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Cover

Canizade ritual (inversion ritual) for the feast of St. Peter at the home of *americanos* (returned migrants from the United States) in Sao Felipe, island of Fogo, Cabo Verde, 1990.

Rituel de *Canizade* (rituel d'inversion). Fête de saint Pierre dans une maison «américaine» (maison d'émigrants revenus des États-Unis), ville de Sao Felipe, île de Fogo, Cape Vert, 1990.

Photo by Deidre Meintel.

Flow and Place: Transnationalism in Four Cases

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La version français de cette introduction commence à la page 13.

Flows and places[1]—these are the minimal objects of transnationalism. Flows unite the twin phenomena of transnationalism and globalization, but place separates them. Flows are the informational and interactional links among sets of individuals and institutions. What marks the new era of globalization and transnationalism is not these flows as such and the processes they produce, but their speed and volume at increased pace and scale that resists both definition and regulation in terms of location. These processes, decentred from the nation and any particular nation, working independent of any boundaries and any national territory, are global. Global processes transcend space and only have a location in an de-territorialized, abstract global space (cf. Featherstone, 1990; Kearney, 1995). These same flows which constitute global processes, e.g., financial and cultural, also work on a much smaller scale and in more contained forms, link specific individuals and institutions in few states, creating more particular and specific connections and relationships. The different treatment of place can usefully distinguish globalization from transnationalism. Transnational processes are not worldwide, but are anchored in places, i.e., states, both homelands and nations of settlement. Both migrants and corporations whose journeys and activities cross borders of two or more states are best referred to as transnational. Transnationalism is a "more humble and ... more adequate label" for relationships and phenomena which are variable in scale and distribution and cross state boundaries. (Hannerz, 1996: 6) Some caution in describing transnationalism is a healthy antidote to the sometimes almost giddy catastrophism or boosterism that marks writing about globalization.

Globalization

It is not, however, possible to examine transnational phenomena separate from global flows and processes which

underlie, make possible, support and facilitate them. These transnational phenomena can, however, be understood and analyzed as distinct from the flows which constitute them. The movement of capital is the global flow most often referred to as evidence of a new era. Its characteristics are increased volume and speed in capital movements and autonomy from managers of national economies, and its consequences are volatility which disrupts national economies and the creation of new centres of wealth accumulation, i.e., decentralizing capitalism and defining global cities. (cf. Friedman, J., 2001a, Leach, 1997, Ong and Nonini, 1997, Sassen, 1991) The same technologies that facilitate capital flows offer individuals openings for forms of communication which create a new shape for transnational relationships. The challenges to sovereignty of states by corporations and elites acting to separate capital from any particular nation or state have correspondingly weakened prescriptive definitions of citizenship. As absolutist definitions of citizenship softened the exclusiveness of nations and made nations more open to diasporic communities, the alternate and excluded spaces of transnationalism escaped from the shadows of nationalism. (cf. Kappus, 1997). The legitimacy of nation-building projects has been undercut by the complex commitments of citizens and corporations.[2] It may be that the age of nationalism (Gellner, 1983) has been succeeded by the formation of a global culture, an era of creole culture(s). (cf. Featherstone, 1990).

The answer to this question is unclear and opinion on globalization is divided about whether the boundedness of the local, the boundaries of cultures, are being erased, about the politics and morality of the phenomenon, and about the future of the globalization process itself. There is agreement that the experience of physical phenomena has been altered; "compression of space and time" is sensed; the world is a smaller place, if not exactly in the image of McLuhan's global village. Opposing theories of homogenization and fragmentation anticipate different outcomes of the trends of world integration, its consequences are both immiserating and enriching; globalization is continuity and it is change; it is novel and a harbinger of the future and it is similar to and an extension of the past; it is new and it is old. It is bringing dramatic and liberating changes and its corporate actors are oppressing, displacing and dispossessing individuals and communities, effacing the local. Nationalisms and fundamentalisms are proliferating as diasporas and transnational connections are weakening the state. Outcomes are both positive and negative and praised and condemned. On the basis of the intensity of emotion alone it is difficult to separate the enthusiastic boosters of globalization from those who bemoan its consequences.[3]

Among the many issues in these debates this introduction considers briefly the relationship of flows and technology and the problem of the nation and the state.

Flows and Technology

The technological make-over of communications and transportation has so caught the imagination of users and observers that everything has been proclaimed new. The technology boom on the stock markets has made the future seem an extension of the prosperous and rapidly communicating present. It is claimed that a physical change in the world has been made compressing space and time. Communications and transportation have become efficient, so inexpensive, so accessible and rapid that borders and separations have been erased. The web is an image of the world becoming one. At the same time HIV/AIDS, identified only twenty years ago at this month (June 2001), has given a tragic, emotional and intimate dimension to globalization. This epidemic has underscored the multiple dimensions of global integration. Moreover, the futile exclusionary practices by some nations to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS from crossing their borders and their policies of denial have so utterly failed that a subtext of the tragedy is a lesson of inevitability of globalization. But globalization is not allegory alone. Examination of the claims of enthusiasts and critical appraisal of the benefits of new technologies deserves discussion.

Enthusiasts focus on telecommunications. In many respects they are right that this is the key to what is new in globalization: increasing speed and flexibility and rapidly declining cost have expanded the markets for telecommunications and computer use to remote and otherwise technologically underdeveloped settings. Markets have also expanded within industrial economies. In India, for example, independent telephone retail kiosks marked by their bright yellow signs found 10 years ago only in large cities and even then concentrated around railway stations are now found in multiples even in the smallest towns. Capital flows, media, personal conversations, off-shore call centres, deterritorialized software labs, MP3 (downloaded, digitized) music, etc., are the content of this transformation. Technology has advanced this dimension of social life in a recognizable and measurable way. Multiple transmissions on the same wire, new materials like fibreoptic cable and wireless interconnectivity have reduced the cost and expanded the transmission of information in ways which give an immediacy to communications that is new. The revolution in telecommunications has given creative impulse to the symbolic,

narrative and rhetorical side of social life. On the other hand, when a journalist extols without irony the cutting edge jobs in a U.S. insurance company's call centre in Ghana dealing with health insurance claims of Americans, questions must be asked about a trickle down effect: whether there is any reduction in the drudgery in the lives of farmers of yams and cocoa, not to mention the availability of the insured health services to Ghanaians. We are left to wonder if Ghanaians are processing data on insurance payments for health care procedures that are unavailable to them.[4] Even a sceptical view of the benefits must acknowledge the extraordinary increase in efficiency in communications. The gains, however, are too often attributed to the market and reduced state involvement in the economy, an attribution that obscures the unevenness of technological advance; as current power shortages in California teach us messages and information are not the same as electricity, nor do they replace menial work. The efficiencies have been achieved unevenly and favour certain aspects of daily life, even transnational daily life. These limits are relevant in thinking about transportation.

Physical movement is an inescapable dimension of transnationalism. The diasporan model involves dispersal and idealized return. (Gibb, this issue, and Safran, 1991) The classic view of dispersal as involuntary and exile has faded in the recent phase of transnationalism and as scholarly work has progressed there has been a shift to understanding new voluntary diasporas. (Amit-Talai, 2002; Tölölyan, 1996) The sense of freedom and convenience regarding such movement is in part technological but it is also political as borders between states have become more open.

Air travel has been the basis of this movement and its declining cost has also enhanced the convenience of being physically present at home and abroad. Dual residence, which once marked a life of privilege, are now a reasonable expectation— and often a conscious goal— of immigrants. Although the physical limitations of travel technology are real the combination of rapid communications and travel allows frequent and well-timed returns, for example, on ritual occasions marking life-cycle events and to socialize children in the homeland, which express relationships more concretely than does verbal or written contact alone. Without being an uncritical booster there are many aspects of these changes that can be admired and we can connect them to both flows and movement, public culture and migrants' networks.

Are transnationalism and globalization simply technological phenomena? Can transnationalism be reduced to new technologies and changes in experiences of space and time? Communication can be reduced to language merging the forms of media and treating even face-to-face conversation as abstract, but this analytical synthesis loses the complexity of form and intent in various media and neglects the choices made by actors in communications (Hannerz, 1996:19-22). Physical presence can be seen as a unique form of participation, although its forms vary as discussed below, and the different forms communication must be recognized as having different consequences in relationships. Is the telephone simply an instrument, or is the sound of a particular person's voice—not to be too maudlin about it in a world of commercialized sentiments, greeting cards and sentimental telephone advertisements—not a substantive, nuanced and affective connection, more than the vibrations of the speaker and microphone and the digital impulses transmitting the sound? As costs declined the telephone completely replaced the telegraph, but today telephone and e-mail communications complement each other and users move between media for different communications purposes. The alternation between real time communications and delayed communications is interesting in itself, although the difference between e-mail and postal services has made letters old-fashioned and almost ceremonial. The exploitation of the voice, however, to simulate greater degrees of intimacy is commonly experienced and also commercially exploited. The popular and scholarly discussions of the impact of media—creating, changing, corrupting—on forms of expression, etiquette, grammar and spelling, have attracted great interest, but are only an index of awareness of different implications in different modes of communications.

My argument here, although not definitive, is that the technical underpinnings of globalization and transnationalism are real and consequential, and the efficiency of these technologies has made them ubiquitous. The range of possibilities and aspirations of those aware of these technologies expands because of their knowledge. Among these new possibilities is leaving a home community without being permanently alienated from it. This is not to say that access does not come without sacrifice or cost, but gone are the ominous telephone call and the telegram bearing sad news. Transnationalism depends on new technologies of telecommunications and transportation for some, but not all of its new attributes. Reduced costs have made intimate and frequent contact accessible in many ways for many everyday matters, which time and cost may have prohibited in the recent past. At the same time, unequal access to technology which may reflect generational and class and First World-Third World differences may create circumscribed

sub-communities of discussion as in the Harari case (Gibb, this issue).

Transnationalism

Louie, summarizing the literature, separated transnationalism into two main areas: "transnational cultural studies, which examines the effects of global cultural flows in creating a transnational public culture, and transmigrant practices, which emphasizes the creation of social networks across borders through the daily practices of travelling migrants" (2000: 647). Using a classic fieldwork technique of focussing on performative events to elicit conceptions of identity and difference,[5] Louie uses a "nationalist pilgrimage" to an annual youth festival sponsored by the People's Republic of China complete with grand events and "roots" trips to villages to show how the constructions of nationalism by the P.R.C. and by the participants, overseas Chinese youth, to re-evaluate the use of place and tradition in transnational studies to re-territorialize transnationalism.[6] In examining the different regimes of capital and labour in one of the off-shore banking havens, the Cayman Islands, Amit-Talai (1997) has shown that capital and labour markets function differently and that there is persistence of the territorial dimension, the partial deterritorialization (327) of the international job market, embracing not only the regulatory framework, but also access to job opportunities. Place remains, as Amit-Talai and Louie convincingly show in these two cases drawn from opposite ends of the continuum of national scale, a significant factor imposing limits: in Cayman on transnational openness and for China on national power.[7]

It is place, the local practice of custom, and the connections made between places, that distinguishes transnationalism from globalization. Both Kearney and Hannerz define transnationalism in terms of more than one state. Glick Schiller and her colleagues identified a new kind of migrant population "whose networks, activities and patterns of life encompass both their host and home societies." They coined the term "transmigrant" to describe these new populations who have "multiple relations ... that span borders." They define "transnationalism as the processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement" (Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton, 1992: 1). Louie would separate these "travelling migrants" (647) from the creation of public culture, but she does so analytically by isolating the youth festival, the series of performative events, from the social ties of the participants, their communities of origin, when it is clearly the diverse Chinese life experiences of the many classes of participants which is the source of the diverse Chinese nationalisms. Both observers and participants make judgements about the quality and content of ties between those from abroad and those at home. Different travellers *returning* to China in Louie's case claim authenticity for *their* roots visits, but belittle *others'* trips as mere tourism. Even tourism is a flow connecting these spaces. Public culture at a different level motivates these ties, giving even maligned tourism meaning.

In the papers presented here flows are of a number of sorts. Hararis are migrants from a city that had a tradition of commitment to residence in that urban space (Gibb, this issue). This identification with a particular place is perhaps of the strongest order we will encounter. The dilemmas Hararis face in their diasporic communities have the greatest assimilative potential. This identification with place is not, however, an essentialization of either identity or place, but with a dynamic bounded social and political community opposed and yet in creative relationship with its neighbours. The precarious trading and class niche of Harar was marked culturally by language and religion and techniques of ethnic self-perpetuation (boundary maintenance, in another episteme [Barth]) which were established in Harar's years of independence. Cape Verdeans (Meintel, this issue) have a similar history in its general sociological outlines. Their island community developed within the Atlantic trading system with loose state controls at the local level. The theory and interpretation of transnationalism should not depend on the limits of description. Potentials and actualities co-exist; resistance and eclecticism mark practice.

Nations, States and the Nation-State—the Nation or the State

> " ... it is the state that makes a nation, not a nation the state." — General Pilsudski

Hannerz notes "a certain irony in the tendency of the term "transnational" to draw attention to what it negates—that is, to the continued significance of the national" (Hannerz, 1996: 6). Some have argued that transnationalism and globalization require a rethinking of "the nation" (Appadurai, 1990; Glick Schiller et al., 1992). Kearney (1995: 548) draws our attention to the "the work of the state" as the object of studies of transnationalism and suggests that the conflicts of transnational and global phenomena might be more exactly called "trans-statal." He mildly regrets that this neologism is not popular and his reading of the literature reveals the euphemistic romanticizing of the implica-

tions of many of the studies of transnationalism in anthropology. The emphasis on nation as homogeneous has distorted our understanding of global phenomena and this distortion has its source in particular views of the idea of the nation and of social change (Friedman, J., 2001a; Tsing, 2000). One of these casualties is the nation-building project itself. The attempts of China to manage its nationalism is instructive: despite the official goal of a unified conception of the nation, being Chinese and the People's Republic (i.e., the state) become distinguished in the transnational process. Rather than producing unity, these efforts generate varieties of nationalism which compete and coexist (Louie, 2000; Ong, 1999). The implication of Kearney's suggestion that trans-statal is a better descriptive term for the phenomena which concern us here, is that it is necessary to separate the nation and the state in our analysis.

More modest definitions, noted at the beginning of this introduction, limit transnationalism to activities that are "anchored in ... one or more nation-states" (Kearney), and have the "characteristic of not being contained within a state" (Hannerz, 1996). It is this cross-border aspect of everyday life that is the challenge to ideas and laws of sovereignty. Renan's ironic phrase "the nation is a daily plebiscite" anticipated one of the key processes of transnationalism. These cross border activities are an everyday challenge to ideas about the absoluteness of the state. But many of these practices are not new (see below) and there is a historical dimension to these changes, which are not uniformly found in all states. Three of the countries discussed here, Cape Verde, Lebanon and Italy are states with histories of emigration and diasporic communities. Although Cape Verde is a relatively new state, its history in the Atlantic sea trade and its peripheral position in the Portuguese Empire predisposed it to openness. Harar, once an autonomous city-state dominating its agricultural hinterland, today is the urban centre of a region with some political autonomy within the Ethiopian state (Waldron, 1996).

Rather than efface both the state and the nation, the dynamics of these transnational communities cross boundaries and redefine the national; the home state and the host state are incorporated in or distanced from the lives of these migrants. Perhaps transnational does not negate the nation and the national, as Hannerz suggests (above), but makes it more flexible and expands it. What we see in the work in these papers is that the nation is one dimension or factor for people living transnational lives. The states they deal with mediate their relationships with the nation. The state is sometimes a guardian of the nation, at others an agent of the nation; its success varies in its attempts to represent all of the people of the nation. The nation is a cloak which is sometimes worn and sometimes covers many and at others fewer; the state changes in shape and porosity, emphasizing sovereignty at times and relaxing it at other times as many states are now doing.

Boundaries and borders do not separate, isolate, confine and encapsulate in an era of transnationalism as they did in an era of nationalism (Gellner, 1983). This absoluteness, the sovereignty, these edges represented over individuals has diminished (reverting partway to the early 1900s as noted in Meintel's paper), as the right to cross borders has expanded reducing permissable criteria of admission and exclusion in some states, to a very few, mainly medical and economic.

The impact of global phenomena on the nation and on our view as anthropologists of culture as a concept and theoretical tool is a growing area of dicussion which can only be noted in this introduction. It has been argued that culture has been separated from space (Hastrup and Olwig, 1997) and that this separation has telling consequences for thinking about the nation (Glick et al.). Critics of these views counter that the conception of culture said to be unbounded or de-territroialized does not accurately reflects its usage in the literature (Sahlins, 1999) and the argument that the nation is dissolving depends on a particular uniquely narrow form of this latter concept (Friedman, J., 2001a, 2001b). Beyond disciplinary history is a concern about the limits and consequences of the form the argument has taken (Sahlins, 2000)

These papers reveal a purposive, active orientation to shared, if imprecisely anticipated futures by the actors in these transnational settings. Their perceptions are not narrowly local or exclusively inward looking. Harari youth are struggling with two universalizing doctrines, Islam and Western secularism and debating these issue on the web. Lebanese Shi'ite women are cultivating consanguineal and affinal ties and elaborating the family to sustain their identity within Islam and across national borders. The elaborated family supports their diasporic identity and their ties to the homeland. Italians, long-time migrants, are re-conceptualizing their multiple ties to their multiple homelands, national and regional, Italy and diasporic. Cape Verdeans, stimulated by the independence of their state, are cultivating their transnationalism. As has been noted elsewhere for small nations (Amit-Talai, 1997, 2002) this culture-building process (Mintz, 1999) generates the dilemmas of inclusion and access. In none of these cases can transnationalism be seen as dissolution of a homogeneous, discrete and tightly bounded culture.

The authors of these papers have not addressed this question explicitly, perhaps because in each case it is

moot; the issue of boundaries has been political in these cases—including the islands of Cape Verde, but the "flow" across these boundaries has been an historical reality. Identities may be territorial in some senses, but they are cosmopolitan in others. Shi'ites can think of themselves as also Arab (often described as a "nationalism," as in "the Arab nation") and in this case Lebanese but with religious ties to others sharing their form of Islam (a transnationalism, adopted by states, but never confined to a state [Goody]).

Italians unified their country late in the eighteenth century but regionalism has thrived at home and in the Italian diaspora. The recent state reorganization (Gabaccia, 2000; Harney, this issue, p. 43), has perhaps ironically, stimulated transnational ties to the homeland and the home region giving a specificity to transnational relations.

The Hararis, experts at identity management over centuries, sustained a place economically, politically and once autonomously (until 1877), but their boundary—literally concretized by the city wall—marked a discrete culture, it never enclosed an isolated population. The Sunni Muslim faith, trade and war placed them in a complex social environment where self-awareness led to the moral commitment to stay in the city (Gibb, this issue, p. 55). Being also Muslim, African, Ethiopian connects Hararis to other locales in various ways which reduce particularism but also reflect the complexity of boundary maintenance (cf. Barth, 1969; Wallman, 1986) How action and meaning are shaped through movement and location is the dynamic of these processes.

These Papers

These papers raise questions about the form of transnational as a culture building process (Mintz, 1999). In each case, the agency of actors in transnational settings has stimulated new institutions. These accounts focus on the orientations of the migrants to host country and homeland and develop symbolic and material analyses of their transnational ties. The history of nations and of transnational connections is explicit in these papers and the issues of continuity are implicitly addressed. In these cases transnationalism continues old relationships even as their form changes (Foner, Mintz). Fieldwork cannot answer ultimate questions about cultural survival, diasporic assimilation, but more middle-range questions about the range of forms of diasporic communities, the range of relationships and processes at work in them, and the interventionist or facilitating role of the state are addressed.

