], pasteurs semi-nomades peul, ce travail tente de répondre à l'historicité du concept d'ethnie et au vécu de la réalité ainsi désignée dans cette communauté. L'État moaga connu comme un modèle de brassage et d'intégration interethnique a trouvé ses limites lorsqu'il s'est agi d'intégrer les Silmimoose. À bien des égards, les Silmimoose constituent une ethnie prohibée. Il s'agit d'analyser les fondements historiques et idéologiques de cette marginalisation par examen des sociétés moaga et silmiiga et, en dernière analyse, de savoir s'il y a une prise de conscience ethnique et les moyens de sa réalisation, ou si les Silmimoose resteront l'ethnie prohibée par les groupes dominants.

Abstract: Recent research has demonstrated difficulties in the definition of the ethnic realities which do not use the usual criteria: history, culture, language, genealogy and state boundaries. Based on the «ethnogenesis» of the Silmimoose (sing. Silmimoaga) of Burkina Faso, crossbreds between Moose (sing. Moaga) sedentary farmers and the Fulbe (Silmiise; sing. Silmiiga) semi-nomadic pastoralists, this essay tries to show the history of the concept of ethnicity and day-to-day life as seen by this community. The moaga state, known as a model of ethnogenetic mixing and interethnic integration, found its limits when it tried to integrate the Silmimoose. In many ways, the Silmimoose are considered a «forbidden» people. Here we wish to analyze the historical and ideological roots of this marginalization by studying the moaga and silmiiga societies and in our final analysis to find out whether there has been a renewal of ethnic consciousness and how it came about or whether in fact the Silmimoose will remain the ethnic group shunned by the dominant cultures of the region.

Toi Peul, garde ton bétail. Noir, conserve ta bêche, celle qui fatigue. — Proverbe peul.

L'espace ethnique burkinabé : une mosaïque face au bloc *moaga*

Le Burkina est une mosaïque ethnique. Une soixantaine de groupes se répartissent à l'intérieur de deux grandes familles ethnoculturelles : voltaïque et mandé. Selon la perspective la plus courante, une sorte de consensus semble nier, sauf par intermittence, toute réalité d'antagonisme à base ethnique. Dans cette *«pax ethnica»*, l'histoire joue un rôle clé. Les nombreuses relations qu'entretenaient traditionnellement les populations entre elles en période précoloniale dont la plus marquée est la relation de «parenté à plaisanterie»[3] instauraient généralement une coexistence pacifique. Le Burkina serait donc a priori le «modèle idéal» de l'État-nation africain en construction dans lequel le fait ethnique conflictuel n'existe pas.

Le groupe *moaga* historiquement, géographiquement et démographiquement a malgré lui épousé une situation hégémonique feutrée[4]. Quelques protestations des élites issues des groupes minoritaires sont venues la lui rappeler. En effet, celles-ci, qui se sont assurées certaines positions de pouvoir ou de promotion sociale par le biais de l'éducation, de la christianisation ou encore de l'islamisation, ne manquent jamais de s'élever contre le «particularisme *moaga*» qui veut s'assurer une place prépondérante au sein de la nation moderne.

Nous verrons que l'inexistence officielle de rivalités entre les peuples est une «certitude» qui connote d'une réalité autre. Malgré tout, il est simplificateur d'opposer l'Est des Moose à l'Ouest et à l'Est des non-Moose. D'un côté un groupe homogène, hiérarchisé autour de ses puissantes chefferies, servi non seulement par le nombre mais par la localisation groupée amplifiant l'«effet de masse» et par un prestigieux passé d'empire conquérant[5]. De l'autre, une mosaïque d'ethnies, de densités dé-

mographiques sensiblement moins fortes et dépourvues de systèmes politiques centralisés et efficaces. Savonnet-Guyot (1986 : 19) le remarque judicieusement :

> Sans être toujours dictée par des considérations uniquement ethniques, l'histoire politique et partisane de ce pays s'est souvent polarisée autour de la place politique du bloc *moaga* dans les institutions étatiques.

Dans la période de luttes nationalistes, on a cru distinguer une opposition entre l'Ouest et le bloc *moaga* de l'Est avant la création d'un front commun dans lequel les chefferies moose ont joué un rôle important pour mettre fin à la partition de la colonie de la Haute-Volta opérée par les Français en 1937 pour des raisons économiques[6].

Le Colonel Saye Zerbo, président de la Haute-Volta et du Comité Militaire de Redressement pour le Progrès National (1980-1982), issu pourtant d'une minorité de l'Ouest, fut accusé à cause de ses commissions d'épuration chargées d'enquêter sur les auteurs de détournements de fonds publics sous la IIIe république défunte, de favoriser le rééquilibrage ethnique de l'appareil d'État et du haut personnel des banques et institutions financières, au profit des Moose. Querelle d'arrière garde, si l'on considère que les Moose, peu représentés alors dans les élites dirigeantes ne pouvaient faire les frais de ces campagnes d'épuration du fait de la présence majoritaire, au nombre des élites économiques, politiques et intellectuelles, de membres d'ethnies minoritaires de l'Ouest et du Sud-Ouest.

Sous un autre aspect, les migrations agricoles intérieures des colons moose (depuis 1970) fuyant le plateau central déshérité à cause de la crise de subsistance liée à la surpopulation et à l'épuisement des sols pour les territoires de l'Ouest et du Sud-Ouest peu peuplés, mais écologiquement favorisés, se heurtent aux résistances des groupes ethniques autochtones qui craignent une invasion *moaga*. Malgré la garantie de la circulation des personnes et la libre installation sur tout le territoire burkinabé de tout citoyen, l'État[7] n'a pu empêcher certaines provinces comme la Sissili de refuser d'accepter à partir de 1995 des colons supplémentaires à cause de la congestion des aires de colonisation agricole et des bouleversements démographiques (Lingane, 1993).

Plus récemment, en 1993-1994, l'idée que l'État burkinabé finance un feuilleton consacré à l'histoire conquérante des Moose (*Épopée des Mossé*) par la Télévision nationale du Burkina[8] a entraîné une levée de boucliers tout comme l'idée que le maire de Ouagadougou, ancienne capitale royale devenue capitale administrative, projette en début du mois de janvier 2000 de débaptiser les rues de la ville afin de les nommer de héros moose.

(*Observateur Paalga,* quotidien burkinabé, 19 janvier 2000).

Les vives polémiques qui ont suivi ces deux affaires insistaient sur le caractère ethnocentriste, tribal du groupe *moaga* qui semblait dangereusement ou imprudemment confondre l'État-nation aux Moose. Ce qui paraît à première vue, comme une exaltation d'une nationalité au détriment d'autres composantes de la même nation burkinabé pour les uns, reflétaient pour les autres une désaliénation culturelle face à l'invasion des téléséries ou *télénovelas* étrangères (*Observateur Paalga*, 1994).

Malgré le caractère ambigu de ce projet «fossoyeur de l'unité nationale»[9], selon le point de vue où l'on se situe et la volonté politique qui affirme que c'est «un projet national» (*Observateur Paalga*, 1994), il ne faut pas oublier de souligner le caractère exagéré et réducteur de ces réactions d'opposition contre ce que les opposants à l'*Épopée des Mossé* nomment la «mossification rampante» de l'État burkinabé. La morale de ce débat sain sur un sujet à controverse illustre aussi ce particularisme burkinabé sur l'importance de l'affrontement démocratique dans un pays qui a certes connu des régimes d'exception, mais jamais de parti unique ou de syndicat unique, un pays qui a su se préserver de revendications ethniques malgré quelques tensions régionalistes, un pays où le pouvoir a plus souvent échu à un membre d'une ethnie minoritaire qu'à un *moaga*.

Probablement, comme l'a dit en conclusion Maître Pacéré Titinga, grand promoteur de l'*Épopée des Mossé*, le jour du premier tour de manivelle dans un long rappel historique : « . . . l'histoire de ce peuple implique celle des nationalités traditionnelles du Burkina, de l'Afrique et même du monde» (*Observateur Paalga*, 1994). Ainsi toutes les objections des adversaires de l'*Épopée* ont trouvé des contre-objections des partisans pour qui l'État a le devoir d'assurer la pérennité du patrimoine culturel national, sans oublier qu'il n'existe pas d'ethnie qui ne soit hybride par les différents apports et mélanges. Optimistes, les défenseurs de l'*Épopée* n'hésitaient pas à croire à l'éclosion d'autres productions du genre sur l'histoire des peuples qui contribueront à fabriquer un ciment national. Ce qui est certain, l'État a été contraint de se retirer du projet controversé en réduisant le montant de sa contribution initiale pour confier le financement de la série à une souscription de donateurs burkinabé et étrangers par l'entremise de la Société pour le financement des oeuvres cinématographiques et audiovisuelles du Burkina, une société privée créée pour la circonstance.

Au regard de cette controverse, il serait erroné de tirer argument de ces faits pour dresser un diagnostic fondé sur l'exclusion de certaines franges de l'État-

nation en dehors des inégalités économiques. Ces polémiques ne traduisent pas non plus la surenchère identitaire dont parlent Elbaz et Helly (1998), ni «un problème de cohabitation» dans un ensemble prématurément qualifié de «national», comme l'écrit Savonnet-Guyot (1986), même si Frédéric Guirma, homme politique et grand défenseur de l'identité *moaga*, a trouvé le moyen de dénoncer ce qu'il appelle le «terrorisme intellectuel des minorités»[10].

L'Épopée des Mossé et son évocation passéiste dans le débat sur la dialectique de l'«identité ethnique» et de l'«identité nationale» fait aussi de mémoires singulières et parfois conflictuelles dans la mosaïque burkinabé a eu un effet cathartique. La mémoire samo a-t-elle moins d'importance que la mémoire *moaga*? On a pu voir à l'oeuvre l'orchestration de la «cohésion nationale» qui ne peut ou ne veut nier l'importance historique et démographique du peuple *moaga* (perçu pratiquement comme le «peuple fondateur du pays») autour duquel s'agrègent les différences historiques et culturelles des peuples du Burkina. En cela le Burkina n'échappe pas aux différents modes opératoires de l'État-nation africain dans son rapport à l'ethnicité fait de connivences, d'instrumentalisation, d'évitements, de ruptures voire de négation (Cahen, 1994). Toutefois, depuis la difficile genèse de l'État-nation, les Burkinabè ont évité dans leur majorité (et pourtant ce ne sont pas les occasions qui ont manqué pour mettre l'étincelle à la poudrière) d'entraîner les poussées de crispation identitaire vers des rivalités ouvertes. Le pacte tacite d'entente mutuelle, de tolérance réciproque entre des ethnies qui s'enrichissent de leurs différences dans la mosaïque nationale reste et demeure la première affirmation, la première attitude. En dépit des prohibitions coutumières limitant l'exogamie, la multiplication des mariages interethniques en milieu urbain témoigne largement d'une nette évolution des mentalités.

Par cette introduction dans la mosaïque burkinabé, je démontrerai dans les lignes qui suivent, à travers un exemple, les fines discriminations qui sont à l'oeuvre, non dans l'appareil d'État, mais dans les rapports entre différentes composantes du Burkina. Ces exclusions liées pour beaucoup à l'histoire et aux constructions identitaires peuvent prendre la forme de l'appartenance à une caste ou à un groupe stigmatisé plus ou moins ouvertement. J'aborde avant tout les rapports entre Moose sédentaires et Peul semi-nomades, et accessoirement leur avatar commun: les Silmimoose ultra-minoritaires nés d'une union officiellement prohibée. D'une certaine façon, les observations bousculeront certaines perceptions sur le métissage. Le propos de cet article se situe dans le regard qu'ont deux

groupes ethniques, l'un de l'autre et... des hasards du mélange prohibé. Il aborde aussi les éléments psychologiques contribuant puissamment à définir l'existence de barrières ou de seuils séparant les groupes à un moment donné. Sans prendre parti, je restituerai à chacun des groupes ainsi qu'aux ethnographes et à leurs schémas caricaturaux[11], la responsabilité de leurs propos et laisserai le lecteur tirer lui-même la conclusion. Ne perdons pas de vue que ce travail entrepris périphériquement à mon sujet de thèse dans le Yatenga et qui fait une large part à l'histoire mérite d'être approfondi par une enquête de terrain sur les aspects contemporains de la situation des Silmimoose.

Il est admis que les relations interethniques peuvent s'établir sur un pied d'équilibre comme d'antagonisme et de dominance. Nous situerons notre étude des rapports entre Peul et Moose dans ce contexte fort différent de celui des Peul du Mali et d'autres pays (Anselin, 1981; Amselle, 1990[12]). L'appartenance à une formation de premier type (comme celle des Moose du Burkina) implique toujours une position de rejet plus ou moins avoué du non-civilisé, de l'autre[13]. D'où la construction de stéréotypes, ce que Breton (1981) nomme le «degré subjectif d'acceptation ou de rejet» ou encore, pour reprendre le mot de Pantié (1969), la «distance ethnique». Quand un groupe cohabite avec un autre, il est plus exact et plus opérationnel d'affirmer qu'il cohabite avec l'image qu'il s'en fait (Camilleri, 1975) tant il est vrai que l'incapacité ou la volonté délibérée d'effacer ou non une différence entre soi et les autres fait partie des ressources idéologiques de la solitude ethnique.

Comment un groupe donné perçoit-il son identité ethnique? Comment celle-ci est-elle reconnue par ses voisins immédiats? Tout essai de définition d'une ethnie reste aléatoire tant les critères sont d'importance variable d'une situation à l'autre: ici la langue sera l'indice le plus visible, là l'économie, ailleurs l'observance de pratiques socioculturelles spécifiques, parfois la culture, tantôt l'endogamie, souvent un passé de caractère plus ou moins mythique. Cette plasticité du champ ethnique impose la nécessité d'étudier chaque situation dans sa complexité (Breton, 1981 : 58). L'ethnie est un groupe qui a un nom, des coutumes, des valeurs, généralement une langue propres. Il s'affirme comme différent de ses voisins (Nicolas, 1973 : 103). La prise de conscience ethnique se caractérise donc par le niveau de conscience de groupe des intéressés, la façon dont ils se conçoivent et se comportent les uns par rapport aux autres (Breton, 1981 : 58). En même temps que la «distance ethnique» construit le clivage entre différents groupes, un autre revers est celui de la mort de l'ethnie

soit par la force, la soumission, l'assimilation, ou plus sournoisement, le fait que des individus abandonnent leur parler, leur identité ethnique pour accepter ceux d'autres voisins plus influents.

Nous tenterons de répondre à la complexité du fait ethnique à partir de l'exemple des Silmimoose en nous fiant à la définition généralement donnée sur ce concept que Bromleï interprète comme:

> un ensemble d'hommes historiquement formé qui sont unis non seulement par la conscience de leur communauté et de leur différences par rapport aux autres groupes humains (autoconscience ethnique, dont l'expression externe est l'ethnonyme), mais par une communauté réelle dans le domaine de la langue, de la culture et du psychisme (cette communauté les distinguant en même temps des membres d'autres groupes humains semblables). (1983:5)

L'histoire des Silmimoose[14] illustre les différents traitements que réserve l'idéologie politique *moaga* entre l'intégration ou la marginalisation des anciennes couches de peuplement ou de nouveaux groupes dans la société. Dans les nouvelles stratégies d'ancrage identitaire dans une société étatique plurielle, cette refondation suscite l'ostentation et/ou la dissimulation d'identités qui doivent être conçues comme la «mise en avant» et la «mise en retrait» ou encore «l'euphémisation» d'appartenances qui structurent le champ des représentations de «soi» et des «autres» (Fay, 1995). On sait peu de choses sur les Silmimoose, comme s'ils étaient victimes de procédures d'évitement non-dites, puisqu'ils sont au demeurant issus de l'union officiellement prohibée entre Moose et Silmiise. Groupe intermédiaire par excellence, ses caractères généraux fondés essentiellement sur l'agriculture et l'élevage, renvoient à la double origine. Les Silmimoose apparaissent, tout au moins pour la pensée politique *moaga*, comme une catégorie résiduelle qui ne participe pas directement aux relations sociales, économiques, culturelles et politiques. Ils semblent condamnés en quelque sorte, en l'absence de l'autoconscience ethnique et de la reconnaissance des sociétés avoisinantes, soit à la dissolution à terme dans la société *moaga*, soit à l'errance statutaire d'une catégorie mal définie. En d'autres termes, une formation soumise à l'hégémonie *moaga*, sans véritable moyen d'accéder à la plénitude de la conscience de son unité, de sa différence avec d'autres formations semblables (conscience de soi fixée dans son appellation ethnonymique), en un mot à la «souveraineté ethnique».

Au terme de ma réflexion, j'essaierai de comprendre si les Silmimoose sont une ethnie, une sous-ethnie, une subethnie, une ethnie prohibée, ou un sous-groupe de la société *moaga*.

La société *moaga*

L'ensemble des formations monarchiques qui forment le *Moogo*, territoire d'ensemble des Moose situé dans le bassin de la Nakambé (ex Volta Blanche) à l'intérieur du Burkina Faso, nous est présenté par l'historiographie comme un modèle de compromis politique entre les conquérants *nakombse* (sg. *nakombga*) venus du Nord-Ghana actuel autour du XVe siècle et une mosaïque de groupes ethniques autochtones (Nyonyose, Ninise, Fulse, Kamboinse, Kalamse, Kibse). À ces populations essentiellement paysannes, organisées le plus souvent en micro-sociétés lignagères ou villageoises, relevant quelques fois de petites chefferies, les cavaliers *nakombse* vont proposer un projet jusque-là inconnu, celui de l'État, leur demandant d'y collaborer. L'émergence de ce pouvoir centralisé, fruit de la domination militaire des aristocrates *nakombse* sur les autochtones, s'accompagne, cinq siècles durant, d'une politique d'unification, d'intégration ethnique et linguistique qui conduit à la formation de la communauté ethno-culturelle des Moose (appelés encore Mossi ou Mossé, sg. *moaga*) d'où est gommée l'hétérogénéité des origines initiales.

Malgré ce processus d'intégration d'un monde pluriel qui donne un seul peuple, l'identité ethnique des groupes constitutifs de la société n'est pas niée au titre du partage des fonctions. La société *moaga* (ensemble de la population des royaumes moose) est constituée par des groupes d'origines et de statuts socio-politique distincts, intégrés inégalement et selon des modalités différentes à l'ensemble étatique. Les facteurs d'intégration, écrit Izard (1985:13), sont ici: une autorité politique unique et centralisée symbolisée par un roi, une langue dominante (le *moore*, ce mot désignant aussi la manière d'être des Moose), une organisation sociale majoritairement homogène et patrilinéaire, une organisation politico-religieuse qui, à l'occasion des grands rituels annuels, associe «gens de la terre» (autochtones)[15] et «gens du pouvoir» (conquérants *nakombse*), un discours du pouvoir qui rend compte de l'identité du roi et du royaume et donc de l'unicité du peuple sur un territoire défini.

Le fondement idéologique principal du nouveau système politique, c'est-à-dire de l'État, vient de l'opposition entre les détenteurs de l'autorité politique qui ont statut de conquérants (les *nakombse*, maîtres du pouvoir – *naam* – et de la force – *panga* –)[16], et les maîtres des cultes de la terre qui ont statut d'autochtones (les *tengbiise*, sg. *tengbiiga*, «fils de la terre» ou *tengdemba*,

«gens de la terre», la classe sacerdotale). Dans chaque village existe un *Naaba* (chef politique) et un *Tengsoba* (chef de la terre). En marge de cette opposition, on trouve les «gens de métier» définis par les statuts socio-professionnels: les forgerons (*saaba*), les serviteurs royaux y compris les captifs (*yemse, bindemba*). La bipolarité du partage des fonctions et des statuts entre «gens du pouvoir» et «gens de la terre» se révèle une stratification insuffisante quand de nouveaux groupes arrivent. D'où la nécessité de nouveaux reclassements des corps constitutifs de la société.

Une formation historique est en constant état de modification, surtout dans cette zone soudano-sahélienne soumise à la circulation pacifique ou guerrière des hommes. La stratification sociale au cours de l'histoire mue dans chaque société. La recomposition est permanente. L'apparente homogénéisation reste provisoire. L'arrivée d'un groupe étranger engendre un réajustement de l'organisation interne de la société pour la prise en compte des nouveaux venus. Si d'une manière générale, le pouvoir *moaga* intègre plus ou moins les nouveaux venus, tout en leur reconnaissant leur identité ethnique d'origine, il se refuse pour le cas des Silmi-moose, à définir un réel statut ethnique. La relation Moose/Silmiise/Silmimoose a valeur historique pour autant que l'on approche les caractéristiques principales des sociétés *moaga* et *silmiiga* et des relations qu'elles ont pu entretenir. Précisons que l'approche de l'entité *silmimoaga* se fait essentiellement à partir de la vision interne *moaga*, du fait du rôle premier de cette société dans le destin des Silmimoose.

Dans le royaume de Wogodogo ainsi que tous les royaumes centraux et méridionaux, les premiers occupants du sol, les *tengbiise* – dont les traits culturels et linguistiques ont été totalement gommés – sont désignés sous les ethnonymes génériques Nyonyose et Ninise. Dans le royaume du Yatenga, l'identité des groupes soumis par conquête *moaga* a survécu à travers des fractions qui ont fui: Fulse, Kamboinse, Kalamse, Kibse. Dans la région centrale, l'idéologie du pouvoir divise la société en deux moitiés. D'un côté les *nakombse* (*nanamse*[17] et les lignages qui en sont issus), de l'autre les *talse* (le reste de la population, les gens du commun, la masse). Cette dernière moitié comprend les *nakombse* évincés du pouvoir et roturisés (Izard, 1976: 69-81), les groupes liés à l'activité royale à savoir les fondés de pouvoir du chef (*nayirdendamba*), les personnes dépendantes du chef (*dapoya*), les devins (*pwese*), les griots généalogistes (*benda*), les captifs royaux qui manipulent les *regalia* et font des sacrifices sur les autels royaux (*yeemse*). Cette stratification cède au modèle suivant: *nakombse/*

talse/tengbiise. Les forgerons (*saaba*) dans le système politique de Wogodogo n'ont pas de statut politique bien défini. Ils sont soit d'origine *nakombga*, soit d'origine *tengbiiga*. Le système les intègre soit comme *talse* au niveau du village, soit comme *yeemse* au niveau de la cour. Par rapport aux couples d'opposition, ils font figure d'éléments neutres (Izard, 1970: 20).

Au Yatenga par contre, la diversité des peuples pré-moose donne une nomenclature ternaire de type *nakombse/tengbiise/saaba* mis en place à partir des couples d'opposition «gens du pouvoir»/«gens de la terre» et forgerons/non-forgerons. Ici, les conquérants ont été obligés de reprendre à leur compte l'exclusion initiale des forgerons soumis à l'endogamie stricte et à diverses procédures d'évitement par les groupes autochtones, notamment les Fulse[18]. Cette division tripartite laisse de côté les devins (*pwese*) et les musiciens royaux (*benda, lunse, pendese*) (Izard, 1985: 312). Dans le système, les *tengbiise* – à savoir Kibse (Dogon), Fulse (Kurumba), Ninise (Samo), Kalamse reconnus comme autochtones et désignés par des ethnonymes – sont intégrés dans la catégorie des «gens de la terre» après homogénéisation et assimilation linguistique. À ces groupes d'origine, succèdent de nouvelles populations attirées par le royaume ou capturées lors des guerres. Elles sont soit à spécialisation militaire (mercenaires Kamboinse de Segou ou de Bay au Mali), soit à spécialisation technique (teinturiers et bijoutiers Maranse; Silmiise pasteurs transhumants) ou commerciale et maraboutique (Yarse). Les Silmimoose, issus de la rencontre entre Moose et Silmiise, forment un groupe spécifique.

L'émergence de ces nouveaux groupes introduit des reclassements qui touchent aussi bien les groupes déjà constitués (*nakombse, tengbiise*) que les nouveaux venus, notamment par les mécanismes de changement d'identité lignagère et d'autochtonisation. Sans entrer dans l'exégèse de ces procédures fort complexes qui opèrent des mutations des statuts sociaux et ethniques, on peut retenir qu'au niveau de Wogodogo, ces groupes sont reversés le plus souvent dans la catégorie des *talse* ou des *yeemse*, bien qu'une place à part doit être faite aux Yarse artisans-commerçants musulmans. Au Yatenga, le pouvoir autochtonise des groupes étrangers (Maranse), assimile «émigrés» et captifs par la centralisation et l'emploi du *moore* (Izard, 1970: 312).

Tout indique comme le dit Izard, que dans le long processus de formation de l'État, la constitution et la dissolution de l'ethnie passent de façon très générale par des processus de changements d'identité lignagère. La société est «ouverte», on passe d'un statut à l'autre,

selon les vicissitudes, le haut et le bas comme les pièces d'un puzzle. Finalement, les groupes à définition géographique ou ethnique cèdent la place à des groupes à définition fonctionnelle (1985 : 314). Des captifs sont affranchis et roturisés, des allochtones sont autochtonisés par la concession de maîtrises de terre explicitement créées à cet effet dans les régions frontalières ou à faible peuplement, des nobles *nakombse* évincés à la suite de luttes politiques entre factions rivales deviennent forgerons, des pasteurs transhumants deviennent des gardiens de troupeaux royaux et occasionnellement des mercenaires... Mais à regarder de près la société refaçonnée, l'on s'aperçoit que tous les groupes sont inégalement concernés par ces changements. À côté des Moose, dans les groupes d'origine étrangère dépendants de l'autorité directe des souverains, se distinguent les Silmiise. Leur statut est différent. On ne cherche point à les intégrer pas plus qu'à les «mossifier». Les relations entre eux et le pouvoir *moaga* ont un caractère contractuel et non institutionnel. Leur présence dans le *Moogo* est le fait d'une alliance avec les rois. Seule une relation particulière lie les *nakombse* aux griots silmiise (*seta*, pl. *setba* en *moore*) qui sont attachés au service de la cour.

La société silmiiga

L'origine du noyau peul[19] est vraisemblablement à chercher chez les «pasteurs à bovidés» du Sahara préhistorique comme semble l'attester les peintures rupestres du Tassili du VIe-IIe millénaires avant notre ère, opinion que ne partage pas Amselle (1997). Les Peul apparaissent plus distinctement à partir des XIVe et XVe siècles dans les *Chroniques de Kano* et dans Makrizi. Ils semblent s'être constitués dans la vallée du fleuve Sénégal et les régions adjacentes de l'Est et du Nord-Est, par apports berbères et surtout noirs à cette souche originelle. À partir du XVe siècle, de nombreuses sources font mention de leur extension géographique vers le Sud et l'Est, du fait sans doute de vicissitudes politiques et de la quête des pâturages. Dès le XVIIe siècle, ces migrations amènent les Peul à occuper leur habitat actuel disposé en bande longitudinale entre le 16° de latitude nord et le 8° du Sénégal au Cameroun. Les XVIIIe et XIXe siècles constituent pour eux un âge d'or d'affirmation politique par la constitution de plusieurs États ou chefferies quelques fois théocratiques. Leur distribution territoriale rend compte du fait que les Peul sont fondamentalement des éleveurs de zébus (*Bos indicus*) sensibles aux trypanosomiases bovines des zones tropicales humides et équatoriales (Diallo, 1972; Lacroix, 1989)[20].

Les troupeaux sont un élément essentiel dans leur définition en tant que groupe humain; l'élevage expliquant par ailleurs leur mode de vie entre nomadisme et transhumance. La mobilité est une constance historique de ce peuple depuis des siècles et encore aujourd'hui. Au *Moogo*, comme dans les autres régions d'agriculteurs sédentaires, les modalités de leur installation se sont faites par infiltrations successives à la recherche de pâturages ou par action guerrière au détriment des Fulse du Jelgoji. À la différence d'autres régions où les Peul se sont imposés par la force, généralement sous l'emblème de l'Islam, leur installation dans le *Moogo* s'est faite pacifiquement. Les premières sources de leur arrivée sur les marches septentrionales du pays *moaga* (Yatenga) sont fournies par les travaux de Vadier (1909) approfondis par d'autres auteurs (Tauxier, 1917; Diallo, 1979; Izard, 1985c). C'est dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle qu'il faut situer l'arrivée des premiers Fulbe islamisés du rameau Dyallube qui viennent du Macina, et plus lointainement du Futa Jalon. Par petits groupes, ils essaiment dans la région du Gondo au peuplement assez lâche d'agriculteurs kibse et fulse. Ils atteignent le Jelgoji tout en fondant de petits commandements.

Mais c'est surtout dans le Jelgoji que les Fulbe Jelgobe (du Jelgoji) vont donner naissance aux commandements de Barabulle, Jibo et Tongomayel qui réduisent l'influence du royaume *moaga* du Ratenga sur le Lurum (pays *fulga*). À la suite des Dyallube, apparaissent les Fulbe Torobe venus du Futa Toro par le lac Debo dans la première moitié du XIIIe siècle. Ils se fixent définitivement dans les localités de Todyam et de Bosomnore (royaume du Yatenga). Enfin et dans la même période, les Fulbe Fitobe venus de Kayes se fixent dans la région de Tyu et Ban, après avoir évincé les Fulse et les Maranse. Si les Fulbe Dyallube et Torobe, pacifiques envers les Moose, se sont présentés en demandeurs de terres pastorales dans un dispositif territorial faiblement peuplé – à un moment où leur pastoralisme nomade se transformait en activité semi-nomade – , il n'en va pas de même pour les Fitobe, qui pour le Yatenga seront toujours des gens à surveiller.

L'arrivée de ces populations d'éleveurs transforme l'économie essentiellement agricole et engendre des mutations. Les Moose, anciennement petits éleveurs de bovins en quasi-stabulation, voient l'avantage à tirer du partenariat des deux économies, pastorale et agricole. De nouvelles conventions usuelles relatives aux bovins sont édictées. Par le contrat d'élevage (bail à cheptel), le cultivateur *moaga* confie à l'éleveur *silmiiga* le soin d'élever ses bovins contre le lait et les produits en nature. Le second contrat dit de fumure engage l'éleveur

à faire stabuler le troupeau sur un champ désigné (Delobsom, 1933[21]; Pageard, 1969). Très rapidement, le monopole des Silmiise s'affirme sur tout l'élevage bovin du *Moogo*.

Les structures sociales de la société *silmiiga* s'expliquent largement par le pastorat. Elles sont très variables à travers les différentes communautés fulbe de la boucle du Niger (Tauxier, 1917 et 1937, Gardi, 1989). Fortement individualistes et toujours prêts à fuir toute contrainte, les Silmiise n'ont connu en fait qu'une autorité politique assez lâche, démultipliée par la surconsommation spatiale. La société est caractérisée par la patrilinéarité et une hiérarchie de rang. Les différenciations sont fondées chez les Silmiise du Yatenga par l'opposition entre hommes libres non castés et castés (*fulbe* et *nyeybe*) et captifs (*rymaybe*, en *moore rabense*). Principalement éleveurs, les Silmiise laissent l'exercice des différents métiers nécessaires à l'équilibre économique de la communauté aux sous-groupes d'artisans d'origine étrangère, souvent captifs et formant à l'intérieur de la société des catégories socio-professionelles endogames. Ils sont désignés par le terme général de *nyeybe* qui exprime l'habileté et l'adresse.

La société *silmiiga* comporte trois strates. Au sommet de la hiérarchie se trouvent les *fulbe* (sg. *pullo*), qui constituent comme chez les Moose la strate sociale des nobles (*rimbe*, sg. *dimo*). Ils détiennent l'autorité politique et fournissent les chefs de commandements (*ardo*) qui dirigent des chefs de lignages plus ou moins importants. Les hommes libres peuvent épouser les filles des *rymaybe* captifs sans que l'inverse ne soit possible. Ensuite viennent : les *nyeybe* (sg. *nyeyo*), artisans repartis en «castes» professionnelles mais ayant statut d'hommes libres; les *gargasabe* (sg. *gargasabo*), travailleurs du cuir; les *mabube* (sg. *maabo*), tisserands-griots présents uniquement au Jelgoji; les *laobe* (sg. *laabo*, *setba* en *moore*), constitués de griots rhapsodes et de boisseliers qui fabriquent notamment les ustensiles pour la collecte du lait; les *waybe* (sg. *baylo*) qui sont le groupe strictement endogame des forgerons-bijoutiers. Dans le cadre des prestations, les Silmiise délèguent à la cour du Yatenga les *setba* qui jouent et chantent pour le roi.

Il est courant qu'un forgeron *silmiiga* épouse une forgeronne vivant en milieu *moaga*. Les mariages sont fréquents entre les membres des différentes corporations constituant le groupe des *nyeybe* (Reisman, 1974 : 32). Malgré l'absence de rôle politique et la crainte qu'ils inspirent, les *nyeybe* jouent dans la société le rôle important de médiateurs. Enfin, les *rymaybe* (sg. *dymadyo*), sont les captifs affectés au travail agricole et secondaire-

ment au tissage. Ce groupe est exogame à celui des hommes libres *fulbe* par ses éléments féminins, mais reste strictement endogame vis-à-vis de la totalité des autres groupes[22].

Le pouvoir *moaga* a pour pratique de nier la pertinence des différenciations internes des groupes assimilés à l'exception de l'endogamie stricte des forgerons (*saaba*) au Yatenga. Face à la société *silmiiga*, il a une attitude différente. Tout en évitant de l'assimiler, il en reconnaît l'organisation interne. Cette reconnaissance se traduit en diverses occasions cérémonielles liées au cycle annuel des rituels royaux du Yatenga, où les tambourinaires royaux (*benda*) nomment, parmi les six groupes constituant le «monde historique», les Silmiise et le groupe interne à la société *silmiiga* des *laobe* dont quelques représentants chantent à la cour royale[23].