Cape Verde is a product of an early era of globalization and expansion of the world system and its history is instructive on the differences between, and the historical transformations of, the nation and the state. Deirdre Meintel historically situates the changing Cape Verdean society and changing Cape Verdean diasporic communities in the Portuguese Empire and in the Atlantic trade linking Europe, Africa and the Americas. Cape Verde, a product of the Portuguese Empire, built markers of distinctiveness within this empire and its transnationalism from the 17th century which have been incorporated in its contemporary form as an independent country after 1975. As a homeland, Cape Verde, has now redefined its related diasporas.

Its location in the eastern Atlantic off the coast of Senegal, made Cape Verde valuable to both European and American sailors. It was a community created by the discoveries—Portuguese administrators and sailors expanding the empire and the Atlantic trade which provisioned and crewed sailing ships from New England trading for slaves and hunting for whales on the coast of West Africa. Its history is one of contact and global connections marked by one period of isolation—"submerged transnationalism" Meintel calls it—during the fascist years under Salazar from 1926 to 1974.

Cape Verde is an example of the centrality of the state to the transnational relationships of its people. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Cape Verdeans were oriented to and integrated into the Atlantic trade with New England. Their crewing on the slavers and whalers led to settlement in New England. They were, however, also part of an empire which had a sharp hierarchy of place from centre to periphery, with the African colonies especially the labour-short island of São Tomé off the coast of Gabon at the outer edge and low end. The Portuguese state coerced Cape Verdeans into unfavourable labour contracts on São Tomé's equatorial plantations. Cape Verdeans were an intermediate population, neither African nor fully Portuguese who faced a set of starkly different overseas possibilities: labour on plantations in Africa or settlement in New England. Although New England was a preferable destination for settlement for economic reasons racial restrictions were oppressive. In this environment, Cape Verdeans sustained an identity separate from Afro-Americans, working in coastal trades and identifying as Portuguese, but still separated by colour from other "more European" Portuguese, with similar trans-Atlantic links, from Madeira and the Canary Islands. (Harney, Greenfield) This defensive response to racial discrimination ironically sustained a transnationalism that stimulated the flow of diasporan resources to assist in development on independence in 1975.

The opposition of the regions and the nation has been a continuing theme of Italian politics. The late—

compared to other European nations—consolidation of the Italian nation-state and the patterns of emigration from certain regions to the same country, and often city, of settlement, sustained regional identities which remained active as in the ideologies of organization of overseas settlements. Nicholas Harney situates the negotiation of Italianness in the politics and re-structuring of the Italian state and the historically continuing relationship of Italy and its diasporas.

This case study illustrates the flexible sovereignty of the national governments, i.e., the states of Italy and Canada cooperating in Canada-based projects. These projects are not defined in terms of either state, but of the regions of Italy. These state activities can be seen as a continuing attempt to control and sustain some level of sovereignty over diasporan communities which forces a participation in the transnationalist projects of their citizens. Canada, a former colony of Britain and a former dominion in the British Empire has always, we might say, qualified its sovereignty in regard to Britain and immigrants from Britain,[8] and nationalist initiatives have had to contend with a history of Loyalist attachments (Mackey, 1999; Winland, 1998). Most recently the tensions of this special ambiguity were revealed by disputes over the power of Queen, Head of State of both Canada and Britain, to confer knighthood titles on Canadian citizens.

Co-operation with and endorsement of the presence of Italian officials is a new form of participation, although in the Italian case, not a new interest on the part of the Italian state. (cf. Gabaccia, 2000) In the rhetoric of multiculturalism, being Italian and Canadian are not mutually exclusive. In Harney's view, both states gain from cooperation as "these projects help to discipline and regulate the behaviour and identity of Italian immigrants engaged in transnationalism" (Harney, this issue).

Italian transnationalism is 130 years old; in this era of globalization, however, there seems to be a recognition of the permanence of the Italian diasporas and transnationalism. Paralleling Louie's study there is a re-territorialization and materialization of identity to create meaningful worlds within larger structures of power and a creativity in regard to culture, to the daily practice of Italianità, that gently ignores the question of continuity of community and the authenticity of place.

Camilla Gibb's study of Harar is another case that reminds us of the history of transnationalism and its variety of forms. Harar was perceived by its inhabitants as a closed city. The boundaries of Harar were boundaries of difference marked by a moral ideology of commitment to the city, clear markers of belonging, and a wall. The almost medieval management of ethnic relations, developed since the 16th century until the defeat by Ethiopia in 1877, could continue to work in the empire of Haile Selassie, but not in the communist republic of the Dergue (1974-1991). As it did for many Ethiopians this period led to exile for many Hararis. The period of exile was the beginning of Harari transnationalism. In post-Dergue Ethiopia Harar has been granted some jurisdictional autonomy, but the terms of negotiation of membership have become broader and the differentials of power of those in and those out have become less as the Ethiopian state acknowledges political issues of cultural difference and state hegemony. For Harari the homeland and its state is not the only transnational connection: their Sunni Muslim faith involves them with "similar" others, neither Ethiopian nor African, and their Africanness makes a set of yet different connections. They, like the other migrants described in these papers, have also experienced the invidious discrimination of North American settlement societies and anti-Islamic discourse in the North American press, and these experiences have motivated some of their thinking about their Harari diaspora.

The question of Harari identity has been displaced from territory, from a precise economic niche to de-territorialized thinking about and imagining of a diasporic community. This transformation is a product of the technologies of cyber space. The timing of these discussions in the run-up to Y2K—a crisis anticipated by excited, apocalyptic expectations that never happened and is now almost forgotten—is a reminder of the narrow experiential and historical perspectives of those deeply involved and dependent on globalizing technology. The Harari case, however, is one of several in which practice—worship of saints for example—attached to place and continuity of practice across generations is broken by migration. Is this one of the many diasporic communities of minorities fated to assimilate, not as Americans, or British, but as Muslims, Ethiopians, or Africans, (cf. studies of the Parsis [Luhrmann, 1996], Burghers [Roberts, 1989]), and Anglo-Indians, or will Hararis create a transnational niche like Cape Verdeans?

Josiane LeGall's study of Shi'ite Lebanese women demonstrates the liberating aspect of transnational diasporic life. Below the horizon of the state, both Lebanese and Canadian, the family is elaborated as both normative goal and pragmatic transnational link. The circumstances of minority identity could not be more different in these two states. Lebanon where faction is highly political and marked by religion, contrasts with Canada where the particularism of this self-description is lost on most Canadians and is immaterial to the state. LeGall's work shows how transnational ties can be cultivated in a particular

form, a form that enhances boundary both at home and abroad. The intimacy of frequent communications allows a continuous, daily involvement in the lives of family members wherever they are. Facing similar pressures and temptations to those encountered by the Hararis, the Shi'ite Lebanese can link themselves religiously with other Shi'ites, culturally with other Lebanese and Arabs, but simultaneously sustain a transnational community oriented toward their minority homeland community in Lebanon.

In the case of Shi'ite Lebanese, studied by LeGall, the role of the states, homeland and Canadian settlement, is minimal. Lebanon was historically part of the Ottoman empire, then of the French overseas empire and its citizens are noted for transnational trading diasporas, especially in West Africa. The homeland orientation of these diasporic communities is characteristic, but not engaged officially with the state. The adult women in Montreal are not oriented to global technology as reality, as the excited Harari youth were in advising flight from the Y2K crisis, but as instruments to facilitate and sustain long term family relationships that anticipate connections over generations.

Conclusion

This small set of papers raises questions about the uniformity of transnationalism as a global phenomenon. Everywhere the nation is qualified by ethnic claims and the state (perhaps universal in definition and form, but far from uniform in reality and substance) is challenged by diasporic allegiances. The examples here, humble forms of transnationalism perhaps, reveal the agency of individuals, the adaptability of culture (some of culture), and the complexity and contingency of global phenomena. Although utilizing new global technologies, only Harari youth have made a part of cyber space their world. These studies do not separate flows and migrant practices, but show how they are interdependent and mutually stimulative of popular as well as official nationalisms and of institutions other than the nation. The states of origin of these communities and Canada and the United States, the states of settlement, are relatively open "plural" nations, allowing dual citizenship, free movement and by implication transnational connections of their citizens.[9] (Gabaccia, 2000: 176) Pluralism has also softened the nationalism of the homeland states. Lebanon is a state of historical compromises and pluralist politics. The history of Cape Verde is plural from its origins, which, in its late liberation, is not denied in an imaginary homogeneous community. Ethiopia, since the Dergue has acknowledged the pluralism of its population and accomodated it. And Italy, which is imagined as a classical European nation and is lived in many respects in reference to its regions has, if somewhat reluctantly and ironically, officially accepted a plural present. From these cases, especially the latter three, it is clear that these states have adopted visions of the nation, nation-building projects which are inclusive of transnationalism and diasporic communities. For the migrants, it would appear, transnationalism offers distance from their states of origin and of settlement and alternatives to constrictive visions of the nation and is, in this way, liberating.

Acknowledgments

Thanks to Nick Harney for reminding me of the "Flows and Technology" strand in the discussion of these phenomena.

Notes

1 "Non-places" (Augé, 1995 and Gould and White, 1974) are a product of globalization, but the question, perhaps metaphysical, whether the local has been (can be) stripped of all meaning by global processes is more difficult to answer.

2 "Dual loyalty" was once almost a definition of treason. Such an accusation implied and often led to the conclusion that the accused was unworthy of citizenship.

3 A remarkable aspect of the discourse on these topics is the coeval or simultaneous range of participants in it: academics from literature to economics, unrestrained by conventional boundaries of their fields, journalists, civil servants and politicians, and the range of forms of reporting, comment and analysis, from gossip, rumours about internet gaffes, to the most technical of scholarly analysis. This breadth of participation is in contrast to the consensus, not on the dangers or merits of the processes, but on the issues and questions at stake.

4 Friedman, Thomas L., "It takes a satellite," *New York Times*, May 8, 2001, A31. The author of *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, Friedman, a regular columnist for his paper, is well known as an information age booster. What seems to me to be obvious questions in regard to this Ghanaian data processing case: "Does the displacement of jobs do anything for the workers, except in the short term, and how does the corporation benefit?" are not asked by him. Nor are they questions for this introduction.

5 Gluckman's famous study of a social situation, the dedication ceremony of bridge in South Africa is the model for use of a performance or celebratory event as a social situation which defines identity and difference (1940-42).

6 Louie's title "Re-territorializing transnationalism" only partly reflects her argument or evidence. The ideology and cultivation of village-emigrant ties were suppressed during the Cultural Revolution (1966-76), but revived, though not with universal interest, in the current era of state promotion of Chineseness at home and abroad (655). The complexity and interplay of state and popular nationalisms and the possibility of a variety of Chinese identities challenges the idea of "a unified, essentialized transmigrant popula-

tion" (662). It is not always clear if the object of this criticism, this idea of a transnational community based on "a shared Chinese identity" is that of the state and the youth festival organizers, or projected from the literature (Appadurai, 1991) and is a kind of transnational vision. Her attempt to separate flows from transmigrant practices, however, neglects the importance of movement of various intentions, durations, and permanences. Nationalist tourism of the kind she studied is a reminder of the possibility of migration *and* return.

7 Cf. Pico Iyer for an evocative interpretation of this lifestyle and identity. He may not intend it but his *Global Souls* is self-congratulatory. See "Alien Home" (267-298) where he distinguishes between simple communication and emotional communication in intimate relationships.

8 Until very recently British immigrants could apply for citizenship after three years, whereas those from other places had to wait five years.

9 The United States has become more liberal in allowing dual citizenship only recently.

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Flux et Lieu : Transnationalisme / Quatre cas

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Flux (NDLT) et lieu[1] voilà bien les particules élémentaires du transnationalisme. Les flux unissent les doubles phénomènes de transnationalisme et de mondialisation, mais le lieu les sépare. Les flux sont les liens informationels et «interactionnels» entre des ensembles d'individus et d'institutions. Ce qui caractérise cette nouvelle ère de mondialisation, ce ne sont pas tant ces flux en eux-mêmes et les processus qu'ils engendrent, que leur vitesse et leur volume – leur rythme et leur échelle accrues, phénomènes qui défient toute définition et se jouent des régulations en terme de lieux. Ces processus, excentriques au concept de nation comme à toute nation en particulier, opérant en dehors de toute frontière et de tout territoire national, sont globaux. Les processus globaux transcendent l'espace et n'ont de place que dans un espace abstrait et dé-territorialisé (cf. Featherstone, 1990; Kearney, 1995). Les mêmes flux qui constituent les processus globaux – par exemple les processus financiers et culturels – agissent aussi à une échelle beaucoup plus réduite et sous des formes plus circonscrites, liant certains individus à certaines institutions en particulier, et créant de la sorte un plus grand nombre de connexions et de relations spécifiques et particulières. La différence dans le traitement du lieu peut être utilisée afin de distinguer le transnationalisme de la mondialisation. Les processus transnationaux ne sont pas étendus à l'échelle de la planète, mais sont ancrés dans des lieux, c'est à dire des États, à la fois patries et nations d'adoption. Les migrateurs et les corporations dont les voyages et les activités chevauchent les frontières de plus de deux États peuvent être définis comme transnationaux. Le transnationalisme est «une dénomination plus humble et plus adéquate» pour des relations et des phénomènes dont l'échelle et la distribution varie (Hannerz, 1996: 6). Une certaine prudence dans la description du transnationalisme représente un sain antidote au catastrophisme parfois étourdissant qui marque les écrits à propos de la mondialisation.

Mondialisation

Cependant, il n'est pas possible d'examiner les phénomènes transnationaux séparément des flux globaux qui les sous-tendent, les rendent possibles, les soutiennent et les facilitent. Ces phénomènes transnationaux peuvent, cependant, être compris et analysés en tant que processus distincts des flux qui les constituent. Le mouvement de capital est le flux auquel on réfère le plus souvent en tant qu'évidence d'une nouvelle ère. Ses caractéristiques sont un accroissement du volume et de la vitesse des mouvements de capital et une autonomie vis-à-vis les gestionnaires des économies nationales, et il a comme conséquences une volatilité qui perturbe les économies nationales, ainsi que la création de nouveaux centre d'accumulation de la richesse – c'est à dire la décentralisation du capitalisme et la définition de cités globales (cf. Friedman, J., 2001a; Leach, 1997; Ong and Nonini, 1997; Sassen, 1991). Les mêmes technologies qui facilitent les flux/flots de capital offrent aux individus des ouvertures vers des formes de communication qui donnent un nouveau contour aux échanges transnationaux. La remise en question de la souveraineté des États par les corporations et les élites qui oeuvrent à séparer le capital de quelque nation ou États en particulier a affaibli, dans la même mesure, les définitions normatives de la citoyenneté. À mesure que les définitions absolutistes de la citoyenneté ont assoupli l'aspect exclusif des nations et rendu les nations plus ouvertes aux communautés diasporiques, les espaces exclus et alternatifs du transnationalisme sont sortis de l'ombre du nationalisme (Kappus, 1997). La légitimité des projets d'édification de nations a été minée par l'engagement complexe des citoyens et des corporations.[2] Peut-être l'âge du nationalisme (Gellner, 1983) a-t-il cédé la place à la formation d'une culture globale, une ère de culture(s) créoles (cf. Featherstone, 1990).

La réponse à cette question n'est pas claire et les avis sur la mondialisation sont partagés entre des points de vue qui focalisent soit sur le fait que les limites du local, les frontières des cultures, soient en voie d'être effacées; soit sur l'aspect moral et politique du phénomène; soit enfin sur le futur du processus de mondialisation lui-même. On s'accorde à dire que l'expérience des phénomènes physiques a été altérée; la «compression du temps et de l'espace» est ressentie; le monde est plus petit, peut-être exactement à l'image du village global de McLuhan. Des théories divergentes de l'homogénéisation et de la fragmentation anticipent des résultats différents face aux courants d'intégration mondiale, et leurs conséquences sont à la fois miséreuses et enrichissantes; la mondialisation est continuité et changement; elle est nouveauté et signe avant coureur du futur, en même temps qu'elle est identique au passé et en est son prolongement; elle est vieille et nouvelle. Elle apporte des changements drastiques et libérateurs et ses acteurs corporatifs sont oppressants, déplaçant et dépossédant les individus et les communautés, effaçant le local. Nationalismes et fondamentalismes prolifèrent à mesure que diasporas et transnationalismes affaiblissent l'État. Les résultats sont à la fois positifs et négatifs, louangés et condamnés. Il est difficile, sur la seule base de l'intensité de l'émotion, de séparer ceux qui appuient avec enthousiasme la mondialisation de ceux qui gémissent au sujet de ses conséquences.[3]

Parmi les nombreuses questions de ce débat, cette introduction s'attarde brièvement à la relation entre flux/flots et technologie et au problème de la nation et de l'État.

Flux et Technologie

Le remodelage technologique des communications et des transports a tellement captivé l'imagination des usagers et des observateurs que du coup, tout a été estampillé du sceau de la nouveauté. Le boom technologique à la bourse a donné au futur les allures d'un présent de prospérité et de communication accélérée. On dit qu'un changement physique est survenu, compressant le temps et l'espace. Les communications et les transports sont devenus si efficaces, si bon marché, tellement accessibles et rapides que les frontières et les séparations ont été effacées. Le Web est une image d'un monde en voie d'unification. En même temps le SIDA/HIV, identifié il y a seulement 20 ans en date de ce mois-ci (juin 2001), a donné une dimension tragique, émotive et intimiste à la mondialisation. Cette épidémie a souligné les dimensions multiples d'une intégration globale. De plus, les futiles pratiques d'exclusion mises de l'avant par certaines nations dans le but de prévenir que l'avancée du SIDA/HIV ne franchisse leur frontières et leur politique de déni ont échoué si lamentablement que la tragédie porte en sous-texte une leçon quand à l'inévitabilité de la mondialisation. Mais la mondialisation n'est pas qu'une allégorie. L'examen des revendications des enthousiastes et l'évaluation critique des avantages des nouvelles technologies méritent discussion.

Les enthousiastes mettent l'accent sur les télécommunications. À plusieurs égards ils ont raison de penser que c'est la clef de ce qui est nouveau dans la mondialisation : une vitesse et une flexibilité accrues de même que des coûts chutant rapidement ont étendu les marchés des télécommunications et des ordinateurs à des endroits éloignés et autrement sous-développés technologiquement. Les marchés se sont aussi développés à l'intérieur

des économies industrielles. En Inde par exemple, des kiosques indépendants de vente au détail de services téléphoniques, avec leurs brillantes enseignes jaunes, qu'on trouvait il y a dix ans uniquement dans les grandes villes et même alors uniquement près des gares de chemin de fer, ces kiosques on en trouve aujourd'hui des grappes jusque dans les villes les plus petites. Les flux/flots de capital, les médias, les conversations personnelles, les centres d'appel au large des côtes, les laboratoires de logiciels dé-territorialisés, la musique par MP3 (téléchargée, numérisée), représentent le contenu de cette transformation. La technologie a fait progresser cette dimension de la vie sociale de façon perceptible et quantifiable. Les transmissions multiples sur le même câble, les nouveaux matériaux comme les câbles de fibres optiques et les communications sans fil ont réduit le coût de la transmission d'information et l'ont développée selon des modes qui donnent aux communications une immédiateté nouvelle. La révolution dans les télécommunications a donné une impulsion créatrice aux aspects symboliques, narratifs et rhétoriques de la vie sociale. D'un autre coté, lorsqu'un journaliste fait l'éloge – sans ironie – des emplois de pointe dans le centre d'appel d'une compagnie d'assurance américaine au Ghana, centre qui fait le traitement des réclamations d'assurance maladie de citoyens américains, des questions doivent être posées au sujet des retombées: y a-t-il quelque réduction dans la corvée des cueilleurs de yams et de cacao, sans mentionner l'accessibilité des services d'assurance maladie aux Ghanéens. On en vient à se demander si les Ghanéens ne font pas le traitement des données d'indemnités d'assurances pour des soins de santé qui leur sont inaccessibles.[4] Mais même une position sceptique se doit de reconnaître l'augmentation extraordinaire de l'efficacité dans les communications. Les gains, cependant, sont trop souvent attribués au marché et à la réduction de l'intervention de l'État dans l'économie, une attribution qui masque l'inégalité du développement technologique; comme nous l'enseignent les récents manques d'électricité en Californie, les messages et l'information ne sont pas l'électricité, pas plus qu'ils ne remplacent le travail avilissant. Les rendements se sont développés inégalement et privilégient certains aspects de la vie quotidienne, même au niveau de la vie quotidienne transnationale. Ces limites doivent être prises en compte dans l'étude du transport.

Le déplacement physique est une dimension incontournable du transnationalisme. Le modèle diasporique implique dispersion et idéalisation du retour. L'image classique de la diaspora comme exil involontaire s'est atténuée dans la phase récente de transnationalisme et alors que les recherches académiques progressaient, il y eût un tournant dans le sens d'une compréhension des diasporas volontaires (Amit-Talai, 2002; Tölölyan, 1996). Le sentiment de liberté et de commodité vis-à-vis ce mouvement est en partie lié à sa composante technologique mais il est aussi politique dans la mesure où les frontières entre les États se sont ouvertes.

Le transport aérien a été à la base de ce mouvement et la réduction de son coût a également accru les avantages pratiques d'être physiquement présent, chez-soi et à l'étranger. La double résidence, qui fût le signe d'une vie privilégiée, est désormais une expectative raisonnable – et souvent un but conscient – des immigrants. Malgré le fait que les limitations physiques de la technologie du transport soient réelles, la combinaison communications rapides/voyage permet des retours fréquents et appropriés, par exemple lors de rituels qui marquent les événements des cycles de vie ou pour socialiser les enfants chez la mère patrie, deux exemples où les relations s'expriment de façon plus concrète qu'à l'aide des seuls contacts écrits et verbaux. Sans être un apologiste aveugle, il y a plusieurs aspects de ces changements qui sont admirables et nous pouvons les lier à la fois aux flux et au mouvement, à la culture publique et aux réseaux de migrateurs.

Est-ce que le transnationalisme et la mondialisation ne sont que des phénomènes technologiques? Est-ce que le transnationalisme peut être réduit aux nouvelles technologies et à la façon dont l'espace-temps est vécu? En amalgamant les diverses formes de médias et en traitant même la conversation en personne comme quelque chose d'abstrait, on peut arriver à réduire la communication au langage; mais cette synthèse analytique nous fait perdre la complexité des formes et des intentions dans chacun des médias, de même qu'elle néglige les choix faits par les acteurs dans les actes de communication (Hannerz, 1996: 19-22). La présence physique peut être vue comme une forme unique de participation, malgré le fait que ses formes varient tel que souligné plus loin, et la communication peut-être saisie dans la variété de ses formes et la pluralité de leurs conséquences. Est-ce que le téléphone est seulement un instrument, ou plutôt – sans être trop larmoyant à ce sujet dans un monde de sentiments commercialisés, de cartes de souhaits et de publicités sentimentales de services téléphoniques – n'est-ce pas le son particulier de la voix de la personne qui est un lien substantiel, nuancé et affectif, plus que les seules vibrations du haut-parleur et du microphone et les impulsions numériques transmettant le son ? À mesure que les coûts baissaient, le téléphone a complètement remplacé le télégraphe, mais aujourd'hui téléphones et

courriels se complètent mutuellement et les usagers changent de médias selon leur besoin de communication. L'alternance entre les communications en temps réel et les communications différées est en soi intéressante, en dépit du fait que le courrier électronique a rendu la poste vieux-jeu et presque cérémonielle. L'exploitation de la voix, cependant, pour simuler de plus grands niveaux d'intimité, est devenue un lieu commun et le sujet d'une exploitation commerciale. Les discussions populaires et académiques au sujet de l'impact des médias – création, changement, corruption – sur les formes de l'expression, de l'étiquette, de la grammaire et de l'épellation, ont suscité beaucoup d'intérêt, mais ces discussions ne sont que l'index du niveau de conscience vis-à-vis les différentes implications de modes de communication différents.

Mon argument ici, bien que non définitif, est que les infrastructures technologiques qui supportent la mondialisation et le transnationalisme sont réelles et portent à conséquence, et l'efficacité de ces technologies les a rendues omniprésentes. Ceux et celles qui sont conscients de ces technologies voient leurs aspirations et leurs possibilités s'accroître du seul fait de leur savoir. Parmi ces nouvelles possibilités figure celle de quitter la communauté d'attache sans s'en aliéner de façon permanente. Cela ne veut pas dire que l'accès vient sans sacrifice ou sans coût, mais l'époque où l'on voyait les téléphones et des télégrammes comme porteur de mauvaise augure, l'époque où on les redoutait par peur qu'ils nous apprissent quelque mauvaise nouvelle, cette époque est bel et bien derrière nous. Le transnationalisme dépend des nouvelles technologies de télécommunication et de transport pour la définition de quelques uns de ses nouveaux attributs, mais pas tous. Des coûts réduits ont favorisé l'accessibilité des contacts intimes et fréquents de plusieurs manières et pour plusieurs affaires parmi les plus quotidiennes, une chose que temps et coûts avaient pu empêcher par le passé. En même temps, l'accès inégal à la technologie, qui reflète peut-être des différences de génération, de classe, ou de provenance (pays développés – pays du tiers monde), peut aussi créer des sous-communautés de discussion assez circonscrites, comme dans le cas Harari (Gibb, ce numéro).

Transnationalisme

Louie, résumant la littérature sur le sujet, a séparé le transnationalisme en deux secteurs principaux: «les études culturelles transnationales, qui examinent le rôle des flux culturels globaux dans la création d'une culture publique transnationale, et les pratiques transmigratoires, qui insistent sur la création de réseaux sociaux au delà des frontières, à travers les pratiques quotidiennes des immigrants qui voyagent» (2000: 647). Utilisant la technique classique de travail de terrain, qui consiste à mettre l'accent sur les événements performatifs pour extraire des conceptions de l'identité et de la différence.[5] Louie utilise un «pèlerinage nationaliste» à un festival annuel de la jeunesse, sponsorisé par la République Populaire de Chine – événement total avec événements grandioses et voyages dans les villages pour «retrouver ses racines» – pour montrer comment la construction du nationalisme est effectuée par le Parti et par les participants – de jeunes chinois vivant à l'étranger – ainsi que pour réévaluer l'utilisation des notions de lieux et de tradition dans les études transnationales, et ce, dans le but de re-territorialiser le transnationalisme.[6] En examinant les différents régimes de capital et de main-d'oeuvre dans un paradis banquier loin de la côte, les îles Cayman, Amit-Talai (1997) a démontré que les marchés de capital et les marchés de la main-d'oeuvre fonctionnent différemment et qu'il y a persistance de la dimension territoriale, la partielle dé-territorialisation (327) du marché international de l'emploi, embrassant non seulement les cadres régulateurs mais aussi l'accès aux possibilités d'emplois. Le lieu, le territoire, demeure, comme le démontrent Amit-Talai et Louie dans ces deux cas tirés des pôles opposés du continuum national, un facteur important et qui impose ses limites sur l'ouverture transnationale dans les Cayman et sur le pouvoir national en Chine.[7]

C'est le lieu, la coutume en tant que pratique locale, et les liens établis entre les lieux qui distinguent le transnationalisme de la mondialisation. Kearney et Hannerz définissent tous deux le transnationalisme en terme des activités de plus d'un État. Glick Schiller et ses collègues ont identifié un nouveau type de population migratoire «dont les réseaux, activités et schémas d'existence enserrent à la fois les sociétés hôtes et les sociétés mères.» Elles ont créé le terme «transmigrant» dans le but de décrire ces nouvelles populations qui ont «des relations multiples qui embrassent les frontières.» Elles définissent «le transnationalisme comme les processus par lesquels les immigrants construisent des champs sociaux liant leur pays d'origine et le pays où ils se sont établis.» (Glick Schiller, Basch et Blanc-Szanton, 1992: 1). Louie séparerait ces «immigrants voyageurs» de la création d'une culture publique, mais elle le fait analytiquement en isolant le festival de jeunesse, l'ensemble des événements performatifs, des liens sociaux unissant les participants à leur communauté d'origine, alors que c'est manifestement les diverses expériences de la vie chinoise telles que vécues par plusieurs classes de participants qui sont à l'origine des divers nationalismes chinois. Observateurs et participants portent tous deux des jugements sur la qualité et

le contenu des liens entre ceux et celles qui vivent à l'étranger et ceux et celles qui vivent à domicile. Divers voyageurs retournant en Chine revendiquent l'authenticité de leur retour aux racines, mais ils dénigrent le voyage des autres comme n'étant que du tourisme. Même le tourisme est un flux qui met ces espaces en relation. À un autre niveau, la culture publique motive ces liens, faisant sens même du tourisme pernicieux.

Dans les communications présentées ici, les flux sont de plusieurs ordres. Les Harares émigrent d'une ville où traditionnellement l'on s'engageait à demeurer dans cet espace urbain. (Gibb, ce numéro). Cette identification à un endroit spécifique est probablement la plus forte que nous allons rencontrer. Les dilemmes auxquels les Harares font face dans leur communautés diasporiques manifestent les plus grands potentiels d'assimilation. Cette identification avec le lieu n'est pas, cependant, une essencialisation soit de l'identité ou du lieu, mais plutôt l'identification avec une communauté sociale et politique dynamique et bien délimitée, en opposition avec son voisinage et malgré tout en relation créative avec lui. Le commerce précaire et la non moins précaire position de classe du Harar furent marqués culturellement par le langage et la religion, de même que par les techniques visant à perpétuer l'identité ethnique (l'entretien des frontières, dans le langage d'un autre épistème [Barth]) qui fût établie dans les années d'indépendance du Harar. Les habitants du Cap Vert (Meintel, ce numéro) partagent une histoire similaire dans ses grandes lignes sociologiques. Leur communauté insulaire s'est développée à l'intérieur du système commercial de l'atlantique et sous un contrôle étatique relâché au niveau local. La théorie et l'interprétation du transnationalisme ne devraient pas dépendre des limites de la description. Les potentiels et les actualités co-existent, la résistance et l'éclectisme marquent la pratique.

Nations, États et l'État-nation, la nation ou l'État.

> «C'est l'État qui fait la nation, pas la nation qui fait l'État» — General Pilsudski

Hannerz note «une certaine ironie dans la tendance qu'a le transnationalisme d'attirer l'attention vers ce qu'il nie: c'est à dire le fait que l'aspect national continue de faire sens». (Hannerz, 1996: 6). Certains ont soutenu que le transnationalisme et la mondialisation appellent à repenser la nation. (Appadurai 1990; Glick-Schiller et al., 1992). Kearney (1995: 548) attire notre attention sur «l'action de l'État» en tant qu'objet des études sur le transnationalisme et suggère que les conflits à l'intérieurs des phénomènes transnationaux et mondiaux puissent être mieux nommés par le terme «trans-Étatiques». Il regrette tièdement que son néologisme ne soit pas plus populaire et sa lecture de la littérature révèle une romance euphémique quant aux implications des études du transnationalisme en anthropologie. L'accent mis sur la nation en tant que tout homogène a déformé notre compréhension des phénomènes globaux et cette distorsion a son origine dans des points de vues spécifiques vis-à-vis de la nation et du changement social (Friedman, J., 2001a; Tsing, 2000). L'une de ces victimes est le projet de construction de la nation lui-même. Les tentatives de la Chine de gérer son nationalisme sont révélatrices: en dépit de l'objectif officiel d'une conception unifiée de la nation, dans le processus transnational, «être chinois» devient différent de l'objet «République du peuple» (c'est à dire L'État). Plutôt que de produire l'unité, ces efforts génèrent une variété de nationalismes qui entrent en concurrence et coexistent (Louie, 2000; Ong, 1999). Ce que la suggestion de Kearney implique – lorsqu'il dit que «trans-Étatique» est un meilleur descriptif pour les phénomènes qui nous occupent ici – c'est que nous devons, dans notre analyse, séparer la nation de l'État.

Des définitions plus modestes, mentionnées au début de cette introduction, limitent le transnationalisme aux activités qui sont «ancrées dans un ou plusieurs États-nations» (Kearney), et qui ont la «caractéristique de n'être pas circonscrites par un État» (Hannerz, 1996). C'est cet aspect «outre-frontière» de la vie quotidienne qui représente un défi aux idées et aux lois de la souveraineté. La phrase ironique de Renan, «la nation est un plébiscite quotidien», anticipait l'un des processus clefs du transnationalisme. Ces activités outre-frontières remettent chaque jour en question les idées à propos du caractère absolu de l'État. Mais plusieurs de ces pratiques ne sont pas nouvelles (voir plus bas) et il y a une dimension historique à ces changements, qui d'ailleurs ne sont pas présents de façon égale dans tous les États. Trois des pays examinés ici, le Cap Vert, le Liban et l'Italie sont des États ayant des histoires d'immigration et de communautés diasporiques. Malgré le fait que le Cap Vert soit un État relativement jeune, son histoire dans le commerce maritime de l'Atlantique et sa position périphérique dans l'empire portugais l'ont prédisposé à s'ouvrir. Harar, autrefois une ville-État autonome dominant l'arrière-pays agricole, est aujourd'hui le centre d'une région urbaine qui jouit d'une certaine autonomie au sein de l'État éthiopien (Waldron, 1996).

Plutôt que de faire s'effacer à la fois l'État et la nation, les dynamiques de ces communautés transnationales traversent les frontières et redéfinissent le caractère national; les vies de ces migrateurs absorbent ou

repoussent l'État d'origine comme l'État d'acceuil. Comme le suggère Hannerz (voir plus haut), le transnational ne nie peut-être pas la nation et le national, mais peut-être le rend-il plus flexible et en favorise-t-il l'expansion. Ce que ces textes nous font voir, c'est que la nation est l'une des dimensions ou l'un des facteurs pour les gens vivant des vies transnationales. Les États avec qui ils transigent leur servent de médiateurs vis-à-vis la nation. L'État est parfois le gardien de la nation, parfois son agent; ses tentatives de représenter tous les membres de la nation remportent un succès variable. La nation est un manteau que l'on met de temps en temps et qui parfois couvre plusieurs personnes, et parfois moins; l'État change en forme et en porosité, mettant parfois l'accent sur la souveraineté pour ensuite relâcher cette tension, ainsi que le font beaucoup d'États de nos jours.

Dans une ère de transnationalisme, bornes et frontières ne vont plus séparer, isoler, confiner et capsuler comme elle le firent à une époque de nationalismes (Gellner, 1983). Ce coté absolu, la souveraineté, l'avantage [des États] sur les individus, tout ceci a diminué (retournant partiellement à la situation du début du siècle, tel que souligné dans l'essai de Meintel), à mesure qu'a grandi le droit de traverser les frontières, réduisant les critères acceptables d'admission et d'exclusion dans quelques États à un petit nombre, surtout des critères médicaux et économiques.

L'impact des phénomènes de mondialisation sur la nation et sur l'idée que nous, anthropologues culturels, nous en faisons comme concept et outil théorique, est une aire de discussion en pleine croissance dont cette introduction ne peut que signaler la présence. On a défendu le point de vue voulant que la culture ait été séparée de l'espace (Hastrup and Olwig, 1997) et que cette séparation ait des conséquences révélatrices sur les manières de penser la nation (Glick et al.). Les critiques de ces positions rétorquent que la conception de la culture comme étant non-circonscrite et dé-territorialisée ne reflète pas bien l'usage du concept de culture dans la littérature (Sahlins, 1999) et que l'argument voulant que la nation soit en train de se dissoudre dépend uniquement de l'adhésion à une vision particulièrement étroite de ce concept (Friedman, J., 2001a, 2001b). Au delà de l'histoire des disciplines existe une préoccupation quant à la forme qu'a prise cette ligne d'argumentation (Sahlins, 2000). Ces essais révèlent une orientation active et résolue vis-à-vis de futurs communs – quoiqu'anticipés de façon imprécise – de la part des acteurs impliqués dans ces situations transnationales. Leurs perceptions ne sont pas étroitement locales ou exclusivement internes. Les jeunes Harares sont aux prises avec deux doctrines universalisantes, l'Islam et le sécularisme Occidental, et ils débattent de ces question sur le Web. Les femmes Shi'ite du Liban cultivent les liens de consanguinité et de mariage et élaborent la famille de manière à nourrir leur identité à l'Islam, et cela au delà des frontières. La famille ainsi élaborée soutient leur identité diasporique et leur liens à la contrée d'origine. Les Italiens, des migrateurs de longue date, re-conceptualisent de nouveau leurs attaches multiples à leurs multiples patries, nationales et régionales, italiennes et diasporiques. Les habitants du Cap Vert, stimulés par l'indépendance de leur État, cultivent leur transnationalisme. Comme il a été mentionné ailleurs pour le cas des petites nations (Amit-Talai, 1997, 2002), ce processus de construction de la culture (Mintz, 1999) génère les dilemmes de l'inclusion et de l'accès. Dans aucun de ces cas le transnationalisme peut-il être vu comme la dissolution d'une culture homogène, distincte et bien ficelée.

Les auteurs de ces textes n'ont pas abordé cette question de manière explicite, peut-être parce que dans chacun des cas elle va de soi; la question des frontières a été politique dans ces cas-ci – incluant le cas des îles du Cap Vert, mais le «flux» à travers ces frontières a été une réalité historique. Sous plusieurs aspects les identités peuvent être territoriales, mais sous d'autres aspects elles peuvent être cosmopolitaines. Les Shi'ites peuvent également se considérer comme arabes (souvent considéré comme un «nationalisme», comme dans «nation arabe») et dans ce cas-ci comme Libanais, mais avec des liens avec ceux qui partagent leur forme d'Islamisme (un transnationalisme, adopté par les États, mais jamais confiné à un État [Goody]).

C'est une fois bien avancés dans le dix-huitième siècle que les Italiens ont unifié leur pays, mais le régionalisme a continué à prospérer, au pays comme dans la diaspora italienne. La récente réorganisation de l'État (Gabacccia, 2000; Harney, ce numéro), a, peut-être ironiquement, stimulé les attaches transnationales à la patrie et à la région mère, donnant ainsi une spécificité aux relations transnationales.

Les Harares, experts depuis des siècles en gestion de l'identité, ont maintenu économiquement, politiquement et autrefois de façon autonome un lieu (et ce jusqu'en 1877), mais leur frontière – malgré qu'elle soit littéralement plantée dans le mur qui entoure la ville, désigne une culture distincte; elle n'a jamais enfermé une population isolée. Les gens de la foi musulmane Suni, le commerce et la guerre les ont insérés dans un environnement social complexe où le fait de prendre conscience d'eux-mêmes les mena à l'engagement moral de rester dans la ville (Gibb, ce numéro). Étant également Musulmans, africains, les

éthiopiens lient les Harares à d'autres endroits selon une variété de modes qui réduisent le particularisme mais qui reflètent également la complexité de la gestion des frontières (cf. Barth, 1969; Wallman, 1986). Comment l'action et le sens sont façonnés à travers le mouvement et l'emplacement, voilà la dynamique de ces processus.