On peut admettre avec Izard, que les rapports entre Silmiise et Moose du Yatenga se sont appuyés sur l'alliance et le compromis. La coexistence entre éleveurs transhumants et agriculteurs sédentaires, entre Islam et religion *moaga*, entre pouvoir royal centralisé et celui démultiplié à l'extrême des chefs silmiise, semble avoir été empreinte de confiance. On ne trouve nulle part, des traditions faisant état de conflits entre Moose et Silmiise, exceptées les alertes de la première moitié du XIXe siècle dans la région du Jelgoji lors de la poussée hégémonique de la théocratie de Hamdallay dirigée par Seku Amadu (Izard, 1985 : 466). L'esprit de collaboration s'est manifesté lors d'opérations de pillage concertées contre les sédentaires de la plaine du Gondo, les Moose rivaux de Yako et les groupes fulbe extérieurs au Yatenga.

Dans la région centrale et méridionale, les groupes silmiise dépendaient soit directement du roi, soit d'une autorité déléguée. À l'opposé du Yatenga, ils s'y consacraient uniquement au bail à cheptel, en relation strictement économique. Leur allégeance se manifestait par le don d'animaux aux chefs moose à l'occasion des fêtes rituelles (*basga*, *tense*, investiture royale).

Stratégies matrimoniales et naissance du groupe des Silmimoose

La dispersion spatiale liée au pastorat transhumant entraînait chez les Fulbe une atomisation du peuplement dans des zones peuplées d'agriculteurs sédentaires. Dans leur progression, les nomades généralement minoritaires assimilent des populations ou se font assimiler eux-mêmes. L'expansion géographique née des «guerres saintes» du XIXe siècle et la domination d'un grand nombre de non-Fulbe assujettis ou capturés lors des razzias accélère le métissage des vainqueurs, qui sans cesse

d'être éleveurs, deviennent agriculteurs par l'intermédiaire de leurs captifs (Lacroix, 1989 : 1006-1007).

Dans le cadre du *Moogo*, on observe dans la coexistence entre Silmiise et Moose, la formation d'un nouvel *ethnos* à partir d'un brassage ethnogénétique : les Silmimoose issus d'échanges matrimoniaux tacitement interdits ou relevant de tolérances mal explicitées. Et c'est de cette ambiguïté que se nourrit le destin des Silmimoose. Ils se forment en tant que groupe distinct à partir d'un mariage mixte entre *silmiiga* et *moaga*, même si Tauxier remarque que leur type physiologique, en se référant au fameux phénotype, est plutôt *moaga* que *silmiiga* (1917 : 608). Le nom qui les désigne en *moore* renvoie à leur double origine *silmiiga* et *moaga*, littéralement «Peul-Mossi».

Ce processus d'interaction ethnique ne peut s'éclairer qu'à la lumière des stratégies matrimoniales des groupes dominants moose et silmiise. Tauxier dans son ouvrage *Le noir du Yatenga* rapporte que :

pour ce qui est des empêchements de race et de religion, les Foulbés veulent bien épouser des filles mossis ou foulsés fétichistes, mais ne veulent pas donner les leurs à des Mossis ou à des Foulsés fétichistes, seulement à des Mossis ou à des Foulsés musulmans. Quant aux Samos, les Foulbés ne veulent pas prendre leurs filles ni leur donner les leurs. Ils sont trop sauvages! Pour les Habbés, nos Peuls ne contractent alliance qu'avec les musulmans. (ibid : 632)[24]

L'Islam, on le voit ici, atténue les prohibitions matrimoniales traditionnelles. Pour cet auteur, l'oisiveté relative des femmes fulbe (elles ne vont pas aux champs) les conduit à une liberté de moeurs, à savoir des grossesses avant mariage et des divorces plus nombreux que chez les Moose (ibid : 633).

Pour Reisman, il est rare qu'un Peul épouse une femme *moaga* (1974 : 32). Dans son enquête menée sur le pastoralisme peul dans la région de Bema au Yatenga au cours des années 70, Benoît (1982 : 63) constate la rareté des mariages entre les différents groupes ethniques, si l'on exclut les Silmimoose qui prennent souvent femme chez les Moose. Sans que les règles ne soient claires, le désir de vivre entre soi est très conscient.

Le mariage entre un Silmi-moaga et une femme peul est une chose rarissime car le statut de la femme silmi-moaga – qui travaille la terre et n'accède pas aux bénéfices provenant de la vente du lait à la différence de la femme peul – semble moins enviable à celle-ci. Le mariage entre un peul et une moaga n'est pas prohibé mais cette pratique n'a pas cours. Il est par contre interdit pour un Nakomsé (noble) d'épouser une

femme peul. Seuls les Silmi-mossi sont vraiment exogames mais peut-être que l'habitude d'épouser des femmes mossi ira-t-elle en diminuant sous l'influence de l'Islam et de la «foulanité (l'art de vivre en Peul)».

Décrivant les règles matrimoniales dans le Yatenga, Izard relève que l'union entre Moose et Silmiise, était prohibée bien que le *napogsyure* permet le don de femmes aux *setba* et aux *rabense* ayant servi à la cour, dans le but d'assurer la reproduction interne du groupe des serviteurs royaux (Izard, 1980 : 57)[25]. De ce point de vue, dans la région de Wogodogo, Delobsom observe le même empêchement :

Les Mossis peuvent contracter mariage avec les races voisines (Boussancés, Gourounsis ramenés comme captifs et Yarsés), mais jamais il n'y a de mariage valable entre un moaga et une peulhe. Avant l'occupation française, les Peulhs, simples pasteurs, jouissaient de peu de considération. Les Mossis n'avaient pour eux aucun égard et on dit que tout moaga qui a eu des relations sexuelles avec une femme peulhe doit se laver dans neufs marigots différents pour se purifier. (1933, Section du mariage)

Cependant, une opinion plus nuancée peut être relevée chez Pageard qui en matière de droit coutumier observe que :

Les mariages interraciaux sont en fait très rares en pays mossi (2% de femmes seraient mariées à des non-Mossis), mais ils étaient généralement admis par la coutume ... Contrairement à ce qui se passe dans la plupart des ethnies voisines, les unions avec les Foulbé sont admises.

Il ajoute qu'il semble que l'ancienne coutume des Nyonyose (branche aînée des *tengbiise*) interdisait cependant ces alliances (1969 : 286). Le sacerdoce de la terre se refuse-t-il à l'alliance avec des nomades?

Selon nos propres investigations, nous avons appris que dans la région de Wogodogo, si les *talse* (gens du commun, roturiers) et les «gens de la terre» ne peuvent contracter mariage avec les Silmiise, il en va autrement des *nakombse*, principalement la branche des *Nabiise* (proches descendants de chef). Le *naam* se donnant ici les moyens de déroger aux règles communes et de transcender l'éthique *moaga*. On remarquera au passage, que les deux branches de la société *moaga*, rencontrant au même moment une société de pasteurs, développent des attitudes contraires.

Un autre renseignement isolé fait état d'une curieuse pratique matrimoniale appelée «*A kula Sil-*

miise» qui peut se traduire par le «voyage de la fécondité» chez les Silmiise. Elle consiste à faire partir les femmes moose stériles chez les pasteurs réputés pour leur don de rétablir la fécondité (nous ne savons comment). Les femmes ayant effectué le séjour reviennent généralement en grossesse et l'enfant qui en est issu, est *silmimoaga*. Cette pratique adultérine volontaire (malgré le but thérapeutique) se concilia difficilement avec l'interdit de l'adultère et l'on ne peut durablement cacher à l'enfant son origine[26].

On peut également citer l'apport probable, dans la constitution du groupe *silmimoaga*, des captives fulbe, razziées à l'extérieur du royaume au profit du système royal d'accumulation et de distribution de femmes, le *napogsyure* (Izard, 1980 : 1504-1505)[27].

Il résulte de toutes ces versions de nombreuses contradictions qui ne permettent pas de rendre compte avec exactitude des modalités d'apparition des Silmimoose qui sont le seul cas de mixité entre Fulbe et sédentaires dans la région. Cette particularité n'a pas échappé à Tauxier :

> Dans la boucle du Niger où sont les races voltaïques, il y a peu de mélange avec les nègres. Les Silmi-Mossis étant la seule race mixte que l'on rencontre de ce côté et encore sont-ils fort peu nombreux[28].

La monographie de Vadier déduit leurs origines en rapport avec la dynastie du petit royaume *moaga* de Tema (1909). Des versions postérieures à celles de Vadier font également référence au royaume de Tema. Malgré leurs nuances respectives, toutes les traditions rapportées par Vadier (1909), Tauxier (1917), Cheron (1924) et Izard (1970) mettent en présence, à l'origine des Silmimoose, un *Silmiiga* (probablement Fitobe du Yatenga) qui épousa la fille du souverain *moaga* de Tema, Naaba Nonga[29], au XVIIIe siècle (chronologie d'Izard, 1970 : 271-272). C'est de cette union qu'est issue la souche originelle des Silmimoose qui fonde au milieu du XVIIIe siècle des hameaux autour de Bema, Kalsaka (Sud-Yatenga) et dans les régions de Tema, Yako et Wogodogo. Leurs établissements s'inscrivent à l'écart des villages moose afin de pouvoir pratiquer l'élevage sédentaire qui est pour eux le complément de l'agriculture. En dehors de ces hameaux, quelques Silmimoose s'installent en quartiers séparés dans des villages moose.

D'un point de vue politique, l'autorité s'exerce au niveau de leur communauté par les chefs de segment de lignage. Progressivement dans le Yatenga, selon des modalités qui nous échappent encore, les Silmimoose sont passés sous le contrôle de l'*ardo* (chef) des Silmiise Torobe de Todyam (Izard, 1985c : 72). La domination des

Torobe fut marquée par la tyrannie et le refus de toute alliance matrimoniale avec les Silmimoose. Ce n'est qu'avec l'arrivée des Français en 1897 qu'ils connurent une relative indépendance, avec la création d'un canton, celui de Bema, dédié à leur groupe (Tauxier, 1917 : 608). Dans la région de Wogodogo, les Silmimoose, établis comme au Yatenga dans des villages moose ou des villages périphériques, dépendent des chefs moose locaux et en dernier ressort du Moogo Naaba (souverain du royaume) à qui ils font des cadeaux annuels en signe d'allégeance. Ici également, ils sont agriculteurs avant tout et éleveurs de bestiaux.

Les structures sociales et la culture matérielle des Silmimoose sont héritées de leur double origine. Dans la monographie qu'il leur consacre, Tauxier (1917 : 609-619), remarque que leur habitat est la transition entre l'enclos d'habitation fulbe et l'habitat *moaga*. Leur industrie est médiocre. Ils ne travaillent ni le cuir, ni le fer, ni le bois cependant que le commerce sous-régional relativement développé chez eux, se spécialise dans le bétail et les cotonnades, au point de concurrencer celui, traditionnel, des Yarse. À l'instar des Peul, leur mobilité est forte et plus nébuleuse parce que moins orientée que celle des pasteurs. De plus, leur genre de vie, qui est lui-même un compromis, a des exigences moindres vis-à-vis de grands espaces (Benoît, 1982 : 58). Leur activité économique est en définitive triple : l'agriculture d'origine *moaga*, l'élevage d'origine *silmiiga* et le commerce inspiré par celui des Yarse.

Les structures sociales très lâches sont la transition entre la famille *silmiiga* et *moaga*. Des patrilignages avec à leur tête des chefs se subdivisent, comme chez les Moose, en villages ou en «quartiers» (*sakse* en *moore*) et enfin en *yiri* qui représente l'unité familiale de base. Comme chez les Silmiise, on distingue dans la société le groupe interne des *rymaybe* qui fabriquent des arcs. Leurs pratiques religieuses s'inspirent de la religion *moaga* simplifiée (culte des ancêtres) et de l'Islam[30]. Leurs règles matrimoniales, selon Vadier cité par Tauxier, font que les Silmimoose s'unissent d'une manière générale entre eux ou sont exogames vis-à-vis des filles moose, mais jamais avec les Silmiise, ce qui éclaire davantage l'apport des Moose dans la constitution du groupe. Excepté l'élevage du boeuf, rien d'autre n'unit le *Silmimoaga* au Peul. Leurs caractéristiques intermédiaires s'illustrent aussi par des patronymes dominants : Sankara (déformation de Sangare) et Bari empruntés aux Fulbe Fitobe; Zido (Zida), Guipo et Zoungrana d'origine *moaga*.

Je pense, comme Benoît (1982 : 52-56), qu'il est douteux d'attribuer à la seule souche originelle de Tema la formation de l'entité qui essaime plus à l'Est et plus au

Sud vers Ouagadougou. Il est plus plausible de croire à des «ruptures individuelles» dans le cas du Yatenga, d'un certain nombre de familles fitobe qui se fondirent avec la population *moaga* au cours de leur migration. Celles-ci, adoptant le mode de vie *moaga* qu'elles jugent supérieur, abandonnent alors l'idéal et les règles de la vie peul tout en gardant parfois un certain goût pour le bétail et l'élevage extensif. Ce sont ces «transfuges» qu'on a appelé littéralement les «Peul-Mossi». Plus tard, avec la création du fief *silmimoaga* de Bema, il est probable que des Moose ordinaires s'y réfugièrent pour se transformer à leur tour en Silmimoose, afin de fuir les excès de leurs chefs ou la dureté coloniale (le chef de Bema ayant la réputation de bien défendre les siens contre les abus). Tout comme les Peul dont l'extrême spécialisation technique et la sédentarisation partielle empêchèrent l'incorporation à la société *moaga* qui possède les mécanismes d'assimilation, ces «Peul-Mossi» demeurèrent des marginaux incomplètement assimilés.

Au regard de ces éléments, la société *silmimoaga* dégage quelques enseignements. Il faut distinguer dans le *Moogo* les Silmimoose de la souche originelle de Tema et ceux issus d'unions entre individus dans la société *moaga*[31]. Les Silmimoose sont numériquement réduits. Tauxier recensait 5627 individus dans le Yatenga en 1917 et l'Iwaco-Cieh (1987) comptabilisait 2,7% de Silmimoose dans la province dans les années 85.

Dans la vision du pouvoir *moaga*, les Silmimoose ne constituent pas un groupe ethnique à part entière, pas plus qu'ils ne sont totalement moose. La corésidence et les intermariages n'aboutissent pas à une absorption complète dans la société *moaga*. Ils sont exclus de l'exercice du pouvoir de même que les Silmiise, l'origine mixte expliquant en partie ce destin marginal. La représentation de l'univers social fait coexister trois sociétés : celle des Moose, celle des Silmiise et celle des Silmimoose. Les Silmimoose, comme de nombreux groupes métisses, souffrent de l'ambiguïté même de leur situation. Le fait d'être en partie d'origine *moaga* et moorephones ne les fait pas appartenir pour autant à la société du royaume. En leur donnant un nom qui les spécifie, dénomination qui ne comporte pas tous les attributs de l'ethnonyme, les procédures identitaires leur refusent toute forme de reconnaissance. Non identifiables à aucun des groupes dont ils sont issus, les Silmimoose finissent par se concevoir eux-mêmes comme un groupe différent plus ou moins en marge de la société. Ils n'ont pour eux ni autochtonie (au sens *moaga*), ni importance numérique, ni culture spécifique, ni spécialisation technique ou économique nouvelle susceptible de les faire intégrer, ne serait-ce que périphériquement, la société du royaume.

Les fondements de la marginalisation

Modèle d'unification et d'intégration de la diversité sociologique et ethno-culturelle, l'État *moaga* a su recomposer un nouvel ordre social, unissant le monde agricole pré-étatique (*tengbiise*), au monde étatique tout en trouvant les moyens de reclasser les groupes tardivement arrivés comme celui des artisans (Maranse), des négociants (Yarse) et des mercenaires (Kamboinse), par diverses procédures de mutations lignagères, soit dans les groupes fondateurs (*tengbiise, talse*), soit dans les nouveaux statuts de «gens de métiers» (statuts socio-professionnels).

Étrangers au monde du royaume sont les Silmiise dans une moindre mesure (compte tenu des contrats d'élevage) et les Silmimoose dans une large mesure. À cet égard, l'absence des Silmimoose dans l'énumération annuelle tambourinée *(benda)* des groupes dont l'activité est fondamentale à l'État du Yatenga est significative (Izard, 1985 : 64)[32] : ils sont inclassables, stigmatisés, donc marginaux. Il nous apparaît utile de cerner les fondements de cette exclusion en référence aux catégories de pensée des Moose et des Silmiise. La négation de ce groupe est-elle liée aux distinctions socio-économiques et à l'origine *silmiiga*, du point de vue *moaga*? À l'origine *moaga* du point de vue *silmiiga*? Y a-t-il chez les Moose un véritable discours de détestation ou de discrimination «anti-*silmiiga*» à l'énoncé clair?

La représentation du *Silmiiga* dans l'imaginaire *moaga* illustre parfaitement l'existence de barrières ou de seuils séparant des groupes voisins dont la forme la plus visible est le stéréotype, plus familièrement de nos jours, «la blague»[33]. Je reprends à mon compte les concepts de marqueurs et de stéréotypes qui trouvent leurs sources privilégiées dans la culture matérielle, l'assignation statutaire, la spécialisation fonctionnelle, la rivalité, le rapport de force, les comportements rituels, les récits mythico-historiques, etc. (Bromberger, 1988; Martinelli, 1995). La représentation de l'autre se construit sans ménagement, en son absence, en fonction de son appartenance ethnique et des traits psychologiques qui lui sont associés. Ce jeu de miroir par le biais d'une véritable «idéologie de l'autre» vise directement à réaffirmer la prééminence de celui qui juge. Cet antagonisme est exprimé par un ensemble d'opinions sur les différences physiques apparentes (le *Silmiiga* mince, brun aux cheveux lisses), psychologiques (le *Silmiiga* fourbe et craignant la mort), culturelles (le *Silmiiga* nomade ignorant le culte des ancêtres) et économiques (le *Silmiiga* hostile au travail agricole et exclusivement pasteur buveur de lait dépendant des vivres des sédentaires).

L'énigme et l'origine des Fulbe (on dira aussi Peul), ces mystérieux «hommes rouges», a suscité des récits et des hypothèses les plus fantaisistes, tant anthropologiques que culturelles, faisant référence aux Sémites, Hamites, voire aux Romains, Malaisiens, Dravidiens, et opposant en définitive le type du Fulbe «pur», «nilotique» au type «nègre»[34]. Certes les Fulbe, comme le dit Lacroix, se distinguent fréquemment de leur contexte humain par des traits somatiques particuliers, peut-être imputables à une influence génétique sémite. Mais le teint clair, les cheveux ondés, le front haut, les extrémités et les attaches fines qui frappent les étrangers et constituent aux yeux même des intéressés le canon de la beauté, sont souvent absents chez nombre d'entre eux (Lacroix, 1989: 1006-1007). Encore le fameux phénotype!

Mathieu (1988: 145) constate chez les Fulbe du Burkina que les jeunes filles à peau claire ou brune sont dites de la «maison du père», (allusion traditionnelle à l'ancêtre blanc) sont particulièrement louées. Celles qui, moins favorisées par la naissance, ont le teint foncé sont de la «maison de la mère» (les autochtones noirs avec qui des échanges matrimoniaux ont eu lieu) et doivent rivaliser d'élégance et de charme pour s'attirer l'attention.

Dans une certaine mesure, il nous apparaît que le groupe fulbe est un ensemble ethnogénétique spécifique marqué par une gamme complexe de métissages anciens et récents associant stocks sémites et négroïdes et différenciant et non seulement les individus à l'intérieur d'une même communauté, mais aussi l'ensemble de celle-ci des autres communautés. Ce qui a pour effet d'offrir à l'intérieur d'un même groupe différentes déclinaisons morphologiques ou de pigmentation[35].

Par ailleurs Amselle (1990: 73-75), en s'appuyant sur les recompositions ethniques au Mali qu'il appelle un «système de transformations», nous met en garde contre «la fascination du Peul»: la recherche du phénotype ou d'une race pure peul[36]. Caractériser l'ethnicité peul est pour cet auteur une chimère du fait même d'avoir affaire dès le départ à une indistinction originaire, ce qui rend absurde le fait même de poser la question de l'identité peul. Dans le delta intérieur du Niger, l'on devient peul, toucouleur, bambara, au gré des conversions ethniques ou religieuses. Reprenant à son compte les travaux de Khasanov sur le fonctionnement des sociétés nomades fortement articulé sur le monde environnant, Amselle écrit que les Peul nomades, pas plus que les autres peuples pasteurs, ne constituent une enclave autosubsistante ou une survivance de la préhistoire[37]. La *fulanité* s'exprime d'abord par le nombre d'adaptations: insertion

lâche dans une chaîne de sociétés sédentaires pour les Peul nomades, jusqu'à leur disparition en tant que groupe ethnique semi-autonome ou leur intégration dans les grilles statutaires des grandes formations ethniques.

Le *fulfulde*, la langue des peul, illustre bien cette adaptation liée à la dispersion. Selon Dupire (1981: 167) «Les dialectes du *fulfulde*, influencés par les langues voisines, sont si différents les uns des autres qu'un apprentissage est nécessaire pour se faire comprendre d'Est en Ouest des sous-cultures dépendantes des histoires locales et dont certaines sont depuis longtemps isolées les unes des autres». Botte et Schmitz (1995) penchent eux aussi pour les «paradoxes identitaires» du monde peul, à savoir une conception pluraliste de l'identité au regard des processus de conversion énoncés par les Peul eux-mêmes. Ces processus illustrent des situations aussi variées que l'allégeance d'un groupe nomade à un autre, le retour d'un sédentaire chez des nomades, l'absorption linguistique et culturelle de conquérants Peul musulmans par les populations hausa vaincues, en passant par d'anciens alliés ou asservis qui se proclament Peul. C'est toute cette histoire contrastée faite d'étapes, de transhumance, de guerres, de conversion à l'Islam, de prosélytisme, de métissages, qui invite ces auteurs à utiliser la métaphore de «l'archipel peul».

Lacroix (1989: 1006-1007) remarque que l'endogamie, essentielle chez les nomades pour conserver le plus grand nombre de bétail, donc de force et de prestige possible, subit chez les sédentaires des entorses institutionnalisées apportées par l'Islam et la nécessité de s'adapter aux cultures voisines. Aussi faut-il comprendre que les Peul ne sont pas cantonnés à des parcours de transhumance immuables dictés par la seule logique d'un mode de vie pastoral. Ils font partie de sociétés dans lesquelles ils se sont assimilés à cause des remaniements politiques et d'une évolution des rapports de force entre Islam et «paganisme». Les assertions d'Amselle sur le destin peul dans la société bambara[38] sont à relativiser dans le cas des sociétés sédentaires du bassin de la Nakambe, y compris le *Moogo* où, par définition, leur arrivée tardive et pacifique et les prohibitions matrimoniales des autochtones n'ont pas permis l'ampleur du brassage constaté ailleurs entre Peul et conquis, réalité décrite dans nombre de monographies coloniales et encore vécue de nos jours dans le cas de mariages «mixtes».

Il est douteux de croire que les Moose maîtrisent les subtilités biologiques. Ils appréhendent quelques différences physiques apparentes avec les Silmiise, encore que ce groupe au *Moogo*, comme le décrivent les voyageurs, compte en son sein une majorité d'individus aux traits négroïdes. Cependant de nos jours, le type phy-

sique constitue au Burkina l'élément premier de l'identification d'un Peul, ensuite le patronyme. Si l'on ne peut privilégier l'exclusion fondée uniquement sur les distinctions physiques, il reste les pistes sociologiques et historiques caractérisées par l'originalité propre du *Silmiiga* qui s'organise autour du troupeau de bovidés. Ces pistes mettent en présence le pouvoir, l'autochtonie, la fixation sur le territoire, l'économie.

Il existe une manière d'être *moaga*. Celle-ci n'est pas la même pour tous. Tous les Moose participent à une même communauté mais, le comportement de chacun est ajusté à son statut. Un des premiers critères d'intégration à la société du royaume est l'autochtonie fondée sur la première occupation du sol. Celle-ci prend tout son sens sociologique en ce qu'elle est à l'origine de la classe sacerdotale des «maîtres de la terre». Avant l'apparition de l'État existait donc une société pré-étatique. Le *naam* (le pouvoir) lui-même qui donne naissance à l'État, a abandonné dans ce cadre son itinérance (les cavaliers *nakombse* conquérants) pour se légitimer grâce à une double relation à la terre et aux ancêtres, en se territorialisant par des commandements politiques et des investitures ritualisées par *Tenga*, déesse *tengbiiga* de la terre (Izard, 1983 : 299-393)[39].

Endochtones sont les *tengbiise* et les *nakombse*, exochtones sont les Silmiise, «gens du boeuf» qui apparaissent après la formation de l'État au XVIIIe siècle. Cette exochtonie est exprimée par la relation à la terre qui se caractérise par les parcours de transhumance. Sans repère fixe (la terre appartient à Dieu, c'est un espace que l'on parcourt), les Silmiise ont conscience qu'ils ne peuvent exprimer des droits de propriété sur le sol, mais qu'ils y sont étrangers et seulement tolérés (Delobsom, 1932; Pageard, 1969).

Les Silmiise sont, du point de vue *moaga*, des pasteurs associés à la terre non habitée, non cultivée. Si l'on envisage un centre «humain» et une périphérie «naturelle», la place des Moose est au centre, celle des Silmiise à la périphérie (Izard, 1985b : 25-33). La terre apparaît à la fois comme une instance de la fertilité et de la subsistance (transformation de celle-ci par le travail agricole), un lieu de reproduction sociale garante du mode et de l'ordre de la société (cultes des ancêtres) et ne pourrait être en définitive étrangère à l'histoire (ibid., 1983 : 299-293). Le rapport à la terre est fondamental et commande tous les autres rapports. Le procès de territorialisation du monde *moaga* sédentaire contre le monde nomade pastoral apatride des Silmiise (même conjoncturellement sédentarisé, il n'a pas de rapport symbolique à la terre) introduit également le procès de la transformation de la nature par le travail : société agricole séden-

taire et société pastorale nomade. Bien que le groupe *silmiiga* intègre en son sein des captifs agriculteurs *(rymaybe)*, il n'en demeure pas moins du point de vue des agriculteurs moose, qu'il est uniquement composé de pasteurs[40]. Faut-il, au regard de toutes ces assertions, souscrire aux propos d'Aubin (1974), spécialiste des peuples nomades d'Asie, qui affirme qu'une société de pasteurs nomades s'oppose par l'ensemble de son destin et de ses caractéristiques à une société d'agriculteurs sédentaires et qu'il ne faut pas nier les incompatibilités irréductibles qui confrontent les exigences des deux modes de vie?

L'exclusion est aussi politique. La question de l'instauration du *naam* ne se pose pas d'autant plus que les Silmiise sont postérieurs à l'apparition de l'État (Izard, 1985b : 25-33). Cependant, un consensus économique né de la cohabitation explique ou autorise la présence des Silmiise dans le royaume : le *silmiiga* ne travaille pas la terre mais a besoin de produits agricoles et de pâturages, d'où le compromis du bail à cheptel. Cette complémentarité économique profitable aux deux parties – en ce sens qu'elle consolide leur spécificité de production – se traduit par le quasi-monopole des Silmiise sur l'élevage bovin dans le *Moogo*.

Les fondements de la marginalité sont également d'ordre psychologique. L'imaginaire *moaga* présente le *Silmiiga* comme un homme rusé, fourbe et paresseux[41]. À cet égard, Delobsom rapporte l'anecdote suivante sur les Silmiise qui étaient fort méprisés par les autochtones :

> Lorsqu'un Peulh passait derrière les habitations des Mossis, et que sans savoir de qui il s'agissait, on interrogeait, on se contentait de répondre, ce n'est personne, ce n'est qu'un Peulh. (Delobsom, 1933 : Section bail à cheptel)

Image de la négation du *Silmiiga* fuyant et insaisissable dans le décor. Dans un autre ouvrage, le même auteur cite une légende expliquant l'origine commune du forgeron, du *Silmiiga*, du *Yarga* et du *Naaba* (le titre désigne le chef politique) dans la société *moaga*. Ceux ci étaient des frères à qui Dieu remit individuellement un destin. Le cadet qui devint le *Silmiiga* se trouva lors de l'accomplissement de son destin «à la tête de troupeaux de boeufs gardés par les gens de sa race, avec des habits blancs et propres et coiffé d'un bonnet avec du lait en abondance». Des trois frères venus s'installer dans le royaume du puîné devenu *Naaba*, seul le *Silmiiga*, lors de la première rencontre avec le puissant souverain, garda son bonnet, s'accroupit et salua le roi familièrement, tandis que ses frères, plus craintifs, adoptaient d'autres atti-

tudes. La légende concluait que le *Silmiiga* qui avait montré peu de déférence en avait gardé l'esprit d'indépendance (Delobsom, 1932 : 123)[42].

La référence à la fourberie vient davantage des conflits relatifs au croît du cheptel confié aux Silmiise. Les Moose les accusaient de détourner une partie du bétail en violation des accords dictés lors du bail à cheptel notamment sous l'administration française qui protégeait les éleveurs contre les excès des sédentaires. Il faut dire que les Silmiise n'étaient pas propriétaires de la majorité du bétail qu'ils avaient en garde et l'inégalité des clauses du bail les acculait à la misère et à des pratiques quelques fois délictueuses. Certes, l'indifférence réelle ou étudiée, la complexité de la langue *fulfulde* ont contribué à forger la renommée du *Silmiiga* que l'on dit volontiers intrigant et aimant les apartés. Stéréotype qui persiste encore de nos jours et nourrit une série d'humiliations allégoriques par le mépris verbal ou réel. Mais cette psychologie propre qui différencie le berger du non-berger est à chercher, selon Lacroix (1989 : 1006-1007), dans un certain nombre de valeurs considérées comme fondamentales et qui forment le *pulaaku*. Cette philosophie qui traduit les qualités appropriées aux Peul, la manière de se comporter en Peul. Elle prône le discernement *(hakkiilo)*, la résignation *(munyal)*, la réserve *(semteede)*, le courage *(cuusal)* qui dictent en toute circonstance l'attitude du Peul. La non-observance de ces valeurs se traduit par l'exclusion du groupe, ce qui équivaut pour le nomade à une véritable mort sociale[43]. Paradoxalement, Benoît (1982 : 60-67) constate avec justesse que dans le Yatenga, au-delà des origines diverses, le fait de prôner un idéal de vie presque semblable et de cohabiter dans une même région et dans un statut politique identique n'a jamais créé de «solidarité pastoraliste» des différents groupes peuls (Dyallube, Fitobe, Torobe) face à la société *moaga*. Au contraire, et même encore aujourd'hui, chaque groupe peul assume sa condition. La religion musulmane non plus n'a pas aidé à forger une solidarité durable face au monde *moaga*, essentiellement animiste.

Nous avons tenté de montrer, en dehors de tout schéma interprétatif préconçu, les constructions idéologiques des Moose à travers leur histoire présentant les Silmiise comme étant inférieurs en tout point. Constructions qui fondent *a posteriori* en partie celles des Silmimoose, du fait de leur origine *silmiiga*. La marginalisation du *Silmimoaga* infère une relation directe à son origine *silmiiga* dépréciée, le *Silmiiga* jouant ici le rôle de relais. L'ostracisme n'est pas prononcé, il est indirect, spécifique et subtil. Dans l'inconscient populaire *moaga*, le *Silmimoaga* est mis en avant du *Silmiiga*, même si les

rois entretiennent une autre échelle de marginalisation. Les Silmimoose ont en quelque sorte les travers des Silmiise dont ils seraient le filigrane. Le vocabulaire, tout en évoquant à travers la dénomination *Silmimoaga* la nature du métissage, assigne par le terme «silmi» avant «moaga» la distinction par un classificatoire discriminant.

Si composite qu'elle soit et ouverte à l'exogamie avec d'autres peuples voisins, la société *moaga* n'a nulle part dans sa langue de terme équivalent pour désigner le produit d'un mariage interethnique[44]. Le nom stigmatisant développe le corollaire de la marginalisation rappelée de façon récurrente. Pour Izard, c'est à la fois dans leur origine prohibée qui leur vaut de pratiquer l'élevage et l'agriculture, de vivre à l'écart des villages mais d'être sédentaires et dans leur petit nombre et leur très faible poids économique et politique, qu'il faut chercher les raisons de leur exclusion (1985b : 25-33). Cette explication qui s'appuie sur leur position relative dans l'échelle de participation économique et sociale bien qu'intéressante ne rend pas compte de façon satisfaisante de leur exclusion.

Du point de vue de la société *silmiiga*, nous n'avons pas élucidé les raisons de l'exclusion des Silmimoose, comme en témoignait la pesante domination des Torobe de Todyam sur les fractions silmimoose du Sud-Est du Yatenga. Une première réponse peut être fournie par l'analyse de l'histoire commune des Fulbe et des sédentaires dans les savanes soudano-sahéliennes. Les Fulbe n'ont jamais accepté les métissages périphériques autrement que par l'assujettissement de non-Fulbe dans les sous-groupes de gens de métiers ou de captifs à l'intérieur de la société ou encore les métissages concertés dans le cadre de la formation d'États qu'ils contrôlaient, notamment les théocraties musulmanes du Macina, du Nord-Nigéria et du Cameroun.