Ces essais

Ces essais soulèvent des questions à propos des formes que prend la transnationalité en tant que processus de construction de la culture (Foner, 1997; Mintz, 1999). Dans chacun des cas, l'action des acteurs impliqués dans les situations transnationales a stimulé les nouvelles institutions. Ces comptes rendus mettent l'accent sur les manières qu'ont les migrants de s'orienter face au pays d'accueil et au pays d'origine, et développent des analyses symboliques et matérielles de leur attaches transnationales. Ces essais font explicitement état de l'histoire des nations et des liaisons transnationales et abordent implicitement les questions de continuité. Dans les cas présentés ici, le transnationalisme poursuit de vieilles relations alors même que leur forme change. Le travail de terrain ne peut répondre aux questions ultimes quant à la survie culturelle et l'assimilation diasporique, mais les questions médianes à propos de l'étendue des formes que peuvent prendre les communautés diasporiques, l'éventail des relations et des processus qui oeuvrent en leur sein, et le rôle interventionniste et de médiateur de l'État, ces questions-là sont abordées.

Le Cap Vert est le produit d'une période hâtive de développement du système mondial et son histoire nous renseigne sur les différences entre la nation et l'État ainsi que de leurs transformations historiques. C'est à l'intérieur de l'empire portugais et au sein du commerce atlantique liant l'Europe, l'Afrique et les Amériques que Deirdre Meintel situe historiquement une société et une communauté diasporique Cap Verdiennes en changement. Le Cap Vert, un produit de l'empire portugais, a développé des indices de distinction à l'intérieur même de cet empire et de son transnationalisme – et ce à partir du 17^{e} siècle – indices/repères qui ont été incorporés à sa configuration d'État indépendant après 1975. En tant que mère patrie, le Cap Vert a maintenant redéfini les diasporas qui lui sont reliées.

Sa situation géographique dans l'Atlantique oriental, au large des côtes du Sénégal, a rendu le Cap Vert précieux autant aux yeux des marins européens que des marins américains. Ce fût une communauté crée par les découvertes – administrateurs et marins portugais étendant l'empire, ainsi que le commerce atlantique qui approvisionnait en marchandises et en équipages les voiliers de Nouvelle-Angleterre engagés dans la traite d'esclaves et la chasse à la baleine sur les côtes de l'Afrique de l'Ouest. Son histoire en est une de contact et de connections à l'échelle du globe, marquée par une période d'isolation – «transnationalisme submergé», comme l'appelle Meintel – durant les années de fascisme sous Salazar entre 1926 et 1974.

Le Cap Vert est un exemple du caractère central de *l'État* dans les relations transnationales d'un peuple. Aux dix-huitième et dix-neuvièmes siècles, les habitants du Cap Vert s'étaient orientés en direction du commerce atlantique avec la Nouvelle Angleterre et y étaient intégrés. Leur participation aux équipages des bateaux de traite d'esclave et de pêche à la baleine mena à la création de colonies en Nouvelle Angleterre. Ils étaient, cependant, partie prenante d'un empire qui avait une hiérarchie géographique très nette en ce qui concerne les rôles de centre et de périphérie, avec les colonies africaines sur le rebord extérieur et au bas de l'échelle – spécialement l'île São Tomé, au large des côtes du Gabon, avec sa pénurie de main-d'oeuvre. L'État portugais contraignit les habitants du Cap Vert à s'engager dans des contrats de travail défavorables dans les plantations équatoriales de São Tomé. Les habitants du Cap Vert étaient une population intermédiaire, ni africaine ni pleinement portugaise, à qui s'offraient un éventail plutôt austère de possibilités outre-mer : travailler sur les plantations africaines ou s'établir en Nouvelle Angleterre. Malgré le fait que la Nouvelle Angleterre représentait une meilleure destination pour ce qui est de s'établir, et ce pour des raisons économiques, les restrictions raciales y étaient oppressives. Dans cet environnement, les habitants du Cap Vert ont maintenu une identité différente des afro-américains, travaillant dans le commerce côtier et s'identifiant comme portugais, mais toujours séparés par leur couleur des portugais «plus européens» possédant des liens trans-Atlantiques semblables, de Madère aux îles Canari (Greenfield, Harney). Ironiquement, la réponse défensive face à la discrimination raciale alimenta un transnationalisme qui stimula le flot de ressources diasporiques pour aider le développement autour de l'indépendance en 1975.

L'opposition entre les régions et la nation a été un thème récurrent de la politique italienne. La tardive – si on la compare au reste de l'Europe – consolidation de l'État-nation italien et les schémas d'immigration à partir de certaines régions vers les mêmes pays, et souvent les mêmes villes, ont renforcé les identités régionales qui sont demeurées actives comme dans les idéologies présidant à l'organisation des colonies outremer. Nicholas Harney situe la négociation de «l'italienneté» dans la

politique et la restructuration de l'État italien et dans la relation historique continue entre l'Italie et ses diasporas.

Cette étude de cas illustre le degré de flexibilité des gouvernements nationaux en matière de souveraineté, dans ce cas-ci les États du Canada et de l'Italie coopérant dans des projets basés au Canada. Ces projets ne sont pas définis selon des critères propres à aucun des deux États, mais plutôt en terme des régions d'Italie. Les activités de ces États peuvent être vues comme la tentative de maintenir un certain degré de souveraineté sur les communautés diasporiques, ce qui force leur participation au projets transnationaux de leurs citoyens. Le Canada, une ancienne colonie de l'Angleterre et un exterritoire de l'empire britannique a toujours, si l'on peut dire, protégé son diplôme d'État souverain en tenant compte des immigrants britanniques,[8] et les initiatives nationalistes ont eu à faire face à l'attachement des Loyalistes (Mackey, 1999; Winland, 1998). Plus récemment, les tensions inhérentes à cette ambiguïté particulière furent révélées par les disputes au sujet du pouvoir qu'aurait la Reine, Chef d'État de l'Angleterre et du Canada, de conférer des titres de chevalier à des citoyens canadiens.

La coopération avec des officiels italiens et le fait d'endosser leur présence équivaut à une nouvelle forme de participation, malgré que dans le cas italien cela ne représente pas un intérêt nouveau de la part de l'État italien (cf. Gabaccia, 2000). Dans la rhétorique du multiculturalisme, être italien et être canadien n'est pas mutuellement exclusif. Dans la vision de Harney, les deux États gagnent à coopérer puisque «ces projets aident à discipliner et à régulariser le comportement et l'identité des immigrants italiens impliqués dans le transnationalisme» (Harney, ce numéro). Le transnationalisme italien est vieux de 130 ans; dans cette ère de mondialisation, cependant, il semble y avoir une reconnaissance de la permanence des diasporas et du transnationalisme italiens. Allant dans le même sens que l'étude de Louie, il y a re-territorialisation et matérialisation de l'identité afin de créer des mondes signifiants avec des structures de pouvoir plus amples et une plus grande créativité en regard de la culture, en regard de la pratique quotidienne de l'*Italianità*, qui fait fi gentiment des questions de la continuité de la communauté et de l'authenticité du lieu.

L'étude des Harares par Camilla Gibb est un autre cas qui nous rappelle l'histoire du transnationalisme et la variété de ses formes. Harar était perçue par ses habitants comme une ville fermée. Les frontières de Harar étaient les frontières de la différence, marquées par une idéologie morale d'engagement face à la ville, elles étaient les claires balises de l'identité, et un mur. La gestion quasi médiévale des relations ethniques, développée à partir du 16e siècle et jusqu'à la défaite de l'Éthiopie en 1877, aurait pu continuer à fonctionner dans l'empire de Hailé Sélassié, mais pas au sein de la république communiste des (Dergues [1974-1991]). Comme ce fut le cas pour plusieurs éthiopiens, cette période amena l'exil de plusieurs Harares. Cette période d'exil allait être le début du transnationalisme Harare. Dans l'Éthiopie post-Dergue les Harares se sont vu accordés une certaine autonomie juridictionnelle, mais les termes selon lesquels se négocie l'appartenance sont devenu plus larges, et les différentielles de pouvoir ce ceux qui sont à l'intérieur et de ceux qui sont à l'extérieur ont diminué à mesure que l'État éthiopien reconnaît l'existence des questions politiques de différences culturelles et d'hégémonie de l'État. Pour les Harares la patrie et son État ne sont pas la seule connexion transnationale : leur foi Musulmane Sunni les fait s'engager avec «d'autres» comme eux, ni éthiopiens ni africains, et leur «africanité» produit un autre ensemble de connections (pourtant) différentes. Ils ont, comme les autres migrants décrits dans ces essais, également vécu la discrimination ingrate des sociétés coloniales nord-américaines et subit le discours anti-Islamiste de la presse nord-américaine, et ces expériences ont en partie motivé leur pensée vis-à-vis la diaspora.

La question de l'identité harare s'est déplacée du territoire, d'une niche économique précise, vers une conception déterritorialisée et l'imagination d'une communauté diasporique. Cette transformation est le produit des technologies du cyber-espace. Le timing de ces discussions dans la panique de l'an 2000 – une crise anticipée par des expectatives excitées, voir apocalyptiques, et une crise qui de surcroît n'est jamais venue et qu'on a déjà presqu'oubliée – est un rappel quant à l'étroitesse de la perspective expérientielle et historique de ceux qui sont profondément impliqués dans cette technologie globalisante et qui en sont dépendants. Le cas des Harares, cependant, est un exemple un parmi d'autres où la pratique – l'adoration de Saints, par exemple – est rattachée au lieu, et où la continuité dans la pratique à travers les générations est rompue par la migration. Est-ce là l'une des nombreuses communautés diasporiques constituées de minorités condamnées à être assimilées, pas comme américains ou britanniques, mais comme Musulmans, éthiopiens, ou africains (se référer à l'étude des Parsis [Luhrmann, 1996] et des Burghers [Roberts, 1989]), ou encore comme anglo-indiens, ou bien les Harares ne vont-ils pas plutôt créer une niche transnationale comme l'ont fait les habitants du Cap Vert?

L'étude par Josiane LeGall des femmes Shi'ites du Liban démontre le coté libérateur d'une vie diasporique transnationale. En deçà de l'horizon de l'État, canadien comme libanais, la famille est élaborée à la fois comme but normatif et comme lien transnational pragmatique. Les circonstances qui entourent l'identité minoritaire ne pourraient pas être plus différentes qu'entre ces deux États. Le Liban, où la faction est hautement politique et marquée par la religion, contraste avec le Canada où le particularisme de cette auto-description se perd chez la plupart des canadiens et devient immatériel pour l'État. Le travail de LeGall montre comment les attaches transnationales peuvent être cultivées sous une forme particulière, une forme qui met en valeur les frontières, chez soi comme à l'étranger. L'intimité de communications fréquentes permet une participation continuelle, quotidienne, à la vie des membres de la famille, où qu'ils soient. Faisant face à des pressions et des tentations similaires à celles rencontrées par les Harares, les libanais Shi'ites peuvent se lier par la religion à d'autres Shi'ites, par la culture à d'autres libanais et arabes, tout en maintenant une communauté transnationale centrée sur leur communauté minoritaire d'origine au Liban.

Dans le cas de libanais Shi'ite, qu'a étudié LeGall, le rôle des États, du pays d'origine et de la colonie canadienne, est minime. Le Liban faisait historiquement partie de l'empire Ottoman, puis de l'empire français d'outremer, et ses citoyens sont connus pour leur diaspora transnationales orientées vers le commerce, spécialement en Afrique de l'Ouest. L'orientation de ces communautés diasporiques envers la mère patrie est typique, mais ne se compromet pas officiellement avec l'État. Les femmes adultes à Montréal ne sont pas attirées par la technologie globale en tant que réalité, comme l'étaient les jeunes Harare excités alors qu'ils suggéraient la fuite face à la crise de l'an 2000, mais en tant qu'instrument facilitant et soutenant des relations familiales à long terme, relations qui anticipent les connexions au delà des générations.

Conclusion

Ce modeste recueil d'essais soulève des questions à propos de l'uniformité du transnationalisme en tant que phénomène global. Partout la nation est établie sur la base de revendications ethniques et l'État (peut-être universel au niveau de la définition et de la forme, mais loin d'être uniforme dans sa réalité et sa substance) est remis en question par les allégeances diasporiques. Les exemples ici, humbles formes de transnationalisme peut-être, révèlent le pouvoir des individus, l'adaptabilité de la culture (une partie de la culture), et la complexité et le caractère contingent des phénomènes globaux. Malgré que les Harares utilisent les nouvelles technologies globales, seuls les jeunes Harares ont fait d'une partie du cyber-espace leur monde. Ces études ne séparent pas les fluxs/flots des pratiques migratoires mais montrent comment ils sont interdépendants et comment ils stimulent mutuellement les nationalismes populaires, aussi bien qu'officiels, ainsi que les institutions autres que la nation. Les États d'origine de ces communautés de même que le Canada et les Etats-Unis, les contrées d'accueil, sont des nations «plurielles», relativement ouvertes aux connections transnationales, permettant la double citoyenneté et une liberté de mouvement relativement grande.[9] (Gabaccia, 2000 : 176). Le pluralisme a également adoucit le nationalisme des États d'origine. Le Liban est un État de compromis historiques et de politiques pluralistes. L'histoire du Cap Vert se conjugue au pluriel depuis ses origines, ce qui, dans sa libération tardive, n'est pas nié dans une communauté homogène imaginaire. L'Éthiopie, depuis les Dergues, a reconnu le pluralisme de sa population et l'a accommodé. Et l'Italie, que l'on imagine comme une nation européenne classique et qui dans les faits se vit sur le mode régional à plusieurs égards a, même si ce fût quelque peu à contrec&ur et de manière ironique, accepté officiellement un présent au pluriel. À partir de ces cas, en particulier les trois derniers, il est clair que ces États ont adopté des visions de la nation, des projets de construction de la nation qui incluent le transnationalisme et les communautés diasporiques. Pour les migrants, à ce qu'il semble, le transnationalisme offre une distance face aux États d'origine et d'accueil et des alternatives aux visions contraignantes de la nation et il est, en ce sens, libérateur.

Remerciements

Merci à Nick Harney de m'avoir rappelé la ligne de pensée «flux et technologie» dans la discussion de ces phénomènes.

Note de traducteur

(NDLT) : «Flow» est ici traduit par «flux», bien que «flow» renvoie aussi à la notion de «flot». Lorsque nécessaire, les deux termes sont joints par la barre oblique : «flux/flots».

Notes

1 Les «non-lieux» (Augé, 1995; Gould & White, 1974) sont un produit de la mondialisation, mais à la question, peut-être métaphysique, de savoir si le niveau local a été (peut-être) dépouillé de toute signification par le niveau global, il est plus difficile de répondre.

2 La «double loyauté» était à une certaine époque presque synonyme de trahison. Une telle accusation impliquait et menait souvent à la conclusion que l'accusé était indigne d'être citoyen.

3 Un aspect remarquable du discours sur ces sujets est la coexistence ou la présence simultanée de participants en provenance d'horizons divers : des intellectuels, de la littérature jusqu'à l'économie, non limités par les frontières usuelles de leur disciplines, des journalistes, des volontaires et des politiciens, en plus du grand éventail dans les sortes de comptes-rendus, commentaires et analyses, des commérages, rumeurs à propos des gaffes de l'Internet, jusqu'aux plus techniques des analyses académiques. Ce large spectre de participation fait contraste avec le consensus, pas au sujet des dangers ou mérites des processus, mais en regard des questions en jeu.

4 Friedman, Thomas L., «It takes a satellite» *New York Times*, 8 mai 2001, A31. L'auteur de «The Lexus and the Olive Tree», Friedman, un chroniqueur régulier pour ce journal, est bien connu comme un apologiste de l'ère de l'information. Ce qui me semble être une question qui va de soit face à ce cas Ghanéen de traitement de l'information : «est-ce que le déplacement des emploi donne quoi que ce soit aux travailleurs, sauf à court terme, et comment cela profite-il aux entreprises?», cette question-là il ne la pose jamais. Mais ce n'est pas non plus une question dont se préoccupe cette introduction.

5 La fameuse étude de Gluckman à propos d'une situation sociale, la cérémonie de dédicace des ponts en Afrique du Sud, est le modèle de l'utilisation d'une performance ou d'une célébration comme situation sociale définissant identité et différence (1940-42).

6 Le titre de Louie, «Re-territorialiser le transnationalisme», ne réflète que partiellement son argument ou évidence. L'idéologie et le développement des liens village-émigrant furent supprimés durant la Révolution Culturelle (1966-76), mais refirent surface, même sans avoir l'aval de tous (malgré que l'intérêt à leur égard ne soir pas partagé de façon universelle, globale), à l'époque actuelle de promotion de la «chinoiseté» chez-soi et à l'étranger (655). La complexité et l'interaction de l'État et des nationalismes populaires et la possibilité d'une variété d'identités chinoises remet en question l'idée d'une «population trans-migratrice uniforme et essentialisée» (662). Il n'est pas toujours clair si l'objet de cette critique, cette idée d'une communauté transnationale fondée sur «une identité chinoise commune», vient de l'État et des organisateurs de festivals de jeunesse, ou si elle vient de la littérature (des textes) (Appadurai, 1991), étant ainsi en elle-même une sorte de vision transnationale. Sa tentative de séparer les flux/flots des pratiques migratoires, cependant, néglige l'importance du mouvement de diverses intentions, durées, et permanences. Le genre de tourisme national qu'elle a étudié est un rappel de la possibilité d'une migration et d'un retour.

7 Voir Pico Iyer pour une description évocative de ce style de vie. Il le fait peut-être malgré lui, mais son «Global Souls» (2000) est complaisante. Voir «Alien Home» (267-298) où il distingue la simple communication de la communication émotive dans les relations intimes.

8 Jusqu'à tout récemment, le immigrants britanniques pouvaient demander leur citoyenneté après trois ans, alors que les autres devaient attendre cinq ans.

9 Ce n'est que récemment que les États-Unis sont devenus plus libéraux en permettant la double citoyenneté.

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Cape Verdean Transnationalism, Old and New

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Abstract: Transnationalism is by no means as recent a phenomenon as many writings on the subject would lead one to believe. The study of Cape Verdean migration over almost two centuries reveals the existence of transnational lifestyles in the nineteenth century; similar findings have been reported for Italian and Chinese migration. Periodizing the history of Cape Verdean migration helps reveal how today's transnationalism differs from that of the past. Among other things, today's transnationalism is more diversified and characterized by more intensive contact across diasporic communities. Most importantly, today's "transmigrants" are playing new political roles and have a different relation with the Cape Verdean nation-state than their predecessors. Such differences cannot be explained by technological advances in transportation and communication alone. Rather, they must be seen in light of broader political and economic changes both in the country of origin and elsewhere.

Résumé: Le transnationalisme n'est pas aussi récent que la plupart des écrits sur le sujet le laissent entendre. L'étude de la migration capverdienne sur presque deux siècles fait ressortir l'existence de modes de vie transnationaux au dix-neuvième siècle; des résultats semblables ont été notés pour la migration italienne et chinoise. L'étude des multiples périodes de migration dans l'histoire capverdienne permet de saisir les différences entre le transnationalisme d'aujourd'hui et celui du passé. Entre autres, le transnationalisme d'aujourd'hui est plus diversifié et se caractérise par un contact plus intensif entre les communautés diasporiques. Par ailleurs, les «transmigrants» d'aujourd'hui jouent de nouveaux rôles politiques et ont une relation différente avec l'état-nation capverdien que celle de leurs prédécesseurs. De telles différences ne peuvent être expliquées uniquement par des progrès technologiques dans les domaines du transport et de la communication. Elles doivent être vues plutôt à la lumière plus large des changements politiques et économiques autant dans le pays d'origine qu'ailleurs.