Faut-il considérer les Silmimoose comme une communauté métisse, bâtarde et déshéritée à la lisière de l'histoire et de l'État, condamné en quelque sorte à occuper uniquement les espaces interstitiels de la société *moaga*? Il convient de souligner qu'ils ne subissaient pas d'évitement social excessif, comme le montre l'atténuation de leur condition par l'exogamie aux éléments féminins moose et la mobilité résidentielle qui les faisait parfois habiter dans des villages moose. À certains égards, l'attitude du monde *moaga* se faisait complice. Leur situation se définit beaucoup plus par la marginalité que par l'exclusion, la caractéristique d'un groupe résiduel plutôt que celle d'un groupe ethnique. Peut-on devenir *moaga* dans ces conditions? L'être, c'est évoquer le patronyme de Naaba Wedraogo, l'ancêtre commun à tous les Moose, parler le *moore* et accepter la manière

d'être *moaga* et tenir son rang. Le sont devenus les «gens de métier» liés au service royal, les captifs d'origines diverses et les autochtones par le processus d'unification linguistique et politique. Ne pas l'être, c'est la condition des Silmimoose pourtant de sang *moaga* et moorephones[45]. Un *silmimoaga* n'est pas un *moaga* et ne peut le devenir. Il n'existe qu'à travers le référent *moaga* sans être pour autant *moaga*. Ne pas être assimilés pour les Silmimoose génère-t-il pour autant l'autoconscience ethnique?

Les Silmimoose, une ethnie?

Cerner les processus ethniques au sein d'un État est malaisé le plus souvent. S'il y a bien eu, dans le *Moogo*, unification et consolidation dans un même système linguistique et politique, Izard a bien raison de souligner qu'il n'y a eu «ni homogénéisation, ni massification» (ibid., 1980: 1597) comme l'atteste la reconnaissance de l'altérité pluri-ethnique et l'usage d'ethnonymes.

Définir l'ethnie de manière acceptable, c'est distinguer un groupement d'hommes qui ont la conscience de l'unité historique, territoriale, communautaire, une identité qui se singularise par le nom, les usages, bref la culture, des groupements humains voisins (Bromleï, 1983: 5). L'identité ethnique chez les Moose a un spectre élargi par l'histoire puisqu'elle ne fait pas toujours coïncider les éléments fondant l'ethnie ci-dessus définis. L'ethnonyme subit de nombreux transferts vers l'identité ethnique classique, le statut social, la spécificité de production, la religion et les changements d'identité lignagère. Nous ne partageons pas l'avis d'Izard pour qui il n'y a pas d'ambiguïté dans les dénominations ethniques, quelles que soient les appartenances ethniques de ceux qui dénomment et ceux qui sont dénommés (1985: 310).

La volonté de dissoudre les différenciations internes des sociétés antérieures à la conquête n'a pas toujours été couronnée de succès. À cet égard, le cas des Fulse que la perspective propre au pouvoir *moaga* fond en un seul groupe est édifiant (Lingane, 1995). De par son caractère historiquement composite, et en chemin vers la formation d'un État, l'organisation sociale *fulga* laisse apparaître trois groupes qui correspondent à des horizons ethniques différents qui nous échappent: les «chefs» *(konfe)* gens descendus du ciel qui se font appeler kurumba, les «prêtres» *(berba*, de nom clanique *sawadugu)* caractérisés comme autochtones maîtres des nuages et fossoyeurs et les forgerons (Staude, 1961: 209-260). Qu'arrivent les *nakombse*, s'opère une recomposition qui enlève toute sa perception aux catégories qui forment la société. Les *konfe* et les *berba* passent dans le groupe des *tengbiise*, les forgerons demeurent

dans une position invariante, immuable, marginale par la profession castée. Cette recomposition institutionnelle n'empêche d'ailleurs pas qu'en leur sein, les Kurumba maintiennent leurs anciennes différenciations et parlent leur langue *(kurumdo)* tout en étant «mossifiés».

Dans la charte identitaire du *Moogo*, il faut distinguer dans le vocabulaire, les termes qui ne font pas référence immédiatement à l'ethnicité, mais au groupe social créé dont on nie les origines ethniques par une opération totalisante *(tengbiise)* et les termes qui font référence à un horizon ethnique plus ou moins précis (Nyonyose, Ninise, Kibse, etc.). Nous avions souligné plus haut la pertinence du couple *nakombse* conquérants/*tengbiise* autochtones. Dans le *Moogo* central et méridional conquis avant le Yatenga, le discours politique oblitère les premières réalités ethniques pré-moose (Nyonyose, Ninise) au profit du terme totalisant et indifférencié de *tengbiise*, si bien que l'on ne sait plus qui étaient les autochtones présumés, principalement les Ninise (Gruenais, 1985: 19-24)[46]. Formaient-ils une même entité historique? Les historiens en discutent encore.

Dans le *Moogo* septentrional par contre, le terme *tengbiise* renvoie sans ambiguïté dans la plupart des cas à des réalités ethniques pré-nakombse, du fait même que des fragments de groupes ethniques assimilés survivent dans des formations ethniques et politiques voisines ou indépendantes du royaume: les Kibse dans le *Kibgo* (pays dogon), les Ninise dans la région du Mounhoun (pays samo), les Fulse dans l'Aribinda (pays kurumba), etc. Sans être exhaustif, on peut retenir que les ethnonymes renvoient à une altérité ethnique précise (Kalamse, Fulse, Kibse, Ninise, Kamboinse), à une origine géographique (Maranse, Zangweogo, Kamboinse de Segou et de Kong)[47], à une religion (Yarse musulmans), à un métier (Maranse, Yarse, Silmiise) ou à des besoins politiques par le biais des mutations d'identité lignagère ou sociale: Fulse devenus Ninise, Kibse devenus Fulse, *Nakombse* devenus forgerons, Silmiise devenus Maranse, Silmiise devenus forgerons moose, etc[48]. De façon restreinte, l'appellation ethnonymique renvoie au patrilignage *(buudu)*, de façon élargie au *moos buudu* (ensemble des lignages moose)[49].

Faut-il considérer les Silmimoose comme une ethnie? Pour Izard, cela ne fait pas de doute. Le terme *Silmimoaga* a valeur d'ethnonyme même si les Silmimoose n'appartiennent pas à la société du royaume du Yatenga (1985: 309)[50]. Nous pouvons accepter ce fait de façon minimale. N'entrant pas dans les classifications ethniques sus-définies, la désignation ethnonymique, dans son étymologie fait d'abord référence au métissage des entités *moaga* et *silmiiga*. Elle sert ici beaucoup plus à

une catégorisation qu'à une reconnaissance ethnique. On peut aussi appréhender les Silmimoose comme une ethnie spécifique par «conséquence» ou comme un avatar.

Il aurait été logique pour les Silmimoose que la proximité avec la société *moaga* plutôt que celle des Silmiise minoritaires, finisse par aboutir à leur assimilation naturelle du fait de leur nombre réduit et des relations matrimoniales les liant aux Moose. Cependant le processus d'absorption même s'il a lieu «biologiquement» reste absent historiquement et sociologiquement en ce sens que le refus d'intégration est exprimé par un ethnonyme discriminatoire. L'enfant né d'un *Silmimoaga* et d'une femme *moaga*, par filiation, est un *Silmimoaga*. La référence à la mixité joue un rôle classificatoire et de dé-socialisation important[51].

Pour les Silmimoose tenus dans cette position périphérique, intermédiaire, l'accès à l'histoire n'est possible qu'avec le développement d'un processus d'auto-conscience ethnique, ou du moins la prise en compte d'une spécificité. En d'autres termes, «devenir par distanciation graduelle, par divergence progressive, une ethnie vraiment distincte» selon l'expression de Breton (1981); évolution qui dépendra du niveau de conscience des intéressés, de la capacité à cristalliser une physionomie collective autour de traits nouveaux, d'une identité propre. Utopie sans doute, car une telle tendance n'est pas observable, les Silmimoose cherchant toujours à être Moose.

Shapiro envisage à cet égard plusieurs attitudes selon chez les groupes métis:

> S'ils sont peu nombreux, les métis tendront à être absorbés par l'un ou l'autre des groupes en présence; s'ils sont relativement nombreux, mais dispersés, leur absorption par la société globale finira par se faire, mais s'ils sont proportionnellement nombreux partout, ou nettement groupés en certains points du pays, les conditions seront plus favorables à leur stabilisation en groupe ayant son identité propre. (1954)

Pour Bromleï,

> Il est quelque peu difficile de distinguer le brassage ethnogénétique de l'assimilation ethnique. Ce que ces processus ont de commun, c'est l'interaction d'*ethnos* non apparentés. Mais dans le premier cas, c'est un nouvel *ethnos* qui se forme alors que dans le second on ne voit que disparaître un des *ethnos* en interaction (généralement une partie de ses représentants). (1983: 17)

Diakité nous cite au Mali le cas des Arma minoritaires mais groupés, qui se forment et s'affirment en tant que groupe ethnique issu de l'interaction entre éléments d'origine principalement songhay (femmes) et conquérants marocains (hommes) du XVe siècle, en développant la prise de conscience ethnique (1989: 135-148)[52]. Peut-on trouver cette forme d'autoconscience ethnique chez les Silmimoose? Oui assurément, ils avaient eu cette autoconscience en se sachant distincts des autres. Mais le processus a avorté, car il n'avait pas reçu la légitimation des groupes en présence pas plus que ses initiateurs n'ont eu les outils pour se constituer une communauté particulière ayant des caractéristiques bien à elle pouvant conduire à une affirmation et à une émancipation. Les Silmimoose bien qu'issus de deux groupes non apparentés, regroupés mais minoritaires au Yatenga, dispersés dans le reste du *Moogo*, n'ont jamais pu se former comme une entité possédant des caractéristiques propres fondant l'ethnie, pas plus qu'ils ne sont parvenus véritablement à se dissoudre dans l'ensemble *moaga*, comme l'ont été les autochtones et les peuples d'origine étrangère tels les Kamboinse, les Maranse, les Yarse. Les Arma en comparaison sont d'excellents artisans du cuir et de bons commerçants qui parlent l'arabe mais aussi le songhay, tout en revendiquant en premier l'origine arabe associée à une ascendance de conquérants. Dès lors, les Silmimoose ne pouvaient jouer un rôle déterminant dans l'histoire du *Moogo*.

L'occupation française a tenté de relancer le processus en libérant les Silmimoose de la domination des Torobe en 1897 par la création du cadre indépendant du canton *silmimoaga* de Bema. En outre, les colons suivaient leur évolution économique rapide associant l'agriculture, l'élevage et le commerce à l'imitation des Yarse, sous la pression de l'impôt (Tauxier, 1917: 618-619).

La dénomination *silmimoaga* renvoie à un ancrage identitaire. On peut y voir une catégorie d'auto-assignation et d'exclusion utilisée dans un «sens comme dans l'autre». Cette dénomination présente tous les aspects du marqueur construit et codifié dont la fonction est le repérage et l'identification symbolique et sociale. Être *silmimoaga* aujourd'hui, c'est l'être d'abord par le patronyme, marqueur pour les «autres». En réalité c'est de parler *moore*, d'agir en *moaga* et sans le dire d'être une composante du monde *moaga* même si les Moose ne l'entendent pas toujours de cette façon en raison de fines discriminations qu'ils continuent d'observer. Ethnie prohibée, occultée et résiduelle en marge de l'histoire pourrait-on être tenté de dire à propos des Silmimoose. La nomenclature ethnodémographique de la République du Burkina ne les considère pas comme une ethnie mais comme un sous-groupe

moaga. L'exclusion des Silmiise et des Silmimoose du monde du pouvoir (la possibilité d'un *silminaam* «pouvoir *silmiiga*» ayant toujours été récusée) s'est traduite par l'attitude singulière du monde *moaga* vis-à-vis de deux tentatives qui ressemblaient fort à des intrusions, ou si l'on veut, à des parenthèses dans le monde du *naam* : la première dans le cadre précolonial et la seconde en prolongement dans les temps actuels.

Naaba Moatiba (1729-37), souverain de Wogodogo, est présenté par toutes les traditions historiques moose comme un «usurpateur peul»[53] ayant pris le pouvoir à la mort de Naaba Wubi au détriment du futur et légitime Naaba Warga. Son règne dura huit années et il disparut dans des circonstances non élucidées sans laisser de descendants[54]. Le second cas est illustré par le régime d'exception du capitaine Sankara, d'origine *silmimoaga* et Président du Burkina Faso de 1983 à 1987 dans le cadre du Conseil National de la Révolution (CNR). Le processus révolutionnaire qu'il a initié dans le but de «changer en profondeur la société burkinabé» s'est engagé, à l'instar de l'exemple de Yaméogo (premier président du Burkina) dans une épreuve de force contre le réseau des puissantes chefferies moose présentées comme «le pouvoir féodal» et «danger n°1 de la société» (Savonnet, 1986 : 188). Pour les hiérarchies moose, c'était la deuxième tentative d'usurpation et l'on rappelait à l'envie dans les cercles fermés son origine interdite et sa volonté de vouloir régenter «un monde déjà pensé et organisé»[55].

Les quatre années de son pouvoir s'achevaient avec sa mort lors du coup d'État du 15 octobre 1987. L'une des premières tâches de recomposition des alliances sociales et politiques traditionnelles du Front populaire (dont le Président était d'origine *moaga*) qui succédait au CNR et prônait une «rectification de la révolution», fut de se réconcilier avec les chefferies «bafouées» qui représentaient de fortes solidarités paysannes qu'aucune autorité politique ne pouvait ignorer. Si pour certains politistes, la révolution sankariste était dirigée contre l'hégémonie *moaga*, pour d'autres, l'arrivée au pouvoir de son successeur, Compaoré, ne peut être considérée comme une revanche des Moose. Même si quelques-uns encore, comme l'écrit Loada, expliquent la désinvolture de Sankara vis-à-vis de ce que le marxisme vulgaire appréhendait improprement comme une «féodalité», par son appartenance à une catégorie sociale dominée dans le référent *moaga* (1996 : 277-297). S'il est établi, et l'histoire en jugera, que «la rectification de la Révolution burkinabé» puisait dans des divergences politiques plus profondes entre ses «chefs», il n'en demeurera pas moins que l'appartenance *silmimoaga* de Sankara et son «agressivité»

ont subtilement joué dans les souhaits des chefferies moose quant à l'urgence d'un changement politique face à l'«ennemi».

Notes

1 Moulé par les vicissitudes de l'histoire, les manipulations diverses et au vécu sociologique, le concept de l'ethnie fait aujourd'hui l'objet d'une nouvelle approche par des travaux de recherches plus rigoureux qui remettent «les pendules à l'heure» en montrant les différences de sa perception selon les groupements humains. On peut citer entre autres Amselle et M'Bokolo (1985); Chrétien et Prunier (1989); Le Calennec et Richard (1996); De Bruijn, Van Dijk et Amselle (1996).

2 Lexique : La transcription des termes *moore* (langue des Moose ou Mossi, groupe ethnique majoritaire du Burkina Faso) se fait de la manière suivante : les tons ne sont pas notés ; *u* correspond au «ou» français, *e* au «é»; une voyelle seule est brève, une voyelle double est longue, le *g* est toujours dur, *s* ne donne pas *z*, *j* se prononce *dj*.

Tous les ethnonymes *moore* ont la même forme : singulier en -*ga*, pluriel en -*se* ou -*si*, nom de la langue en -*re*, locatif local en -*se*, territorial en -*go*. Les ethnonymes et les appellations diverses que nous utilisons sont en *moore* ou en *fulfulde* (langue peul). Une parenthèse indique les noms communs par lesquels sont généralement connus les groupes désignés, la forme des noms au singulier est écrite en italique ainsi que d'autres dénominations locales. Nous employons le terme de Silmiise (ethnonyme *moore*) en place de Fulbe ou Peul quant nous parlons explicitement des Fulbe du *Moogo* et les termes de Fulbe et Peul dans les contextes extérieurs. Tous renvoient à la même désignation. Naaba signifie littéralement chef en *moore*. Le Burkina Faso est le nom de l'ex-Haute-Volta depuis 1984.

3 Une fraternisation spontanée s'exprimant par la blague codifiée qui amène des individus issus de deux groupes ethniques à se moquer mutuellement des travers supposés ou réels.

4 Cette apparente homogénéité du bloc *moaga* trouve quelques fois ses limites en fonction des thèmes mobilisateurs à travers lesquels réapparaissent les vieilles rivalités entre les anciens royaumes qui composent le pays *moaga* (un passé tout proche et encore agissant). Plus particulièrement, l'opposition entre le Yatenga au Nord-Ouest et Ouagadougou au Centre. Le premier président du pays (1960-1966), Maurice Yaméogo, *moaga* de Koudougou s'est ainsi heurté aux puissantes chefferies du Centre qui lui contestaient son pouvoir au point de tenter une sédition par la prise armée du palais de l'assemblée territoriale par des cavaliers (institution de transition mise en place par la France avant l'autodétermination) le 17 octobre 1958. Est-ce que ce que l'on nomma par la suite le «18 Brumaire» du jeune souverain Naaba Kougri était une réaffirmation de la vocation multiséculaire de son peuple à régner sur le territoire qui constituait la plus grande partie de la Haute-Volta? L'échec de l'instauration d'une monarchie constitutionnelle permit au président Yaméogo de faire voter des lois draconiennes pour museler et ruiner les chefferies moose jusqu'à sa propre chute en 1966 à laquelle prirent une part active

ses ennemis aristocratiques. Sans avoir toujours été couronnées de succès, les entreprises des chefferies moose ont été souvent au coeur des changements politiques de l'État ou ont constitué l'enjeu des luttes politiques et partisanes, ce qui traduit selon Savonnet-Guyot (1986: 126) «la preuve de leur poids spécifique et de leur forte personnalité».

5 Les Moose représentent un peu plus de la moitié de la population soit plus de 6 millions de personnes sans compter les émigrés en Côte d'Ivoire. Territorialement, leur habitat représente également un peu moins de la moitié de la superficie du pays.

6 En 1932, la colonie de la Haute-Volta est dissoute pour «non viabilité économique». En 1937, elle se trouve démembrée et ses territoires répartis entre la Côte d'Ivoire, le Soudan français et le Niger à cause de la possibilité d'utiliser le réservoir de main-d'oeuvre de régions climatiquement déshéritées au profit d'immenses besoins (plantations et chantiers publics de la Côte d'Ivoire; projets rizicoles de l'Office du Niger au Mali). La reconstitution de l'ensemble territorial obtenu en 1947 fut le projet obstiné de Naaba Kom, le roi *moaga* puis de son fils Naaba Saga pour sauver l'identité de leur peuple. Comme le souligne avec raison Savonnet-Guyot, au-delà de la reconstitution territoriale, et plus tard de la question de l'autodétermination, se profilaient les enjeux considérables des luttes politiques qui marquèrent la difficile genèse de l'État voltaïque. La sécession en 1954 qui consomme la rupture entre l'Est et l'Ouest du pays, est provoquée par le départ de Nazi Boni et de ses partisans du Parti Social d'Émancipation des Masses Africaines (le parti pilote voltaïque dominé par le pays *moaga* dans la revendication de l'indépendance) pour fonder un nouveau parti, le Mouvement Populaire Africain dont le rayon d'action et la zone d'élection sont la région de Bobo-Dioulasso, capitale économique de l'Ouest. Et c'est cette fronde de Nazi Boni qui alimentera, quelques années plus tard, l'éphémère Mouvement Autonomiste de l'Ouest (MAO). Dans les débats envenimés qui avaient entouré la création de deux grands pôles politiques entre lesquels se partageaient alors les pays de l'ancienne Afrique occidentale française, le Moogo Naaba Saga mettait en garde contre une entreprise *«qui ne tiendrait pas compte des réalités intra-historiques de chaque peuple et, en particulier, du nôtre, dont on connaît les caractéristiques»* (Savonnet-Guyot, 1986: 135-142).

7 Cette colonisation intérieure est encouragée par l'État, quelque soient les régimes, qui préfère faire profiter ce dynamisme démographique *moaga* au Burkina plutôt qu'à la Côte d'Ivoire, principal pays d'émigration des Burkinabè.

8 Ce projet devenu réalité en 1997 est né de l'imagination de certains intellectuels et hommes politiques moose. Le président de la République, Blaise Compaoré, avait donné son aval pour que l'État finance ce film, dont le budget s'élevait à plus d'un milliard de francs CFA. *L'Indépendant* sous la plume de H.S., a été le journal le plus virulent, à travers plusieurs articles où il attirait l'attention du chef de l'État sur le délaissement dont était victime la ville de Bobo-Dioulasso dans l'Ouest, deuxième ville du pays qui se mourait et dans le même temps qu'il (le président, sous-entendu *moaga* d'origine) finançait une oeuvre qui sera retenue comme la sienne.

9 Opinion du GRAVE (groupe de réflexion et d'actions valorisatrices de l'Éthique), *Observateur Paalga*, juillet 1993, no. 3462.

10 Bien des critiques à l'encontre du monde *moaga* au Burkina comme en Côte d'Ivoire traduisent en fait une certaine impuissance face au dynamisme et à la forte identité culturels ou encore au sens de la discipline. Ces caractéristiques sont fondées sur la tradition hiérarchique propre aux Moose, aidés en cela par leur nombre, leur solide tradition expansionniste et assimilationniste, leur expérience historique en matière de contrôle politique.

11 Le regard porté sur l'autre est toujours une affaire délicate. C'est le lieu ici d'évaluer l'instrumentalisation politique du savoir anthropologique et ethnologique pendant la période coloniale par l'association des variables psychologiques aux critères morphologiques (Boëtsch et Savarese, 2000). Quelles peuvent être pour les «observés» les conséquences de ce regard de l'anthropologie physique sur leur identité culturelle? On le verra plus loin dans cet article.

12 Si la séparation ethnique au Burkina semble plus marquée entre Peul et sédentaires, probablement du fait de l'arrivée tardive de ceux-ci dans un espace déjà construit à la veille de la domination coloniale, ailleurs, comme le souligne Amselle (1990) dans *Logiques métisses*, l'on devient Peul ou toucouleur, Hausa ou Bambara, selon les nécessités du moment, à partir d'«un système de conversion ethnique».

13 Il est en ainsi de l'ethnonyme générique «Gurunsi» qu'attribuent les Moose aux Kasena, aux Lela, aux Nuni, sociétés segmentaires qu'ils n'ont jamais pu dominer militairement et qui signifie «non circoncis», en d'autres termes barbares.

14 La décision d'écrire cet article s'explique par l'effacement de cette «mémoire *silmimoaga*», mémoire récente vieille d'environ un siècle et demi. Marginalisés par la recherche ou traités incidemment ou accessoirement, les Silmimoose méritent d'être mieux connus par une collecte systématique des données. Ce travail qui mobilise mes recherches personnelles et celles d'autres chercheurs se veut comme une introduction.

15 Le principe de l'autochtonie n'a pas toujours coïncidé avec la première appropriation de la terre. Des groupes allochtones ont été territorialisés et investis au gré des reclassements politiques, notamment dans le royaume du Yatenga.

16 *Naam*: cette force qui permet à un homme d'en commander un autre. Le *naam* est le droit associé à *panga*, la force. C'est la conviction que tous les Moose, descendants de Wedraogo, l'ancêtre fondateur, ont vocation à exercer un commandement.

17 Désigne les rois et leurs lignages. Les *nakombse* évincés du pouvoir étant relégués dans la catégorie des *talse* par un processus de roturisation.

18 Les Kurumba ou Fulse. (sg. *Fulga* ethnonyme *moore*), passés progressivement sous la domination *moaga*, constituent le plus grand groupe d'«autochtones» du Yatenga. Ils sont, avant l'arrivée des *nakombse*, le groupe politiquement dominant regroupé autour du royaume du Lurum dont le territoire s'étendait sur la plus grande partie des régions actuellement dénommées Jelgogi et Yatenga.

Les forgerons sont issus de plusieurs origines ethniques pré-moose ou *moaga* et constituent par excellence un groupe « supra-ethnique » de populations ou d'individus

asservis à un métier. Si dans le reste du *Moogo*, le statut de forgeron, pourtant toujours lié à une appartenance lignagère, mais dépourvu d'implications sociologiques et idéologiques particulières, n'est associé à aucune interdiction d'ordre matrimonial, dans le Yatenga, l'idéologie *moaga* reprend à son compte l'exclusion des forgerons pratiquée par les populations conquises. Gens dont la proximité à la sacralité de la terre où ils enfouissent leur forge et domptent le feu les fait à la fois redouter, et gens dont pourtant l'industrie est doublement indispensable à un peuple de guerriers et d'agriculteurs. Les forgerons sont perçus comme une catégorie socio-professionnelle distincte. On devient forgeron, on ne cesse pas de l'être.

19 Ayant déformé le terme wolof servant à les désigner, les Français dénomment Peul, ceux qui s'appellent eux-mêmes Fulbe (sg. *Pullo*), que les Anglo-saxons à la suite des Hausa nomment Fulani, et les Allemands Fulas ou Ful (Lacroix, 1989: 1006-1007). Les Moose les désignent par l'ethnonyme Silmiise (sg. *Silmiiga*).

20 Corrélée à la détérioration des pâturages sahélo-soudaniens, la disponibilité de la chimio-prévention de la trypanosomiase depuis quelques décennies engendre de nouveaux flux migratoires des éleveurs de zébus vers les zones méridionales humides. Dans ces «nouveaux pays», les Peul doivent faire la preuve de leur adaptabilité aux conditions écologiques différentes et en même temps négocier de nouvelles formes de relations avec des populations qu'ils connaissent peu. On peut utilement consulter la carte établie par Boutrais (1994) pour rendre compte de cette mobilité contemporaine.

21 Dim Delobsom, personnage à la trajectoire et aux écrits controversés, est un *nakombga* devenu fonctionnaire de l'administration française, puis éphémère chef *moaga*. Il consacra comme traditionniste ou comme «premier ethnographe autochtone» quelques monographies aux Moose. Ses travaux traduisent aussi son «époque», une époque coloniale pour un «indigène évolué» (Piriou, 1995).

22 Dans l'ancienne stratification sociale précoloniale, ils étaient des *macube* (sg. *macudo*), esclaves, et depuis des *rymaybe* (sg. *rymaydyo*) affranchis (Mathieu, 1988: 137).

23 Izard (1985) signale également chez les prestataires silmiise à la cour des *rymaybe* (*rabense* en *moore*) bouchers et les guérisseurs maraboutiques de Todyam et Bosomnore.

24 Foulsés (Fulse ou Kurumba), Habbés (Kibse ou Dogon).

25 *Napogsyure*: système matrimonial royal d'accumulation et de distribution de femmes dans le cadre des prestations matrimoniales liant le souverain à ses sujets. Le chef donne une femme au serviteur à condition de recevoir en retour la première fille du couple dont il pourra disposer librement.

26 L'adultère était sévèrement réprimé chez les Moose. Pour les *talse*, cet acte est passible de l'exclusion du lignage *(buudu)* et chez les nobles de la peine de mort. Les enfants nés hors mariage sont rejetés par la famille paternelle et souvent mis à mort. Ils ne peuvent être recueillis que par la famille maternelle en raison de l'attachement séculaire porté aux neveux *(yagense)* chez les Moose. L'installation des premiers Silmimoose dans les villages moose peut être liée à cette procédure d'obligation morale vis-à-vis des neveux. Selon Tauxier, la première branche des Silmimoose

issue d'un mariage entre un *Silmiiga* et une femme *moaga* préféra s'installer en pays *moaga* (Kalsaka au Yatenga) plutôt que chez les Silmiise, craignant de ne pouvoir être reçue en ce milieu du fait de leur sang *moaga*. Par la suite, leurs descendants s'unirent avec des femmes moose et jamais avec des Silmiise (1917: 608).

27 Notamment au Yatenga sous le règne de Naaba Kango (1757-1787) marqué par l'arrivée massive de captifs kibse de la plaine du Gondo et fulbe du Jelgoji. (Izard, 1980: 1504-1505).

28 Tauxier souligne que les cas de mixité sont à situer à l'ouest de la boucle du Niger (1917: 607). Notre sujet traite plus spécifiquement du cas de la société *moaga* face aux métissages. L'attitude des Moose vis-à-vis des pasteurs peul n'est pas isolée. On constate partout ailleurs dans le Burkina la prohibition formelle des unions avec les Peul pour des raisons sociologiques et idéologiques voisines de celles des Moose: le nomadisme, la peur de la mort, l'absence du culte des ancêtres, la «beauté excessive ou la légèreté des femmes». Fondamentalement cette discrimination est fondée sur la peur du nomadisme, la peur de l'autre qui n'a pas d'attache à la terre nourricière, à la terre-mère, à la terre divinité. Seule exception, les Samo, peuple sédentaire de l'Ouest, entretiennent une relation de parenté à plaisanterie avec les Peul.

29 Sur l'origine des Silmimoose du Yatenga, les différentes versions collectées par Benoît (1982) dans la région de Bema font allusion à un ancêtre peul au cheminement migratoire variable qui a eu une liaison avec la fille d'un chef *moaga*.

30 La religion traditionnelle l'emporte largement chez les Silmimoose du Yatenga sur l'Islam et inversement, ceux de Wogodogo sont en majorité musulmans. Selon Tauxier, ils seraient en 1917, 500 musulmans sur 5627 individus. En plus, la particularité au Yatenga réside en l'adhésion principale des chefs silmimoose à l'Islam qui est pour eux «une manière de se distinguer de la masse. Cela leur permet d'arborer le turban et des vêtements amples.» La religion traditionnelle, appelée aussi religion *sangare*, se réduit en culte des ancêtres, de *Wende* (dieu *moaga*), de la terre (divinité *Tenga*) et de l'usage des boissons fermentées (1917: 618-788). Toutefois, de nos jours, les Silmimoose du Yatenga sont presque tous devenus musulmans.

31 On ne sait pas trop bien l'origine des Silmimoose affectés, dans les villages spécialisés dénommés Bagare, à la garde des cheptels royaux. Ces villages dépendaient uniquement des rois et constituaient un refuge pour tous ceux qui étaient pourchassés. Les gens de Bagare sont en partie des Silmiise, des Silmimoose et autres captifs d'origines diverses. Ils sont tous soumis à l'endogamie stricte et ont statut de captifs royaux utilisés quelques fois comme guerriers.

32 Ne sont pas énoncés les commerçants. Cependant, il est remarquable de voir apparaître dans l'énumération le groupe interne à la société *silmiiga* des *setba*.

33 La fine discrimination verbale dans ses formes nouvelles se retrouve fréquemment par la précision «peul ou poulote au féminin» quand il s'agit de nommer un individu peul qu'il soit passager dans un autocar ou médecin en ville. On précisera moins souvent bissa, samo, etc.

Dans le cas du Bénin, Bierschenk (1995) nous livre avec beaucoup d'humour l'auto-représentation des Peul et le regard porté sur eux par les populations voisines.

34 L'idéologie coloniale et l'ethnographie qui en résulte a joué un rôle important dans la formation de certains préjugés favorables aux Fulbe à cause surtout de la tentation de la théorie des races qui explique l'intérêt des Européens à l'égard de populations classées rouges ou blanches, berbères ou sémites (Peul, Maures, Touareg) afin de rendre compte des différences entre populations (Amselle, 1990: 72-73). Williams (1988) qualifie de «dualisme racial» les fondements mythico-anthropologiques des écrits des voyageurs et ethnologues français du XIXe siècle favorables aux Peul et à d'autres groupes. La théorie des faciès n'a pas échappée au Capitaine Binger, un explorateur français qui de passage au Burkina à la fin du XIXe siècle, oppose dans ses descriptions les Fulbe noirs de Boromo, de Wahabu (semblables à ceux du Futa sénégalais) aux Fulbe blancs du Jelgoji et du Kotédugu «peu métissés, presque blancs» comme ceux du Hausa, du Macina et du Ferlo. «Leurs femmes ont le type sémite très prononcé». Les premiers seraient issus d'un stock fulbe non renouvelé par de nouvelles vagues migratoires et dilués dans la région d'accueil, les seconds s'étant peu métissés (1892: 380-391). Le même discours se retrouve chez Tauxier qui distingue à l'envie la «race peule» de la «race nègre», bien qu'il remarque que «du point de vue physique, le peul du Yatenga, assez mélangé de sang nègre, surtout le Diallubé, est aussi noir que les Mossis et Foulsés. Le métissage lui ayant donné de la robustesse. Il n'a pas la maigreur, les reins de chat écorché, les oreilles caractéristiques énormes bien détachées de la tête, le petit menton en pointe et la couleur relativement pâle du visage des Peuls de l'Issa-Ber. Bref, il semble plus mélangé de sang nègre que ce dernier» (1917: 661).

Dans la même veine, Dupire (1962: 2-3) constate chez les Wodaabe du Niger l'«amalgame des traits», l'importance que ceux-ci accordent à leurs caractères physiques «à en juger par le souci qu'ils ont de leurs origines raciales»: peaux claires, traits fins, nez aquilin, membres longs, attaches délicates, visages étroits et fins, etc.

On trouvera chez Barry (1985) une excellente étude sur les préjugés concernant les Peul.

35 Par exemple, les Fulbe Dyallube sont d'origine Hal Pulaar (toucouleur), donc déjà issus d'un premier métissage entre Fulbe et Mandé avec une prédominance noire soulignée par les voyageurs. Incontestablement le groupe fulbe est le produit d'une interaction génétique longue et consolidée. Les recherches récentes ont montré que les ressemblances génétiques mutuelles entre trois populations fulbe étaient moins grandes que celles qui unissent chacune d'elles à des groupes non-fulbe, voisins ou géographiquement éloignés (Lacroix, 1989: 1006-1007).

Certains Fulbe développent un discours de distinction. Ils désignent par le terme *Leydi Baleebe* (terre des noirs) les régions du Sud où ils s'établissaient. La langue *fulfulde* distingue le Blanc, l'Européen, par le terme *daneejo* et le Noir par *baleejo*. Péjorativement, nègre se dit *kaabo*, du radical *haad*, qualifiant ce qui est amer de goût. Les Fulbe ne se qualifient ni de «blanc» ni de «noir», mais de «rouge».

Le terme *«min Fulbe»* (Nous les Fulbe, le Nous étant exclusif) employé quelques fois par les Fulbe, traduit la séparation des bergers des non-bergers, c'est-à-dire des autres hommes. Par ce fait, le Fulbe se distingue des autres hommes dont il est anthropologiquement et techniquement distinct. Il est donc noble *(dimo)*, spécialisé dans le pastorat, ignorant tout ce qui a trait au travail du bois, du fer et de la terre, confié à des artisans castés professionnellement (Mathieu, 1988: 43-137).

36 En l'occurrence, le «Peul pur» serait-il le Peul, le nomade rouge, le *Bodaado* aux cheveux laineux qui se considère comme Blanc et qui pratique le *pulaaku*, c'est-à-dire la manière de se comporter en Peul, le code social et éthique. En cela, Amselle (1990: 72-73) s'oppose à Dupire (1962) et à une tendance de l'anthropologie physique française à qui l'on a reproché de dévaloriser le Peul sédentaire et musulman au profit du «Peul pur», le nomade. En effet ce paradigme islamique interprété divise la société peul en deux composantes, l'une nomade et pastoraliste, l'autre sédentaire et musulmane: «Peuls de brousse» mauvais musulmans et «Peul des villes» qui n'ont plus de troupeaux.

37 Bernus (1993: 162-167) au sujet des Touareg (ou Tamasheq), autre groupe nomade pastoraliste dispersé sur un vaste territoire, nuance cette affirmation. Tout en absorbant des populations autochtones, la société touareg fondée sur la guerre, l'esclavage et la maîtrise d'un espace, s'est culturellement préservée des sociétés environnantes notamment par le langage rattaché au rameau berbère, la hiérarchie sociale et la civilisation pastorale.

38 Et dans cette perspective, entre autres, l'intégration des métis Peul Bambara au groupe majoritaire.

39 Le rituel royal du *ringu*, quête de légitimité faite par tout nouveau roi auprès des maîtres de la terre, exprime exemplairement le type de relation qui lie les conquérants aux autochtones. Par le *ringu*, le roi des Moose du Yatenga devient le roi du royaume et le seul prêtre de cette religion abstraite qui associe *Tenga*, divinité des gens de la terre, à *Wende*, divinité des chefs et en fait un couple.

40 Les Fulbe considèrent l'agriculture comme une activité non noble et la réservent aux captifs *rymaybe* d'où le mépris pour les paysans sédentaires. On trouve le même constat chez Dupire pour qui «à cause de sa spécialisation outrancière, cette économie dépend étroitement de l'agriculture et de l'artisanat des sociétés voisines» (1962: 127). Situation qui appelle un autre paradigme: celui de l'esclavage comme moyen de production indispensable dans la société peul. L'abolition de l'esclavage à la faveur de la colonisation entraîne une mutation majeure: l'avènement du Peul agriculteur et la déstructuration des groupes peul semi-sédentaires. Ce qui n'empêche la persistance d'une identité servile et la clientélisation de nouvelles formes de dépendance dans le champ des allégeances symboliques. Au Yatenga et ailleurs dans le Nord du Burkina, les *Rymaybe* ont confirmé leur «destin paysan» en une sorte de «revancheet de victoire» économiques contre l'aristocratie peul condamnée à la vaine pâture. Les relations actuelles sont très formelles entre les asservis d'hier et les maîtres. (Benoît, 1982; Pillet-Schwartz, 1996).

41 On retrouve le même argumentaire chez Binger qui considère le Fulbe comme étant d'une intelligence supérieure à celle du

Noir fétichiste sur lequel il l'emporte dans la domination politique excepté le Noir du Mande qu'il ne peut évincer (1892 : 393). Tauxier abonde dans la même description psychologique. Pour lui, l'imagination et la sensibilité du Peul sont supérieures à celles du nègre puisqu'il est plus familier avec l'Européen. Il serait en outre dissimulé, sournois et «au point de vue de l'énergie, le Peul est paresseux. L'art pastoral ne le prédisposant pas aux travaux durs et au courage patient ... L'idéal pour le Peul est la prière dans la mosquée ou le maqam. Bref, les aptitudes du Peul à la production (sauf à celle du bétail) sont à peu près nulles» (1917 : 661). Dans le même registre, Dupire écrit que «même sédentarisé, il reste apatride, profondément individualiste, ignorant le culte des ancêtres, fuyant devant la mort, dont l'idée même lui est odieuse, comme en face des épidémies et des exactions» (1970 : 582).

42 Au contraire des sujets moose qui se prosternent devant le Naaba, les éléments d'origine extérieure (Silmiise, Yarse, Maranse, Hausa...) ne sont pas soumis à la même déférence.

43 Ces valeurs, comme le soulignent Dupire (1981) et Amselle (1990) qui se retrouvent dans bien d'autres sociétés africaines et dans l'Islam ne sauraient véritablement définir une spécialité peul. Encore que, ressuscité et instrumentalisé, le *pulaaku* sert de fondement idéologique à la transnationalité et à la spécificité identitaire peul sur la scène politique contemporaine au Cameroun, au Bénin et au Nigeria avec de nombreuses mésaventures (Vereecke, 1993; Guichard, 1990; Bierschenk, 1992 et 1995).

44 On aurait pu dire *Moosilmiiga (moaga* et *silmiiga)* pour mettre en avant l'ascendance *moaga.* En outre le produit des mariages entre Moose et groupes externes ou voisins (Maranse, Yarse, Bissa, Gurunsi...) n'a jamais donné des dénominations du genre *Marangmoaga (Maranse* et *Moose)* ou *Yargmoaga* (Yarse et Moose). La même appellation discriminatoire se retrouve en *fulfulde* qui désigne les Silmimoose par Nattobe (sg. *Natto).*

45 Même si la langue, comme le souligne Nicolas (1973 : 105) ne saurait à elle seule constituer le fait ethnique, il n'en demeure pas moins qu'elle véhicule l'identité du groupe qui la parle. Elle s'impose comme un donné naturel, irréductible, de l'ordre de l'apparence physique. La langue unit, isole et résiste plus efficacement aux influences que les autres aspects de l'ethnicité.

46 Les Ninise sont assimilés à la fois dans les différents travaux aux Kibse (région de Yako), aux Samo ou aux Gurunsi (région de Koudougou).

47 Zangweogo : ethnonyme *moore* désignant les commerçants hausa.

48 On trouvera chez Izard (1985 : 309-349), l'énumération complète de toutes les procédures de mutation lignagère dans le cas du royaume du Yatenga.

49 Les Moose sont répartis en patrilignages exogames ou *buudu.* Le *buudu* génère un semblant de conscience ethnique et les Moose y font référence assez souvent. C'est un groupe de descendance particulier par sa filiation. Il peut être défini par un ancêtre unique, un lieu d'origine marqué par un sanctuaire *(kiims roogo –* maison des ancêtres) et un nom-devise *(sondre)* ou plus exactement un corpus de nom-devises. Formation sociale de base, le *buudu* se subdivise

en segments localisés qui forment les «quartiers» *(sakse),* répartis entre plusieurs villages *(tense).* À la tête du *buudu,* le *buud kasma* (ancien du *buudu).*

50 Très peu de Silmimoose bénéficiaient de nouveaux statuts lors des mutations d'identité lignagère.

51 On trouve cette même attitude dans les sociétés occidentales : un enfant d'un mariage mixte est rarement classé dans la catégorie raciale de son «ascendance dominante» comme c'est le cas aux États-Unis ou en Europe. Inversement, sous l'Apartheid en Afrique du Sud, les métis constituaient une catégorie spécifique intermédiaire entre Blancs et Noirs et bénéficiaient par conséquent de privilèges interdits aux autres groupes.

52 Dans le même ordre d'idée, Kouanda (1989 : 125-134) nous démontre comment le groupe externe au *Moogo* des Yarse est parvenu à la construction de ce qui s'apparente fortement à une identité ethnique en s'appuyant sur l'Islam dès le XIXe siècle. Il faut cependant souligner que les négociants Yarse intégrés dans la société *moaga* ont pratiqué un Islam peu prosélyte, en tout cas compatible avec l'extrême hiérarchisation des royaumes dont la cohérence est assurée par une constante référence aux ancêtres fondateurs et à la hiérarchie des représentants de l'idéologie du pouvoir et du sacré. En outre, l'ancienneté des relations entre Yarse et *nakombse* était gage de bonne entente, d'intégration dans la société et de la suprématie des premiers sur les groupes de négociants concurrents. Bien que moorephones, les Yarse à qui manquent nombre de traits qui fondent l'ethnie, sont parvenus, par leur dynamisme économique et leur religion, à s'affirmer et à construire une identité particulière dans l'ensemble *moaga* au point au point de se considérer, abusivement certes, comme une ethnie.

53 Tiendrebeogo rapporte qu'il était désigné par le terme méprisant de «Père des Peuls» (1964 : 25).

54 On se demande comment un *Silmiiga* pouvait prendre le pouvoir alors que les Silmiise en étaient exclus. Izard estime qu'il n'y a pas eu usurpation, mais plutôt une régence assurée par un homme de confiance de Naaba Wubi (probablement d'origine *silmiiga)* pendant la jeunesse du successeur légitime (1970 : 163).

Par une réhabilitation tardive, Pacéré Titinga, dans son discours le jour du premier tour de manivelle de l'*Épopée,* souligna le caractère polyethnique du peuple *mooga* dont un Peul, Naaba Moatiba, fut un des souverains (*Observateur Paalga,* 1994, no. 3813). On peut se demander si cette réhabilitation au milieu d'une controverse est politique ou sincère.

55 Le CNR abrogeait dès le 3 décembre 1983, tous les textes régissant les modes de désignation des chefs de village, ceux fixant les limites territoriales entre autorités administratives et coutumières, ainsi que les textes relatifs aux rémunérations et gratifications des chefs coutumiers de Haute-Volta (AFP : 1984).

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The "Policy of Aggressive Civilization" and Projects of Governance in Roman Catholic Industrial Schools for Native Peoples in Canada, 1870-95

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Abstract: The earliest of Canada's post-Confederation residential industrial schools for Native people are examined in light of "the Post-Foucauldian Theory of Governance," which is derived from Foucault's later work on practices governing. John L. Tobias' analysis of the periodization of Canadian policy towards aboriginal peoples is re-examined through this optic. This theoretically oriented analysis identifies three "projects of governance," which are examined in historical detail. Links of Canada's policy for residential schools are traced to the U.S. Peace Policy and other sources, and the roles of the Canadian federal government and Roman Catholic missions are re-examined.

Résumé: Cet article examine les premières écoles résidentielles pour les peuples aborigènes après la Confédération au Canada à la lumière de "la théorie de la gouvernance post-foucaldienne," dérivée des derniers ouvrages de Foucault sur les pratiques de gouvernement. L'analyse qu'a faite Philippe Tobuas de la périodisation de la politique canadienne envers les peuples aboriginaux est réexaminée dans cette optique. Cette analyse identifie trois "projets de gouvernance" dont elle examine les situation historiques en détail. On trace des connections entre la politique des écoles résidentielles au Canada et la "politique de paix" américaine ainsi que d'autres sources, de plus les rôles du gouvernement fédéral canadien et des missions catholiques sont scrutés.

Introduction

The first purpose of this paper is to explore the Canadian industrial schools in context of a formulation that Alan Hunt (1994: 229) has provisionally dubbed the "post-Foucauldian theory of governance."[1] Three projects of governance[2] are examined which I believe to be embodied in the schools which, following a lead by Tobias (1976), I identify as the "civilization project," the "protection project," and the "assimilation project." These "projects of governance," however, are understood very differently from Tobias' formulation.

A second purpose is to indicate the resonance of certain concepts (e.g., "modes of domination," "symbolic violence") derived from the work of Bourdieu (1977: 85 ff.) which resonate very strongly with the post-Foucauldian formulation despite the fundamental differences between the two theoretical approaches. These are differences which may be impossible to reconcile, but Bourdieu's formulation suggests very helpful concepts for the analysis of early industrial schools for Native peoples in Canada, the main topic of this paper.

A third purpose is to explore the founding of the earliest industrial schools as they are represented in government and mission archives. Such research is not particularly easy, and such archives are sorely lacking in the insights that ethnographic data, for example, may provide to supply the voice of Native peoples that is virtually silenced in such archival sources. Here the purpose is to explore the archives from a specific theoretical position grounded in the works of Foucault and Bourdieu.

The overall purpose of this analysis is to introduce a critical and fruitful theoretical formulation into the examination of residential and industrial schools for Native peoples throughout their historical course. In doing so attempts are made to suggest links between the practices and political rationalities of Christian missions and those of the state. Most of those who have examined these schools, in Canada at least, have done so primarily

through descriptive and narrative historical approaches. Their work has been absolutely invaluable, but it now seems to be timely to attempt a more explicit theorization of the subject, focussing on issues of power, domination, and resistance and non-compliance where that is possible on the basis of archival sources.

Historical Context

In 1879, Nicholas Flood Davin[3] (1879) submitted a confidential *Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds* to the Minister of the Interior,[4] Sir John A. Macdonald, who had commissioned Davin to go to Washington, DC and learn as much as possible about the American policy for Indian administration known as "the policy of aggressive civilization."[5] This policy, outlined in some detail by Davin, had been formulated in the post-Civil War period by President Ulysses S. Grant's administration (see Waltmann, 1971) and was passed into law by Congress in early 1869. One of its key instruments was to be the use of "industrial schools" (not simply synonymous with "Indian residential schools"[6]), in which Christian denominations would play a major role in the day-to-day operation although the schools were to be built by the U.S. government (see also Hagan, 1988: 58-61).

The purpose of Davin's report was to advise Canadian government of American experience with the Peace Policy, and particularly with the Industrial School system mandated under it, and to recommend how the Canadian government might adapt it. Davin's report is a glowing account of the American policy, and he presented detailed recommendations on how the Canadian government might emulate it. While Davin's recommendations are almost completely analogous to the American system there are some differences, in part reflecting discussions that had been going on between government and religious leaders (especially Roman Catholic and Anglican) in Canada in the 1860s and 1870s. Before this time there had already been several mission experiments with residential and industrial schools in which governments had considerably less part than in the schools of the decades after 1879 (see Miller, 1996: 39-88; Nock, 1972). The post-Confederation residential school system are the topic of this paper.

Among the supporting documents accompanying the Order-in-Council[7] establishing industrial schools in Canada, only Davin's report was given a place of prominence. It appears there in its entirety as the centrepiece of the supporting material, which otherwise included only two brief items.[8] Davin's report must therefore be a centrepiece in any analysis of the founding of the earliest post-Confederation Canadian industrial schools, despite repeated claims by both supporters and detractors of the schools that religious leaders in Canada had in effect invented the system virtually singlehandedly. For example, Roman Catholic authors have repeatedly claimed that Bishop Vital Grandin,[9] Archbishop Alexandre Taché,[10] and Father Albert Lacombe[11] (all Oblate missionaries of Mary Immaculate) had created the Canadian Indian industrial school system (see e.g., Levaque, 1990: 68-69; Nowakowski, 1962) because, says Levaque (68), "the government was not doing its part." The reading of available archival materials offered here suggests another interpretation: that the Oblates' specific and distinctive ideas and recommendations[12] on the matter had no *direct* place in the documentation supporting the Order-in-Council, although the Oblates were certainly party to the discussions that lead to the founding of the schools. Davin's report, I maintain, is the *de facto* founding document, in effect the charter document, which specified the terms within which industrial schools functioned for almost a century. This is so despite the minor role assigned to it by outstanding scholars such as J.R. Miller (1996: 101-103).

Members of the Oblate order[13] had indeed been deeply involved in correspondence and discussions among themselves and with federal and territorial government officials (including the Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald and other ministers of the Crown) for at least ten years preceding the Order-in-Council[14] which created Canadian industrial schools. Davin's report is best seen as the common ground negotiated by the principal parties[15] in the 1870s, with the *exclusion* of some key demands of the Oblate order. It should be pointed out that three Oblates (Archbishop Taché, Bishop Grandin, Fr Lacombe) were named in the Order-in-Council to specific functions in the newly created industrial school system.[16] Nicholas Flood Davin (an Anglican of Irish origin) was known to Archbishop Taché, who is said to have liked him, despite Davin's connections with the Orange Order, possibly because Davin's ideas on education were consistent with the archbishop's own. I do not wish to argue that Davin, rather than the Oblate order as claimed by such authors as Nowakowski (1962) and Levaque (1990), was the "true creator" of industrial schools. Both had a part, but the specific legal and policy formulation which led to the foundation of the first government schools after Confederation was Davin's. In any case, it is seldom appropriate to identify individual creators for cultural practices of this magnitude. The alternative view here is that the schools developed within a complex history of well-established cultural practices toward Native

peoples in Canada and the U.S. They were the product not only of extended political discussions but (more importantly) of less overt cultural processes which can only be elucidated by critical social analysis.

The post-Confederation Canadian Indian Industrial schools were neither simply a Roman Catholic creation, nor a missionary creation, nor even a Canadian state creation, but were the outgrowth of an array of policies and practices on a continental scale deeply intertwined with other U.S. and Canadian cultural projects regarding Native peoples. These schools must be seen as a site for the contestation and negotiation of policies and practices derived from multiple sites within the U.S. and Canadian social formations.

As Davin (1879:1) recounted in his report to Sir John A. Macdonald, U.S. policy provided for the appointment of the Peace Commission,[17] which was charged among other duties with administering the Policy of Aggressive Civilization, a subsidiary formulation of the Peace Policy (also known as the "Quaker Policy;" see Utley (1984: 133). The Peace Commission[18] recommended several major points of policy and administrative practice, some of which found clear counterparts in Davin's report and in the Canadian government's first significant policy changes concerning Indians since the *Indian Act* (1876).[19] Among the chief policy recommendations of the U.S. Peace Commission, according to Davin's description, were recommendations that:

> the Indians should, as far as practicable, be consolidated on new reservations, and provided with "permanent individual homes;" that the tribal relation should be abolished; that lands should be allotted in severalty and not in common; that the Indian should speedily become a citizen of the United States, enjoy the protection of the law, and be made amenable thereto, that, finally, it was the duty of the Government to afford the Indians all reasonable aid in their preparation for citizenship by educating them in Industry and in the arts of civilization. (Davin, 1879: 1)

Davin prefaced his description of the policy with the revealing comment that "the industrial school is the principal feature of the policy known as that of *"aggressive civilization"* (Davin, 1879: 1; emphasis added)—namely, that centralized residential schools teaching rudimentary education along with basic "industrial" skills and trades (such as carpentry, agriculture, blacksmithing and shoemaking), which were to be instrumental in applying the policy of aggressive civilization. The schools were to be instruments of "civilizing aggressively."

The bulk of Davin's report is devoted to the economic and political rationalization of the Industrial school scheme and to his strong recommendations that Canada adopt what was in effect a policy of aggressive civilization modelled very substantially on that of the United States, if not in name[20] or complete detail. Canada's policy may not have been aggressive in name, but it was certainly aggressive in practice.

Theorizing Governance

With Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992: 102) I reject the "fantasy of conspiracy ... [which] haunts critical social thought." Critical theoretical analysis of state and mission relations in early industrial schools is important for three reasons: (1) that these relations were among the most powerful in the ruling of Native peoples; (2) that the post-Foucauldian theory of governance offers considerable insight into the nature of these relations; and (3) that critical anthropology can offer a valuable long-term historical view of relations of ruling.

Since the state itself is a cultural project (Corrigan and Sayer 1985: intro.), projects of governance must be seen as located at various sites within the Canadian social formation which may or may not be specifically linked to state operations. This means that we must look for a variety of cultural projects of governance, which are identified here following leads in important work by Tobias (1976). Unlike Tobias, however, who gives prominence of place to state policies, we seek these projects not simply in the rationalities and activities of the state, but in those of non-state organizations which are engaged in governance, understood as any rationality or activity that seeks to "conduct the conduct of others" (cf. Foucault, 1979 [1991]; Gordon, 1991; Hunt, 1994: 229-232). Tobias in my view over-emphasizes the role of the state. Governance in the theoretical view adopted here is not simply a function of the governments and the state, but it is also a function of social and cultural rationalities and practices located in multiple sites in the non-state sector of a social formation. In Hunt's (1994) original articulation of the post-Foucauldian theory of governance, governance exists wherever there is a "relatively persistent set of often conflicting practices which select and construct some social object that is acted on in such a way as to control, regulate, restrain, limit and direct the activities of the selected object of governance" (230). These "relatively persistent sets of practices" constitute "projects of governance," "the discourses and practices toward control of others with regard to social "objects" or targets that are discursively constructed" (230). This means that governance cannot be understood outside of

a more general sociocultural analysis of power relations. The basic concepts here are derived ultimately from Foucault's (1978 [1991]) seminal essay on governmentality and the theoretical developments based on it which have been identified as forming the post-Foucauldian theory of governance by Hunt (1994: 229-230). Foucault's (1975 [1977]; 1979 [1991]:101-102) analysis of "discipline" is an integral part of this formulation, as are all practices and discourses by which moral regulation is mobilized. The post-Foucauldian theory of governance is embodied and developed in the work of a variety of authors.[21] Elements of Bourdieu's (1977: 183-196) concepts of "symbolic domination" and "symbolic violence" (see also Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 111-112, 167-168, 170-172, 194-195) resonate strongly with Foucault's formulation as we apply it to mission-run industrial schools in Canada, despite the very different conceptual frames of the two theoretical approaches. There are affinities too with Norbert Elias' (1994) analysis of civilizing practices.

Church-run Indian residential or industrial schools embrace features of state-linked organizations as they are conceived here, as well as political rationalities and practices of governing which have no direct link to state-centred policies and practices. They comprise, together with the activities of the state in the same schools, a complex mesh[22] of relations of ruling located both in the action of the state and in the actions of collectivities, institutions or organizations with more or less explicit relations to it. Our analysis must therefore pay attention to aspects of governance in state and state-linked locations.

Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: Projects of Governance

The complex history of state and non-state policy regarding Native Peoples in Canada since the establishment of British colonial rule in New France (1759) and the American War of Independence (1776) may be understood in several ways. Tobias (1976), for example, divided that history into three broad historical periods each of which, he maintained, was identified by a particular government policy commitment. He first identified a period (until about 1815) of "Protection"[23] typified by such governmental measures as *The Royal Proclamation* of 1763, which treated Native peoples as separate and sovereign nations under the protection of, and bound by treaties of amity and concord to the British crown.[24] Secondly, Tobias (1976: 14-22) identified a period from 1815 to about 1900 typified by policies for the promotion of the "civilization" of the Native peoples, and thirdly a period after 1900 typified by government concerns to "assimi-

late" the Native population (22-26). Tobias' formulation therefore relied on (a) on a clear historical periodization of policies towards Native peoples, with (b) a heavy emphasis on policies of governments and the state. I find both aspects of his work to be problematic, despite the insight that it offers for this analysis.

Tobias also maintained (but only briefly) a position which is both self-contradictory yet more satisfactory position when he stated near the beginning of his paper that "protection, civilization, and assimilation have *always* been the goals of Canada's Indian policy" (13, emphasis added). This I find much more acceptable if we are to understand "civilization," "protection," and "assimilation" as projects of governance in the sense provided by the post-Foucauldian theory of governance. Attempts to identify discrete historical periods in Canadian government Indian policies are grossly over-simplified. Christine Bolt (1987: 35), although she speaks of the U.S., maintains a position on this point with which I can largely agree—that "when the colonial era closed [i.e., after the American War of Independence], all the major ideas, policies and paradoxes that would dominate Indian policy and reform until the 1930s had emerged," although I would add the qualification "until the present." Her view applies equally well to Canada. Prucha (1976: chap. 7; 1981; 1988: 43), Satz (1975: chap. 9) and Surtees (1988: 88-89) deal extensively with the concept of "civilization" in U.S. and Canadian government policy, and Satz (1975: chap. 8) deals with the role of "protection" in U.S. policy. Their discussions resonate strongly with the views proposed here, despite their different theoretical commitments.

The perspective maintained here is based on Tobias' work but differs from it in key respects. I believe that in the history of Canada's dealings with Native peoples there were no projects of governance limited by historical period. These projects of governance are present *throughout* that history and are articulated in different policies and practices at different historical moments. How they relate in any historical instance can only be made clear by critical theoretical analysis. These projects may appear to be quite dissimilar at different moments in their history and may from time to time (even often) be in tension with each other, if not indeed in outright contradiction. They are to be discerned in *both* the state and non-state (e.g., church) arenas as elaborately interconnected and mutually reinforcing strands of political rationales, practices, routines, projects and programs of action.

The three projects of governance[25] recognized on the basis of Tobias' (1976) work (the "Protection Pro-

ject," the "Civilization Project," and the "Assimilation Project") are reexamined here through the optic of the post-Foucauldian theory of governance. These projects include not only government policies and practices, but policies and practices of state-linked organisations. While such a formulation is certainly not *sustained* in Tobias' work, it is compatible with Tobias' own insight that protection, civilisation, and assimilation "have always been the goals of Canada's Indian policy" (13). The view proposed here avoids the oversimplification of seeing these elaborate projects as goals distinctive of historical periods, or of seeing them as located primarily in rationalities and actions of the government. These projects of governance were negotiated and contested in complex ways throughout the whole of Canada's administration of First Nations peoples.

In this reading, the protection project has normally entailed dividing practices by the state and other agencies which are embodied in (1) discourses around aboriginal demoralization and political or cultural disintegration; (2) in discourses and practices organized around such legal formulations as the *Royal Proclamation* of 1763, the *Indian Act* of 1876 and its revisions, the Enfranchisement acts, the treaty system, numbered identification systems of individuals; and (3) in strategies for the physical and social isolation and separation of Native peoples, notably in the reserve system, residential schools, industrial schools, and in policies of sedentarization.

The civilizing project has typically consisted of discursive and practical strategies by the state and other agencies which combine elements of both "cultural synthesis" and "cultural replacement" (see Nock, 1972; 1988). It is clearly observable in practices for schooling, Europeanization, sedentarization, the inculcation of agriculture as a main source of subsistence, the introduction of such policies as landholding in severality, and labour discipline, all presented in the guise of directed culture change. Its discursive core is that of "citizenship," embodied as rationalities and practices in state-building projects organized around the rapid and effective disciplining of Native peoples as a compliant citizenry. It consisted significantly in Christianization as one of its chief instruments, as an integral part of state and state-linked discourse in Canada and the U.S. Christianization was conceived as rapid social transformation, as conversion of Indian persons in both religious and secular senses. These appear to be virtually (and explicitly) synonymous in, for example, Ulysses S. Grant's Peace Policy and in Davin's report of 1879.

The assimilating project was discursively constructed around the dismantling of Indian nations as corporate entities through a series of dividing practices, especially in the detachment of individuals from national and cultural loyalties other than those to the state. A good example may be noted in the Canadian enfranchisement legislation of the 1840s-60s, later consolidated in the *Indian Act* of 1876. On the face of it, the assimilation project may appear to be primarily a project for state expansion and consolidation, but the project was fostered by practices outside the immediate operation of state government, notably in mission practices of governance in which the goals of the missions are entangled in, if not even synonymous at times, with those of the state.[26]

All three projects of governance are thoroughly enmeshed with each other. For example, the treaty, reserve, or school systems include elements of all three projects, and cannot be isolated from each other. To put it another way, individually identifiable strategies or practices (e.g., sedentarization, schooling of particular forms, Christianization) simultaneously played roles in all three projects.

Industrial schools, in this analysis, were designed to protect in that the schools were intentionally located *off* reserve lands, sometimes at a considerable distance from Native communities. This contrasted, at least in the 19th century, with day schools and most residential schools, which were located *on* reserve lands but far enough away from communities so as to isolate the young from the influences of traditional communities. Both were intentionally located away from non-Indian settlements as well, so as to minimize influences from the influences of non-Indian settlers. All three types of school took separation and isolation as a key strategy. The distinctions between them became sufficiently blurred over the century of their existence that they became collectively known as "residential schools" after Duncan Campbell Scott's reorganization of aboriginal schooling in the 1920s took separation and isolation as a key strategy.

The industrial schools of the late 1800s were principally designed to civilize by means of the "pedagogy of work," by religious catechesis and religious conversion, and by Europeanization.[27] The teaching of basic literacy and numeracy was a much more secondary matter in the off-reserve industrial schools than in the on-reserve residential schools. This distinction was quite sharp in the latter years of the nineteenth century. The pedagogy of work and basic literacy played a role in both, in different ways. It was the basic pedagogical instrument for the industrial schools, with much less attention to numeracy and literacy.

The principal element of rationality of both the missions and the state was that disciplined habits of work

would effectively prepare industrial school inmates for full participation in the emerging Canadian society and economy. The discipline of work played additional roles in the rationalities of both missions and the state, in both cases related to the "disciplining" of school inmates (see Foucault, 1975 [1977]).[28]

Industrial schools were designed to assimilate by explicitly attempting to eradicate cultural difference, especially those which were antithetical or inconvenient to goals of governments and the missions. Combined with strategies for what can only be described as a ransacking of traditional forms of solidarity, including family and local community, these rationalities sought to extend the regulation of the state over Indian peoples by hastening their incorporation as subjects, and ultimately as citizens, of the Canadian state. The ransacking of traditional histories and their replacement with externally generated scripts[29] comprised strategic elements in the disciplining of the Native peoples as new entities within the Canadian state and social formations.

The three governance projects occurred simultaneously, and found multiple expressions in the daily routines of the schools, as well as in the elaborated political rationalities that may be identified in archival evidence of the strenuous negotiations and contestations between representatives of the missions, the territorial government, and the federal government that preceded and accompanied the founding of the schools. These recur throughout their operation.

Cultural projects of governance of the magnitude and tenacity that we are dealing with (250 years or so) can not be fruitfully dealt with by an atomizing approach, for example by attempts to assess the impacts of individually and narrowly defined policies viewed in isolation, of even of specific policy "programs" (that most beloved governmental concept). The identification of major, enduring projects of governance requires investigation of the practical routines and rituals ("practices") of governance as well as the "political rationalities" (see Burchell, 1991: 122, 125; Miller and Rose, 1990), those politico-legal, administrative, and ideological and conceptual discourses ("policies") which seek, if only partly explicitly, to verbalize, legitimize, define and embody these projects in various forms of relations of ruling.[30] Governance projects are articulated and domesticated not only in political rationalities of the state, but in multiform practices within the normal, taken-for-granted fabric of social formations.

This formulation could be reversed almost equally well by arguing that the investigation of particular policies and practices (the usual approach of historians and social scientists), is understandably tempting in an attempt to render immensely complex (even opaque) social relations manageable analytically. It requires investigation of connections to the larger social formation within which the policies and practices are embedded and interconnected, especially to other long-enduring state projects of governance, and to the longer-term social dynamics of which a particular practice may be but one moment.[31] It is essential to problematize academic practices in our discussion of these issues, for they too are rooted in the same large cultural discourses which generate state and state-linked relations of regulation and power that they seek to investigate.[32]

Canada's Version of the Policy of Aggressive Civilization

In Canadian historical and social studies there has been a certain (not entirely justifiable) tendency to view Canada's aboriginal policies in distinction from those of the United States. A conventional view is that American and British North American policies markedly diverged at the time of the American War of Independence, when the British North American Indian administration quickly moved to a civil administration while the American Indian administration continued under military administration (as had been the British practice previous to the War of Independence)[33] (see e.g., Allen, 1992; D.G. Smith, 1974: xvi, 18-20). While the civilian and military differences between the two Indian administrations are undoubtedly important, it is misleading to think of the two administrations as having been on totally divergent courses since the late 18th century. In addition to a wide repertoire of analogous policies and practices deriving from a degree of common history, there are many instances of overt collaboration and indeed imitation between the two administrations, and between non-state organizations such as Christian missions, throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. The Policy of Aggressive Civilization is a notable and hardly rare example, but so were the use of residential and industrial schools, both secular and religious, long before this particular policy was formulated.[34]

The civilization project (to name but one example) had a long prior history in the United States and Canada, in both state and state-linked policies and practices.[35] Their particular juxtaposition in the U.S. Peace Policy of the 1860s and 1870s (the policy for the pacification of the American West, especially the Indian Territories) and the "Policy of Aggressive Civilization" as one of the key features of The Peace Policy[36] marked a notable point of intensification for the civilizing project, as well as a notable conjunction of U.S. and Canadian policy. The civi-

lization project from the late 1860s in the U.S. and since 1879 in Canada became aggressive, that is to say assertive, determined, and thereby potentially (and in many cases actually) belligerent, hostile, pugnacious, violent and truculent. Where it was not overtly violent, it constituted a parade example of what Bourdieu (1977: 183-196; see also Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) call "symbolic violence ... the gentle, hidden form that violence takes when it can not be overt" (1977: 195-96). Church-run residential and industrial schools had a specific, state-designed part to play in these policies in addition to their own agendas for control of Native peoples during the settlement of the West, especially after the U.S. and Canadian treaties of the 1870s and 1880s. Mission activities among U.S. and Canadian Native peoples thereby achieved a prominence and legitimacy under state mandate that they never had before.