Introduction

The question of transnationalism's historical depth brings to mind Stéphan Zweig's memoir, *Le Monde d'hier*. The bitter experience of being forced to flee Hitler's regime and become a stateless person from an enemy nation in England inspired the Austrian Jewish man of letters (1881-1942) to reminisce of a time before World War I when "the world belonged to all men," where each went when and where he pleased," where the author himself had ventured as far afield as India and the Americas without a passport. Only after the Great War, he says, were travellers subjected to "the humiliations once inflicted only on criminals"—photographs, fingerprints, health certificates, financial guarantees and so on (Zweig, 1993: 476-477). Zweig speaks from the vantage point of one who grew up in the secure, ordered world of Vienna's bourgeoisie, a far cry from the impoverished circumstances of Cape Verdean migrants of the nineteenth century. Nonetheless, the context he evokes—one that is almost unimaginable for today's migrants and travellers—is the one in which Cape Verdean migration to the United States came to be and existed for over a century.

Transnationalism and diaspora have been in the forefront of discussions of migration for some years now. Though the concepts are of relatively recent vintage, there is good reason to believe that they refer to patterns of considerable time depth. Here I am mostly concerned with the first of these concepts; that is, with migrants' life strategies and social relations that bridge several societies. The main issues that concerns us are (1) the time depth of transnationalism, and (2) how and why today's transnationalism is different from that of the past. I will focus primarily on material from research in the Cabo Verde (1972, 1990), as well as more recent field work (1996-99) among Cape Verdean-Americans in the Boston-Providence area, in Toronto and Paris.[1] The propositions I will argue are as follows: (1) that transna-

tionalism well predates the present era; (2) today's Cape Verdean transnationalism is qualitatively different in some important ways from that of earlier periods, and (3) technological factors do not provide sufficient explanation for such differences; rather, we must also explore broader economic and above all, political factors.

At the same time, I suggest, the study of Cape Verdean migration opens some interesting paths of thought regarding (1) the relation of transmigrants to the nation-state, and (2) the extension of transnationalism in time beyond the generation of migrants to their descendants, and in space, beyond bipolar home-host society ties. Finally, I hope to contribute to the thinking about transnationalism as regards social identities and intergroup relations.

A word on concepts

Though researchers often seem to use the terms "diaspora" and transnationalism interchangeably, Clifford's essay on the former term highlights the distinctive experience of certain peoples' historic experience of exile begotten by mass violence against them, their collective knowledge of what might be called the underside of modernity, and their relations of coexistence with other groups in their societies of residence. (See also Hovanessian, 1993; Marienstras, 1975). Others, such as Nonini and Ong give less emphasis to initial founding violence and more to this type of diaspora's results; that is, communities, persons and groups separated by space who nonetheless think of themselves as "we," as having a shared condition, one that is continually reconstituted by travel and visits, and bound together by ties of kinship, commerce, sentiment, values etc. (Nonini and Ong, 1997: 18).

Discussions of transnationalism are usually centered on migrants' political and economic strategies that maximize their links to several nation-states, usually those of origin and of residence.(e.g., Foner, 1997; Smith, 1993) Typically, transmigrants are presented as migrants who seek to improve their economic conditions by leaving the home society, while still keeping some kind of an economic base there. Diasporic peoples are most often portrayed as the victims of exile forced upon them by violent means. Racism of the most violent sort is seen to generate diasporas, while ongoing racial discrimination in the host society is considered the stimulus for counteractive transnational strategies by its victims. (Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc, 1994; Portes and Zhou, 1992).

I prefer to take both these concepts as ideal type models that may apply in varying degrees to particular cases of migratory dispersal of peoples. Labour migration from the Cape Verde over the last century-and-a half corresponds more closely to the transnationalism model; however, as our historical review in the following section will show, the concept of diaspora is also pertinent in some ways. Both concepts refer to types of migration process. By "migration process," I refer to a set of noncultural, broadly material factors surrounding any given migratory flow, economic and political causes, the role of the state (sending or receiving) in the migration, historical timing of the movement, political and economic conditions in the receiving society, the volume and demographic composition of the migration in its different phases, and so on. Such factors, which are not in themselves cultural, may have repercussions for the longterm trajectory of the migration group in the host society. Unless otherwise indicated, the term refers to the migration process linking a particular society of origin with a particular society of residence. What I call here the "societal migration process," refers to the ensemble of migration processes that concern a given society, be it a source, host or both. (Cf. Amselle's concept of "procès migratoire"[1976: 31]).

Transnationalism, old and new

Transnationalism is generally regarded as being so dependent on modern telecommunications and transport, as Foner has noted (1997), that pre-twentieth century transnationalism would seem an oxymoron. However, several writers have argued that transnationalism well predates the present era. Foner's analysis (1997) shows how several immigrant groups in turn-of-the-century New York kept ties with the home country, remained interested in its political situation and in some cases, notably the Italians, returned there in substantial numbers. Nina Glick Schiller (cited by Foner, 355) has suggested in a recent work that perhaps transnationalism is not altogether as new as once thought; Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc (1994) acknowledge the existence of older forms of transnationalism but insist on the "newness" of its present form. It is this issue, "oldness and newness," that we hope to clarify via an admittedly incomplete historical review of Cape Verdean labour migrations.

The Cape Verdes

Ten small islands and scattered islets (total surface area: 4003 sq. km.) make up the archipelago of Cabo Verde, situated in the Atlantic in a zone near the equator some 452.8 to 716.8 km off the coast of Senegal (Lobban, 1995: 4). Uninhabited when European navigators claimed them

for Portugal in 1455, the Cape Verdes include nine inhabited islands range in size from tiny Brava (64 sq. km.) to the largest, Santiago (991 sq. km.).

Today's population, numbering 399,670 in 1997 (Low, 1999: 39) gives evidence of the extensive mixture between Africans and Europeans that began in the earliest days of the archipelago's settlement, with the first predominating heavily. It is difficult to find cultural traces of particular African ethnic groups, though a general West African influence is evident in folk religious ritual, traditional items of furniture, and in techniques of weaving and food preparation. There is linguistic (Meintel, 1975) and physical anthropological (Lessa and Ruffie, 1957) evidence of Fula, Mandinka, Wolof and Bambara influences. White settlers were mostly of modest origins and included political undesirables and petty criminals exiled from Portugal, though several families claim nobler European antecedents. One can also find English, French, Italian and Castilian family names, as well as Jewish, surnames.[2]

The official languages of Cabo Verde are Portuguese, taught in the schools and used in formal contexts, and Kriolu (spelled "Crioulo" until recently), the mother tongue of most Cape Verdeans, and the language used in most informal contexts and sometimes in written and audiovisual media. The great majority of Cape Verdeans are Catholic, at least nominally, but several Protestant churches, including the Church of the Nazarene (introduced by an *americano*, or returned migrant from the U.S.), Jehovah's Witnesses and the Seventh Day Adventists, have claimed converts over the last century.

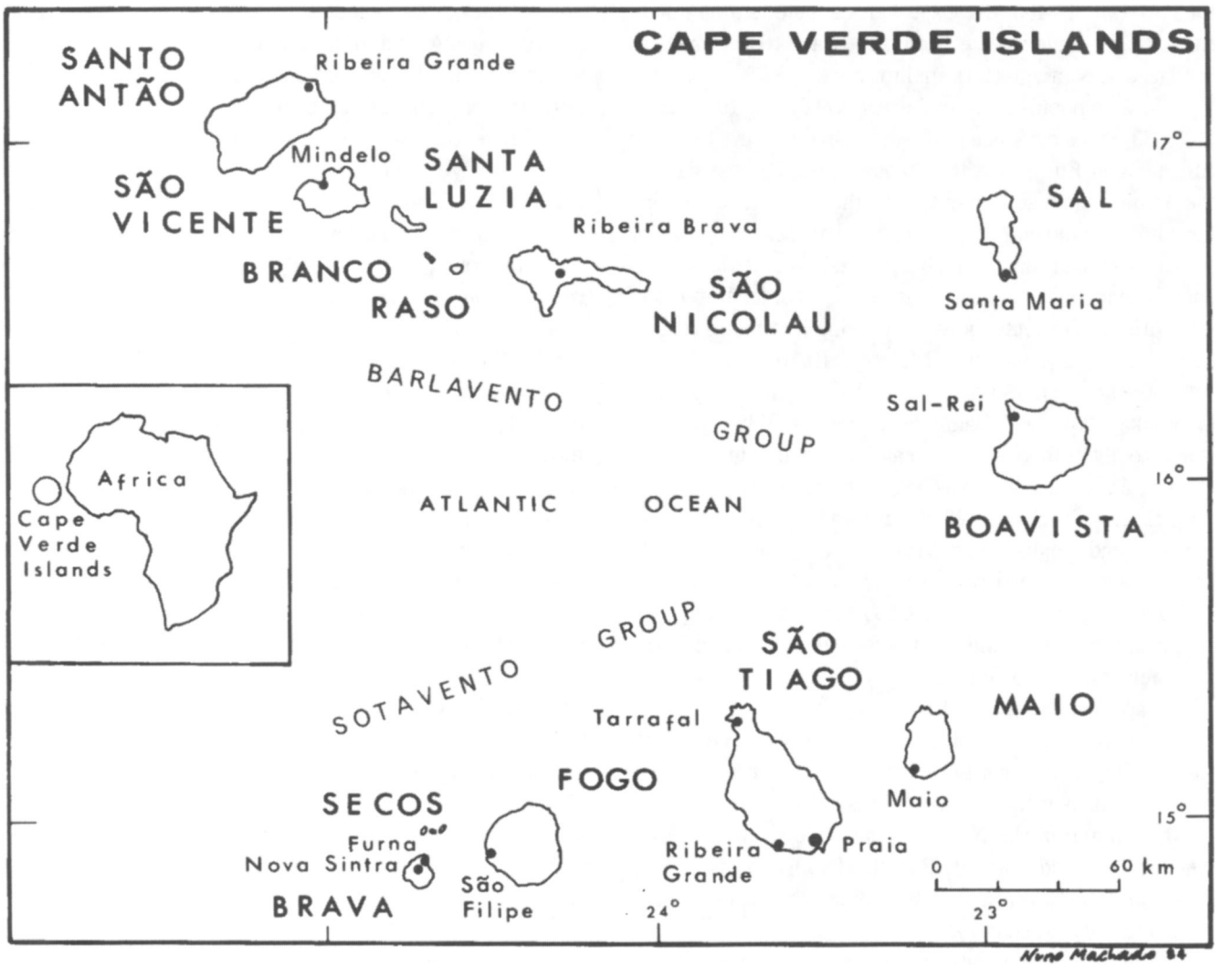
Climatically, the Cape Verdes are part of the Sahel region, with a semi-arid climate and variable, usually low, levels of precipitation from one year to another. Drought has often brought devastating famine to the archipelago; that of the 1940s that took some 40 000 lives (Carreira, 1977: 238; Meintel, 1984a: 60-63). Years of drought may be followed by torrential rains, as happened in 1984, bringing dangers of erosion, rockfalls and flooding.

In the flat islands, including Maio, Sal and Boa Vista, sandy beaches are bordered by dunes and dotted by groves of palm (including date, coconut and tamarind). Their sparse populations have depended mainly on animal husbandry (pigs, donkeys, mules, cows and, especially, goats). By contrast, the mountainous islands, São Nicolau, Santo Antão, Santiago, Brava and Fogo, by contrast, present a wide variety of microclimates produced by differences of altitude, relief and exposure to wind and humidity. A wide variety of food crops are produced when precipitation permits, including tropical fruits and sugarcane in the lowlands and maize, beans and squash in the higher altitudes. Still higher, coffee trees and wine grapes are grown in a few areas. Other crops include manioc, potatoes and the lettuce and tomatoes grown in household gardens. In São Vicente, which lacks fresh water, commerce has been the main economic activity, concentrated around the port of Mindelo.

Gross domestic product per inhabitant figures at $1065 U.S./year[3] (Low 1999: 40). Foreign aid, with Portugal and the European Community as the highest bilateral and multilateral donors, respectively, totalled some $110 million in 1997, or 26% of the GDP. Cabo Verde receives one of the highest levels of foreign aid in the world, at $320 U.S./capita (Greene, 1999: 280), due in part to the country's excellent track record in using previous donations. Judicious use of international aid has led to small scale but meaningful development on the grassroots level: housing, health care, access to water and education have all shown major improvement, while inroads have been made to reduce infant mortality and illiteracy and infectious diseases.[4] Autonomy in food production is unlikely in the foreseeable future; however, some fishing craft have become motorized, and this potential source of food and income is beginning to be developed. In 1999, Cabo Verde pegged its currency to the Portuguese escudo, which is expected to intensify its economic links to Europe and encourage foreign investment, notably in light industry and tourism.

However, unemployment remains high, at 25%, with another quarter of the population underemployed (Greene, 1999: 278). Lesourd observes that much of working population eats only one meal a day (1995: 36). Population growth is about 2.5% a year (Economist Intelligence Unit 1999: 58). Not surprisingly, emigration, underway for nearly two centuries, continues to be high at a yearly average of 3 105 individuals who left the country without returning between 1980 and 1988 (Lesourd, 1995: 275). Approximately 250 000 to 300 000 Cape Verdean citizens live outside the country at present (Lesourd, 1995: 273); some estimates place the number of Cape Verdeans (including descendants) outside the archipelago as high as 700 000 (Pélissier, 1999: 276). Virtually all observers agree that there are far more persons who consider themselves Cape Verdean living outside the archipelago than within it. Today as in the past, migrants' remittances, some $35 million in 1988 (Lobban, 1995: 143), continue to be a major source of revenue, helping counterbalance a negative balance of trade.

Besides the United States, Portugal, the Netherlands and France are popular destinations for today's migrants. Cape Verdeans can be found in over 40 countries across the world, but often in small numbers (Lesourd, 1995: 283). A few hundred Cape Verdeans have settled in Toronto, most of them skilled workers, or professionals



and semi-professionals working in the health field or other human services.

Phase 1: The roots of transnationalism (ca. 1800-ca. 1865)

Portes and Walton (1981) have argued that migration flows generally constitute the continuation of pre-existing, usually assymetrical, relations between source and receiving societies. Commercial ties between New England's port cities and the Cape Verdes were established soon after the Massachusetts Bay colony was founded in 1620[5] in the context of the triangular trade between Europe, Africa, the Caribbean and New England. Indeed, it is probable that the Cape Verdes were better known to Americans before the mid-nineteenth century than they are now, such was their importance to Yankee traders. Live animals, textiles, hides, salt and above all, African slaves attracted the Americans to the Islands; moreover, it was useful for vessels on their way to the African continent to stop in the Islands, for victualling and repairs, as well as for orientation and for information on trading conditions on the coast (Bennett and Brooks, 1965: 48).

By 1817 commerce between New England and the Cape Verdes had grown important enough to warrant the establishment of an American consulate in Praia, Santiago.[6] Most of the consuls' duties were related to the American maritime traffic in the islands. They investigated and reported cases of mutiny and often mediated disputes between seamen and captains, sometimes siding with the captains, in other cases with the ill-treated crew. When trade with the United States was brisk, consuls often found themselves obliged to see to the care and eventual repatriation of destitute or sick seamen.

These men had either abandoned ship, or (more often the case) had been abandoned by unscrupulous captains, who counted on picking up a replacement easily at places like Brava. (See report of Consul Benjamin Tripp, *Dispatches*, Vol. 4, May 12, 1868).

When the Africa Squadron under Commodore Matthew Perry (later to become renowned for opening Japan to Westerners), arrived in Cabo Verde in 1842 the Americans benefitted from the good will generated by gifts of food sent from the United States during the famine of 1830-33 that had caused some 30,000 deaths (Barcellos, 1904: 14). Fund-raising campaigns throughout New England had brought tens of thousands of dollars worth of contributions of food and money collected in churches and schools, and from the wider public. Relief vessels laden with food were sent to the Cape Verdes (Bridge, 1968: 22-3; Lima, 1844: 39), an experience that was repeated when drought struck again in the mid-1850s.

Carreira finds records of Nantucket whalers visiting the Cape Verdes as far back as the 1760s and stopping to clean their catch on shore (1977: 67). Though whales became scarce by the early nineteenth century, the ships continued to visit the Cape Verdes, carrying American products that served as ballast on the outward journey and could be sold in the Islands by Cape Verdean agents, who would sell it over the year before the vessel's next visit (Barros, 1936: 60) and picking up victuals and the occasional hand. A Portuguese observer marvels at the plethora of American goods being sold in this way—wood, furniture, clothing, dishes, foodstuffs—and hopes anxiously for the day when "these will return to being Portuguese colonies" (Lima, 1844: 100).

Beginnings of the Cape Verdean migration process

Along with Azoreans, Madeirans and continental Portuguese, Cape Verdeans are reported to have been living in New England as early as 1820 acording to an early study (Bannick, 1917: 11).[7] After the American Civil War ended, industrialization in New England drained manpower to her cities, and the whalers came to count on picking up Cape Verdeans (as well as Azoreans) on the outbound voyage so as to fill out their crews. Some of the new seamen eventually came to New England where they took up land occupations in New England, beginning the trend to longer periods of residence in the United States.

The traffic to the United States was not the only migration that marked this period. Labour migration to the coffee and cacao plantations of São Tomé and Principe, located in the Gulf of Guiné, began in 1863, at a time when the Cape Verdes were experiencing a bitter famine. The end of slavery (a process that began in 1856) had made for large numbers of labourers who were technically free but often enough in practice, bound to their former owners, now their landlords, given that they had no other means of subsistence. Governors and administrators and recruiting agents (usually shopkeeper-landowners) pressured the poor to go "south," and in some cases, tried to prevent them from migrating to the U.S. Until the 1960s, when Portugal herself had need of Cape Verdean labour, the migrants suffered insalubrious housing and diet, and rape, torture and beatings made work on the plantations a "modern slavery" as per the title of an early exposé (Nevinson, 1968, originally published in 1906). Many workers became virtual chattels since deductions from their wages to cover food, medical care and other basic needs often put them in debt to the planters. Over the fifty years of the twentieth century for which statistics are available, there were 79,392 departures, nearly half by women, from Cabo Verde to the colony of São Tomé (from Table 29, Carreira, 1977: 248). During the same period, smaller numbers of Cape Verdeans, usually from more privileged social strata, went as well to other destinations, such as Portugal, Argentina, Venezuela and Brazil. Others went to the African continent as merchants, administrators, missionaries and generally played the role of proxy colonizers for the Portuguese in Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique (Andrade, 1996: 202-4).

Migrants to the United States during this period were mainly peasants from the islands where slaveholdings were generally small and minifundia the general rule—Brava, S. Nicolau, Santo Antão. These migrants, especially those from Brava, were generally lighter in colour than those going to São Tomé, who tended to be the poorer, darker segments of society. Except for the those who shipped out as crew on the whalers, going to the United States required a certain cash outlay for passport fees, passage and initial expenses. Of course, once family chains were established, relatives already established in New England tended to help those who followed them. Going to "America" (as Cape Verdeans usually call the United States) was represented less an alternative to imminent starvation than the hope of a more comfortable existence. "We didn't lack for food," said a man from Brava who had first gone to the United States in 1906, "but we didn't have shoes."