Understanding the nature of state-linked practices of governance in missionary-administered industrial schools is an essential task for understanding the historical course of development of the relations of ruling and North American Native peoples. It will be the task of yet further research to place such state-linked practices of governance in context of the complex bundle of other sociocultural features of mission schools, especially those which entail non-state (in this case purely religious) practices of governance. The civilization project became aggressive in the U.S. by the end of the Civil War period (1865) for several reasons. After the Civil War there was a determined U.S. commitment to the opening of the Indian Territory and the West for settlement. In the formulation of Ulysses Grant's administration this involved a pacification of the West (hence "Peace Policy") (see Prucha, 1976, chap. 3-4; 1981; 1984: Vol. 1, Pt. 5). By the 1860s, aboriginal societies had experienced the ravages of European contact in the form of sharp demographic decline and calamitously rapid social and cultural change. Such events were employed discursively from the 1860s through the 1930s under such constructions as "the vanishing Indian" as a legitimation for the opening of the West and the military management of the Indian population. The legitimation is apparent in such other discursive constructions as "Indian social disintegration," "Indian cultural decadence," and "Indian demoralization." Among the policies and practices legitimated by these constructions was the Policy of Aggressive Civilization, including its key practice of educating Indian children in church-run residential and industrial schools at a distance from home communities, specifically by the pedagogy of work.

U.S. policy explicitly asserted that the civilization of Indians would best take place on reservations, and that

the work of civilizing would be most effective if placed in the hands of religious authorities. This arrangement embodied a complex assembly of ideas, including the specific U.S. government intention that conversion and civilization would go hand in hand,[37] for both bodies of ideas imply radical transformation of individual persons. Religious conversion became the very prototype for civilizing, and education became the strategic medium for both. President Ulysses S. Grant undoubtedly seems to have accepted the postulate that "education and conversion would go together" (Bolt, 1987: 76), and his policies achieved this by increasing state funding to already existing mission residential schools and by appointing religious civilians as Indian agents in the wake of his prohibiting the allocation of civil list positions to military officers. While many Americans, including denominational supporters, were uneasy at the ostensible infringement of the traditional American constitutional division of church and state, by 1876 religious groups controlled about nine hundred government appointments in civil posts within the Indian administration (Bolt, 1987: 76), in addition to the large number who staffed state-supported, missionary-administered Indian schools.[38] The appointment of missionaries to civil posts in aboriginal administration was discontinued in the U.S. within a decade or so, but effects of the policy lingered.

In his report to the Canadian government, Davin's (1879) report summarized the key elements of the U.S. Policy of Aggressive Civilization as follows:

The Industrial school is the principal feature of the policy known as that of "aggressive civilization." This policy was inaugurated by President Grant in 1869. But, as will be seen, the utility of industrial schools had long ere that time been amply tested. Acting on the suggestion of the President, the Congress passed a law early in 1869, providing for the appointment of the Peace Commission. This Commission recommended that the Indians should, as far as practicable, be consolidated on few reservations, and provided with "permanent individual homes;" that the tribal relation should be abolished; that lands should be allotted in severalty and not in common; that the Indian should speedily become a citizen of the United States, enjoy the protection of law, and be made amenable thereto; that, finally, it was the duty of the Government to afford the Indians all reasonable aid in their preparation for citizenship by educating them in industry and the arts of civilization. (1879:1)

Davin reported that after a period of eight years' experience of the application of these principles, certain further elements of the policy were adopted (in 1877), including a provision "that titles to land should be inalienable for at

least three generations." Again, since it was found "that the day-school did not work, because the influence of the wigwam was stronger than the influence of the school ... Industrial Boarding Schools were therefore established, and these are now numerous and will soon be universal" (Davin, 1879: 1). Clearly, the Peace Commission and the "policy of aggressive civilization" entailed a complex interconnected array of policies and practices of governance located in the activities and agendas (political rationalities) of both the federal government and the missions. It is striking to note that just two years after the setting up of industrial schools under the Aggressive Civilization Policy in the United States, a Canadian government delegation was in the United States studying the situation with the aim of emulating the U.S. project, and that in both cases religious organizations were assigned to be the principal executors of Indian industrial schools, "the principal feature of the policy of aggressive civilization" (Davin, 1879: 1).

Davin's views concerning aboriginal people are revealing: "the experience of the United States is the same as our own as far as the adult Indian is concerned. Little can be done with him. He can be taught to do a little at farming, and at stock-raising, and to dress in a more civilized manner, but that is all" (Davin, 1879: 10). The emphasis in the early industrial schools was on just these matters—basic agricultural and domestic training and personal habits. It is in the imparting of these that potent strategies for governance are located. For Davin, as for so many of his contemporaries, "the Indian race is in its childhood" (10), and this suggested for him as for so many others the creation of a policy of civilization "that shall look for fruit, not after five or ten years, but after a generation or two" (10). Davin went on to say that considering the Indian race as being collectively and individually in childhood "is of course a mere truism and not a figure of speech when we take charge of the Indian in the period of infancy. There is, it is true, in the adult, the helplessness of mind of the child, as well as practical helplessness; there is, too, the child's want of perspective; but there is little of the child's receptivity; nor is the child's tractableness always found. ... The Indian is a man with traditions of his own, which make civilization a puzzle of despair" (Davin, 1879: 10-11). One strongly suspects that Davin meant that the civilizing of aboriginal peoples was a puzzle of despair to those who sought to civilize them; a puzzle of policy and practice, and a despair only in the sense of finding the elusive best way. History has shown the reverse to be true—that the schools were indeed a puzzle for the Native peoples, a puzzle of misrecognition so characteristic of relations of

domination and wide-scale cruelty, and that they were undeniably a source of personal and community despair.

Davin went on to say that "the Indian has the suspicious distrust, fault-finding tendency, the insincerity and flattery, produced in all subject races. He is crafty, but conscious how weak his craft is when opposed to the superior cunning of the white man ... he realizes that he must disappear" (Davin, 1879: 10-11). It is precisely on such views that the whole Aggressive Civilization Policy and the Industrial School concept was based in both the United States and Canada.

The conviction that Indians were children, individually or collectively, justified the need for them to be "civilized" on the one hand, and the need for their civilizing to be viewed as a problem of guidance, training, direction, schooling—a problem of pedagogy—and of being "disciplined" in the sense meant by Foucault (1975 [1977]; 1978 [1991]: 101-102; see Rabinow, 1984).

Understood in Foucault's terms, industrial schools were a powerful instrument of intense surveillance and individuation of a population (see Gordon, 1991: 8)—of disciplining it to be other than it was, and of disciplining it in the sense of inculcating specific forms of self-regulation within Indian children in the interests of both state-building projects (for example by producing obedient, law-abiding citizens), and of the churches (by producing faithful, moral, and virtuous Christians) by means of practices of individuation and surveillance. Images of the "law-abiding citizen" and the "virtuous Christian" had come to be practically synonymous.

In certain important respects, residential and industrial schools were indeed an aggressive form of intercultural domination, although it must be said that this is not the only issue involved. The case could clearly be made that such an aggressive structure is "symbolically violent" (Bourdieu, 1977: 183-196) sense. The practice of schooling Indian people in this way is "euphemized" (191). It is a case of structural and interpersonal domination "disguised under the form of enchanted relationships" (191), in this case of religious and moral rectitude. It is justified as being for the essential good of the people being dominated as well as for the good of the state. It is made respectable and acceptable by placing the task of "civilizing aggressively" in the hands of religious agents who are thereby complicit as *de facto* collaborators of the state and its projects for the assertion of political sovereignty, although the economic and political realities underlying that relationship are obfuscated and masked so that they are hidden, "misrecognized" (see Bourdieu, 1977: 76; Wacquant, 1991: 50-2). Further research must ask how, in the case of the policy of aggressive civiliza-

tion and its adaptations (with their key role for denominationally-administered industrial schools), religious organizations became executors of government policies in an area that government ministries were unable or unwilling to execute themselves, for various fiscal, organizational, and political reasons. The reasons why religious organizations were willing to be so aligned also remain to be made clear, at least in detail. Such questions are seldom asked in a research context because so many academics take the answers to be self-evident. They are not self-evident, and the links can only be made clear by systematic critical analysis.

U.S. aggressive civilization policy and its Canadian counterpart both gave high prominence to denominationally administered industrial schools. To some extent these policies homogenized the aboriginal population, and in effect created a new Indianness defined in the policy makers' terms. All of these may be understood as elements of what Foucault (1975 [1977]; [see Gordon, 1991: 8] called "totalization"). The aggressive policies and their associated practices contributed to the individuation of Indian peoples by fragmenting traditional modes of integration and solidarity through practices which involved intensive surveillance over its members. Such practices required that Indian people interact with their governors as individuals who had little corporate, or sometimes even personal, identity except that given them by their administrators.

In aggressive civilization policies of the 1870s, the process of becoming civilized and the process of becoming schooled became virtually synonymous. Both became enmeshed and even confounded, or as Bourdieu and Wacquant would say (1992) "misrecognized" in ideas of "being converted." Rationalities and routines designed to accomplish any or all of these with all possible haste and completeness (i.e., aggressively) are a particularly clear case of what we may call "intensive governance," analogous to what has called "intensive administration" in another context (D.G. Smith, 1993).

Christianization and Civilization

Christine Bolt (1987: 19) is quite clear that the concepts of education, religious conversion and the adoption of civilization were considered to be necessary counterparts, as much by officials of the state as by missionaries, in the period in which the policy of aggressive civilization was initially conceived in the U.S. She points out (76) that President Ulysses S. Grant's administration was convinced that education, religious conversion, and the process of being civilized were so deeply related that Grant and his government premised the entire policy of

aggressive civilization and its prominent role for industrial schools on it.

On the connection between missionaries' concepts of the connection between christianization and westernization Robin Fisher has claimed that "the missionaries did not separate Western Christianity and Civilization, they approached Indian culture as a whole and demanded total transformation of the Indian proselyte. Their aim was the complete destruction of the traditional integrated way of life. The missionaries demanded even more far-reaching transformation than the settlers and they pushed it more aggressively than any other group of whites" (Fisher, 1977: 144-5). This assertion requires some historical contextualization and qualification. In the industrial schools agendas of missions and secular agencies of governance appear to have been remarkably alike and intertwined. It seems unlikely on theoretical grounds that christianization could ever be separated from westernization, nor mission practices ever be bracketed from the culture which produced them. It must be said that in terms of explicit missionary methodologies,[39] christianization and westernization were frequently seen as separate and even incompatible goals, especially in the period before the mid 1850s. In the case we are dealing with, they were deeply intertwined only *after* about the mid-1850s, and were as aggressively pursued in state policy as in mission policy.

In the Northwest Territories of the 1870s and 1880s, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate provided most of the Roman Catholic missionaries and the bishops for the emerging Missionary Vicariates[40] (later dioceses) of that area. Their mission policy only after the mid-1850s and especially after the 1870s came much closer to merging the processes of civilization and christianization than in most missionary policies, and indeed their explicit goal was rapid "cultural replacement" if we follow Nock's (1988) terminology, or "cultural destruction" if we follow Fisher's (1977). Cultural replacement as a missionary goal became fully possible only after the sturdy link of collaboration with the federal government in the Indian industrial school was forged in the late 1870s and early 1880s, in part because the goal of radical cultural replacement served government interests and goals as completely as it did mission interests. While missionaries did not acquire the goal of cultural replacement from state discourse, the convergence of mission and state discourses provided a mutual intensification to state and mission projects.

Theoretically, the convergence of state and mission concepts and practices in the industrial school project is of considerable interest because these schools can readily be seen to combine the Christian notion of pastorate which

Foucault (1978 [1991]); see Gordon 1991: 8-14) calls "the shepherd-game") with the secular concept of citizenship which Foucault (1978 [1991] calls the "the city-game" (see Gordon, 1991: 8-14; Foucault (1978 [1991]): 101-102) identified this potent combination of practices of governance as that which generated the kind of disciplining that is identified here in the governance practices of Native populations in Canada.

In the previous period (to about 1855-60) the Oblates were more concerned with creating devout and faithful Christians among the Indian peoples than they were with the civilizing process (McCarthy, 1981: 56-57; Whitehead, 1988: 16), although the impossibility of bracketing mission practices from their source cultures must be recalled. The Oblates' approach was to change in only a few short years, however, for the founder of the Oblates (Bishop Eugène de Mazenod) found it necessary to issue additional instructions on the conduct of foreign missions and to have them added to the *Constitution and Rules* of the Order in 1853.

Bishop de Mazenod's "Instruction on Foreign Missions" (see Champagne, 1975: 164-177 for the complete French text and annotation)[41] gave considerably more stress to the civilizing aspect of missionary work than hitherto, although the content of the Instruction was stated in rather general terms, probably in order to accommodate the wide variety of situations encountered by a rapidly growing missionary order. By the 1850s it had representatives in the Orient and Africa as well as in the Americas and in many European countries (see Champagne, 1975: 164, n. 1). In the section dealing with the methodology of foreign missions in general, the *Instruction* asserts:

> Furthermore, far from considering the work of forming native peoples in the necessities of civil life alien to their programme, the members of the Society [the Oblate Order] will, on the contrary, have an excellent means of contributing to the good of the mission and making their apostolate more fruitful. This is why they neglect nothing which will assist nomad tribes to renounce the customs of their wandering life and to choose for them locations where they may learn to build houses, to cultivate the land and to familiarize themselves with the first arts of civilization. (Champagne, 1975: 175; translation mine)

Obviously, religious instruction and conversion had by this point become conceptually and practically closely entwined with the civilizing project. The particular means to be employed by the local missionaries were not specified in detail by Bishop de Mazenod's 1853 *Instruc-*

tion (Champagne, 1975: 175). The Oblates in North America appear to have accepted the strategies for missions already developed by the Jesuits, with whom they associated during the 1850s in Oregon (see Champagne, 1975, 1983; Quéré, 1958; Whitehead, 1988: intro.), and to have been familiar with the Peace Policy, for one of their number[42] was appointed as a government officer under its provisions in a U.S. Indian community.[43]

Some of the elements specified in Davin's (1879) Canadian adaptation of the U.S. Policy of Aggressive Civilization were close parallels to those specified in Bishop de Mazenod's 1853 *Instruction* (e.g., discouragement of nomadic ways, persuasion of Native peoples to settle permanently and to occupy permanent housing, acquisition of skills in the "arts of civilization," selection of lands and locations for Indian communities on their behalf, allotment of land in severality rather than as common property). Secular and mission concepts of how to handle "the Indian problem" intersected in Davin's report as in so many other locations. They became interlocked in complex, mutually reinforcing strands of practices such that it is difficult to disentangle them historically and analytically, precisely because they were elaborately interconnected throughout nineteenth century cultural politics. Discovery of their common interests by missions and the state in Indian matters and in education in both Canada and the U.S. became particularly strong in the 1860s and 1870s (see Prucha, 1973, 1979, 1981 for an analysis of the U.S. situation).

Native peoples were to be taught how, according to de Mazenod's 1853 *Instruction*, to keep peace with neighbouring groups and among themselves and in their households, and "by [becoming accustomed to] much work and the exercise of intelligence, to save and even to increase their family savings" (Champagne, 1975: 175; translation mine), but the *Instruction* specified another important mechanism for the work of missions:

> given that the prosperity of civil society is intimately connected with the instruction of the young, there must be in each mission, wherever it is possible, a school in which, under the wise direction of a master, the children may learn, along with Christian doctrine, secular knowledge which is useful to learn concerning the arts of contemporary living. (Champagne, 1975: 175; translation mine)

For Oblate missionaries in Canada, at least after the early 1850s, mission methodology included among its main instruments the inculcation of work and the work ethic, the schooling of the young and catechetical and other forms of instruction for adults. Strategies for the civilizing

of aboriginal peoples were thereby discursively conjoined with religious instruction and conversion. It is not possible to consider the these as synonymous, however, for there were elaborate theological distinctions (and hence political rationalities and regimes of practice) among different mission ventures and at different historical moments.

In most cases, the churches and missions were the principal providers of education for Indians, as they were for much of the general population in early Canada. Religious residential and day-schools for Native peoples have had a long history (see e.g., Satz, 1975: 260-270; Titley, 1986; Whitehead, 1988: 55-63). Some of these schools were administered by mission organizations of denominations other than Roman Catholic, as were industrial schools.[44]

Since education had long been a priority in Roman Catholic social policy, it is hardly surprising to find an active exchange of ideas among Oblate missionaries and others concerning schools for Indians in the Old Northwest Territories, but it is simply unsustainable to claim (e.g., Levaque, 1990: 68-69; Nowakowski, 1962) that the Oblates (especially Archbishop Alexandre Taché, Bishop Vital Grandin and Father Lacombe) created the Indian Residential School system and "presented it as a plan to the government" (Levaque, 1990), and had that plan accepted by the federal government at face value, as if the Oblates had created the system single-handedly. An inspection of archival materials shows that the first post-confederation industrial schools and the political rationales which legitimated them were the outcome of what can only be called hard-fought negotiations between mission groups and the state (with a notable absence of aboriginal peoples' representation) and that these schools were erected on a core of political rationalities and well-institutionalized practices already established on a continental scale. It is quite evident from the archives that governments as well as missionaries of all denominations were aware of educational ventures among native peoples elsewhere in the world.[45] We are dealing with the analysis of cultural practices of considerable scale and historical continuity.

It is certainly apparent that the Oblates had been intensely involved in discussions about, and experiments in, Indian schooling from their arrival in Canada in the 1840s, and that from the 1850s onwards these discussions were given a particular impetus by Bishop de Mazenod's reference to the priority to be given to mission schools in his *Instruction on Foreign Missions* of 1853. They made many representations to the federal government during the 1870s after confederation, as they had with the preceding North West Territorial administration, but it is possible to show that several of

their own distinctive recommendations were not adopted in the schools policy as passed by Order-in-Council in 1883. While these recommendations were not incorporated into the schools plan, the Oblates had undoubtedly been active in education, and specifically in forms of it which predated Davin's formulation by several years. By the early 1870s, for example, the Oblates had established a large model farm at St. Albert, where the purpose was to produce not only Christians and "*savants*," but agriculturalists who had taken the crucial step toward civilization by abandoning nomadic hunting and gathering.[46]

Schools of various types[47] had been a standard accompaniment of Roman Catholic missions since their inception in Canada in the seventeenth century (see e.g., Choquette, 1992; J.R. Miller, 1996: 39-60), but the specific form of state-supported schools administered by missionaries (now usually referred to as "residential schools") were a creation of several specific historical circumstances of the post-Confederation period. These schools undoubtedly represented a major historical consolidation of the power of the missions in general and their role in education in particular, but at the same time they were an important component in Canada's projects for state-building in the West. The industrial schools must be understood as a joint venture in governance by the missions, the federal government (especially the Indian Affairs administration) and the territorial legislators, in which their interests were negotiated so as to coincide, if not completely then at least on strategic issues of common interest. It remains for us now to identify some details of how religious missions in Canada came to be linked with those of the state-building projects of early post-Confederation Canada.

The Intersection of Mission and State Policy and Practice

While it may be possible to disentangle the policies and practices of the state and the missions in the case of the industrial schools for clarity of literary exposition, it may not desirable to do so, for then a sense of their immensely complex ambiguities and of their inherent imbrication runs high risk of being obscured or even completely lost. These ambiguities and entanglements are a crucial part of their power base, difficult to perceive in its totality and difficult to challenge. There is a point at which the attempted clarifications of social analysis must yield place to the inherent "fuzziness of practical logic" (see Bourdieu and Wacquant: intro).

Secondly, the very real temptation, because it is an almost unquestioned practice deeply habituated and

unproblematized in historical and social analysis, is then to ask "which came first?", or "which has priority?", or "which is dominant?" All such questions avoid the recognition that policies within both the missions and government ministries in the nineteenth century are deeply racinated in cultural concepts which transcend and include them both; that neither "came first" or "dominated," and that their entanglement transcended the Canadian state formation. These practices were of a continental scale, situated in cultural practices already established historically prior to the state formations articulated by the War of Independence in the U.S. and by Confederation in Canada.

Another position that will be less than politically acceptable to all, but which faithfully reflects the role of aboriginal residential and industrial schools is this: we may take it as axiomatic that Indian industrial schools were neither a unique case of governance projects among Indians, nor simply a scheme of oppression for Indian peoples alone. They were but one part of a complex array of state-building and state-linked governance enterprises of educating and civilizing on this continent which sought to govern and regulate populations of disparate origins and territories of several kinds. This does not diminish in any way the conclusion that there are distinctive qualities to the situation of aboriginal peoples, nor does it deny in the least that the effects of the projects were experienced in a particularly acute destructive and disintegrative way by them. If anything, the realization that the industrial schools were closely interlocked with many other projects of governance gives the situation of the aboriginal peoples an even more emphatic poignancy.

Industrial schools in Canada were administered by missions on an annually renewable contract with the Indian administration, in direct imitation of the practice established in the U.S. under the Peace Policy. The contracts were not with the individual teachers, but with the mission organizations to which they belonged.

It is essential to make clear that industrial school teachers were severally government appointees,[48] not simply mission employees. Recommendations for each teacher's appointment by mission authorities could be (and were) declined by the government. Teachers could be discharged *by the government*, especially on such grounds of lack of qualifications, a point that of friction that never disappeared in the government/mission school relation.

Inspectors for the industrial schools were government employees, who inspected and reported on an annual basis regarding the compliance of the missions as corporations in terms of their contracts, on their maintenance of schools as state property, and on the performance of individual teachers as individual state appointees. Such a contractual

relation ensures the development of a complicated social and administrative relationship.

Viewed from the position of the Native peoples, the interlocking of their situation with larger schemes of governance was probably as opaque to most of them as it was to the missionaries in the schools. The understanding and experience of Native peoples with industrial schools must be heard, but there are issues regarding the interlocking of their situation with others which a critical theoretical historical anthropology would be able to elucidate.

The question must inevitably arise as to whether the missionaries of the time fully realized—or perhaps realized at all—the consequences of mission and state collaboration when they became enmeshed in projects of state-building and sovereignty. It is not yet clear whether many missionaries found the link between church and state embodied in the industrial schools (or its pedagogical practices and policies) to be problematic.[49] Records show that at least some missionaries were quite aware that they were in some sense acting on behalf of, or in conjunction with, the state—whatever else they thought they were doing and despite disclaimers of that collaboration by others,[50] or whether they found the collaboration problematic or not. We should expect that the majority of missionaries were probably not aware of the convergence of mission and state projects and discourses, for the dynamics of such discourses which promoted "misrecognition" of the relation were undoubtedly as powerful and effective for the direct participants as for the Canadian public. In a revealing statement dated about 1895, some eleven years after the first industrial school mandated by the Canada's version of the policy of aggressive civilization was actually built, Rev. Fr. A.M. Carion OMI stated in a report from Kamloops Indian Residential School in British Columbia:

> We keep constantly before the mind of the pupils the object which the government has in view ... which is to civilize the Indians and to make them good, useful and law-abiding members of society. A continuous supervision is exercised over them, and no infraction of the rules of morality and good manners is left without due correction. (in Cronin, 1960: 215)

A clearer statement of the missionary role in the civilizing and assimilation projects in a school designed to isolate (protect) its inmates and of its implications for governance, surveillance and discipline in industrial school pedagogical practice could hardly be imagined.

Acknowledgments

Abbreviations

AD = Archival and published materials in Les Archives Déschâtelets, Édifice Déschâtelets, Order of Mary Immaculate, Ottawa.

EG = *Écrits Grandin*, MS of entire corpus of the writings of Bishop Justin-Vital Grandin; Centre des Récherches, St. Paul University, Ottawa.

NAC = National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

Notes

1 Hunt has admitted that this appellation is "too clumsy to stick" (I agree), but he claims that it serves to delineate a field of study (in this I agree).

2 "Projects" denote "the discourses and practices directed toward the control of others, with regard to social "objects" or targets that are discursively constructed" (Hunt 1994: 230).

3 Nicholas Flood Davin (1840-1901), of Irish origin, was called to the bar in England in 1865. He practiced as a journalist and parliamentary reporter for several newspapers in England and Ireland. He emigrated to Canada in 1872 where he wrote for various newspapers and wrote political pamphlets and was called to the bar in Ontario. He ran for the Tories in Ontario in 1874. In 1879, John A. Macdonald delegated him to write the report on industrial schools. After defending George Bennett in 1880, accused assassin of George Brown, the high-point of his legal career, John A. Macdonald appointed him secretary of the Royal Commission on the Canadian Pacific Railway. By 1883, he had moved to Regina, there becoming editor of the *Regina Leader* and became a Justice of the Peace in 1886. After winning the Conservative nomination for Assiniboia in 1887 and re-election in 1896, he became a vocal defender of self-government in the North West Territories. His parliamentary career was less than brilliant, although he rose to speak over one thousand times in 1897, several speeches being lengthy. Davin committed suicide in Winnipeg in 1901. For a substantial biographical sketch see Thompson 1990: 248-253 and for a full-length study see Koester (1980).

4 The Minister of the Interior was the minister responsible for the administration of Indian Affairs in Canada at this time. The post was held by Sir John A. MacDonald simultaneously with the posts of Prime Minister and Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs.

5 The earliest use of the expression "aggressive civilization" seems to be traceable to President Ulysses S. Grant's Secretary of the Interior, Columbus Delano (see statement by Delano in Prucha, 1976: 30).

6 "Industrial schools" after 1884 were indeed "residential schools" (the students resided in them). Located intentionally *off* the reserves, their pedagogical practice placed a heavy emphasis on the teaching of crafts and trades and on the pedagogical value of work itself, supplemented by some conventional study in reading, writing and arithmetic. There were also "residential schools," which taught school subjects located *on* the reserves, and which were an important element in the fulfilment of treaty obligations. The two types of schools were clearly distinguished by government and the missions in the late 19th century. In later times in Canada (after the 1920s), what we now know as "Indian residential schools" incorporated important features of both types of school, for the distinction between them in administration and policy and especially in public usage became gradually obscured.

7 The archival copy of the Order-in-Council by which the first three Indian residential schools were established is accompanied by a letter of recommendation from Hector Langevin representing the Committee of the Privy Council dated July 13, 1883, by a supporting recommendation from Edward Dewdney (Commissioner for Indian Affairs for Manitoba and the North West Territories) to Sir John A. MacDonald (Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs) dated April 16, 1883, and by Davin's report of March 14, 1879 (marked

"confidential"). Davin's report, printed in small typeface in galley proof and probably never generally circulated except as a confidential internal government memorandum, occupies 18 pages of the Order-in-Council (total 32 pages) which is otherwise handwritten in large copper-plate script (see NAC Series RG2 A1A, Vol. 436, File 1650). An additional supporting document from Sir John A. MacDonald as Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs dated July 13, 1883 is found in NAC Series RG2 A1B, Vol. 3059, File 1650 (601-B). Bishops Grandin and Taché are mentioned briefly by name in these documents as chief administrators of the two Roman Catholic schools authorized to be built. A third industrial school (Battleford) was assigned to the Anglican missions in the order-in-council.

8 A letter from Hector Langevin representing the Committee of the Privy Council which had referred the matter for council deliberation, and a letter from Edgar Dewdney, then Commissioner for Indian Affairs for Manitoba and the Northwest Territories (see documents referred to in note 7).

9 Bishop Vital-Justin Grandin OMI (1829-1902). For a biographical sketch, see Huel (1994), and for the placement of Grandin's career, policies and missionary methods in historical perspective see C. Champagne (1983).

10 Archbishop Alexandre-Antonin Taché, OMI (1823-94); for a substantial biographical sketch, see Hamelin (1990: 1000-12).

11 Father Albert Lacombe OMI (1827?-1916); for a biographical treatment see MacGregor (1975). A somewhat contentious work, this biography nevertheless avoids saccharin hagiography.

12 Bishop Vital Grandin, in the official government translation (dated April 5, 1875) of a letter to David Laird (Minister of the Interior) dated probably early in 1875 (NAC Series RG10, Vol. 3622, File 4953, Reel C10108) mentions some of these distinctive ideas: that the way to "civilize" the Indians was on "model farms" as well as in "asylums for orphans"; that the government should cede large tracts of land to the missionaries for this purpose which the missionaries could eventually give to Indians as "dower rights"; that the government should give the Oblates "paternal authority" over Indians on these farms until the age of majority (22 for boys) or until the age of marriage; that a powerful means of "civilizing" Indians would be a policy of strongly encouraging their marriage to Métis persons, who were already "semi-civilized," etc. He continued these and similar suggestions in a series of letters to David Laird, Lieutenant-Governor of the Northwest Territories, January 25 and April 2, 1880 and in another of uncertain date (see EG Vol. 22, pages 192-195, 196-198, 199-203); see also Champagne, 1983: 186-188 for a discussion of a number of these letters).

13 Especially Archbishop Alexandre Taché of St. Boniface, Bishop Vital Grandin of St. Albert, and Fr. Lacombe.

14 In the official government translation dated April 5, 1875 of a letter from Bishop Vital Grandin to David Laird (Minister of the Interior), Grandin said that he had discussed residential schools in meetings with John A. MacDonald and with Hector Langevin in June 1873 (NAC Series RG10, Vol. 3622, File 4953, Reel C10108).

15 Principally the Roman Catholics, largely through the Oblates; the Anglicans; and the Methodists. Other denominations (e.g., Presbyterians) were involved, but after a few years' of operation of the schools only the Roman Catholics and the Anglicans remained active in this field of mission activity.

16 See note 7 above.

17 For discussions and interpretations of the American Peace Commission see Bolt (1987), Utley (1984: chap. 3-7) and Prucha (1973; 1975; 1976; 1979; 1981; 1984: Vol. 1, Pt. 5, chap. 19-25), and especially the careful reconstruction of the Commission and its mandate by Keller (1983). Documents relating to the foundation and work of the Peace Commission from 1867 until its termination in 1881 are provided by Prucha (1975: documents 72-81, 85).

18 A committee of citizens and statesmen, The Peace Commission, was appointed to advise on the Peace Policy. It was headed by an aboriginal person, Colonel Ely S. Parker, Chief of the Seneca and Grand Sachem of the Iroquois Confederacy, who was Ulysses S. Grant's first Commissioner of Indian Affairs (Utley 1984: 130), and included several eminent Christian clergy.

19 There are parallels too in the first *Indian Act* (1876), which consolidated legislation affecting Indians inherited from the British (and to some extent French) colonial regimes and of the governments of Upper and Lower Canada.

20 The expression "policy of aggressive civilization" does not occur frequently in Canadian administrative or political usage, although Davin's report is explicitly modelled on it by name and explicitly uses the expression. The Canadian administration clearly committed itself to a policy of promoting the "civilization" of the Indians, as is clearly seen in the especially frequent use of this expression in the period after 1876 and in policy, legal and administrative practices as those promoting enfranchisement for Indians as early as 1857.

21 See for example, Burchell (1991); Burchell et al. (1991); Curtis (1992); Dean (1991; 1999); D.G. Smith (1993); Donald (1992); Gordon (1991); Hunter (1988); Hunt (1996; 1999); Rose (1989; 1996); Rose and Miller (1990); and R.S. Smith (1985).

22 Sarah Suleri (1992: intro. chap 1) refers to this kind of enmeshment as "imbrication," a suggestive metaphor derived from the language of basketry and textiles.

23 "Protection" here is defined from the policy point of view, if not exactly the perception and experience of the Indian peoples.

24 For a brief discussion of the *Royal Proclamation* of 1763 and for extracts of the original text see Smith, Derek G. (1974: xiv-xvi, 2-4), Cumming and Mickenberg (1972: 85-88, 167-169, 223-225, 291-294, etc.) and Morse (1989).

25 "Governance is exercised where a relatively persistent set of often conflicting practices select and construct some social subject that is acted upon in such a way as to control, limit, and direct of the selected object of governance" (Hunt, 1994: 230). It is embodied not only in the governing activities of the state but in any regulative activity seeking to "conduct the conduct of others" (see Foucault, 1978 [1991]; Gordon, 1991: 48; Hunt, 1994: 229-230). Curtis (1992) provides a particularly useful and nuanced reading of

Foucault's insights which differs somewhat from those of Rose and Miller.

26 A Roman Catholic priest, principal of the Kamloops Indian Residential School in the 1890s, stated in a report: "we keep constantly before the mind of the pupils the object which the government has in view, which is to civilize the Indians and to make them good, useful and law-abiding members of society" (see Cronin, 1960: 215).

27 In this light, see Jaenen's (1992) treatment of educational practices as a key element in the policy of Francization in New France. I take it as axiomatic that education is never politically neutral in a colonial context, that it always bears a notable burden of the colonializing process.

28 That is to say (see Foucault, 1975 [1977]), as means for accustoming the school populations to surveillance and individuation, and for their formation into new totalizations (populations with identities as determined by those who rule).

29 See Cullen Perry (1992) for a valuable analogue of this claim.

30 A rigid conceptual distinction between policy and practice may be deeply problematic, for "policy" is implicit in stabilized routines and rituals of practice, just as "practice" is partly a product of its legitimating concepts. A useful distinction between "political rationalities" and "practice" is particularly helpful here (Gordon, 1991; Miller and Rose, 1990; Rose, 1996).

31 Historical scholars such as Braudel (1973), Delumeau (1983) and others have argued persuasively for the treatment of particular social phenomena over long historical durations; see Robert Darnton's (1985: 257-63) discussion of the methodological issues in such historical methodology as "histoire des mentalités" or that of the "Annales School."

32 This is a minimal statement of the kind of reflexivity called for by Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992).

33 The decision that Indian administration should come under civil administration in British North America was issued by Royal Instruction in 1796 (see "Additional Instructions Relating to the Indian Department, December 15, 1796" and "Letter, Lord Portland to the Duke of York Regarding Military and Civil Administration of Indian Affairs, 21 February 1800" reprinted in D.G. Smith 1975: 18-20).