Brava, where my 1972 field work was based, is the island most influenced by the traffic to and from America (For more detail, see Meintel, 1984a). Early in the twentieth century, Cape Verdeans in New England were com-

monly known as "Bravas," and the island's traditions and dialect of Kriolu tended to dominate among the immigrants in New England. Brava's government archives show passengers bound for the United States coming from the other islands, especially Fogo. Though the "Brava" means "wild," it is a misnomer, because the island's appearance of well-tended domestication is unique in the archipelago. Late in the afternoon, a froth of cloud usually rolls through the main settlement, S. Joao Baptista, also called Nova Sintra or simply the "Vila" (town) through which one can make out the crimson honeysuckle flowers and the deep green of the vines rambling over low stone walls. The surrounding hillsides have patches of green even when there has been no rain for years.

In the records of passenger lists for vessels departing from the Brava to the United States that I consulted in the archives of the town hall of Nova Sintra, seat of the island's administration, I was unable to find any listings of passengers before 1846. In any case, both the visits of the whalers and the departures of emigrants during the early years of the migration were often effectuated without benefit of bureaucratic formalities. The whalers often anchored offshore for just a few days, avoiding the expensive and time-consuming conventions of an official landing, such as health visits, harbour fees and so on—much to the irritation of the Portuguese authorities, according to consular reports.

By the 1860s, Brava was a habitual stop for whaling captains seeking to replace undesirable crew members, for there the captains could find men "without any difficulty" and make the exchange "without any communication with the consular agent or customs house" (*Dispatches*, Vol. 4, May 12, 1868; see also December 15, 1871 and December 15, 1875). In the same report, Consul Benjamin Tripp relates that men from Brava sometimes arranged with the captains to be left to spend a few months at home, returning to their ship "at a moment's notice" when the vessel returned. Tripp was surprised at the number of people he met in Brava who spoke some English. He reports that an estimated 4 000 men from Brava, or about a third of the island's total population, had gone to the United States, or at least shipped out on American vessels. Though this figure may be exaggerated, Tripp's report leaves no doubt that by now the migration had affected a considerable number of Brava households. "When on a short visit there recently, I found that nearly all the men and some of the women speak our language. The people of Brava are constantly going to and coming from the United States" (*Dispatches*, May 12, 1868).

While America represented the hope of a better life for the poor (being still considered a rather barbarous place by the more favoured), São Tomé was synonymous with exile. In economic terms, going to São Tomé usually represented the last resort of the destitute; the volume of this migration varied from year to year, depending on climatic conditions in Cabo Verde. The migration to the United States, by contrast, tended to vary with opportunity, its volume affected more by American immigration policy than anything else. In times of economic scarcity, in fact, peasants were harder put to obtain the cash needed to leave. By the 1860s, the migration to America had taken on a certain regularity and was growing in volume. An 1874 government report estimates that at least 100 men left each year on American vessels, but other sources of the day lead Carreira to estimate an annual average of 350 or more (Carreira, 1977: 69-70).

A swelling tide (1865-1880)

In modern times, the departure of migrants from Brava to the United States is a festive occasion, since they are likely to have as many relatives waiting for them in the U.S. as they leave behind. In 1972, I observed many such departures at the island's port village of Furna; often, the hugs and tears of farewell at the dock were accompanied by the music of mornas, a traditional Cape verdean musical form that has gained wider audience through the singer Cesaria—always including Eugénio Tavares[8]—Hora di Bai ("Time of Departure," a song of farewell)—played to the music of small violins, called *ribecas*, and mandolins. In the early years of the migration, though, departure was no occasion for celebration. Years often passed before news was received of the absent one, and if they returned they might have little to show for all the years at sea; some returned carrying syphilis and other venereal diseases. Wives of the seamen often dressed in black, partly out of real mourning, and partly in the belief that their devotion would ward off dangers to their husbands. In 1990, I was startled at the tiny airport of Mosteiros, Fogo, to hear two women, who looked about 20 years old, keening the *guisa*[9] as they waited for the plane that would bear one of them away. However, I was told that at the height of the migration, the beach below Fogo's town of São Felipe, echoed continuously with the eerie tones of the *guisa*.

Much of the migration continued to be clandestine; only in 1884 were ships obliged to put into Furna, Brava's main port, situtated below the Vila, before going to any of the island's more secluded ports (*Dispatches*, November 1, 1884). Many of the migrants were still evading conscription; others had no money to pay pass-

port fees. And, I was told by elderly informants in 1972, there was pressure put on the poor to go to São Tomé rather than to America (confirmed in the consular dispatches of the above-mentioned Benjamin Tripp). From 1864 on, Brava's municipal archives show recorded departures of paying passengers from Brava, including some women and children, leaving openly and in possession of the proper papers. What is more, they were giving their destinations as specific cities or regions, such as New Bedford, Providence and even California, where work on the railroads attracted some of the migrants. The United States had clearly become a destination, not merely a port of call, and at least a few families were establishing themselves there. For the majority, the migration was probably temporary in intent, if not always in practice, evidenced by the fact that young men still predominated among the migrants, and many were in fact returning for long or short periods. The Cape Verdeans who stayed in New England found work not only in the mills, but also in many other occupations, rural and urban, that had been left wanting for labour by the industrial boom.

The presence of women and children on the passenger lists indicates that whole families were probably settling in the United States soon after the end of the Civil War. Oral tradition holds that some of the women who left unaccompanied in the 1860s and 1870s did so in disgrace, or even as punishment for adultery. Mothers of illegitimate children and women caught in adultery had virtually no chance to make a new life in Brava, where even widow remarriage was frowned upon. Male or female, the migrants were usually of humble social standing, impoverished peasants and, probably, manumitted slaves. It is said that certain slaveowners rewarded some of their chattels by freeing them and paying their passage across the Atlantic. The United States was not yet the wealthy world power she would become; to Whites of the vila, they were a poor, "savage" country, fit for only the dregs of Cape Verdean society. Most migrants bound for America (usually elided to 'merca in Kriolu) were young men who did not aspire to end their days in an alien land but rather hoped to return in a few years in improved circumstances.

Already in the 1860s a pattern of migration was established that was still in evidence at the end of the colonial period over a century later. Males leaving for the first time in their teens or early twenties would return after a few years of work at sea or in the United States with sufficient funds to establish a household. A brief courtship, then marriage, would be followed by the migrant's return to the United States. Until he returned permanently, he might only see his wife and children once every few years.

Written communication between separated family members was cumbersome; few Cape Verdean peasants read or wrote Portuguese, the language in which letters were written, so that each party had to write through an intermediary in a language neither of them was very familiar with. In any case, it took about four months to send a letter and receive a reply, something that had not changed much at the time of my stay in 1972. Oral messages of greeting, called mantenhas (the word derives from the Portuguese verb, *manter*, meaning "maintain") sent via travelling friends and relatives were a more common mode of communication. Transmitted by a human link in Kriolu, the mother tongue and the language of intimacy, rather than in stylized, unfamiliar Portuguese, the mantenha was a more immediate, intimate and communal form of contact. Thus messages, news and gossip travelled as fast as sailing navigation would allow.

Brava's primacy in the migration was established in this period; by the late 1860s there is record of individuals from S. Nicolau and Santo Antão going to the U.S. from Brava, some of them as passengers, others as crew. Brava's port records of 1868 (I was unable to find records earlier than that date, although it is possible that such exist) show no fewer than 29 vessels arriving in her ports that year, virtually all American, and this includes only those who entered legally and paid the appropriate fees. Besides the whaling schooners and barks there were also several packets, light two-masted schooners whose primary function was transporting cargo, mail and passengers. As whaling declined, some of the old vessels were converted to packets and bought by Cape Verdeans.

Phase 2: Intensive transnationalism (1880-1920)

By the 1880's, the packets had become the primary means of transport of migrants to the United States[10] They usually made two round trips a year, in spring and fall, taking in once case as little as twelve days to make the crossing, (Cohn and Platzer, 1978: 92), but usually about a month and sometimes longer. They arrived in the Cape Verdes in the spring bearing a vast array of trade goods, including foodstuffs, clothing, and every manner of household necessity—pots and pans, rocking chairs, oil lamps and on and on, much of it sent by the emigrants to their families. On the return voyage, they carried as many passengers as they could hold. Schooners built for 50 to 60 persons would carry some hundred legal passengers and 40 crew, all these further crowded by clandestine passengers and stowaways bound for Cape Cod's

cranberry bogs, as well as the live animals that would be slaughtered and consumed during the voyage (Tyack, 1952: 26).

The importance of the packets went far beyond their commercial value. They represented sport as well as business, for the Cape Verdeans did not merely sail the packets, they raced them across the Atlantic,[11] adding competitive brio to the physical and commercial risks of the voyage. The comings and goings of the vessels gave temporal focus to life of Cape Verdean communities on both sides of the Atlantic. Weddings and baptisms were scheduled for after their arrival in Cabo Verde while their arrival in New Bedford and other port cities in spring was a high point in the year, a moment when immigrants and Cape Verdeans born in America welcomed newcomers fresh from the Islands in a festive atmosphere. Friends and relatives of passengers gathered at the dock, passing food and gifts to loved ones still on board, while others climbed on board to celebrate with music and dancing even before the formalities of arrival had been completed (Halter, 1995: 71-73). The ships' departure in the fall was again the occasion for bringing diverse sectors of the community into contact.

From the 1880s on, the movement to the United States grew in volume, diversity and duration. Exact figures are hard to come by, since there were still many clandestine departures from Cabo Verde, and despite permissive American immigration policies, also a number of unrecorded entries into the United States. Halter, in a study of Cape Verdean immigration to New Bedford, Massachusetts, discusses the question in detail; her calculations show legal immigration by Cape Verdeans growing enormously after 1891, and especially after the turn of the century until 1920.[12] Portuguese consular reports of 1923 estimated some 7 000 Cape Verdeans in New Bedford and 500 in Fall River Massachusetts as well as 2 626 in Connecticut towns and cities (Carvalho, 1931: 36-37; Warner, 1940).

This was a time of more intensive contact between the United States and the Cape Verdes than at any other time until Independence. A great many packets[13] were making two round trips a year, allowing much going back and forth by the same individuals. As the men took up land occupations in the United States and spent longer periods there, wives and children became more and more numerous on the passenger's lists, along with some lone women. Yet, Halter notes in her study of ships' mainfests of vessels arriving at New Bedford, that while numbers were rising, the proportion of women declined, from 28.6% before the turn of the century (1860-99), to 15.4% after (1900-20), Likewise, the proportion of children under 14 declined from to 4.5% during the same periods, and the proportion of married men was higher among entrants coming before 1900 (Halter, 1995: 46). One out of three Cape Verdeans, most of them males in their twenties, who arrived in New Bedford, Massachusetts between 1900 and 1920 had been in the United States before (Halter, 1995: 77). A study of bog workers in Massachusetts in published in 1911 as part of the Dillingham Report, reports some 1 500 Cape Verdeans arriving in New England and some 500 returning to the Islands each year (cited in Tyack, 1952: 26).

In short, one gets the impression of a migration whose volume increased greatly in the years between 1900 and 1920, and whose transnational dimension had also become more pronounced. Besides the couples and families of immigrants settling on the eastern seaboard, there were apparently a number, mostly young men, who were living between two shores. This was possible partly because of liberal American immigration policies, which allowed aliens to come and go much more freely than after 1921, and also because of the packets; i.e., cargo and passenger ships, travelling back and forth in increasing numbers.

At this point, there was a sizeable seasonal migration of Cape Verdeans, some already established in nearby towns, some coming from the Islands, to the cranberry bogs that lined Cape Cod near towns such as Plymouth, Barstable and Nantucket. The bogs employed about 3 000 workers year round and double that number during the six week harvest season that began in August.

These "regular seasonals" often included women and children, between a sixth and a third of the workers, according to the Dillingham report (Halter, 1995: 46). Some returned to the same bogs year after year, joining friends and relatives. Not only did this make the work more pleasant, but it also fostered solidarity among the workers.[14] According to oral accounts I collected in 1972 in Brava, many peasants went year after year, because the summer work in the bogs coincided closely with the inactive summer months of the Cape Verdean agricultural cycle. (See also Halter, 1995: 75). Wages ranged from $200 to $500 per season, depending on the worker's level of skill; green workers, fresh from the Islands, netted about $100 for the season, after deductions for passage, food and clothing (Bannick, 1917: 65; see also Tyack, 1952: 24).

Some of the bogworkers, instead of leaving at the end of the season, stayed in the towns along the Cape, making a living from whatever work they could find, picking strawberries, gathering shellfish, selling flowers, chopping wood and doing other odd jobs, as well as rais-

ing vegetables and poultry (Almeida, 1979: 51, 56). Others found more stable employment in railroad construction and maintenance. A few of the bogworkers accumulated enough capital to open a shop, and many more to become farmers, returning second-rate farmland to productivity. Some of these farms would be worked communally for several more generations by extended families. Thus was formed the nucleus of the Cape Verdean American community on Cape Cod, one now depleted by the migration of its youth to Boston and other large cities in the region. However, the summer saints' feasts traditional to Cabo Verde still draw hundreds back to towns like Carver (Meintel, 2001).

Otherwise, urban and maritime-related employment drew Cape Verdeans to the port cities: work in the textile factories, rope making, stevedore work, as well as, for the men, work on local and international vessels and for the women, work as domestics. Many of the new immigrants became stevedores or worked in shipbuilding and related trades, e.g., as coopers and riggers, and in rope manufacture. Some of the Cape Verdeans on the Cape became oystermen. The steamers of the Fall River Line employed many Cape Verdeans, usually in the jobs available to the "coloured," such as messboy, cook or steward. Once Cape Verdeans moved into such niches they tended to monopolize them, bringing in friends and relatives; for example, when a messboy was promoted to cook, he would pass his old job on to someone from his island of origin. Many of the male migrants of this period whom I interviewed in their retirement in Brava[15] had worked in several or all of these areas—agriculture, seafaring, manufacture.

At this point the migrants were still mostly peasants, many of whom continued the pattern established earlier whereby husbands absented themselves for long periods and wives remained in Cabo Verde. Young men leaving for the first time in their teens or early twenties would accumulate sufficient funds to establish a household after a few years of work at sea or in the United States. A brief courtship, then marriage, would be followed by the migrant's return to the United States. Until he returned to Cabo Verde permanently, he might only see his wife and children once every few years. Many men who spent 20 or 30 years abroad, returning only to live with their wives in old age. (Often, these men had a second family in the United States.) In his absence, the migrant's remittances were judiciously stewarded by his wife who remained in charge of the couple's land and animals. Bit by bit, land would be purchased and a house "in the American style" constructed, eventually to be filled with many American furnishings. "The boys' ambition was to go to America; for the girls it was to set up an American house (*casa americana*) in Brava, with American furniture," recounted a Brava woman born in the 1890s. Emigration was coming to be seen as a normal "life crisis," like marriage, and indeed, emigration and marriage were becoming intertwined projects for young people in areas of high emigration.

The poet and essayist Tavares (see note 8) saw Cabo Verde's ties with America as a chance to hasten the coming of the more democratic society promised by the Republic, through the agency of returned migrants. He could hardly have forseen the transformation of the Portuguese Republic into a dictatorship under Antònio Salazar. Tavares' belief that "the Cape Verdean who emigrates never puts down roots in the lands where he goes to work," (1913) was probably an accurate reading of the intentions of the Cape Verdeans he met in the United States. However, due to political changes in both the United States and Cabo Verde, migrants to America would soon be doing just that, returning, if they did, only in old age.

Phase 3: Submerged transnationalism (1920-75)

The severe restrictions placed on immigration to the United States by the Immigration Acts of 1921 and 1924 were to limit greatly the possiblities of circulation of people, goods and information between Cabe Verdeans in the U.S. and those in Cabo Verde. With the "Quota Law" of 1921 yearly ceilings on immigration were fixed at 3% of that nationality's foreign born residents in the United States in 1910. Southern Europeans (including Cape Verdeans, who came as Portuguese citizens) were thus severely limited, and overall quota immigration would total about 350 000 (Harper, 1975: 11). Preferential status under the quotas was accorded to the immediate families (minor offspring, siblings, spouses and fiancées) of American citizens. The Immigration Act of 1924 required immigrants to obtain visas abroad, reduced quotas further and reduced each source to a yearly immigration limit of 2% of that nationality resident in the United States in 1890. Wives and children of American citizens were removed from quota restrictions.

Under the authoritarian Salazar regime established in Portugal and her colonies in 1920, controls on emigration from Cabo Verde became far more stringent. A 1928 agreement between the U.S. and Portugal ensured that insular (Azorean and Madeiran) and continental Portuguese would be allowed greater shares of the nation's quota than Cabo Verde. Cape Verdeans interpreted this

as yet another means to pressure them to go to the plantations of São Tomé. Would-be emigrants trying to join relatives in the United States could be held back at the last minute by the security police in Cabo Verde on the basis of anonymous denunciations. They were obliged to pass through in Lisbon, a time-consuming and expensive proposition, where they might be detained beyond the limit of their visas.

The new context of increased state controls at both ends of the migration process accelerated the demise of the packet trade, leaving the immigrant community in the U.S. largely cut off from its roots. After the early 1920s, Brava returned to her former isolation, reminiscent of the "deglobalization" discussed by Hannerz (1996), her once-full harbours now empty. At the time of my field work there in 1972, Brava could go as long as six weeks with no outside contact whatsoever. There were still very few telephones in the archipelago, and faxes had not yet come into use. Mail took at least three weeks to cross the Atlantic. It is clear that transnational life strategies were unavailable to all but a very few wealthy individuals; rather, the policies of both the Portuguese colonial state and the American state had obliged migrants to fix their lives on one or the other of the Atlantic. A trickle of migration continued, mainly via marriage and family reunification policies.[16]

During the period that I am calling one of "submerged transnationalism," the once-intensive contact between Cape Verdeans on both sides of the Atlantic had greatly diminished. By then visits home had become a frustrating and very expensive odyssey for the emigrants. At great expense, they were obliged to pass through Lisbon, then the island of Sal (where they were likely to be charged high rates of duty for goods being brought for needy relatives), and on to Praia or São Vicente, where they might have difficulty finding a boat going to Brava. The trajectory was often an impossible one for those with only two or three weeks' leave from their jobs in the United States.

Still, it should be borne in mind that the Cape Verdean economy depended on immigrant remittances as much as ever and that many migrants sent substantial proportions of their earnings to Cabo Verde during all their working lives and envisioned spending their retirement in the Islands. Many couples functioned as a conjugal and economic unit, despite the husband's long absences. In such cases, the wife carefully stewarded her migrant husband's resources, buying land and supervising its cultivation, as well as overseeing household improvements. Even if he were known to have a second family in the U.S., as long as he sent remittances (which would cease immediately should the wife be known to be unfaithful), he remained head of the household. In fact, it was and remains extremely common for Cape Verdean men to have children by women other than their wives, and to recognize paternity and provide what material support they could for them. On the other hand, when "Yolanda," a woman in her twenties living in Brava whose common-law[17] husband had emigrated some months before, had a liason with a married government employee, it quickly became known and resulted in the dissolution of her marital union and cessation of all financial support.

As I have discussed elsewhere (Meintel, 1984b) Cabo Verde presents two types of matrifocality, one being the classical type whereby the core of the household is composed of adult females, with authority going by seniority of age and generation. Men's residence is likely to be temporary and is conditional on their relationship with a woman in the household. Many such households can be seen in Cabo Verde, especially in the poorer classes. However, migration has produced households that look quite similar, with adult women, their mothers, perhaps a sister and her children sharing a dwelling. Nonetheless, the authority structure is patriarchal, with the absent senior male sending remittances and having the final say in all major—and some minor—decisions. School outings, for example, had to be planned long in advance so that girls whose fathers were in the U.S. could be asked for permission to go.