34 Indian residential schools had a long history in both the United States and Canada. Native people from Canada were sent to American schools on a trial basis, for example to the Carlisle School in Pennsylvania, as early as 1876 (see Szasz and Ryan 1988), and the Canadian federal government seems to have been fully aware of the various experiments in Indian schooling in the United States.

35 To mention only Canadian examples: Sir Peregrine Maitland's "civilization" programs for Native peoples during his tenure as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada 1818-1828, in which Christian missions and "school houses for instruction and industry" were an integral part. This was so in Sir James Kempt's plans for Indian policy in Lower Canada in 1829 and Sir George Murray's instructions (1830) on Indian policy while he was Secretary of State for War and the Colonies in Westminster (see e.g., Allen, 1992: 178-182). Such schemes were opposed by Sir Francis Bond Head in

his tenure as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada beginning in 1836, who was fiercely opposed by the Methodists and the Aborigines Protection Society (Allen, 1992: 183). The Rev. Egerton Ryerson prepared a comprehensive policy involving a prominent place for mission-administered Indian "Industrial Schools" (his words) in 1847 (NAC RG 10 Series, Vol. 6811). All of these were significant forerunners of Davin's (1879) Industrial School plan.

36 It is truly ironic that a Policy of Aggressive Civilization should be the centrepiece of a Peace Policy, unless one realizes that "peace" rather than being a noun in this context appears to connote "active pacification" (verb trans.), hence "aggressive civilizing" (verb trans.) as the means to accomplish it. There is surely at least ideological irony at in the commissioning of Christian religious groups for the execution of such policies, but significantly this commissioning is the source of the "misrecognition" (see Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) of the inherent "symbolic violence" (see Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) in the policies.

37 Missionary theorists debated whether christianization preceded civilization or vice versa, and their positions were various) (see Burridge, 1985, 1991; Campeau, 1987; Champagne, 1983; John Webster Grant, 1984; Whitehead, 1988:13-18). In state policy in nineteenth century Canada and the U.S. they implied each other, the formulations being as various as (but not always identical to) those of the missionaries.

38 Religious control of civil posts was abolished in the U.S. by the 1880s (Bolt, 1987: 79).

39 For example, Jesuit policy in 16th-century New France first distinguished and separated christianization and civilization but only later merged the two (Burridge, 1985, 1991; Campeau, 1987; John Webster Grant, 1984). Oblate mission practice and method probably did merge the two, but not so much in the earliest period (say before the 1860s), when the Oblates had no set missionary method (Whitehead, 1988: 13-18), but their main emphasis seems to have been more (or at least as much) on christianization than on westernization. See Claude Champagne's (1983) observations on "Francization" and the Oblate missions in Canada, and Surtees (1988: 83-85) and Jaenen (1996: 45-61). Simple generalizations about the relation of the two in mission work are not possible. These are grounds for claiming that Robin Fisher's characterization requires contextualization and qualification.

40 Missionary Vicariates were missionary regions under the pastoral care and administration of a titular bishop, but did not constitute dioceses in the canonical sense.

41 Bishop de Mazenod's "Instruction" (Champagne, 1975: 164-177) consisted of three main sections: a general preamble (165-166), followed by Part 1 ("Concerning Foreign Missions in General") (166-171) which laid out certain methodological principles for missions, and Part 2 ("The Directing of Foreign Missions") (171-177) which laid out norms for the direction, supervision and conducting of the affairs of the Oblate foreign missions wherever in the world they were located.

42 Rev. Fr. Eugène-Casimir Chirouse OMI, who worked in the Tulalip area on the Northwest Coast; other Oblates who had worked with him in the U.S. later established the Oblates as a strong mission force in British Columbia (Rev. Frs Louis

D'Herbomez, Paul Durieu—both later bishops—and Fr Charles Pandosy, among others) (See Whitehead, 1988: 5, 9, 13, 25).

43 In addition to Claude Champagne's excellent study of the history of Oblate missions, further sources on mission strategy among the Oblates in the formative period from 1845 to 1870 may be drawn from a careful interpretive reading of a number of sources, including those of other scholarly Oblates such as Carriére (1957, 1963); J-E. Champagne (1946); Lamirande (1957, 1958, 1963); Waggett (1947). Quéré's (1958) doctoral dissertation on Monseigneur de Mazenod contains a historical treatment of the order's work in Canada. A copy (possibly the only one in Canada) is available in the AD BC/331/.Q43M2/1858. These works are based extensively on unpublished records of the order and on recognized published sources. They are as essential to consult as the indispensable works of established non-Oblate scholars of missionary methods in Canada such as Burridge (1985, 1991), Jacqueline Gresko (1975, 1982, 1986, 1992), John Webster Grant (1978, 1980, 1984), J. Miller (1996), and Whitehead (1988: intro).

44 For a history of schools for teaching manual crafts and skills in Southern located on model farms administered by the Methodists see Whitehead (1988: 5, 8-9, 55); and for an excellent detailed history of the pre-Confederation industrial and residential school experiments in English Canada see J.R. Miller (1996: 61-88). In 1847, the Reverend Egerton Ryerson, a noted Methodist educationalist serving in the Education Office of the Government of Upper Canada, made a lengthy report to the Assistant Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs located in Lower Canada at the latter's request, providing suggestions "as to the best method of establishing and conducting Industrial Schools for the benefit of the aboriginal Indian Tribes." A typewritten script of this report (three single-spaced foolscap pages) dated May 26, 1847, Education Office, Toronto, to George Vardon, Assistant Superintendent-General, Indian Affairs, Montreal, is to be found in the AD HR/6503/.C73R/4. The original is located in the NAC RG10 Series, Vol. 6811.

Ryerson's (1847) report remarkably foreshadows Davin's (1879) report of 32 years later. Ryerson's scheme thoroughly conjoins basic literacy education with industrial pedagogy and Christian missionization. He recommended that schools for Indians should "be called Industrial Schools; they are schools of more than manual labour: they are schools of learning and religion; and industry is the great element of efficiency in each of these." The Indian education system that he advocated should be "a plain English education adapted to the working farmer and mechanic ... agriculture, kitchen, gardening, and mechanics, so far as mechanics is connected with making and repairing the most useful agricultural implements." Ryerson's report stated that "the North American Indian cannot be civilized or preserved in a state of civilization ... except in connection with, if not by the influence of, not only religious instruction and sentiment but of religious feelings ... The theory of a certain kind of educational philosophy is falsified in respect to the Indian: with him nothing can be done to improve and elevate his character without the aid of religious feeling ... Even a knowledge of the doctrines and

moral precepts of orthodox Christianity, with all the appliances of prudential example and instruction, is inadequate to produce in the heart and life of the Indian, the spirit and habits of an industrial civilization, without the additional energy and impulsive activity of religious feeling. The animating and controlling spirit of each industrial school should, therefore, in my opinion, be a religious one."

45 For example, the Oblates were well aware of the activities of Les Écoles d'Orient in Africa, and for a time attempted to get particular papal approval for their school plans in Canada (see Champagne, 1975, 164; 1983). They knew at first hand the Jesuit activities in Indian mission schools in the western U.S. (see Champagne, 1983; Quéré, 1958; Whitehead, 1988: 13-18) since the Oblates and Jesuits had collaborated for a time while the Oblates were in Oregon (Lamirande, 1958, 1963; Waggett, 1947).

46 See letter from Bishop Vital Grandin to Father Aubert, December 7, 1872 (EG, Vol. 14, p. 539), and his "Report on the Vicariate" presented to the Oblate General Chapter in 1873 (EG, Vol. 13, p. 245).

47 For example, small, occasional day-schools provided by missionaries as they had the time; "residential schools," similar to the former (i.e., small "domestic" schools with only a few pupils, not the large centralized and isolated schools that are now associated with this term) where pupils lived and studied for irregular periods of weeks or months at a time because their parents were nomadic or lived at a great distance; small orphanages, etc.

48 Industrial school teachers were not government employees, but they were government appointees. Their appointments were made on the recommendations of the missions, but their qualifications for consideration as appointees were defined by the government.

49 Archival research in AD for documents which would indicate, even indirectly (e.g., by censures or admonitions from superiors, etc.) that any of the Oblate missionaries had difficulties with the nature of the industrial schools or their pedagogical practices. Since none have so far been found, we assume either that these matters were not at issue among the missionaries of the 1870-90 period, or that they did not feel free to express concerns on these matters even at a personal level (e.g., in personal correspondence). The strongly apologetic stance prevalent in Roman Catholicism in the latter part of the last century, let alone internal sanctions in the Oblate order, probably encouraged the reverse (i.e., a defence of the industrial school system whenever criticism arose, from within or without the order).

50 See for example two relatively recent examples, Nowakowski, 1962; and Levaque, 1990.

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Comment / Commentaire

Confessions of an Ethnographer: Reflections on Fieldwork with Graffiti Writers in Montreal[1]

Louise Gauthier

Tonight, I jumped over a fence dividing city from federally owned Canadian National railway property. It took me longer than it would have any writer. They're used to it. I'm not. Still, I managed to pull myself over the 6-foot steel fence, complete with barbed wire and positioned slightly at an angle that made it difficult for me to rest my feet and lower body on the fence while I pulled myself up with my arms. I had to rely on my upper-body strength—of which I don't have much—and haul myself over to reach the other side. Not an easy job. I imagined for a moment what it could be like trying to run from the cops. I walked on and along the railroad tracks with my guide, a local writer, who mindfully pointed out sections of various freight trains stationed along the strip that showed graffiti. I saw trains punctuated with *tags*, others with *throw-ups*, still others with beautifully executed *pieces*.[2] As usual, the graffiti on the freights all listed from where they came: Santa Fe, Chicago, Vancouver, Montreal. After taking snapshots and discussing a few of the most stylistically meaningful pieces, we slowly made our way out of the site. It was then that my guide suddenly said: "I don't believe I jumped a fence with Louise Gauthier tonight." He had first seen me on CBC television's *City Beat* in the role of "graffiti expert." He saw me as an authority on graffiti and respected me for it. I respected him because, being a writer, he knew more about the practice of graffiti than I did.

As with the other writers I came to know, issues of gender, age, education and class worked themselves through our relations with one another. I sometimes had the sense of being perceived as the matriarch of graffiti—given my age, sex and educational background. I ended up studying the activities of young men, who were very different from me. Nevertheless, they let me in and I felt privileged that they allowed me to be a temporary "insider." When I could do something to help them out, I did: reclaim a camera from a police station which had been kept following a graffiti-related arrest; work out

some of the logistics needed to successfully put on graffiti events; share photographs of graffiti I had taken during trips to other cities; discuss with them what it means to write.

Figure 1

Train Yard, No. 2 1998. General view of train yard from St. Catherine Street overpass east of Frontenac Street, Montreal.

Photo by Todd Stewart

In the field, I slowly developed relationships with writers. I worked particularly closely with a small number of them. This helped me develop a better understanding of who they are, and at the same time made me see more clearly who I am. While many would have felt threatened by some of these young men most people see as deviants, criminals, or "freaks," I felt safe and accepted. And this despite the fact that some (and therefore most likely all) knew about my personal life: queer. Some of them followed me through my separation with my partner of five years, though they never pried into the matter or asked questions. I walked and talked with the writers both alone and in groups, visited desolate places with them both during the day and late at night, and wandered in areas most people try to avoid. Some of them knew my former partner and during our relationship included her in activities and conversations, and treated her with respect. Despite my queerness, or maybe because of it, we were able to develop warm relationships, devoid of sexual tension, and in some cases discussed gender roles, love and commitments. In this respect, I became one of the boys.

During a recent press conference at Montreal City Hall that served to officially launch the city's new zero-tolerance plan with regard to the practice and presence of graffiti in the metropolitan area, I recall being both upset and unsure about the kind of impact this plan would have on the writing community. I was already witnessing fragmentation within the community and feared that this kind of effort would dismantle whatever bond had been created among writers, and between writers and myself. Most everyone in the community was puzzled about the plan, not knowing how to position themselves in relation to it.[3] Some writers were highly critical of those who were willing to collaborate with the city while those who were willing to do so could not understand why others were unwilling to do the same. I myself was torn between agreeing to work with city officials and distancing myself from their zero-tolerance plan: On the one hand, it might be an appropriate professional choice for me to pursue a collaboration with the municipal government; on the other hand, the quasi war-like position the city chose to adopt and the official political rhetoric it upheld (i.e., that graffiti writing is a gang-based phenomenon, that it is overall a destructive and filthy practice, and that the people who produce it are vandals and should be treated as criminals) made it very difficult for me to create an alliance.

On the evening following the press conference, I called a writer and asked him if he would be willing to meet with me to talk. He accepted and picked me up a few hours later. As soon as I got in the car, I confessed that I did not know what to do.[4] He asked me where I wanted to go. I recall saying something like: "I don't know. All I know is that I need to get off the island for a while . . . I need some distance. I need to see the city from the outside. Just take me away for a while. Go over the bridge to the South Shore. There we can see the reflection of the city in the water. Maybe that'll help." Unused to witnessing uncertainty on my part, he graciously acknowledged my wish and we drove off. "I'm really sorry" I went on to say "but I might cry. Not many people see me weep." Though I finally did not cry, the

very act of warning him became a clear indication to me—and I think to him as well—that I was reaching out to him as a friend. Recognizing and accepting this gesture, he simply responded "no problem" then took me on a tour of various industrial sites in the city he particularly liked. We drove over a small bridge on which I had never been. There, I saw the city from an angle I had never before seen. We followed the winding road that leads to the Montreal Casino. We drove over the Victoria Bridge—my favourite—to the south shore. He brought me to a parking lot of a small shopping mall located by a freight train yard off of Highway 116. We went into a *dépanneur* and he bought a bag of popcorn and two Cokes. Despite all the things that marked us apart, two things bound us together: graffiti and Coca Cola. We then sat in the car for an hour or so in the parking lot, with the dashboard light on looking at photographs of graffiti he had recently received from fellow writers in Toronto. We looked at and talked about graffiti. Silently acknowledging that we somehow understood and accepted each other, we talked about styles of writing—who's "biting" (copying another writer); who's producing "clean" work (steady outlines and even fills), who's come up with original and vibrant colour combinations and good "pull" (3-D) effects; who's "getting up" (turning out good quality work in great quantity); who's working on trains more often than on the street; who's a "toy" (inexperienced writer who has an unsteady hand and a poor understanding of the structure of interlocking letters and/or who does not understand the geographic do's and don'ts of the practice); who's "gone legit" (turned to legal work). We drove back, stopping in various locations on the Plateau Mont-Royal looking at recent graffiti. He drove me home, I thanked him, and we said goodnight.

Gender, age, sexual orientation, education and class are among the prevailing factors that distinguish and divide people and groups of people from one another. Yet various personal experiences, such as this one, confirmed to me—and I believe to some of those with whom I developed close bonds—that these social constructions can also sometimes create unique bonds among people through an awareness and acceptance of difference.

Throughout the study, I made it very clear to myself and to the writers that my role was not that of a writer—or rather a graffiti writer. I did not take on the practice of spray painting—indeed I declined to do so even when asked—though I did feel the urge to take up the can of paint on more than a few occasions. I claimed an appropriate distance throughout and maintained it in an effort to affirm my role as an observer. To this day, I

have not "gone native" in this respect. Yet, my fieldwork has permeated and affected my life and I do believe that my presence among the writers has also affected theirs. I often caught myself spending more time with the writers than would ordinarily be required of a researcher. I thought about some of the problems and issues they were facing or about to confront. In this sense, I felt I became part of the community. By recording, writing and talking about graffiti, I progressively became aware that I too was participating in shaping the discourse on graffiti.

The social scientist side of me still feels as though I did not conduct my work in an objective fashion. As a person, I feel a sense of fulfillment because I was able to contribute what I could to the development of an urban street movement that began to have some impact. In this respect, how much of an observer—and how little of a participant—could I really claim to have been? I gradually moved from being an outsider to an insider and with this saw my role change from observer to participant. Yet, because of the nature of my work—I was writing about graffiti but was not a graffiti writer—I was a particular kind of participant and constantly had to confront the reality that I could never completely be a true insider. While writers would make a point of keeping me up to date on where they went and what they did, they were just as aware as I was that I ultimately could not fully know what it was like to be a graffiti writer. Despite the fact that many writers trusted me and that I did observe them write on walls in tunnels, underpasses, and on the street, I never did go to a train yard (i.e., on federal property), for the purpose of observing them paint freights. My sense is that they were protecting me, just as I was protecting myself.

As I was packing my bags the night before I left Montreal, one writer with whom I had developed a close relationship called to say goodbye. We had seen each other earlier that week and had spoken over the phone several times since then. "We're gonna miss you," he said. "Things won't be the same without you. You realize that you're the only one in the crew who's not a graffiti writer or a DJ or a skateboarder." This was the first I had heard about being a crew member. Catching me off guard, I asked him what he meant. "You're a TA girl. Didn't you know that? You're one of us." It was only after we said our final farewell that I realized this was his way to show appreciation and give thanks. Though I never was and will never be completely part of their world, we nevertheless developed mutual respect. As I now strive to complete my work, I remember the lesson I learned: Unless we are willing to leap over those fences that divide us, we will never be able know what lies beyond them.

Notes

1 This is part of a larger study on the practice of graffiti in Montreal. In 1998, I earned a doctoral degree in Sociology from the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science of the New School for Social Research (New York) for my work entitled *Writing on the Run: The History and Transformation of Street Graffiti in Montreal in the 1990s*. Between 1991 and 1998, I documented the practice both visually by way of photography and video and through the spoken word by way of structured interviews and informal conversations with graffiti writers. I wrote this reflection as I was on the point of completing a second year-long period of fieldwork in Montreal in August 1996. Following the completion of my degree, I continued to document the practice until 2000. I would like to thank Sally Cole for her support and for encouraging me to publish this excerpt.

2 Like other cultures, the graffiti-writing world has its own language, structure and social hierarchy. Within this world, a "graffiti writer" or plainly a "writer" is someone who produces a specific kind of graffiti; the kind that originated in some of the ghettos of New York City in the mid to late 1960s. For the purposes of my research, I have called this form of visual representation "signature graffiti" in order to distinguish it from other types, particularly political graffiti, which was the most widespread form of graffiti in Montreal until the early 1990s. Like other forms of graffiti, including political graffiti, signature graffiti is a mode of communication and a form of public culture. However, unlike political graffiti which usually consist of legible, stylistically simple, and anonymous inscriptions that most often thematically refer to large-scale collective identity issues, signature graffiti is first and foremost a practice based on the representation of the self in the public environment. In fact, it is because the name constitutes the central theme or idea of the practice that I called this type of inscription "signature graffiti." Although "characters" (cartoon-like figures) and a variety of symbols (stars, crowns, arrows, exclamation and quotation marks) are sometimes also depicted, most of the work produced in the public space is conveyed through the written word, specifically the "tag" (the nickname), and is usually undecipherable to the untrained eye. Individually, these inscriptions are self-identifying declarations. Combined, they create a visual continuum that shapes and defines a social world. Tags, throw-ups, and pieces constitute the three basic types of signature graffiti. Tags are quickly produced stylized monochromatic inscriptions representing the nickname of the individual who produces them. This is the most common form of signature graffiti. Throw-ups are blown-up versions of tags. Usually written in big bubbled-up letters with an outline and a fill, they require more time to make and, depending on where they are produced, represent a riskier type of activity. Pieces are colourful large-scale compositions. Again most often name-based, these works are composed of interlocking letters and exaggerated 3-D effects. Pieces sometimes include characters, symbols, and references to the urban environment. When done illegally, piecing is the riskiest activity a graffiti writer can engage in. Interestingly, pieces are also the type most people usually refer to as "graffiti art," whether they are produced legally or illegally. Though some people outside the signature graffiti writing community and some writers themselves use the term "graffiti artist" (or "vandal," depending on one's ideological position) to refer to those who practice this type of visual language and "graffiti art" (or "trash," again depending on one's belief and value system) to refer to the language itself, specifically pieces, most of those who practise signature graffiti refer to themselves (especially among themselves) as "writers" and to what they do as "writing."

3 During the press conference, Mayor Pierre Bourque along with other city officials, including the Chief of Police, explained that the newly-developed plan to eliminate graffiti consisted in distributing $200,000 to five community organizations in particularly "hard hit" areas of the city. The purpose of allocating the funds to these organizations was to provide them with the financial means to set up and run anti-graffiti programs and hire youth to clean up graffiti-riddled walls in their respective neighborhoods. Of the $200,000 allocated in 1996, $25,000 served to sponsor the production of five murals. Some of the graffiti writers who attended the press conference saw this as an opportunity to have access to a source of income for their visual work. Others saw it as a sell out and a trap. Since the City at the time saw signature graffiti (i.e., tags, throw-ups, pieces) as being *de facto* the core of the graffiti problem, by the end of the summer none of the municipally funded murals embodied the graffiti writing aesthetic.

4 Today, graffiti writers (both in Canada and elsewhere in industrialized countries) come from heterogeneous backgrounds. No longer only the language of the disenfranchised, it has expanded from an inner-city practice to an inter-city and international one adopted and accepted by many people. However, while the practice has become in great part multiracial, multiethnic, cross-class, and transnational, it nevertheless still is an overwhelmingly male activity where gender hierarchies are generally sustained and reproduced.

Book Reviews / Comptes rendus

Morris Berman, *Wandering God: A Study in Nomadic Spirituality,* Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000.

Reviewer: *Mathias Guenther*
Wilfrid Laurier University

Wandering God is the third of a remarkable trilogy on the evolution and diversity of the patterns thought and consciousness of *Homo sapiens* through the ages. Their manifestation, in spirituality and corporeality, were the themes of the previous two books, respectively, *The Reenchantment of the World* (1981) and *Coming to Our Senses* (1989). What Berman deals with in the present book, with impressive intellectual scope and erudition, is the shift of the thought patterns of Palaeolithic hunter-gatherer nomads to those of sedentary agriculturalists (and beyond, to 20th-century Western industrial civilization). "Paradox" characterizes the former, a way of viewing the world, alertly, wholly and horizontally, with a broad, floodlight perspective that takes in all simultaneously, the opposites and the periphery. What is yielded is a "kind of kaleidoscopic consciousness," a "kind of mature ambiguity," for which the author has a distinct preference, as it fosters openness and tolerance, qualities lacking from the thought pattern that displaced it, with the rise of the Old World early agricultural civilizations. This Berman refers to as the "sacred authority complex" (SAC), with a mode of thought in which ambiguity yields to certainty, simultaneity to duality, and horizontality to verticality (and tolerance to dogmatism). Here certain elements of reality are designated elevated, sacred, eternal, true and transcendent value and, by their association with politics and authority, provide the ideological underpinnings for inequality. A key element of SAC is ASC, Altered/Alternate States of Consciousness, in particular "unitive trance" (which embraces, intensively and exclusively, one of a paired set of phenomena, for instance, Self the Sacred, to the exclusion of Other or the Secular). As a powerful "ascent experience," trance provides the person experiencing it with an intensified awareness of one or another of the ultimate truths and connects him or her to the eternal, yielding a "fusion with the absolute" and thereby utter certainty.

The chapters that take the reader through this transformations of human thought are models of scholarship. Learned, informed and up-to-date explorations are offered of Palaeolithic cave art and culture; of the development, among complex hunter-gatherers and agriculturalists, of inequality; of the rise of agriculture and the alleged cult around the goddess (and her male counterpart, the hero); of early pastoralism. The last two chapters fast forward in time, offering a far-ranging review and typology of Western intellectual traditions that balance the elements of logic or form and spirit or process, as well as paradox. Ludwig Wittgenstein receives detailed treatment, being heralded as the Western thinker whose thought embraced both logic and paradox (turning to the latter in the second half of his life, in a new philosophical incarnation). That "paradigm worship"—SAC's secular branch—continues to this day in Western thought, to our Western intellectual and moral detriment, is Berman's pessimistic conclusion. As an antidote to this Western epistemological disease he suggests that we should inject paradox into our mode of thought, not in massive doses, which would result in merely another paradigm, but through the irksome pinpricks of a gadfly, that "keeps nagging at us until we are ready to look at our need for certainty with a more critical eye."

While cogently argued—with much of the scholarly evidence provided in comprehensive endnotes that rein in a wide array of source material—a student of hunter-gatherers might have a couple of objections, especially a student of hunter-gatherer religion and of the Bushmen, a much drawn-on ethnographic example in Berman's book. The treatment of the Bushmen is too monolithic; it suffers heavily from the affliction of so many of the earlier, pre-revisionist studies on the Bushmen (and on hunter-gatherers), the "tyranny of the !Kung." In treating the latter group as synonymous with "the Bushmen of the Kalahari desert," Berman goes against the grain of more recent studies, by Alan Barnard, Susan Kent, others, which dwell on the striking structural and cultural diversity of this foraging people. The same is the concern of recent researchers on other hunter-gatherers, which span the spectrum from simple, small-scale, egalitarian foragers to complex, hierarchical, virtually sedentary fisher-villagers. The former type is the one privileged in this study and treated as the ethnographic analogues to Palaeolithic hunter-gatherers (with due awareness, on the author's part, of the fact that the Palaeolithic folk that loom large in his book, the cave painters, were likely a variant of complex hunter-gatherers).

As for hunter-gatherer religion, one might take issue with Berman's suggestion that trance is a religious phenomenon primarily of agricultural folk, occurring only "occasionally" among hunter-gatherers and showing merely "traces" among Palaeolithic ones. The work by Richard Katz and, more recently, by David Lewis-Williams, Thomas Dowson and Jean Clottes—to which Berman addresses himself critically in one of his lengthy endnotes—suggest otherwise, namely that ASC is an integral and pivotal element of the religion of the Bushmen, as of other hunter-gatherers, including prehistoric ones. Also contestable is Berman's suggestion that the trance experience is vertical, one of ascent, and that it is "unitive." The outer-body travel of a Bushman trance dancer is in fact as much lateral or horizontal—across a nocturnal natural landscape, on the lookout for game animals and humans in other camps—as it is vertical, up- and downwards. Regarding verticality, a dimension Berman ascribes to the cosmologies of agriculturalists, one might note that one finds the same also among hunter-gatherers, exemplified in a three-tiered universe (vertically traversed by some sort of *axis mundi*). As for its unitive aspect, the Bushmen's version of trance is one more of disassociation and disjuncture than of unity, as, at the experiential and phenomenological levels, aspects of the real world, of the living, people and animals, merge with those of the spirit world.

These objections notwithstanding, I am persuaded by Berman's depiction of the mental and cosmological patterns of hunter-gatherers, especially its key element of paradox (or ambiguity, which, as it happens, is the *leitmotif* also of my own recently published study of the religion of one such group, the Bushmen). These patterns are also radically different from those of non-hunter-gatherers, yet, at the same time, they continue to be linked to them, as ideological counter-currents to their distinctive mode of thought, one marked by clarity, certainty, dogmatism and authority. That hunter-gatherers are a distinctive, autonomous cultural type, today as in the past, whose ideas, beliefs, myths and world view are profound and relevant to our own, is the basic message I take from this fascinating study of human thought and consciousness. This sort of message has become highly controversial in the field of hunter-gatherer and Bushman studies. Because of the cogency of its argument and quality of its research, this book might well rekindle the controversy and elicit a new round in the "Great Kalahari Debate."

Yuen-fong **Woon**, *The Excluded Wife*, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal and Kingston, 1998, ISBN 0-7735-1730-8, xvii + 295 pages.

Reviewer: *Wendy Larson*
University of Oregon

When a professor decides to present her research in novel form, I always feel some trepidation. Nonetheless, I felt

drawn to the portrayal of the "excluded wife"—the woman left behind in China when her husband left to find his fortune in Canada—by Yuen-fong Woon. Woon is a professor in Pacific and Asian Studies at the University of Victoria, and began the research behind this book in the mid-1980s as part of an oral history project. Part 1 of the book covers the period from 1929 to 1952, when the Chinese Exclusion Act (in force from 1923 to 1947) prohibited wives from accompanying their husbands to Canada. This is the longest and most vivid section of the novel. Part 2 covers 1952 to 1955, when the main character leaves southern mainland China for Hongkong, along with thousands of refugees. The third and final part goes from 1955 to 1987 and takes place in Vancouver's Chinatown.

The centre of this novel is Wong Sau-ping, created to represent the "grass widow," or the wife left behind in Guangdong Province. To invent this character, Woon interviewed women who had joined their husbands in Canada, others in peasant households in Guangdong Province, and cadres in China. Woon's stated goal in writing about grass widows is to produce an ethnography that is "an accurate depictions of their lives and a truthful testimony to their bravery and endurance" (xi). I believe she has met this goal.

Wong Sau-ping is the wife of Leung Yik-Man, a grandson of the large Leung lineage. In focussing both on lineage, with its pervasive cultural meanings, and on a woman, Woon allows her quite evident feminist sensibilities to play upon this fictional historical record, for as she notes in the family tree she has constructed for Wong Sau-Ping, "A formal genealogy would leave out Sau-Ping's natal family, and the women would be there marginally if at all" (xiii). This move allows us to see one rationale behind Woon's decision to use fiction rather than present her research within conventional modes. Although it would be possible to represent the lives of women almost totally determined by patriarchal concepts of lineage, the women's subjectivity—their daily experience of these cultural structures—is expressed much more vividly in this fictional form.

The story is engrossing. Woon's ability to create living characters grows as she progresses through the narrative, which begins in 1929 when Sau-ping is an unmarried teenager moving into the "maiden house" with others like herself. As Woon notes, Sau-ping "had been trained as a modest daughter" and throughout the tale we find that Sau-ping in many ways is a conventional uneducated woman who lives by the dictates of patriarchy and ancestor worship that have been taught to her. She is afraid of becoming a grass widow but cannot question the idea, because "women were required to be strong in obedience" to avoid being turned into pigs or crazies and killed by the villagers (8).

Sau-ping is married in 1933 to Leung Yik-man. We hear Woon's scholarly voice infiltrating the narrative here and there; for example, when Sau-ping first sees Yik-man, she describes him as "tall and muscular by local standards" (32). Surely that added "by local standards" is Woon telling us that

he wasn't really tall and muscular at all if we are looking at him from our contemporary North American perspective.

Yik-Man soon leaves to join his father working in a Chinese restaurant in Vancouver, and troubles begin for Sau-ping. Bandits, rumours, the constant worry about money coming from her husband, war, famine, illness and finally the communist revolution all beset Sau-ping, who gives birth to daughter Fei-yin and adopts son Kin-Pong. When the PRC is established and a former lowly day worker given a prominent role in ferreting out anti-revolutionaries, Sau-ping finds her house, property and family in danger. Furthermore, the remittances are no longer allowed to enter China, and those with overseas connections become suspect. Taking her daughter and adopted son, she flees to Hongkong. The colony, however, is flooded with refugees like herself, and Sau-ping can barely support herself selling vegetables on the street.

Eventually Sau-ping gets the opportunity to join her husband in Canada, although her daughter must be left behind (Kin-pong already has left for Canada). She has learned that her husband sold Fei-yin's birthright, an act she finds hard to forgive. In the end, however, family loyalty wins out and she finds herself working hard in a restaurant with living quarters above it—a far cry from her beautiful house in China.

The family almost loses the restaurant to Leung Kin-tsoi, the unscrupulous grandson of the lineage chief. Kin-tsoi has been the beneficiary of Fei-yin's sold birthright, a fact which angers Sau-ping continually. With the help of Mr. Chau, their lawyer, however, the restaurant is found to belong to Yik-man and his family. Fei-yin eventually makes her way to Canada and the group is reunited. Yik-man dies and Sau-ping moves into a facility for the elderly. While my retelling may be bland, the story proceeds with lively conflict.

One of Woon's goals is to take the actual lived reality of Chinese families in the diaspora and show how it was and is formed by legislation, by common attitudes in both China and Canada, and by the peculiarities of cross-cultural living. Issues of the "paper son," explaining the complex rules of kinship and relations to foreign authorities, manipulating what is a prejudicial and unfair system to reach common goals such as letting families live in peace together—all of these things are represented. Evil characters appear within the Chinese ranks, showing that Woon is consciously avoiding romanticization. She understands a great deal about how the grass widows lived and felt, and she translates this into the mind of Sau-ping.

Rather than thinking of this book as pure fiction, it should be regarded as a hybrid form, a mixture of history, fiction, imagination, and ideas that is backed by years of research. As I mentioned, a feminist sensibility underlies the character of Sau-ping, yet the overall impression I get is that this is a story of families, not of women or even individuals. In this regard, Woon has accurately injected a worldview almost totally determined by lineage into the story, creating an experience for the reader that would be difficult to come by in scholarly work.

Paul Antze and Michael Lambek (eds.), *Tense Past: Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory*, New York and London: Routledge, 1996.

Reviewer: *John Leavitt*
Université de Montréal

The last several years have seen the rise of a new Canada-centred cross-disciplinary discussion of memory and trauma. Key players include the philosopher Ian Hacking and the anthropologists Paul Antze and Michael Lambek, their students and collaborators, all based in Toronto, and some scholars from other places. This multidisciplinary volume is the first to give an idea of the importance and scope of the reflections of this strongly anchored and loosely bounded group. The book represents a milestone in studies of memory in giving a much-needed cross-cultural perspective on the field, in a way at the same time is sensitive to psychological and historical approaches.

The book begins with a wide-ranging and sometimes inspired introduction by the two editors. The remainder is divided into three parts. The first contains papers on memory and trauma in the lives of individuals; the last papers on collective memory and the handling of collective trauma. Between these the editors have appropriately put papers on explicit expert theories of memory and trauma, reflecting the recent increase of scholarly interest in experts" discourses. In more classical anthropological terms, it's as if Griaule had put data on individual Dogon in a first section, Ogotemmêli's version of Dogon cosmology in a second, Griaule's own reconstruction of the collective Dogon world in a third.

The first section of the book contains three papers on cases of traumatic memory and how individuals deal with them. Paul Antze draws implications for our assumptions about identity from his participation in a self-help group for people defined as having multiple personality disorder resulting from repressed early trauma. Donna Young and Glynis George each presents women's histories of trouble and their efforts to conceptualize and deal with them, both from Atlantic Canada. These two papers show the link between individual trauma and social conditions, as well as the sometimes vast implications of turning private trauma into public disclosure.

The second part, "The Medicalization of Memory," takes critical views of what are often unquestioned professional readings of memory. Here the guiding spirit (or sprite) is Michel Foucault, whose work on medicine, psychiatry, and the penal system created a field of critical scholarly discourse about scholarly discourse, particularly as it is used to justify the existence of institutions of treatment and constraint. The first chapter in this section, "Memory Sciences, Memory Politics" by Ian Hacking, is a memory manifesto which to some degree anchors the whole book. Hacking's purpose, following Foucault, is to identify unspoken assumptions ("depth knowledge") behind expert discourses ("surface knowledge"). Depth knowledge, the "knowledge" that there is something to know in a given domain, differs from period to period and among societies. Its source is more likely to lie in general social con-

ditions than the explicit rules of the sciences that it makes thinkable. This relatively relativistic position is presumably what Hacking means by insisting on "politics" in relation to "sciences." He holds that "memory" as a scientific category was historically and politically constituted through modernity, illustrating this history with short treatments of key figures: Freud, the psychologists of shellshock, Locke, Ribot.

The next chapter in this section is by Allan Young, an anthropologist who some years ago turned his ethnographic gaze on medicine and has more recently considered the psychiatric profession and its development of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder. Young traces the passage of the notion of trauma from bodily to psychic damage and shows how current psychological and psychiatric uses of the concept represent extensions of its source in the body. Finally Ruth Leys, an historian of ideas, goes over some of the same material from a different angle, giving a compelling history of the idea of trauma among psychologists and psychoanalysts from World War 1 to now.

The last section of the book, "Culture as Memorial Practice," looks at how collectivities deal with a traumatic past and conceptualize time and memory. In his chapter, Michael Kenny compares assumptions about memory and the past that underlie psychiatric diagnoses of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder and Borderline Personality with assumptions behind "diagnoses" made in other societies: Zande witchcraft, Latin American *susto*, and West African Bad Destiny. In all these cases, today's misfortune is categorized as something to be explained by the past. The differences seem less between "true" scientific and "false" folk models than between hopeful and hopeless diagnoses that may share assumptions across traditions. In the next chapter, the psychiatrist Laurence Kirmayer uses the landscape metaphor to explicate popular models of memory, what are often presented as the unrememberable horrors of childhood abuse, and narratives of unforgettable horrors of the Holocaust. Then Jack Kugelmass recounts his changing views of the status of the "memory tourism" of North American Jews to Poland, the land of their ancestors, who either fled or were wiped out.

In the penultimate chapter in the volume, Maurice Bloch performs a *tour de force* comparison of presumptions about the nature of time and change in three societies, showing how such presumptions can be understood in terms of specific social patterns and conceptions of kinship and the person. Here Bloch criticizes cognitive scientists for their neglect of the variability of presuppositions about fundamental aspects of experience across cultures; elsewhere he has vigorously criticized anthropologists for neglecting the contributions of cognitive science. Bloch's chapter provides a welcome cross-societal context for the rest of the volume.

In the last chapter, Michael Lambek moves back and forth between popular and expert conceptualizations of memory in the West and an account of the role of memory and forgetting in spirit possession on the island of Mayotte. In both cases, Lambek argues, what one does and does not remember

defines and is defined by the kind of person one is and wants to be: in his words, it is a moral practice.

It is evidently impossible to do justice to a book of this complexity and richness in a short review. I will make two small points, drawing particularly on Lambek and Antze's introduction to the volume. Many of the chapters contrast two views of memory. In one, often characterized as the "naïve" or "commonsense" view, memory is a record of things that really happened in the past. This view has been adopted in a particularly literalist form by the repressed memory and multiple personality movements: if you remember something, even something you had forgotten for a long time, even something that emerges only under hypnosis or as a result of prolonged therapy, the content of that memory must be a fact that really happened and that may require dealing with in the present—maybe in the courts. Against this view is one that stresses the constructed nature of memory, arguing that what we remember is at least as dependent on our current circumstances and needs as on what happened in the past. This is the view adopted wholesale by cognitive psychologists, whose experiments show the extreme lability of memory and the suggestibility of rememberers: in this view, memory is or might as well be a fabrication. Since the central point of the introduction and of some of the chapters here is that memory is a kind of narrative, or moral practice, or personal and social construction, we must assume that on the whole the authors concur with this second view.

And this raises two issues. First of all, it is surely too simple to define memory as either a true record of the past or a mere construction of the present. What we mean by the word memory in ordinary language seems somewhat more complex: what we call a memory is experienced not as an "assertion and performance" (cf. p. xxv), but as a witnessing, a constatation. It imposes itself—yet not with the force of immediate perception, but as part of a lived past. This sense of real lived experience, but at a remove, is simply not captured by either/or formulations of memory as record or memory as narrative performance. I, at least, had the sense that in their haste to avoid naïve literalist interpretations of memory as simply the record of the past, many of the chapters in the volume veered to the obvious alternative of memory as simply a story in the present.

At the same time (issue two), the authors of this volume do not fall into the obsession with the literal truth or falsehood of memory that marks most of the discussion today. While they do adopt an essentially presentist and constructionist view, they do not see this as invalidating memory—unlike many cognitive psychologists or the proponents of False Memory Syndrome. This volume takes the very sane position that something that may or may not be literally, or juridically, true can still be very important. One great virtue of the book is thus to challenge what the editors (p. xxviii) aptly call the "assault on fantasy" that is rampant in our society today.

Aminur Rahman, *Women and Microcredit in Rural Bangladesh: An Anthropological Study of Grameen Bank Lending*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999, xi + 188 pages, 22 figures.

<div align="right">Reviewer: <i>B. Lynne Milgram</i>
<i>York University</i></div>

As Rahman notes in his introduction, microcredit has become the "new paradigm for thinking about economic development" (p. 1). Since the limits of welfare-oriented approaches are now well recognized, an ever-growing wave of microlending initiatives are cloning Bangladesh's Grameen Bank model in efforts to alleviate poverty and empower the "poor." Because of women's higher repayment rates and prioritization of expenditure on family welfare, many of these programs target women specifically, as a means for increasing project cost efficiency and for achieving more effective poverty alleviation. Rahman's study of one of the Grameen Bank's oldest village projects is part of a recent literature critiquing the global consensus that microlending to the poor is the key to economic development in the 21st century. Rahman challenges the unqualified success of Grameen Bank schemes based on quantitative survey studies to dispute claims that microcredit provides a cost-effective sustainable development model that improves peoples' quality of life. Instead, he argues that microlending to women, particularly, systematically fails to reach the poorest, has a limited effect on increasing household income and treats the symptoms rather than the social causes of poverty.

Focusing on grassroots lending practices to women, Rahman critiques the Bank's hegemonic discourse of control that fosters a "Grameen Culture" through its Sixteen Decisions (code for proper behaviour) and through disciplining borrowers to consider prompt loan repayment their highest priority. His analysis makes an important contribution to the recent debates about the effectiveness of microcredit delivery as he repeatedly demonstrates how Grameen Bank culture exists within the "larger structure of patriarchy that consequently retrenches partriarchal hegemony and reproduces new forms of domination over women in [Bangladesh] society" (p. 51).

Microcredit programmes extend financial services for self-employed livelihood projects to those who do not have access to the formal banking sector because they lack traditional forms of collateral (e.g., capital, property). To acquaint the first-time reader on microcredit with the premise of such systems, Rahman begins with a thorough explanation of the operation and philosophy of the Grameen Bank since its inception in 1976 (augmented by two Appendices); and he reviews the major studies on Grameen lending. His overview of the literature on women in development (WID) and gender and development (GAD) provides the context for his more detailed analysis of Bangladesh's gender and development projects since the early 1970s, particularly those of group-based institutional lending to women.

Rahman systematically analyzes (chapters 5-7) each of the major tenets of the Grameen Bank's operation within the theoretical framework of Scott's "hidden" and "public" transcripts. Within this paradigm, he confronts the ongoing contradictions between ideology and practice in Grameen Bank culture. He persuasively demonstrates the connection between the financial success of the Bank and the debt-cycling of borrowers. The Grameen Bank's priority of achieving institutional financial sustainability through prompt and profitable returns to donors causes bank employees at the grassroots level to focus on increasing the number of loans disbursed and loan collection. This resonates with the current critique of microcredit in which financial sustainability takes precedence over social change objectives, thus undermining the goals of empowering women. By using the joint liability model of lending (e.g., peer pressure), both bank workers and group members impose intense pressure on borrowers for timely loan repayments. Many borrowers thus maintain their regular repayment schedules, but do so through a process of local recycling; that is, they pay off previous loans with new ones, often from local moneylenders charging high monthly interest rates, thereby increasing borrower debt liability. Such debt burdens on individual households, in turn, increase tension and anxiety among household members, and produce unintended consequences for many women, especially increases in domestic hostility and violence (p. 98).

Rahman further shakes the bastion of microcredit by documenting how the majority of women borrowers are disadvantaged by the program through the power hierarchies that develop within local loan centres. In practice, male bank workers make the final decisions on who receives loans and on the amount they receive. In turn, the "better off poor" women with well-developed social networks often decide which members' names go forward to the bank for loans; and currying favour with bank officials, they promote the interests of particular members to improve their personal social capital (pp. 101-102). Thus, instead of building member empowerment and group solidarity, such practices actually widen cleavages among women and threaten group solidarity, a situation now more widely documented (e.g., Goetz & Gupta, 1996; Morduch, 1999).

Rahman's strongest critique of the Grameen Bank scheme emerges in his discussion of how the bank's practices actually perpetuate the broader Bangladesh partriarchal ideology. He reports that over 90 percent of Grameen Bank employees are male (p. 84) while the majority of borrowers are women. Within this structure, 78 percent of women turn over a substantial portion of their loan to their husbands, while 60 percent turn over the entire amount (p. 109); in return, women receive the money they need for their weekly repayments. Such practices undermine the key Grameen Bank premise to empower poor women by providing access to individual investment funds. Rahman makes the important point that "what is central is not women's control of finances, but the centrality of women in household decision making" (p. 113). With the rapid expansion of the bank's outreach, there is little time for loan supervision that can facilitate

women's control of loan funds. His study thus supports the cautionary warning within the field that the singular microcredit formula that simply advances loans to raise household income does little to challenge Bangladesh's broader infrastructure, in which women's "positional vulnerability" (p. 74) and cycle of low-paying home-based enterprises are so firmly enmeshed. As the participants in Rahman's study explain, the Grameen Bank has largely sacrificed its social development constitution to maintain a high repayment rate; "it has become a *kistir* bank, a bank for installment collection" (p. 117). Regarding institutions like the Grameen Bank as historically contingent frameworks for rules, beliefs and practices, can thus illuminate how, when gender policies intended to challenge existing relations of power are introduced, outcomes can seem so little changed.

Rahman's study could have benefitted, however, from the addition of a short section situating the Grameen Bank scheme within other microcredit and microfinance approaches. Increasingly, advocates of microlending are adopting a microfinance approach in which equal emphasis is placed on savings activities as well as on the disbursement of loans. Although enforced savings constitutes a part of the Grameen scheme, savings activities, including the brief mention of members achieving individual accessibility to their Group Fund Account (in 1996), are mentioned only in passing. What are the potential advantages of accumulated savings for some women? Similarly, although we learn that some "women borrowers achieve a degree of self-esteem and achieve investment and repayment goals" (p. 96), a natural reaction is to ask for some elaboration on success stories about women who have been able to transform power relations and to create their own spaces. From his critique of the Grameen Bank's neoliberal agenda, specifically, Rahman might have taken a bigger step forward to problematize, not only this development project, but the very concept of development itself.

These minor points aside, Rahman's book makes an important contribution to the field of development studies and especially to the recent promotion of microcredit as an international development policy. Although his study is based on one village example, it has policy implications for similar schemes being established worldwide, and for those throughout Asia and the Pacific, especially. The book raises provocative and important questions. Consequently it could provide the basis of lively debates in both undergraduate and graduate courses in development, as well as for specific discussions on development planning and policy formation.

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Reviewer: *Robert Adlam*
Mount Allison University

This book begins in its opening chapter with the individual at the centre of this controversy—Donald Marshall, Jr. He is a figure already well known to Canadians as a result of his wrongful conviction and the subsequent judicial inquiry of the 1980's. Here, Marshall is before the Court system again B this time for fishing without a licence, selling eels without a licence and fishing during a closed season. He admits to having caught and sold 463 pounds of eels without a licence and with a prohibited net within closed times. The only issue at trial, then, is whether he possesses a treaty right to catch and sell fish under the treaties of 1760-61 which exempted him from compliance with the regulations.

Joined by Mi'kmaq chiefs, the Union of Nova Scotia Indians and the Confederacy of Mainland Mi'kmaq, a legal battle ensues which works its way through the court system ending up finally before the Supreme Court of Canada. In its ruling of September, 1999, the Supreme Court not only finds for Marshall but holds that he has established the existence and infringement of a local Mi'kmaq treaty right to carry on a small scale commercial eel fishery. Amidst the controversy which follows, the Court takes the rather unprecedented step of issuing a statement of clarification [November, 1999]. The statement addresses certain misconceptions about the judgement, principal among these being, that the *Marshall* decision is specifically about eels and not about other natural resources. Further the treaty right referred to in *Marshall* is a *regulated* right. This recognizes the stewardship of the Federal government, the continuing pre-eminence of conservation, and the need to consider the "rights" of other users. Finally, the right to a moderate livelihood is interpreted as being limited to securing "necessaries"—meaning "food, clothing and housing, supplemented by a few amenities" and not to the open-ended accumulation of wealth.

For Coates, making sense of the *Marshall* decision requires a very broad and comprehensive perspective which must take account of the historical as well as contemporary circumstances of First Nations within the Maritime provinces. Accordingly, there are the historical relations which developed between First Nations and newcomers culminating in the treaties of 1760-61 B the agreements immediately relevant to the case at hand (chapter 2). As well, there are the contemporary social, economic and cultural conditions among these First Nations which finds them largely marginalized from the opportunities enjoyed by most non-Aboriginal Maritimers. Indeed, hardest hit appear to be Aboriginal youth who, even in the face of more vibrant First Nation communities and the reinforcement of language and culture, continue to experience a lack of belonging in a world markedly different from that of their ancestors (chapter 3).

The *Marshall* decision is a legal case in a long line of other such cases, from *St. Catherine's Milling and Lumber Company* (1888) through *Syliboy* (1928), *White and Bob* (1965), *Calder* (1973), *Guerin* (1985), *Simon* (1985), and *Sparrow* (1990) to *Van der Peet, N.T.C. Smokehouse, Gladstone* (1996) and *Delgamuukw* (1997). Together these cases form not only a body of law on issues of resource, treaty and Aboriginal rights but have come to symbolize a hope for greater opportunity (chapter 4). Apart from *Simon* (1985), though, none of these cases are specific to the Maritimes. *Thomas Peter Paul* (1997, 1998) involving the harvesting of bird's eye maple with the intention of selling it for profit, really represented one of the first. Here at issue is whether First Nations have a treaty right to harvest trees for commercial purposes. Although Thomas Peter Paul loses on appeal, what it does bring about is serious negotiation on the part of the government of New Brunswick and the allocation of 5% of the total permissible timber harvest for the province to First Nations collectively (chapter 5).

In the wake of the *Marshall* decision, Aboriginal fishers rush to exercise their right to fish, resulting in confrontations both on and off the water. Burnt Church, an Aboriginal community on the shores of Miramichi Bay in northern New Brunswick, quickly becomes one of the flash points of this controversy. At one point, in the early morning hours of October 3, 1999, non-Aboriginal fishers destroy some 3,000 Aboriginal lobster traps. Caught in the middle, Herb Dhaliwal, Minister of Fisheries and Oceans, calls for calm and works to establish short-term agreements with Aboriginal fishers while insisting that violence will not be tolerated. In the end, the fury ignited by the *Marshall* decision subsides to be replaced by an "orderly, conservation-oriented Aboriginal fishery, without interference by commercial fishers" (chapter 6). Throughout the early months of 2000, while most bands enter into fishery agreements with the Federal government, only Burnt Church refuses (chapter 7). It serves as a reminder of just how complex and contentious the issues raised by *Marshall* have become for Maritimers (chapter 8).

Written in a journalistic style, much like the source material from which it is drawn [almost exclusively from newspaper accounts of the events], Coates provides little evidence of any direct contact with the individuals caught up in the events covered by this book. There are no interviews, for example, or descriptions of the actual events themselves. This is unfortunate since during the writing of the book, Coates is well positioned to do so, being situated at the St. John campus of the University of New Brunswick. A further failing of the book are the numerous typos and glaring errors such as the "persecution argued... a significal" (p. 41). Others include: Restigouche which becomes "Lestigouche" and is repeated several times, "sadly" in place of "stated," "take" when "talk" is required, and several instances of "persecution" in place of "prosecution." All speak to the relative haste with which the book was prepared and edited.

There is, Coates writes, "a fundamental bias in the debate surrounding the Marshall case, it is the predominance of non-Aboriginal perspectives ... First Nations perspectives and insight are generally not well canvassed (xii)." Given the approach taken by Coates, there remains a question as to whether he has remedied this situation. Indeed, there lingers a sense of lost opportunity in failing to seek out and give greater "voice" to both Mi'kmaq and Maliseet perspectives.

Gillian Cowlishaw, *Rednecks, Eggheads and Blackfellas: A Study of Racial Power and Intimacy in Australia,* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999, ISBN: 0-472-08648-0.

Reviewer: *Elizabeth Furniss*
University of Calgary

"Rednecks, Eggheads and Blackfellas" is a study of the complex relationships that developed over an 80-year period between the Rembarrgna, an Aboriginal group in Australia's remote Northern Territory, and the white pastoralists, anthropologists, and government officials who in successive waves sought to impose forms of cultural domination and forcibly transform Aborigines' lives. Writing against a conservative Australian anthropological tradition that emphasizes studies of "traditional," bounded Aboriginal culture (p. 4), Cowlishaw instead highlights the ways in which Aboriginal lives were fundamentally intertwined with both those of regional settlers and of government agents seeking to enforce destructive state policies. Unwilling to simply denounce these relationships as "racist," Cowlishaw instead seeks to trace the "everyday manifestations of cultural hegemony" and to emphasize the "ambiguities, contradictions, and forms of compromise" that defined "race relations" on the outback frontier (p. 4).

Cowlishaw draws upon both documentary sources and ethnographic fieldwork carried out in the Northern Territory since the 1970s. Through a focus on the lives of individual Aborigines and a liberal use of interview material, Cowlishaw conveys a strong sense of the diverse ways in which different Aboriginal people have been affected by, have understood, and have sought to cope with practical, concrete forms of cultural domination. At the same time, Cowlishaw never loses sight of the overarching structural conditions—the fundamentally "racialized" system of social relations of unequal power—that sets the context for outback Aboriginal-white relations. Her facility for moving between a rich description of individual life histories and localized events and a critical examination of the broader structural and ideological contexts of Aboriginal-settler-state relations is one of the greatest strengths of this fine and challenging ethnography.

Cowlishaw begins with a review of early representations of the Northern Territory, assessing how images of "primitive" Aboriginality and ideas of progress and modernity coalesced into a discourse justifying white settlement and Aboriginal dispossession. Following Foucault, she explores

how the state enacted particular "techniques of governance" that sought to "civilize" and reproduce its own forms of social relations in the outback region. This project was not merely one of economic transformation, the creation of capitalist social relations and the transformation of Aboriginal people into autonomous labourers, but was also one of the codification of "knowledge" about Aboriginal peoples, a project in which government officials, pastoralists, and anthropologists all participated, and which resulted in an "enclosing [of] Aborigines" lives in a net of knowledge owned by others" (p. 92).

Cowlishaw then narrows her gaze to examine social relations as they developed on the pastoral station of Mainoru in the heart of Rembarrgna country. Drawing on Foucault's exploration of power in the form of "technologies of human training" (p. 129), she traces the regime of tutelage that was established at the station, and outlines the myriad way in which the station owners and staff, government officials and patrol officers implemented forms of discipline and surveillance geared to regulating "race" relations and transforming Aboriginal culture and society. The state-introduced permit system regulating Aboriginal employment, the system of rationing of food and clothing, the creation of a local school for Aboriginal children all were expressions of a regime, which sought to break down Aboriginal forms of domestic and social life and to transform Aborigines into autonomous individuals who could enter the "civilized," progressive modern Australian society. While the state and its agents presumed they were imposing forms of "civilization" upon a blank, cultureless slate, Aborgines' persistent commitment to enduring forms of social life and culture meant that this regime had only limited effect.

The state did not limit its efforts to regulating the economic life of Aborigines. Intense anxiety about "racial mixing" resulted in efforts to keep black and white socially separate: "cohabitation" between Aboriginal women and white men was prohibited, marriages were regulated through a special permit system, and "half-caste" children were forcibly removed from their communities to be raised in white institutions. Despite this anxiety, Cowlishaw shows that forms of intimacy and love between black and white did persist in the outback, between co-workers, bosses and employees, lovers and companions, illustrating the incompleteness of the state's regulatory efforts (p. 150).

The most compelling chapters of the book describe the ways in which Aboriginal-settler relations in the outback have been transformed since the 1960s as a result of both economic changes and shifts in government policy. The new "anti-racism" era of the 1960s and 1970s brought with it an abolition of the exploitative system of unequal wages to Aboriginal workers, resulting, paradoxically, not in greater equality but in a severing of the old economic relationships, an ejection *en masse* of Aboriginal people from pastoral stations, and even greater Aboriginal dependence on the state. Cowlishaw reserves her most stinging critique for the contemporary policies of Aboriginal "self-determination." She

describes in detail the absurdities and failures of government policies implemented by a new cadre of well-meaning, anti-racist bureaucrats who sought to initiate programs of community economic development at Bulman and other Aboriginal settlements. What self-determination meant, says Cowlishaw, was not the withdrawal of white bureaucrats from Aboriginal lives, but rather a burgeoning white bureaucracy whose front line workers sought to impose new programs of assimilation by essentially transforming Aboriginal people into small businessmen, and who drew upon older racist frameworks to explain the failures of such programs on Aboriginal people's stubborn unwillingness to comply with programs designed to benefit them (p. 218). As Cowlishaw argues, the practical failure of these assimilation programs can not be reduced to the failure of individual bureaucrats to be culturally-sensitive, but rather reflects "the cultural characteristics of those positioned structurally within the realm of state power"(p. 248), and the more general difficulty of the Australian liberal democratic state to recognize and fully accept distinctive forms of Aboriginal culture and social life.

In the final chapter, Cowlishaw describes the effects such programs have had on the Rembarrgna. She points out that Aboriginal people have responded in varied ways to the new assimilation programs and to the "seductive rewards" offered by new forms of modernity, resulting in growing forms of inequality and an undermining of loyalties to the older clan and lineage systems (p. 257). At the same time, more positive responses can be seen in the "outstation movement" by which some Aboriginal groups are moving away from settlements to more remote regions where, freer from white interference, they are exploring different possibilities for reforming relationships with white society (p. 260).

One of Cowlishaw's central arguments is the ongoing relevance of race to understanding the dynamics of power and social inequality in the Australian outback. In the current era of liberal anti-racism, contemporary social scientists tend to avoid the issue of race, as if, "by examining the use of 'race" and making its dynamic explicit, we are somehow giving succour to racism itself; that is, to racial inequality, to essentialism or to racial hostility. This fear has meant that, rather than racial processes being analysed, the notion of race is outlawed." (p. 12). In contrast, throughout the book Cowlishaw demonstrates the ethnographic salience of socially-constructed notions of "race," and insists that concepts of racial difference persist today, with notions of immutable, inferior "cultural difference" replacing older concepts of biologically-based "racial" inferiority (p. 296). One may question to what extent this rather loose definition of "race" is analytically useful if it is used to describe any expression of cultural difference. Its use here seems to be more as a moral weapon; indeed, there is a strong moral polemic throughout the book, in which white settlers ("rednecks"), government officials and anthropologists ("eggheads") alike are strongly criticized for their complicity with state ideology. Cowlishaw, an anthropologist herself, positions herself largely outside of the con-

stellation of outback social relations she is describing. An assessment of outback social relations that recognizes the presence of a significant component of white settler culture critical of both racist ideology and government Aboriginal policy, and capable of setting aside racial ideology and interacting with Aborigines as equals and humans, would provide a more complete picture of Aboriginal-settler relations and allow Cowlishaw to situate herself more fully within the constellations of social relations she is describing. Indeed, Cowlishaw gives examples of these very processes, yet their theoretical importance is not fully integrated into her rather polemical model. This point aside, *Rednecks, Eggheads and Blackfellas* is a powerful ethnography that through its scope, methodological approach and rich ethnographic description not only succeeds in filling an important silence in Australian ethnographic tradition but will be of much interest to the comparative study of indigenous-settler relations in Canada and other settler societies.

Michael E. Harkin, *The Heiltsuks: Dialogues of Culture and History on the Northwest Coast*, Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997, First Bison Books, 2000, xiv + 195 pages (paper).

Reviewer: *M. Susan Walter*
Saint Mary's University

This is a welcome addition to the literature on the Heiltsuks (formerly referred to as the Bella Bella). As the author notes (p. 1), less is known (and published) about this group than about neighbouring Northwest Coast peoples despite the fact that they are located at the geographical and cultural center of the region.

While Harkin's statement that the Heiltsuks "... probably experienced the most rapid cultural transformation of any tribal group in the history of Western colonialism" (p. 2) could be contested, his discussion of Heiltsuk-Euro-Canadian interaction in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 is interesting. It is in these chapters that Harkin's "ethnohistoric dialogue" approach is employed. While noting that "oral traditions of neighbors on all sides point to the Heiltsuks as originators of many important ideas, beliefs, titles, and practices..." (p. 2), Harkin does not provide as much information on "dialogues" between *indigenous* groups. Questions concerning how the Heiltsuks influenced or were affected by neighbouring Northwest Coast peoples receive less attention than interactions with Euro-Canadians.

The book includes eight chapters and a conclusion. The material is not entirely new. Earlier versions of Chapters 4 and 7 appeared in *Ethnohistory* in 1988 and 1993, and Chapter 6 was published in *American Ethnologist* in 1994. Chapter 2, *Contemporary Heiltsuks Contexts*, pertains to the 1980s and early 90s and does not appear to have been updated for the 2000 paper edition.

Although Harkin states that his study focuses on "the half century after 1880" (p. x), the first five chapters concern primarily earlier and later periods as well as theoretical issues. The reader must weave back and forth through shifting time frames. Source materials included Heiltsuk narratives about their own history, archival, ethnographic and linguistic data, field notes and publications of Boas, Drucker, Hunt, Olson and others, as well as 12 months of fieldwork between 1985 and 1987 involving formal and informal interviews and participant observation. Harkin's fieldwork was based in the village of Waglisla (Bella Bella) on the Eastern Shore of Campbell Island (p. 23).

In Chapter 1, "The Nineteenth Century Heiltsuks," the culturally intermediate position of the Heiltsuks with respect to matrilineal groups to the north and cognatic groups to the south is noted. However, the intriguing question of when, why or how the Heiltsuk developed their particular blend of bilateral and matrilineal emphases is not addressed nor is it clear to what extent descent, inheritance and residence patterns varied *during* the 19th century. This may be a consequence of the sketchiness of available data on certain aspects of Heiltsuk culture to which Harkin refers (p. 3). The chapter title is somewhat misleading, as Harkin's reconstruction of "traditional Heiltsuk culture" applies principally to the first few decades of the 19th century (p. 3). In Chapter 6 he notes that drastic depopulation occurred in the mid-19th century. However, in his discussion of the Heiltsuk ranking system in Chapter 1, he refers to but does not elaborate on changes associated with depopulation and involvement in trade (p. 4), nor is there mention of the decline of slavery during the 19th century.

In Chapter 2, "Contemporary Heiltsuk Contexts," cultural continuity is addressed. With respect to the subsistence sphere, Harkin notes that local resources continue to contribute significantly to household food supplies and that sharing with other villagers including non-Heiltsuks is "a point of pride" and a traditional value. Continuities in subsistence practices serve also as "markers of ethnic identity" (p. 27). In the political arena as well there are continuities: "There is some correlation between elected office and high rank in the traditional name system... rivalry tends to follow tribal group divisions as well as family lines" (pp. 27-28). Holding of feasts and potlatches continues to be an important component of leadership (pp. 32-34). We do not learn however if matrilineality is still emphasized nor does Harkin elaborate on how and to what extent the "traditional name system" still operates although some information is provided (pp. 32-34). Elected and hereditary chiefs both are referred to on p. 33, but the nature of their respective roles (complementary and/or overlapping, conflicting...) is not explored. In the realm of belief and ceremony, both continuity and change are discussed. Seating arrangements at feasts for instance continue to reflect rank, "clan" and "tribal" affiliation to some extent (p. 32). Chiefly speech making at feasts inspires members of the community to contribute to those in need and

recalls "the traditional role of the chief in organizing ceremonial distribution" (pp. 31-32).

Chapter 3, "Narrative, Time, and the Lifeworld," explores the idea that history is both universal and "culturally constituted" (p. 37), and that past and future are part of the present but in culturally specific ways (p. 40). Harkin argues that in Northwest Coast mythology generally, and in Heiltsuk "historical consciousness" specifically, a sense of *possibilities acted upon* and *options lost* figures prominently (p. 40). He does not elaborate on this point however, nor how it influences Heiltsuk thought concerning and relations with Euro-Canadians or neighbouring indigenous peoples.

In Chapter 4, "Contact Narratives," Harkin reproduces and analyzes an Heiltsuk historical narrative, *The First Schooner*, in light of two types of power relationships, "incorporation" and "opposition," and a related distinction between "contingency" and "timeless order" which Harkin says "... constitutes a central contradiction in Northwest Coast narratives and culture" (p. 57). Only one narrative however is considered in this chapter. It would be instructive to see analysis of Heiltsuk narratives relating to later events.

Chapter 5, "Dialectic and Dialogue," concerns the "internal dialectic" of the "traditional Heilsuk system." The sacred winter season was associated with "centralization, hierarchy, and markedness," while the "profane life of the resource camps" was "... relatively free from hierarchy and the centralization of power" (p. 67). These "traditional" ideas affected relations with outsiders including Euro-Canadians from whom power was sought (p. 70) despite the fact that communication between Heiltsuks and Euro-Canadians became increasingly one-way (p. 74).

Harkin reports in Chapter 6, "Bodies," that the Heiltsuk population was reduced by 80 percent or more in the mid-19th century as a consequence of smallpox outbreaks (p. 78). Deaths were too numerous to count let alone commemorate even though "the most important responsibility for a Heiltsuk person was, and continues to be, to provide proper commemoration for a kinsman who dies ..." (p. 80). Drastically reduced numbers resulted also in consolidation of tribal groups, loss of esoteric cultural knowledge and increased threat to the Heiltsuk land base that Euro-Canadians had their eyes on. Harkin outlines how Heiltsuk ideas concerning disease causation and curing led them to conclude that Euro-Canadian witchcraft was responsible for the high death rate. The Heiltsuk attempted to acquire Euro-Canadian "supernatural power" and to draw selectively upon western medical techniques while retaining some "traditional" curing methods. Also discussed are Heiltsuk and Methodist missionary ideas concerning discipline, desirable work rhythms, death and burial practices, clothing, body painting and ornamentation, arranged marriage etc.

Chapter 7, "Souls," is concerned with the Heiltsuk/missionary contest over "ideas of life, death, and the person" (p. 107). Mortuary practices in particular were contested. For the Heiltsuk "the mortuary process ... ensures the deceased

a reasonably pleasant sojourn in the underworld and possible reincarnation as well" (p. 107). Harkin states that "In general, mortuary practices exhibit greater continuities with 19th-century practice than any other contemporary beliefs or ceremonies" (p. 31) and that "... a central function of the potlatch was, and continues to be, the commemoration of the dead" (p. 21). Yet it is not clear how the Heiltsuk handled validation of names and commemoration of their dead from the 1880s when the potlatch was banned until the 1970s when according to Harkin, potlatching was resumed (p. 29). Some clues only are provided (pp. 97, 114, 122, 146).

In Chapter 8, "Goods," Harkin traces changes with respect to items exchanged, uses to which trade goods were put, changing relationships with fur traders, gradual undermining of the subsistence economy, and loss of title and usufruct rights to land to Euro-Canadian "enterprises" operating within an international market system (p. 147). Not emphasized are evolving trade relationships between the Heiltsuk and neighbouring indigenous groups despite the fact that trade, warfare and intermarriage all along the coast predated contact with Europeans and continued thereafter. The bilateral Heiltsuk kin terminology (p. 4) in conjunction with emphasis on matrilineal descent (pp. 4, 9, 19) may indicate spread of matrilineality from the north, perhaps associated with trade and intermarriage. While Harkin alludes to "the clear model of matrilineal descent" (pp. 3-4) provided by groups to the north, he does not pursue this issue.