Return migration now involved elderly men coming home with an American social security pension, after many years as of work seamen or labourers. Like the returned migrants to southern Italy described by Joseph Lopreato (1967), the elderly *americanos* in Brava and Fogo had little schooling, and were not fluent in Portuguese. Though better off than most peasants, they had little, if any, political influence, and were generally snubbed by the urban elites. The stereotype of the *americano* (especially of Brava) was that of an illiterate rustic[18] who, with his new means, sought to mimic the seigneurial lifestyle of a bygone day. Their large houses, American suits, horses, and in some cases, much-younger wives all were taken as efforts to capture an inaccessible social status that was no longer of the modern world (Meintel, 1984a).

Business marriages

The main means of immigration to the United States during this period, was via marriage to an American citizen that would eventually permit a family chain to migrate. Marriages resulting in immigration to the U.S. are of two types, the so-called "serious marriage" (*casamento sério*) and the "business marriage" (*casamento di negocio*). The

second, less common type, refers to marriages contracted for the sole purpose of giving the Cape Verdean partner the right to immigrate to the United States. In the early 1970s a fee of $1000 plus expenses was the standard price paid to the American partner, who was not always of Cape Verdean ancestry.

Most of the time the distinction between "business marriage" and "serious marriage" is quite ambiguous. In the typical case, friends or relatives already in the United States arrange for a girl[19] to marry an emigrant they trust who has U.S. citizenship, virtually always someone from the same island. This is seen as risky for the fiancée, since her partner may pressure her to make the marriage more than nominal against her will. Thus it is preferable to arrange such marriages between relatives, usually cousins. Like the first-cousin marriages that were always very common among the landowning elite, such practical unions are a way of keeping scarce resources, in this case, access to the United States, in the family. "Better to marry someone in the family than some stranger," was the comment of one family member of the marriage (eventually stabilized as a "serious" marriage) between a girl from one of Fogo's old landed families, now fallen on hard times, and her much older cousin Raimundo, born in the same island and living in Massachusetts. Disparities of age, colour or religion that would normally be viewed as a barrier to marriage do not necessarily indicate that a marriage is a "business" union, since American citizenship is considered a resource that outweighs other handicaps. Nominal marriages, celebrated by a civil ceremony, sometimes become trial marriages and if successful, are often marked by a religious wedding later on.

Of the dozen-or-so marriages I witnessed in Brava in 1972, not one included the actual bridegroom; rather all were marriages by proxy to emigrants in the United States or the Netherlands. Three were religious marriages, which by Cape Verdean law at the time, could not be ended by divorce. Most seemed to fall in the ambiguous middle ground between unions contracted for the purpose of emigration and "serious marriages." Most often, the emigrant has been shown a picture of the girl by a friend or relative abroad and decides to find out about her, her personality, character, reputation and family background. Then he may choose to make his interest known, either via letter or through an intermediary known to both parties. After that, the girl and her family make their own inquiries about the prospective fiancé. If all are satisfied, a marriage may be contracted. When I asked several girls if they were not nervous about marrying men they had never met, one said, "Oh no, we Cape Verdean girls are easy to get along with." Another added, "That's right. If you like the country, you have to like the husband."

Marriage continues to be a means to obtain legal residence in the United States, though it has become more common for young women to visit family members in the U.S. or work there illegally before marrying an immigrant. In these cases, the woman is likely to take a more active role in finding and choosing a partner, though once again, unions initially approached as a solution to practical difficulties, often become long-term unions.

Community and identity

The long decades of reduced contact between Cabo Verde and the American immigrant community produced a "communications gap" between the American ethnic community and Cabo Verde that allowed certain "myths of identity" to enter the immigrant community's dominant ideology. Cape Verdeans were described as fluent speakers of Portuguese, mostly literate, free of racism and as bearers of a culture whose Portuguese roots were the only ones recognized, one that set them apart from African-Americans (Meintel, 1981; 1984a). Such notions were far from universal even in 1972, but they were very prevalent (and are still current in some quarters); above all, they were constantly articulated and reinforced in public presentations of the community; that is, the group composed of those who identified and were accepted as Cape Verdean-American. The political context of the Salazar era made it all the more difficult for Cape Verdean-Americans to have a realistic idea of social and economic conditions in Cabo Verde, since virtually no uncensored literature was available, and little enough of any other kind. Visitors were usually sufficiently intimidated by the atmosphere of repression in the Islands to avoid asking any questions that might look like "making politics" (*fazé politica*).

Meanwhile, ethnic institutions, including newpapers, voluntary associations, Catholic parishes and Protestant congregations flourished; Coli and Lobban's study (1990) of Cape Verdeans in Rhode Island mentions dozens in that state alone, and many more existed in other parts of New England, some large and publicly visible, others small and intimate, some short-lived, others lasting for generations. Moreoever, Cape Verdean-Americans also made their presence felt in associations that were not ethnic by definition, including neighbourhood groupings in Providence and New Bedford as well as labour unions. The dynamism of the group's institutional life cannot be attributed to cultural heritage, since associations in Cabo Verde were nearly all controlled by the State or by the Church. Rather it owes much to the fact that the immigrants were typically

excluded from White, including White Portuguese, institutions, including Catholic parishes, and yet did not want to be confused with American Blacks. This last was not only a factor of the American racial system but also that of the Cape Verdes, as I have explained elsewhere (Meintel, 1984a). Moreover, cultural elements (musical forms, for example) thought of as African were generally excluded from the public life of the community.

Several earlier observers have noted the socially isolated, hermetic quality of life in the ethnic community (e.g., Carvalho, 1931: 34; Warner, 1940: 127) that was still remarkable in the early 1970s. A woman born in Providence ca. 1950 recalls that she, like many other Cape Verdean children, was allowed to play only with her cousins. While the community offered a refuge from the denigrating definitions of self that its members might encounter as Americans of colour, mostly working class, it excluded its own on the basis of colour or marriage to Afro-Americans. Others, often the better educated and more politically aware, deliberately chose to distance themselves from the group, even to the point of denying or underplaying their ethnic origins. By the early 1970s, generational conflict over young people's expressions of sympathy with the Black Power movement, such as natural hair styles, was acute and marked by violence in a few cases. For many parents, young people's identification with American Blacks was tantamount to—in the words they often used—"denying their culture," and by extension, denying their family. The political transformation of Cabo Verde from colony to independent nation, and a new era of transnational contacts between migrant communities and the homeland were to completely reset the parameters of the Cape Verdean identity dynamic and reframe the terms in which "dilemmas" of identity could be discussed and lived out.

Phase 4: Contemporary Transnationalism

Cabo Verde's independence from Portugal in 1975 ushered in a period of great political and economic change, first under the socialist government of the PAICV (Partido Africano da Independência de Cabo Verde), in power 1975-91 and then the more centrist Movimento para Democracia (1991-). International aid, rejected by Portugal in the past, was now welcomed. While the United States remains the largest donor, the European Community has also contributed important projects, as have Cuba and Eastern European countries. In the process, communication and transportation networks have seen great improvements: landing strips have been built on all the islands, though Brava's is not in use at present; the airports of Sal and Praia have been enlarged and improved; modernized maritime transport has also helped to open once-isolated localities to contact with the rest of the archipelago, as well as with the world beyond.

Since Independence, migration has increased; the average number leaving each year (whether as tourists or with work permits abroad) now averages 3 105 (Lesourd, 1995: 275) The permissive attitude of the Cape Verdean government toward departures, rigidly controlled in the past, as well as the much increased accessibility of air travel, including direct flights to various European destinations as well as to Lisbon and the United States have all encouraged the growth of migration, both legal and illegal. Cabo Verde now hosts eight embassies and numerous consulates, making the process of obtaining visas much easier than it was in the past.

Migration has diversified in terms of gender, class, destination and points of origin. As one official in Praia put it to me, "Emigration increases wherever an airstrip is built." Areas formerly isolated from the rest of the archipelago are now in direct contact with the world outside, making migration more feasible and more inviting. Increasingly, the migrants are of both sexes (Lesourd, 1995: 290) and include not only the impoverished and unschooled but also many who have secondary schooling or more. Internal migration has accelerated the urban growth, especially in Praia, the capital; a move to Praia or Mindelo is often a prelude to emigration.

The number of destinations attracting Cape Verdeans has multiplied in recent years. The United States, Portugal, and the Netherlands continue to predominate, as they have since the 1960s, but smaller numbers of migrants are going to many places where Cape Verdeans have previously been absent or few in number including all of Western Europe, especially France and Scandinavia. A new (post-1975) pattern of circular migration between Cabo Verde and Lisbon, on the one hand, and Brazil on the other, has given rise to thriving informal markets, especially in Santiago.

Furthermore, the mobility of emigrants is not necessarily limited to a single move abroad. Whereas in the past, the young men coming to the United States, often moved from one small concentration of Cape Verdeans to another within the United States, today's migrants, male and female, often move from one country to another before establishing stable residence in one of them. Migrants in France (some 30 000-40 000, mostly manual labourers and domestics[20]), for example, are highly mobile at every level: throughout the wider metropolitan area, because of poverty and housing difficulties; within France, where they move between Nice, Amiens and other cities; and across Western Europe, where they fol-

low employment possibilities wherever they arise. Such mobility is possible not only because of the migrants' networks of kinship and friendship but also because of the ease of circulation across national borders within the European Union. Since Independence, many Cape Verdeans in Portugal, where they number some 50,000 (Lesourd, 1995: 281) have claimed Portuguese citizenship, further facilitating mobility within the European Community.

Overall, recent migrants show even greater family dispersal than in the past. Lesourd's study finds couples who are both emigrants but not residing in the same country (1995: 296). In many nuclear families I have contacted in Brava and Fogo, siblings are dispersed across several nation-states outside Cabo Verde. This is especially evident among the better-educated (i.e., those with secondary schooling or more). Like other African countries, Cabo Verde does not have enough employment commensurate with the increasingly high educational levels of many of her youth. Postsecondary education and entry into the labour market of such young people often occasion a move to join family members abroad. "Lydia" (pseudonym), a young woman about 20 years old, whom I met in Toronto at a Cape Verdean Independence Day celebration in 1998, is a case in point. Of Cape Verdean parentage, raised in Dakar, she was visiting relatives in Toronto and hoped to stay in Canada to work and pursue university studies. Otherwise, she planned to join other members of her extended family in France or Portugal. By the same token, young adults in Cabo Verde with secondary education or higher who would have been unlikely to emigrate in the past now see migration as a possible solution to life problems, such as dissatisfaction in their jobs, and for women, their marriages. (Divorce is becoming more common in Cabo Verde but is still a stigma for women.)

Legal migration to the United States has grown somewhat because of greater access to visas than in colonial times (the American Consul in Praia estimated it at about 1 200 in the early 1990s), and is further augmented by those among the 3 000 Cape Verdean with tourist visas who remain in the U.S (an estimated 50%, according to a consular source in Praia in 1990). Marriage continues to allow many to become legal American residents, and as in the past, such marriages usually fall somewhere in between purely strategic arrangements and genuine unions. Since Independence, the migration to the United States has become more diversified in terms of class and place of origin. Not only peasants from families with members already in the United States but also the well-educated as well as the very poor from islands that had historically sent relatively few migrants are all represented in the illegal as well as the legal migration to the United States. Many of the poorer immigrants arriving have no supportive kinship ties in the American ethnic community, and in the worst cases, young men have ended up trafficking in drugs as a means of subsistence. Undocumented migrants who cannot risk a visit home can be seen at Boston's Logan airport watching their more fortunate compatriots arriving from and leaving for Cabo Verde, just for the sense of contact with home.

Besides making it easier to leave Cabo Verde, improved access to air travel has generated visits by Cape Verdean Americans who might never have seen the place otherwise. In 1990, I had the occasion to share a number of charter flights between Boston and Cabo Verde where the other passengers were nearly all Cape Verdean-Americans, of the second, third, and even fourth generations, most of whom who had never seen Cabo Verde. Indeed the process of reconciling the reality they discovered with the myth of a beloved homeland, usually within a visit of several weeks, would be worth a study in itself. If nothing else, the steady traffic of Cape Verdean-Americans to Cabo Verde since 1975 attests to the longevity of transnational identities over the decades of restricted contact.

In the past, emigrants' remittances went mainly to their families, with collective efforts occurring mainly in times of famine; any other collective efforts were rebuffed by the colonial regime. After 1975 emigrants in the Netherlands began to organize to make collective donations that would go to building schools, waterworks and so on. This pattern is also evident among Cape Verdean-Americans, whose summer festivities in New England (both religious and secular) usually involve drives for donations to Cape Verdean causes (providing educational materials, for example).

Remittances continue to form the mainstay of household income for many families in the Cape Verde Islands; Lesourd's study of 484 emigrants and their households shows that 86% of the emigrants sent contributions home and that often these were transferred by hand, such that they do not figure in official statistics of private transfers. At the same time, emigrants are contributing to the Cape Verdean economy in new ways. Collective contributions (as opposed to remittances sent to relatives) are now encouraged and given recognition on public occasions (for example, the running water provided to a small hamlet in Fogo in 1990 by emigrants in the Netherlands, a gift marked by a visit from the then-Prime Minister, Pedro Pires). Tourism organized for and by migrants has grown; now, there are agencies in migrant communities abroad as well as in Cabo Verde.

Tax incentives encourage local investment by emigrants to help development of fishing and light industry. Promex, a body under partial government control and funded by USAID, has promoted tourism and investment across the world and figures on Cape Verdean Websites since 1991.

The political aspects of today's migration are qualtitatively different from those of past migrations. First of all, there have been noticeable efforts on the part of Cape Verdean government to mobilize and keep contact with emigrants; for example, by the establishment of IAPE, o Instituto do Apoio ao Emigrante (Institute for Support to Emigrants), a government agency that offers helpful information to emigants, and has its own Website publishes a journal, *Emigraison*. Like other small "sending" countries, Cabo Verde has tried to assure the welfare of its citizens abroad and maintain ties with them via diplomatic accords with receiving countries such as Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands, France and others. The two principal newspapers carry far more news about emigrants and migration than before. During the years when the socialist Partido da Independência de Cabo Verde (PAICV) governed (1975-91), the traditional saints" feasts that bring emigrants to visit in large numbers in the summer became the occasion for meetings with the Prime Minister, this in an effort to rally the migrants to the new nation and to encourage their continued economic support.

This was an uphill struggle in the case of the *americanos* (both migrants and their descendants) whom I met on their visits to Cabo Verde in 1990. By virtue of living in the American political context, they were deeply afraid of a government that sounded "communist" and that affirmed and valued Cabo Verde's African heritage. To complicate matters, almost none of them could communicate in Portuguese, the language used on formal occasions even after Independence,[21] helping to perpetuate the old stereotypes of *americanos* (including their descendants) as illiterate. Indeed, ambivalence in relations between the *americanos* and the Cape Verdean government was very evident in 1990. The *americanos* not being able to function in Portuguese was often equated with more general ignorance; unpleasant experiences at the hands of customs agents reinforced the visitors' suspicions of the socialist government.

The newly intensified contact with Cabo Verde has stimulated interesting changes in the political and ideological colouration of Cape Verdean American community institutions and public life. Independence itself brought about a change in leadership in existing organizations, favouring a younger generation that was not compromised by overly close contacts with the Portuguese colonial government, and generated the birth of many new ones. Printed media in the community, including newspapers and magazines saw similar changes, the pro-Portugal tone giving way to a much more ideologically diversified and often more sophisticated ethnic press.

A new transnationalism

Recent migrants have played a pivotal role in the community's changes. These migrants can be legitimately called transmigrants: educated beyond the secondary level, multilingual (Kriolu, Portuguese, English and often French or German), well-connected to the ruling elite in Cabo Verde. Often they have lived outside of Cabo Verde in connection with work or studies. The "new transmigrants" as I am calling them, media-wise and at ease in public speaking, have been far more active and visible in Cape Verdean-American public life than previous generations of new migrants. In this they resemble university-educated Cape Verdean Americans of the third and fourth generations. But besides their high levels of education, some of the new migrants have a further advantage; namely privileged connections with the Cape Verdean political elite.

In 1997, I was astonished to find some 700 supporters amassed for a benefit evening of Cape Verdean music and dancing where Pedro Pires, the former Prime Minister of Cabo Verde, was guest of honour; only 10 years before, such a show of support for a socialist party would have been unthinkable in the Cape Verdean-American milieu. After the defeat of the PAICV in the 1991 elections, hundreds of PAICV supporters left Cabo Verde, not necessarily permanently, for the U.S. or Europe. These new migrants are transnational less in terms of their economic modalities of subsistence than in terms of their social and political capital. Well-connected by personal and family networks to the educated elite of Cape Verdeans in Europe, as well in Cabo Verde nuclear families based in several societies, this new breed of transmigrants are vocal about events in Cabo Verde as well as international events that affect Cabo Verde (e.g., the 1999 conflict in Guiné-Bissau). Moreover, a change of government in Cabo Verde could find some of these migrants returning to the Islands.

Increasingly, public representations of Cape Verdeanness show a new international orientation and sophistication that reflect the presence of the new transmigrants. Professional-quality dancing in "African" styles, fusion types of music that mix rap, for example, with Cape Verdean rhythms, references to creole societies and African cultural connections are all in evidence at prestigious social gatherings. At the same time, as I have

argued elsewhere (Meintel, 2001), the involvement of new transmigrants has given new life to traditional Cape Verdean saints' feasts (e.g., that of St. John the Baptist on June 24) and other Cape Verdean-American community celebrations, such as Cape Verdean Independence Day (July 5). Such celebrations have involved more contact with Cape Verdeans in other parts of the world in recent years (via visitors, music, fundraising campaigns of various sorts). At the same time, they give evidence of revitalization of traditional Cape Verdean dance and musical forms that had been little-known in the American community, where cultural elements seen as African did not remain in the cultural repertoire of the ethnic community. The re-valuation of African connections and cultural influences (not to mention types of physical beauty) observable at present occurs in a context that is at the same time quite international. Televised video presentations about what the producers term "the Cape Verdean diaspora" present not only local happenings, but events in Cape Verdean communities in Europe as well as in Cabo Verde. Similarly, the journal *Cimboa*, where articles by Cape Verdean researchers, usually well-qualified, cover themes from literature, the humanities and the social sciences, published in English, Portuguese and sometimes Kriolu. Increasingly, Portuguese as well as Kriolu is used on public occasions, along with English, reflecting the educational level of many of the participants.

The Internet has contributed to further intensify contacts among Cape Verdeans, not only between the United States and Cabo Verde, but also between Cape Verdeans in different parts of the world, including Latin America, Australia and Western Europe, judging by a Website based at Dartmouth College established in 1995. In fact, so far, there are relatively few individuals communicating from Cabo Verde, no doubt because of the limited access to the Internet there, though news from a Cape Verdean radio station is available at certain hours for those with audio facilities.

Indeed, the present era of transnationalism is marked by what might be called a "diasporic" dynamic; that is by increasingly intense contact and exchange between dispersed Cape Verdean individuals and communities that are not mediated through the homeland. A Cape Verdean soccer team from Toronto plays another one from Boston; musical groups based in the Netherlands visit Canada and the U.S.; members of families that are no longer based in Cabo Verde visit and contact each other between, for example, suburban Boston, Paris and Rotterdam. Also interesting to note in this regards are the messages posted on websites from individuals in various parts of the world whose Cape Verdean origins date back several generations and who seek to learn about their "cultural roots."