To conclude, Harkin accomplishes the two aims of his book (p. x). First, he demonstrates the usefulness of a "dialogic" approach to ethnohistory by placing different forms of interaction between the Heiltsuk and Methodist missionaries in their respective cultural contexts. Secondly, he documents some of the history and "historical culture" of this lesser-known Northwest Coast people. It is perhaps no surprise that a relatively short book covering many topics and a long time span provokes interesting questions requiring further attention. Harkin refers to the efforts of the Heiltsuk Cultural Education Centre (founded in 1975 by the band council) to preserve as well as recapture some lost cultural heritage (pp. 34-35), and mentions revival of Winter Dances with the help of Kwagul expertise (p. 34). Questions concerning changing relationships with neighbouring indigenous groups during the period covered invite further treatment.

John F. Peters, *Life among the Yanomami. The Story of Change among the Xilixana on the Mucajai River in Brazil*, Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 1998, 292 pages.

Reviewer: *Marilyn Gates*
Simon Fraser University

The best ethnographers are often sensible, yet sensitive people, with a well-developed appreciation of the absurd. These are particularly valuable traits for a field worker engaged in

long-term research in an isolated area, far from the everyday amenities of Western life, among people who are very much "the other." When the focus of study is the Yanomami of Brazil's Amazonia, originally characterized by Napoleon Chagnon as "the fierce people," common sense, humour and a high level of empathy become, more than assets, central to survival. In "Life among The Yanomami," John Peters shows us how, in a society where violence and deceit are endemic and warfare plays a central role such that at least 40% of the men are "murderers" and 90% "potential murderers," (p. 35) "despite vast differences in culture, you develop strong, lasting friendships" (p. 58). Amid the controversy provoked by Patrick Tierney's recent allegations of abuse of the Yanomami by anthropologists, Peters' very human, balanced and, paradoxically, gentle portrayal of the Mucajai River Xilixana is an especially welcome exemplar of ethical ethnographic norms.[1]

"Life among The Yanomami" is a comprehensive, complex and finely textured study. There is rich ethnographic detail of a traditional way of life organized in the conventional categories—village life and social culture; making a living off the land; family and social organization; socialization and life stages; myths, spirits and magic. And, of course, there is a section on warfare, raids and revenge, which have captured the anthropological imagination, perhaps because they seem so very different from Western battles for land or political control. Rather, protein deficiencies, competition over women, reproduction needs, the quest for steel goods, revenge for past raids and sorcery have been posited as explanations for inter-village killings embedded in a matrix of cultural norms wherein "violence seems always just a breath away" (p. 207).

The portrayal of culture is always dynamic, however, with an emphasis on the impact of social change over the four decades since contact with frontier Brazilians was initiated by the Xilixana in 1957. We see how the Xilixana coped with initial exposure to missionaries, more recent interactions with miners, and the intervention of government and Non-Government Organizations (NGOs).

The constant presence of missionaries in the region since the contact era is a central thread running through the narrative. Peters first went to Brazil in 1958 as a young missionary charged with setting up a new mission station. He spent most of the next eight years living among the Xilixana, with his wife and family (four of their five children were born during that time) before returning to North America for graduate studies. He has since visited the community frequently to conduct field research. Consequently, he is in an excellent position to assess both how the missionaries have changed the Yanomami and how the Yanomami have changed the mission project. The Yanomami have come to rely on the trade goods, medical aid, brokerage and social life available at the missions, but "the Jesus way" itself seems incompatible with the community-structured context of violence and justice. "The Xilixana considered the missionary's Jesus to be something of a wimp" (p. 201). The missionaries now downplay the evangelical priority of the early years and are more inclined to see their very presence in the area as witness to the Christian message of hope and caring.

Relations between the Xilixana and miners have been far less cordial. The miners have, at best, asked for food in exchange for Western goods, or hired Yanomami men as labourers. At worst, they used Yanomami women as prostitutes, brought diseases and contaminated the Mucajai River with mercury. At times, these interactions led to bloodshed, as the Yanomami seemed to live up to their fierce reputations via revenge killings, although Peters maintains that Chagnon's description of a "fierce people" is appropriate only for the 1900-80 period (p. 277).

The Brazilian state has increased its presence in the area over the past two decades, but it has been hampered in its efforts to address the needs of the Yanomami by insufficient resources, inconsistent policies which fluctuate between assimilation and retention of tradition, and the necessity of balancing the interests of a variety of pressure groups—local, regional and national.

As a result of the interplay of these various outside influences, the Yanomami of today have adopted a number of "modern" goods and practices. They are likely to rely on matches, fishhooks, and guns, wear some Western clothing, regard salt as an essential condiment, use Brazilian hammocks, and enjoy the pictures in National Geographic. An increasing number of men leave sporadically to work for wages, placing stress on traditional patterns of social organization. Increased interactions with other Yanomami have also influenced the Xilixana, not always positively, as can be seen, for example, in the increase in alcoholism resulting from the adoption of the Palimi thele practice of making large batches of home brew instead of small pots specifically for ceremonial consumption. On the positive side, despite their history of divisiveness, the Yanomami have come to see themselves as an emerging political collective, with the need to confront the state in pursuit of their best interests.

Peters writes about these social changes in a non-judgmental way, although he does not duck key moral issues, such as the anthropologist's stance with respect to female infanticide, the low regard for human life, and extreme patriarchy. Overall, his methodology could be characterized as engaged, reflexive ethnography, which is constantly aware of the positionality of the researcher as agent of change. It is a fundamentally critical perspective, coming to grips with control, subjugation and injustice, perpetrated both by outsiders and by the Yanomami themselves. Anthropological ethics are also a central concern, particularly with respect to the conduct of non-exploitative research. Royalties from this book are to go to providing health care for the Yanomami and other indigenous people.

"Life among The Yanomami" is a very readable book. Particularly engaging, by adding immediacy and a personal touch, is the device of interspersing extracts from field notes, and reminiscences from the author's wife on her first encounter with the Mucajai Yanomami, or a close call with a

deadly snake. Black-and-white photographs show Yanomami daily life, then and now, and reflect ease with the author. Furthermore, the presence of the author's family in the field during his missionary years makes for more intimate interactions than most ethnographers can achieve. Keen observation and self-deprecating humour underscore the "humanness" of cross-cultural encounters. (The reader can just imagine the Yanomami howling uncontrollably in laughter as the author, on one visit, walked through the village wearing a loin cloth, now replaced by shorts!)

In sum, this book is a valuable resource for Latin Americanists (from undergraduate students to specialists) and anthropologists in search of exemplary ethnographic models. Also, it will be of interest to the general public, whose curiosity about anthropology in general and the Yanomami in particular was piqued by the Tierney controversy. "Life among The Yanomami" was published before Tierney's accusations of anthropological misconduct in the Amazon appeared in the October 9, 2000 issue of *The New Yorker* and contemporaneously in his book "Darkness in El Dorado" (New York: Norton, 2000). It would be interesting to read Peters' reactions to these revelations. One suspects that he would simply reiterate his prescriptions for ethical research—show respect for your informants and for all humankind.

Notes

1 Peters notes, "Throughout the book I use the name Xilixana to refer to all the Yanomami who initially lived in three villages on the mid-Mucajai River at the time of their contact with Brazilians in 1957." (p. 23)

Albert Schrauwers, *Colonial "Reformation" in the Highlands of Central Sulawesi, Indonesia, 1892-1995*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000, xiii + 279 pages.

Reviewer: *Christopher Gothard*
University of Toronto

Albert Schrauwers' book *Colonial "Reformation" in the Highlands of Central Sulawesi, Indonesia, 1892-1995*, is about problematizing concepts of religion, culture, modernity and tradition, circulating in highland Indonesia. By locating where, when, and how different interests have tried to authorize their own representations of what these can mean, Schrauwers examines the (political) power to represent. But it is more than that because in unweaving these various strategic representations, he presents us with a finely crafted class analysis that examines the changing reproduction of social relations in the Poso Valley of Central Sulawesi over a 103-year time frame. To accomplish this Schrauwers draws from a diverse set of data: from data collected during two years of doctoral fieldwork in the 1990s, from Central Sulawesi Christian Church (GKST) research archives, and

from 19th and 20th century Dutch mission archives. What holds these pieces together is a focus on historically situating changes in social reproduction and the strategies of cultural representations.

In part, the book locates these changes within the shifting cultural practices of "To Pamona" congregants of the Central Sulawesi Christian Church (GKST), in and around Tentena, Central Sulawesi. In part, it also traces these changes to the innovative sociological mission method of the Dutch missionary ethnographer, Dr. A. C. Kruyt. Starting in 1892, Kruyt's attempts at introducing a Christian *adat* (customary law) in the Central Sulawesi Highlands, can be seen as a kind of applied anthropology, based on then current anthropological theory. In his case this theory defined the conceptual limits of religion (and of what it could represent) and defined the structure of what he hoped was to become a Christian *adat* or *volkskerk*, "people's church" in the highlands. At the same time, it also caused Kruyt to overemphasize a theory of structure in place of a theory of practice in his efforts at conversion; something which has had unexpected results.

In examining hegemony and power in this particular context, Schrauwers sets himself the goal of challenging Weber's (1963) secularization hypothesis, which holds that the bureacratic rationalization of social, political and economic systems entails a corresponding shift in cognitive systems, leading ultimately to "practical reason" at the level of the individual. Schrauwers asks us to consider, for example, why the To Pamona, having adopted Protestantism, would not have also adopted rationalist economic individualism. Schrauwers' analysis explores how Kruyt's Christian *adat* transformed local institutions while not directly addressing social practices. What has resulted is not a completely Western economy nor a dual economy, one traditional and one modern, but a repositioned set of socio-economic and ritual practices that enable To Pamona to manage the effects of a commodity-cash economy. Schrauwers' point is that this is not the persistence of (economic) tradition in the sense of survivals from some primordial point of origin, but in fact the concomitant effects of turn of the 20th century ethnographically based Dutch Ethical Policy and Ethical Theology and the penetration of capitalism.

The book is divided into three major sections which correspond to its shifting focus: Part 1 examines the differences between colonial NEI and mission strategies of incorporation and the use of ethnographic knowledge towards those goals. It is here that Schrauwers challenges the idea that mission work was merely the hand-maiden of colonialism. Kruyt's mission was to create a *volkskerk* (people's church), and that effort cannot simply be conflated with the colonial project of political and economic incorporation, because the entity that Kruyt was trying to create was not necessarily coterminous with the kind of entity that the colonial government was creating through its *adat* law studies. He was trying to substitute an indigenous form of Christianity in the Central Sulawesi Highlands: creating a Christian *adat*, a *volkskerk*. Schrauwers

demonstrates that this was a nationalist project, that turned equally on Dutch pillarization ideology and on then current notions of culture, pre-logical thought, and the conceived limits of Christian conversion; as much as it was any religious devotion.

Part 2 examines how by highlighting structure over practice, the church influenced changing local cultural configurations: kin-centered moral economy, traditional leadership, and the feasting practices through which these are expressed. It examines how class hierarchy that might have led from the commodification of agricultural inputs and outputs has instead been articulated through seniority relations within kin networks. Power sites for these articulations include the wedding, labor exchanges, and household composition. For example, in appropriating traditional leaders (*kabosenya*) within its hierarchy, the church, while ignoring the feasting and exchange (*posintuwu*) practices necessary for the maintenance of leadership, opened sites where the leveling of wealth through posintuwu exchanges actually leads away from kinship based consensus building to the social reproduction of patron-client type relationships within kin networks.

Part 3 explores the rationalization of To Pamona Christian institutions and the development of a separated religious bureaucracy and nationalism: its religious pillar whose colonization of the civil sphere sets it at odds with the modern(ist) Indonesian state. This view is alternated with an exploration of the rationalization of belief. Schrauwers explains that because of its appropriation of local authoritative forms of speaking, like the *montuwu* (a form of speaking to/about the ancestors) for its liturgical uses, the church ignored the practical contexts, constraints and consequences of these forms, hoping instead that a substitution of outward signs would lead to a change in internal dispositions. What in fact seems to have happened is that "true" conversion is continually deferred because the appropriation of cultural forms only subordinates local meanings to church liturgy without confronting or replacing pre-Christian beliefs. Therefore, pre-Christian beliefs still exist for the construction of a multiplicity of personal meanings.

This book has important theoretical contributions to make. In working through his goal of challenging the Weberian secularization hypothesis, Schrauwers introduces innovative approaches to reinterpreting Weber from economic and ritual angles, while showing that the two are not clearly separate. On one hand, there is a critical revision of the Geertzian (1963) shared poverty model of peasantization, which reorganizes the propositions of Geertz's model: the household is not the basic unit of production and consumption, but rather a multi-local kinship network of carefully calculated (though sometimes hidden) exchanges. This kinship network becomes a political unit, subsidized through economic surpluses and centered on a powerful patron. Peasantization is not the result of a lingering traditional economic mode ultimately to be displaced, but the result of strategic responses to capitalist maximizing within the system.

On the other hand, Schrauwers challenges interpretive analyses of ritual as a system of readable signs and notions of religious conversion as the exchange of one autonomous system of signs for another. Take again for example the *montuwu*, by appropriating its structure and form as a point of access for Christian liturgy, while at the same time ignoring the constraints on its practice, the heterodoxy of individual dispositions remains invisible. Schrauwers shows with his analysis of practices that the church's (and state's) overemphasis on rules and liturgies leaves private interpretations intact.

My only regret with the book, and perhaps this is only a minor point, is that Schrauwers never reveals how his own Reform Church of Canada background influences his interpretive framework. Other than giving us a rapid gloss of Reform Church of Canada (a daughter Dutch Calvinist church) history and informing us that this background gave him privileged access to GKST activities, on this aspect Schrauwers remains quiet. This additional analysis might have made for an interesting comparison but it might also be more appropriate for another book. But all this leads to a more general and perhaps more important point. I think that a more detailed exposition of the history of Reform Church of Canada attempts at pillarization might have given the reader broader insights into the effects of the pillarization process and how Weber's secularization hypothesis can be challenged more generally. Although, to his credit, his comments about corresponding historical changes in Islamic communities elsewhere in Indonesia certainly fill this gap in one respect.

This book will be of interest to those whose research focuses on the negotiation of ethnicity generally, but especially in the Indonesian context. It will also be of interest to political economists from a broad range of disciplines, especially those interested in peasant studies and development studies. Interestingly, because of its focus on practice theory, ritual, and the rationalization of belief, this book will also be useful for anthropologists of religion and religious studies scholars, especially those interested in historicizing missiological work. It is the constant shifting and refocusing of the ethnographer's gaze that holds this work together, and its emphasis on examining practice over structure that makes it an excellent example of a modern strategy for ethnographic writing.

Paul Sillitoe, *Social Change in Melanesia: Development and History*, Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2000, xx + 246 pages, ISBN 0-521-77806-9 (paper).

Reviewer: *Naomi M. McPherson*
Okanagan University College

A companion volume to the author's *An Introduction to the Anthropology of Melanesia* (1998, Cambridge University Press) focussed on "traditional cultural orders," this volume offers an anthropological perspective on issues common to

contemporary Melanesian societies. Always aware of the extent of diversity in Melanesia, each chapter provides an overview of an issue illustrated by a specific case study, most of which are situated in Papua New Guinea.

Chapter 1, "Change and Development," sets up the theoretical framework, the concept of social change, and the contribution of anthropology to understanding social change in Melanesia. Key conceptssuch as economic development, modernization theory, dependency theory are critically defined and the notion of an applied anthropology is succinctly flailed. Social change here focuses on 'forced" change occasioned by 200 years of colonial intrusions and acculturation in Melanesia. Chapter 2, "The Arrival of the Europeans," briefly reviews the history of colonial contact economically (whalers, traders and blackbirders), spiritually (missionaries) and politically (the annexation of territory and development of administrative infrastructures to claim and properly extract the region's resources). To counter this European (Orientalist) interpretation of interaction with Melanesian peoples and cultures, Chapter 3 offers "another history" from the perspectives and perceptions of the Wola whose first experience of European intrusion in their lives came in the guise of the Hides and O'Malley patrol into the Southern Highlands of Papua New Guinea in 1936. The two accounts differ radically; however, this "democratization of representations" both acknowledges and celebrates differences and permits a more complex and nuanced rendering of the same historical events. In the process, it enhances understanding and tolerance of cultural differences. From here the text focuses on Melanesian understandings of and responses to technological innovation (chapters 4-6), the economic and social consequences of technological change (chapters 7-10), and indigenous rationalisations of the socioeconomic changes (chapters 11-14).

Chapter 4 explores technological change and economic growth to show that, contrary to assumptions of Western economic development theory, new technologies and social conditions do not propel less developed countries along the same developmental trajectory experienced by the West consequent with the industrial revolution. This is a succinct discussion of technological innovations and, from the perspective of modernization theory, failed economic development. The assumptions of modernization theory are also subjected to a "democratization of representations" in order to understand social obstacles and cultural attitudes that might explain the failure of development initiatives and, conversely, to understand indigenous factors that might create incentives that facilitate economic development. Contextualized in a discussion of the traditional system of land tenure and use rights, kinship and community, Chapter 5 considers the ethnocentric assumptions embedded in modernization theory and its failure to consider local responses and accommodations to social change. Land is central to Melanesians, and the point is made clearly that disrupting traditional land tenure systems undermines the very existence of social groups and communities. The question "development for whom?" enjoins those

involved in development schemes to consider "what they are doing and why" (p. 89).

Situating the discussion within the coffee-growing regions of Eastern Highlands Province, Chapter 6 looks at whether the characteristics of the traditional big men comprise a positive model for emerging entrepreneurial businessmen. The answer is no. Successful businessmen are individualistic and invest in their own enterprises. They act contrary to big men ideals embedded in the obligations of reciprocity which militate against the accumulation of individual wealth, capital and profit. In the end, big men entrepreneurs have a limited impact on economic growth and social change.

To be sure, there are many successful businessmen in Melanesia which leads to a discussion in Chapter 7 of an emergent class system and a Melanesian peasantry that holds tenaciously to a self-sufficient subsistence base as security in an increasingly unpredictable world. Dependency theory is taken to task for its universalist and ethnocentric assumptions. Features of Melanesian societies that inhibit class stratification include traditional land tenure, the obligation of reciprocity and sociopolitical exchange which serves as levelling device, and, interestingly, the persistence of tribal warfare. On the other hand, the economically successful are the most active in local and state politics. This "nascent élite class" has a vested interest in promoting land tenure changes, has access to foreign aid to purchase alienated land for commercial purposes, and can legislate away all traces of the old egalitarian order in favour of class and economic success as the basis of renown.

Enlarging on this theme, Chapter 8 looks at national governments and incomes, multinational consortia, foreign investment and centrally planned development within the context of mining and gas and oil fields. This is an evenhanded discussion of the benefits (wage labour, education and training, improved services) and distresses (pollution and destruction of the land and waters, loss of land, social disruption and inter-group strife) of development. The massive mine and bloody rebellion at Bougainville feature prominently. Another major resource extraction and source of foreign income is forestry (chapter 9). Again, land is a central issue and development is really about transformation of the traditional order which is contrary to the goals of the foreign interests. While change is inevitable, clearly it may not entail "progress," and the ethics of development are scrutinized. The contributions of anthropology to understanding indigenous knowledge and advocating its inclusion in programs for development are well presented.

All large scale development projects require a large and mobile work force which is associated with problems of migration, urban drift (chapter 10) and, in Papua New Guinea urban centres, a form of tribalism known as the *wantok* system. Urbanites who do not maintain their rural ties lose their rights to village land and related resources and, equally landless in the urban environment, struggle for a sense of identity.

Tribalism, as ethnic enclaves and source of community among the landless in urban areas, provides identity. Tribalism substitutes for class as groups from less developed areas see themselves disadvantaged relative to those with a longer history of development who are thus more sophisticated, educated and experienced, able to access better paying jobs and to exercise more social and political control. These urban ethnic blocks promote hostility and violence, an increasing problem of 'law and order" in Melanesian urban centres.

Melanesian responses to past and present experiences of change would be incomplete without the discussion of the phenomenon of cargo cults and millennial politics in Chapter 11 and exemplified by the John Frum movement on Tanna, Vanuatu. Perhaps the whole topic of cargo cults is stale as this is the least inspired analysis and the usual explanations of anomie, relative deprivation, and incipient nationalism are given as "explanations" of cargo cults. Millenarianism and cargo cults are also caught up in changing Melanesian cosmologies and belief systems as a result of Christian proselytization, and Chapter 12 reviews the considerable impact of missions and missionaries on Melanesian world views. Until the 1950s, missions were the sole providers of medical and educational services and did much good in promoting literacy and improving health. In more contemporary times, Melanesian versions of Christian teachings and values play a role in the politics of independence and decolonization.

Chapter 13 looks at the relationship between tribal and state political systems. In Papua New Guinea, politics is "a game of opportunism" where abuse of power, bribery and corruption flourish along with political incompetence as exposed in the Barnett Report into the forestry industry. Following on is a provocative discussion on the imposition of the European state system as somehow "better" or more conducive to "progress," the unseemly haste of past colonial administrations to transfer political power to inadequately prepared subject populations, and whether tribal values of equality and political power can survive the pressures of a stratified state system of democracy. Since there can be no "conclusion" to a volume of this nature, it is entirely appropriate that the last chapter focuses on the concept of *kastom* as cultural heritage and as part of a "search for identity in the contemporary world" (p. 241) as Melanesians create continuity in change.

Although each chapter is topically oriented, Sillitoe's analytical skill deftly integrates issues and ideas across topics to present a holistic and complex analysis of contemporary Melanesia. This book is written to be accessible to the non-specialist and does that very successfully. It is excellent as a text introducing undergraduates to contemporary Melanesia societies. There is a comprehensive index but, unfortunately for the specialist, very few citations in the body of the text and no comprehensive bibliography although each chapter ends with a list of references and suggestions for further readings. An unusual but most welcome feature in some chapters is suggested films. I have seen 11 of the 21 films listed, and each is an excellent choice to accompany the text. This book works on many levels for the specialist and non-specialist alike. Highly recommended.

Steve Verovec and Robin Cohen (eds.), *Migration, Diasporas and Transnationalism,* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 1999, xxviii + 663 pages, ISBN 1-858-98859-1 (cloth).

Reviewer: *David Timothy Duval*
University of Otago

Readers of this journal are no doubt familiar with recent emphases on the transnational nature of diasporic communities worldwide. For the most part, this emphasis has been associated with studies of migration and has been conceptually linked to disciplines such as anthropology, sociology and cultural studies. The notion of diasporic populations has, rather recently, enjoyed somewhat of a conceptual revival, largely due to complex political and economic changes that lead to substantial numbers of emigrants. The end result has been the ability to emphasise the transnational nature, that is, the construction and maintenance of social fields across and independent of modern geo-political boundaries, of these identities.

Vertovec and Cohen's edited volume provides a useful overview of the three distinct yet closely related themes identified in the title. Conceptually linked to the well-established (and highly productive) United Kingdom-based ESRC Research Programme on Transnational Communities, of which the senior editor is the Director, the volume is a compilation of previously published articles from various journals and other volumes that the authors have compiled in order to address the growth and breadth of studies in which the central foci revolve around migration, diasporas and transnationalism.

As pointed out by the editors (p. xiii-xiv), the background for a transnational approach can be found, more or less, in the wider understanding and recognition of the issues surrounding pressures in global economic and political arenas. To borrow from Appadurai (p. 463, this volume), the recognition of global ethnoscapes (i.e., "changing social, territorial, and cultural reproduction of group identity"), formed as a result of substantial population movements (both voluntary and involuntary), led to an increase in attention given to the transnational social spaces that were ultimately created. The only new material in the volume can be found in the editors' own introduction, which is of particular merit. Vertovec and Cohen engage the current state of diasporic studies by focusing on the various meanings of diasporas, suggesting that a diaspora can be viewed as a social form (characterized by specific social relationships, political orientations, and/or economic strategies), a type of consciousness (consisting of negative experiences of discrimination or exclusion and positive experiences of heritage or ethnic affiliations), and a mode of production (the globalization from below, or the "world-wide flow of cultural objects, images and meanings" [p.xix]).

The rest of the volume is presented in three separate sections. The papers selected in the first section on migration are meant to reflect the changing nature of international migration flows. The editors, however, position migration in the context of diasporas and transnationalism by suggesting that migrants now, more than ever, "find it possible to have multiple localities and multiple identities" (p. xvi). The reader is treated to an early paper by Harvey Cholding in which these linkages were recognized, followed by an attempt by Fawcett to categorise linkages in migration systems. Remittances are also featured in a highly technical but important reprint of Hatzipanayotou's paper that posits a model for determining the impact of income, trade and fiscal policies on migration. Approached from another angle, Keely's article examines whether worker remittances either increase dependency or improve the overall quality of life.

The section on diasporas presents almost a history of the concept, with excellent reprints by James Clifford, Gabriel Sheffer (for whom existing definitions of diasporas are "inadequate for our purposes since their underlying assumption is that diasporas are transitory and that they are destined to disappear through acculturation and assimilation" [p. 388]), and Richard Marienstras. Interestingly, an early paper by Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton, outlining the then relatively recent trend toward investigating transnationalism, appears in the early section on migration instead of the section on transnationalism. An excellent paper by Kearney (1995) offers an overview of the linkage between globalization and transnationalism, and an early paper by Orlando Patterson on "ethnic allegiance" in the Caribbean among the Chinese of Jamaica and Guyana gives evidence of the early thoughts of transnational ways of approaching ethnic groups.

If any criticism can be levied at this volume, it can only be in the authors' selection of the various papers for inclusion. Such criticism, however, needs to be carefully addressed in light of stringent copyright regulations, especially given that the original font and page numbers from the original source are retained. In some respects the volume itself, despite a 1999 publishing date, is somewhat outdated, with the majority of reprints exhibiting publication dates between 1980 and 1994. Justifiably, however, the authors seem to have included the selections almost in an effort to show the historical development of the themes themselves. Nonetheless, recent criticisms of transnationalism are not represented. This reviewer would have liked to see some contributions of human geographers and their approach to understanding spatio-cognitive representations of boundaries. In fact, Faist's (2000) recent emphasis on "transnational spaces" would have been an excellent addition. Curiously, and unfortunately, the volume contains no selections that address the phenomenon of return migration. For example, the introductory chapter from King (1983) or even Gmelch's (1980) overview would have been especially useful as a linkage to migration studies.

The potential high cost of this volume (this reviewer noted a unit price of US$245 on the accompanying invoice) may be a barrier to some, especially those already familiar with the literature on transnationalism, migration and diasporas and who, consequently, may find the selections presented in this volume already filed in their personal libraries. As such, readers looking for a state-of-the-art review of current literature in these fields may be somewhat dismayed, but the contextual (and historical) growth of these topics, evidenced by the selections of articles contained in this volume, provide an excellent foundation for further study. On the other hand, newcomers to the subject will find this volume particularly useful. Without question, it would be an excellent resource for graduate courses in sociology, anthropology or political science. As a final ancillary note, with the rising costs of academic journals, coupled with the slashing of library budgets in most university libraries worldwide, this reviewer wonders whether volumes such as this, where the actual selection is reproduced, might become more common.

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Irene Glasser and Rae Bridgman, *Braving the Street: The Anthropology of Homelessness,* Berghahn Books, 1999, xi + 131 pages.

Reviewer: *Douglass Drozdow-St. Christian*
University of Western Ontario

The key claim of this slender, powerful volume, is that an anthropology of homelessness both enables and obligates "anthropologists to become advocates by learning, and then presenting, the perspectives of those who are homeless"(p. 7). This is a compelling assertion and locates this book in the centre of anthropology's ongoing internal debate over the difference between speaking about versus speaking with and for those we study. While the authors succeed in compiling and synthesizing the very considerable work by anthropologists on homelessness, it is at the level of a different argument about anthropology and political engagement which makes this book an important contribution to a broader range of issues than homelessness alone.

The four substantive chapters deal, in order, with the demography and sociology of homeless populations, with

models for explaining the diverse causes of homelessness, with the social and cultural organization of survival by the homeless themselves, and with a review of processes and programs which have been developed to enable and empower solutions to homelessness. In each, Glasser and Bridgman work from a fundamental assumption that approaching homelessness and making meaningful contributions to policy and program development requires a recognition that homelessness is a diverse and complex social problem which needs to be understood in all its diversity and complexity first. By focussing on a four part matrix of issues related to homelessness, the authors provide a carefully detailed and thorough "historical cartography" of homelessness which contextualizes and critiques the way homelessness has been understood and responded to.

The first issue, and perhaps the most compelling, is how to define homelessness. Mainstream media, and neo-liberal politicians, have adopted a definition which ensures the lowest possible number be used to count the homeless. Glasser and Bridgman challenge the utility and explore the politics of this narrow definition by showing that homelessness needs to be understood as a condition of risk and not only the lack of shelter. By examining different definitions of homelessness world wide, they show that a more thoroughgoing and effective definition of homelessness needs to recognize that being at risk of lack of shelter, whether a family actually living on the street, or a group of street youths sharing living space in decayed rental housing, is a more effective definition. By arguing for a broadening of the definition of homelessness, they provide the critically historical context for understanding homelessness as a process which is ongoing and contingent, a key to more effective policy deliberations and implementation since it also broadens the points in the processes of shelter risk at which interventions can take place. By extending our understanding of homelessness to include an appreciation of the broader question of shelter adequacy, Glasser and Bridgman show the homeless problem to be larger and more complex than mainstream political models have been able to address.

This risk based model, with shelter adequacy as both the symptom and the syndrome, leads the authors to an examination of the roots of homelessness and they succeed in debunking some conventional myths about the homeless as mentally ill, as substance abusers, or as criminals alone. While acknowledging the key role of both mental illness and substance abuse, for example, play in risks to shelter adequacy, Glasser and Bridgman bring together a wealth of research that makes clear that shelter risk is better understood as a social-structural condition of particular economy and ideological formations which create conditions of expendability among the most vulnerable in the working class. They synthesize a growing body of research and critical political analysis in order to show that homelessness is a "tangled complex of interrelated personal problems, housing market dynamics, social policies, labor-market structures and deeply rooted social values" which needs to be accounted

for in understanding each specific homeless person. By arguing for a more critically engaged holism, they give homelessness a real historical reality all to often absent in public policy discussions.

Homelessness is a function of shelter adequacy risk. It is also a risk system in its own right, and the most dramatic and effective discussion in this book can be found in the chapter on how people actually survive life on the streets. The different causes of shelter inadequacy place the homeless into different contexts of risk, and the different characteristics of specific homeless people's living condition also place them in differential conditions of risk and danger, even death. But this chapter is not content to simply add "local colour" to the discussion of patterns and causes of homelessness. Rather, the authors use the material they combine in this chapter to show that the failure of policy makers, and the public, to apply a critically holistic perspective to homelessness has meant that policies which appear to serve one specific interest or concern, more often than not have the effect of exacerbating the risk and danger to which some other homeless person or group is exposed. It is in this discussion that Glasser and Bridgman most clearly substantiate their argument that a thoroughgoing and comprehensive anthropological perspective has a significant, even pivotal, contribution to make to the development of policies and practices around shelter adequacy, labour force protection, urban development, and, in the broadest sense, the social safety net which their discussion shows is more often a tattered rag.

There is anger in this book, often tempered by civil language. Glasser and Bridgman want their readers to understand that homelessness represents a fundamental failure of civil society. But at the same time, they also want to communicate how efforts to address homelessness, efforts which are grounded in a critical and political engaged holism, can be effective. In discussing programs developed to deal with the causes, effects, and risks of shelter inadequacy, they describe best practice approaches from around the world. These programs, which seek to treat the homeless person comprehensively, show clear routes along which policy and programming can and should move, in addressing the long term structural issues which contribute to shelter risk. They do not hesitate to point out, often in very pointed language, how shifts in government policy have too often been a pretext for abandoning real efforts and effective solutions to shelter risk, and their discussion of successes should remind each reader of the need to address the constitutive consequence of social-structural conditions which create the patterns of homelessness. Their discussion of interventions makes clear that while a permanent class of people in a permanent condition of shelter risk may well serve the short term interests of current economic and social policy directions, issues of social and economic justice should and must obligate each of us to advocate for, and act on, new directions which will treat shelter risk as a risk which each of us shares.

Unlike what we too often teach, in abstractions, in lecture halls throughout the country, Glasser and Bridgman want it understood clearly that homelessness is a risk each of us faces and which each of us must take responsibility. This book, brief as it is, makes clear what our students have been telling us, increasingly I have found as more and more of them take up their own engagements with the politics of our era—an anthropology which is not politically and morally engaged in addressing the conditions of risk, of inequality, and of powerlessness, is an anthropology which contributes to and perpetuates those conditions. This requires, and our students keep reminding us of this, "a refusal to play with the false opportunities of capitalism, a refusal to accept it as the natural order of things, and instead, work[ing] towards a critique that, in its perceptions, helps formulate alternatives (Smith, Gavin. *Confronting the Present*, University of Toronto Press, 1999, p. 267). While Glasser and Bridgman focus on one such set of conditions and alternatives, their argument speaks loudly and effectively to anthropologists and their students about the obligations each of us has to become active agents, not only for social understanding but, most importantly, for social change.

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Berlin, B.
   1992 *Ethnobiological Classification: Principles of Categorization of Plants and Animals in Traditional Societies*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Descola, P., and G. Palsson
   1996 *Nature and Society: Anthropological Perspectives*, London and New York: Routledge.

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Augé, M.
   1986 L'anthropologie de la maladie, *L'Homme*, 26(1-2) : 15.
Clément, D.
   1955 *La zoologie des Montagnais*, Paris, Louvain : Selaf-Peeters.

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