Transnationalism new and old

The foregoing historical overview makes it that clear that Cape Verdean transnationalism well predates the present era. Moreover, Cape Verdeans were far from unique in this regard; Iorizzo describes a pattern of seasonal migration between Italy and Canada before World War I (Iorizzo, 1980: 54).

Chinese transnationalism as well has been found to have roots in 18th and 19th-century practices (Trocki, 1997) that became the object of policing and restrictions by colonial States in the early 20th century, though transgressions continued to occur (Ong and Nonini, 1997).

Looking back to earlier phases of transnationalism helps us better discern what is truly new about today's transnationalism, and there is much that is. To recapitulate, today's Cape Verdean transnationalism is unprecedented in (1) the diversification of the migration as regards the gender, class and locality of origin of the migrants, as well as their destinations; (2) the intensification of contact across localities, including more and more "diasporic" contacts; and (3) the new political roles of the migrants both in relation to the Cape Verdean state and in the Cape Verdean-American ethnic community.

The first phase of Cape Verdean transnationalism happened at a time when the islands were isolated from each other. Thus the impact of Brava's close contact with the United States was localized, first to the upland villages close to the hidden harbors frequented by the Yankee whalers, later extended to the rest of the island and to nearby Fogo but much less apparent elsewhere. Improved transportation and communication within the archipelago following Independence has generalized the migratory process across the society and well beyond traditional source areas. Furthermore, migration now involves the whole range of social classes, including the well-educated as well as the very poor, women as well as men. While the long history of migration has deeply affected the class structure of Brava, today's transnationalism is framed in a context characterized by the general opening of geographical and social boundaries, where migration becomes both attractive and possible—or at least imaginable—to a much wider sector of Cape Verdean society than before (cf. Liu's study of similar processes in a Chinese context, 1997).

While most discussions of transnationalism have focussed on contacts between migrants and home (with a few notable exceptions such as Nonini and Ong, 1997;

Tarrius, 1992); such ties represent only one aspect of today's Cape Verdean transnationalism. In my first contacts with Cape Verdean-Americans in 1971 it was already clear that the "Cape Verdean community" of which so many of my informants spoke knew no national boundaries.[22]

Notes

1 The 1972 field work was funded by the National Institute for Mental Health (Washington, DC). Work among Cape Verdean-Americans and writing was funded by the Center for Urban Ethnography, University of Pennsylvania. Field work in Cabo Verde in 1990 and in the United States in 1996 was made possible by funds from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), Ottawa accorded by the Université de Montréal.

2 Portuguese Jews fled to Cape Verde during the Inquisition and again during the Portuguese civil wars of the 1820's, as well as from Rabat, Morocco, in the mid-nineteenth century. Though no evidence of Jewish ritual is evident, the traces of these refugees can still be found in the Jewish cemeteries of several islands, in family names such as Cohen and Levy, as well as in place names such as Synagoga, on the island of Santo Antão.

3 All financial figures are in U.S. dollars.

4 Life expectancy is 67 years and adult literacy is approximately 72%, both well above the average for sub-Saharan Africa (Economist Intelligence Unit 1999: 58). However, the Cape Verdean Embassy's website gives a much lower figure for adult literacy: 52%. See also Lesourd (1995) and Lobban (1995, chap. 5) for discussions of recent economic development.

5 Within the first generation of their settlement, the New England colonists began to seek English manufactures via what came to be called the "triangular commerce" with the West Indies, whose midpoint was the "wine islands" (the Azores and Madeira) and/or the African coast. The very first triangular voyage, recorded in *Winthrop's Journal*, was made in 1643 by a vessel "which went to the Canaries with pipestaves . . . and brought wine, sugar and salt, and some tobacco which she had at Barbadoes, in exchange for Africoes (African slaves), which she carried from the isle of Maio" (Jamieson 1908 II: 227; Bailyn 1955: 84, parentheses added).

6 Dispatches from United States Consuls in Santiago, Cabo Verde 1818-1898 are an important source of information on Cabo Verde's relations with the United States in the nineteenth century. They are available on microfilm (1960, No. T-434) from the United States National Archives and Record Sevice, General Services Administration, Washington, DC.

7 One José da Silva, born in Brava in 1794, shipped out on a whaler and became a naturalized American citizen in Nantucket in 1824 (Carreira, 1977: 65)

8 Brava's beloved poet, Eugénio Tavares, author of many *mornas* (a traditional musical form of the type often sung by Cesária), is still remembered by an affectionate nickname, Nho Tatai. Tavares himself underwent a decade of self-imposed political exile in the U.S., returning home after Portugal became a republic in 1910. Tavares was an ardent defender of the migration to the U.S., and criticized the Portuguese for trying to channel Cape Verdeans to São Tomé's plantations (1913).

9 An improvised ballad, half-wept half-sung, often with a background chorus heard at deaths and burials.

10 Several ancient whaling schooners cum packets were still doing service in the traffic between the islands at the time of my 1972 field work.

11 In 1924 the captain of the *Yukon* wagered $1500 with the captain of the *Valkyria*, to see which could go the fastest from Providence to Brava; the *Valkyria* won, making the trip in only 25 days (Cohn and Platzer 1978: 94). In 1927 three schooners, the *Cameo*, the *Bertha D. Nickerson* and the *Ambrose Snow*, raced from the Cape Verdes to New Bedford and all arrived in 33 days, as per an article in the New Bedford *Standard-Times*, Oct. 22, 1967.

12 Halter calculates that 35,000 to 45,000 Cape Verdeans immigrated to the United States between 1820 and 1976 (1993: 45).

13 The lists of vessels arriving at New Bedford from Cape Verde during decades 1880-1920 give an idea of the intensity of the traffic (Halter, 1995: Appendix 2, pp. 179-186).

14 In 1933 Cape Verdean bog workers participated in what must have been one of the earliest strikes by migrant agricultural labourers in the United States (*New York Times*, September 13, p. 2 and September 14, p. 48).

15 This is also true of the migrants whose life histories were collected by Al Pereira, available at the Providence Public Library.

16 Carreira reports 1408 departures to the U.S. between 1927-45; and only 538 for the years 1945-52 (1977: 125).

17 Migration itself was often the reason for formalizing conjugal ties by marriage, which was otherwise seen as too expensive and impractical for most people, especially under Portuguese rule, when divorce was very difficult to obtain.

18 I myself experienced this stereotype in the city, where I was often taken for someone who had been born in Brava and left at an early age.

19 Typically, the Cape Verdean partner is female. Generally, Cape Verdean women born in the U.S. are loath to enter purely commercial unions. They usually consider men overbearing and "too macho," though some such marriages result from visits to the Islands.

20 Information received from the Cape Verdean Consul in Paris and from leaders of Cape Verdean associations there.

21 There are several reasons for this; migrants to the U.S. typically had little schooling, and so did not speak much Portuguese. Secondly, in the American racial context, great social distance developped between Cape Verdeans and Portuguese immigrants. This has not been the case in the more recent migrations to Canada nor in France.

22 See Baumann (1996) for an interesting discussion of the many levels of usage of the word "community."

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Building Italian Regional Identity in Toronto: Using Space to Make Culture Material

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Abstract: The landscape of greater Toronto is dotted with Italian ethnoregional community centres constructed with financial and diplomatic help from Italian regional governments. These ethnoregional centres are physical representations of Italian Canadianness and used by Italian Canadians to create meaningful spaces, to generate collective sentiment and locate themselves in the land of immigration. The ethnographic examples used in this paper, I suggest, require us to consider how to locate the ideas of flow and deterritorialization in recent anthropological work through local realities. Italian immigrants and their descendants participate in diasporic discourses and practices to construct physical places of identification to make their sentiment material and reterritorialize their identity. Further, these sites shed light on the way states alter their activities to adapt to the movement of people, money and ideas across borders. The Italian national and regional governments and levels of the Canadian state respond to the challenges of transnationality by practicing a kind of governmentality, a "flexible sovereignty" through the support of these projects. As such these projects help to organize the behaviour and identity of Italians living overseas.

Résumé: Le paysage du Toronto métropolitain est parsemé de centres communautaire italiens ethno-régionaux construits avec l'aide financière et diplomatique de gouvernements régionaux d"Italie. Ces centre ethno-régionaux sont des manifestations concrètes de la canadienneté italienne et ils sont utilisés par les canadien-ne-s italien-ne-s pour créer des espaces significatifs, pour susciter des sentiments collectifs et pour se situer dans la terre d'immigration. Je soumets que les exemples ethnographiques relatés dans cet article nous incitent à examiner les idées de flux et de déterritorialisation, exposées dans les travaux récents en anthropologie, dans leur application aux réalités locales. Les immigrant-e-s italien-ne-s participent à des discours et à des pratiques diasporiques pour construire des lieux d'identification, pour donner une expression matérielle à leurs sentiments et reterritorialiser leur identité. De plus, ces sites apportent un éclairage sur la manière dont les États adaptent leurs activités aux mouvements des gens, de l'argent et des idées à travers les frontières. Les gouvernements national et régionaux d"Italie et les différents paliers de l"État canadien répondent aux défis de la transnationalité en pratiquant une certaine forme de gouvernement, une «souveraineté flexible» en supportant ces projets. Comme tels, ces projets contribuent à organiser le comportement des Italien-ne-s vivant outre-mer.

In this paper I examine several ethnographic examples that locate the ideas of flow and deterritorialization in recent anthropological work within the lived experiences of Italian immigrants and their descendants living in Toronto, Canada. Italian immigrants and their descendants negotiate identity in locally specific circumstances in the greater Toronto area within the context of state-sponsored multiculturalism in Canada and multiple diasporic discourses linking peoples in Italy and Canada. A central means of expressing this complex constellation of identities is through the construction of physical places of identification. I argue we need to pay closer attention to the reterritorialization and materialization of identity and culture to refocus work by scholars who have emphasized fluidity and movement at the expense of analysing the constitution of identities through locally-specific physical spaces (Appadurai, 1990; Hannerz, 1996; Rapport and Dawson, 1998). Further, these sites created by Italian Canadians shed light on the way people as actors work within larger structures of power to create meaningful worlds. Over the last decade governments, both in Canada and Italy, have undertaken activities and programs to adapt to the movement of people, money and ideas across borders. The Italian national and regional governments and different levels of government in Canada respond to the challenges of transnationalism by practising a kind of governmentality, a "flexible sovereignty" (Foucault, 1991; Ong, 1999, 214-216) through the support of the projects studied here. As such these projects help to discipline and regulate the behaviour and identity of Italian immigrants engaged in transnationalism.

Anthropology, transnationalism and diaspora

Anthropologists have forcefully critiqued the place-focussed concept of culture that binds cultures and peoples to specific territorial locations. This approach to understanding culture and its production is linked to Western nationalist discourse that binds nations to defined spaces or territories. Cultures, ethnic communi-

ties and nations are, however, neither clearly bounded nor unchanging (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992). As part of this critique some anthropologists have begun to examine cultures and social relations that transcend state borders (Basch et al., 1994). The great migrations of people in the last half century linked to decolonization, changes in global labour markets, financial arrangements and new communications and transportation technology have encouraged anthropologists to examine the movement of peoples as a central feature of social life (Clifford, 1997, 1988). Anthropologists seeking to find a vantage point to address the impact these changes have had on conceptualizations of culture and a manageable unit of study for face-to-face ethnographic fieldwork have turned to the study of displaced or deterritorialized migrant peoples. Some have examined the ambiguities of identity and belonging for expatriates, professionals and the managerial classes bound up in the new financial economy (Amit-Talai, 1998; Hannerz, 1996). Most anthropologists, however, are exploring the conditions of more traditional labour migrants. A major focus of work seeking to understand transnationalism has concerned the circulation of migrants, or transmigrants, between home villages in Mexico and the Caribbean basin and communities of settlement in the United States (Glick Schiller, 1992; Kearney, 1995; Rouse, 1991). Proponents of the transmigrant view suggest the era of late capitalism or Post-Fordism (Featherstone, 1990; Harvey, 1989) has created something socially and culturally new to understand because these changes permit far greater intensity of contact between people in different geographic locations within these transmigrant circuits. This intensity and diversity of contact through jet planes, the internet, fax, phones, videotapes and satellite dishes create new spaces for cultural production, making the physically distant, emotively near. As a result, these scholars argue, social relations and cultural connections are qualitatively different than they were for previous migrants, refugees and sojourners. (Foner, 1997; Glick Schiller et al., 1995). Nevertheless, these transmigrants in many ways continue a centuries-long tradition of movement of labour to capital to fuel the North American economy. Transnationalism has been an ordinary feature of the lives of many Italian peasants, workers, and families over the last one hundred and thirty years. Italians have an extensive migration history and awareness of life beyond the local village, region or nation that impacts family life, work experiences and consciousness (Gabaccia, 2000: 11; see also Foerster, 1968).

In this context, Gupta and Ferguson (1992) urge us to study shifting locations rather than bounded fields. Their approach to grids of spatial power and theorizing about globalization has similarities to, among others, Appadurai (1993; 1996) and Rouse (1996) who have explored global cultural configurations and deterritorialized cultural flows and have produced significant work on social imaginaries, mass media and cultural politics. Nevertheless, these studies tend to emphasize flow and movement as constitutive of contemporary cultural configurations and neglect the materialization of everyday life or the concrete experiences of transnationality that manifest themselves in the lives of transmigrants. By materialization, or reterritorialization, I intend something similar to the work of Deleuze and Guattari (1987) that suggests dynamism and refraction in the process involved in deterritorialization and reterritorialization. The process creates a new territoriality and not a reproduction of the old territory in a new environment. If this new territoriality is seen as constantly negotiated then this approach avoids the assumption of an essential past and suggests creativity on the part of people using space to construct meaning. Italian immigrants in Toronto negotiate and constitute layers of transnational identities by making culture material and embedding in particular places the movement and fluidity theorists posit as central features in the constitution of culture and identity in the contemporary world.

Many people engaged in popular politics have taken up the language of nationhood in this era of transnationalism. It is as if each hopeful collectivity of people abroad from their putative "homeland" seeks to nurture the dreams of some form of territorially based collective governance (Anderson, 1983). Diaspora has become a frequently used term by social theorists over the last decade to define peoples who have been wrenched from their putative homelands, displaced by global economic restructuring, or civil wars but who maintain and nurture a sense of peoplehood in more than one national territory (Cohen, 1997; Safran, 1991; Tölölyan, 1996). Connor's (1986: 16) broad definition of diaspora as "that segment of people living outside the homeland" leaves much to the imagination but its very expansiveness does indicate the seeming plethora of diasporic projects that are active today. A limitation inherent in these approaches is the binary structure of the models. They neglect the contested and entangled space in which subjectivities are constituted that Brah examines through the concept of "diasporic space" (1996: 208-209). This space creates room for the on-going, shifting, positional constitution of identity and difference within webs of power relations. This approach disrupts the comfortable spatial assumptions about peoples and cultures commonly linked to

ideas of nation, community, and territory. Further, by focussing on the relationship between "here" and "there," or "homeland" and diaspora in an undifferentiated "abroad," these approaches erase the way in which diasporic peoples imagine, negotiate and constitute their identities and communities in new and locally-specific ways outside of a simple binary model (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1994). Put simply, how are Italians in Toronto constituting their identities through everyday collective life there even as these constructions speak to a larger notion of diasporic space. I will further explore the materialization of identity through the foundation of meaningful physical spaces.

For Italians who migrated to countries around the globe throughout the twentieth century their experience of "forced" dispersal was a result of poor economic circumstances, demographic pressures and an Italian political culture and structure that seemed incapable of dealing with the former two issues. Italians left in search of work as part of a "labour diaspora" (Cohen, 1997: 57). To a lesser degree than other more traumatic dispersals, such as Jews or Armenians, the diasporic discourse among Italians in Toronto exhibits many of the characteristics associated with the term. These should not be seen as exhaustive. First, the experience of dispersal is to more than one place. Second, there is active communication, both institutional and kin, between different locations within the diaspora and also with the homeland. Third, a collective sentiment of groupness is cultivated and distinct from the host society. Fourth, there is a collective memory about the past, real or imagined. Fifth, diasporas are also disciplined, structured and influenced by their location within the political, bureaucratic and cultural sphere of a host society which may adopt strategies for managing diversity. In the Italian Canadian case there are multiple diasporic projects at work including a pan-Italian identity and more recently the emergent diasporas based on the Italian regions of origin of people of Italian heritage living in Canada.

The Dimensions of Toronto Italia

Although there were small prewar settlements of Italians in Canada as part of labour migrations that sent workers to mine, lay track and clear brush, Italians are an overwhelmingly postwar community with the peak years of migration in the 1950s and 1960s (Harney, 1998). They came to work in manufacturing, construction and resource extraction. During the 1950s an average of 25 081 entered Canada each year. In 1960 the yearly average was 19 076. By the 1970s immigration from Italy declined dramatically until the decade between 1981 and 1991 when on average fewer than a thousand Italians entered each year. Over a half-million came to Canada after World War II and most settled in Canada's two major cities, Toronto and Montreal. Fully 70% of Italian Canadians trace their heritage to southern Italy which includes the Regions of Sicily, Calabria, Basilicata, Campania, Apulia and another 12% come from other underdeveloped and impoverished areas in Molise, Lazio and Abruzzo. The largest group comes from the region of Calabria at nearly 20% (Jansen, 1988).[1]

Given the fact that Italians who immigrated to Toronto came primarily as unskilled or skilled labour to work in the building trades or manufacturing sector, the economic success of Italians has been remarkable. Jansen (1997) noted recently that, Italian Canadians have found adjustment in and acceptance to Canadian society relatively easy in the last decade. In the 1981 census, Canadians of Italian multiple origin, that is those who note a mix of Italian heritage and another ethnic category, constituted just 14% of all people of Italian heritage; by 1991 that percentage was 34. In the 1991 census, under half reported Italian as their mother tongue and just 55% could speak it. Education levels are at par if not higher than the Canadian average, which is a dramatic shift for an immigrant cohort that arrived, generally, with just fifth grade elementary school education. Average income and rates of home-ownership were higher for people of Italian heritage than the Canadian average (see Sturino, 1996). Finally, 92% of all Italians had obtained Canadian citizenship.

Toronto Italia, itself, is perhaps unusual in its size, period of settlement, migration pattern and relative economic success. In pre-World War II Toronto between 15 000 and 20 000 Italians lived in Toronto but by 1991 that number approached half a million. Nearly two thirds of Canadians with some Italian heritage live in Ontario and 41% live in the greater Toronto area. This concentration leads to a significant degree of institutional completeness and density of co-ethnic social networks. Given the age-pyramid of Italian Canadians, the people who migrated in the 1950s and 1960s are now reaching the age of retirement and discovering that they have greater leisure time. Nostalgia for their place of origin is taking on an increasing importance in their lives. Many are seeking to enhance their ties back to their village or region of origin. Vacation packages, arranged through local Italian travel agencies with the help of Italian regional government sponsorship, are common. This nostalgia for home manifests itself through everyday activities and styles of interaction. A greeting, an evening walk, the choice of a specific pasta from a company based region-

ally in Italy such as Calabria, Molise or Abruzzo, the cultivation of backyard gardens or a longing for a fresh fig act as prompts for immigrants, mnemonic devices, or topics of discourse that encourage a reflection about home and "homeland" or narratives about longing for 'there." In the two cases I offer here, Italian Canadians literally cement their relations in the sense that they construct buildings that locate their sense of peoplehood, their social networks, their desires, imaginings and reminiscences about being Italian. In an effort to appeal to Italians living abroad Italian governments have created programs that encourage Italians to see their land of emigration as central to who they are in their new states. In this age of mobile labour, states need to adapt to the challenges to their sovereignty that are posed by global deregulation, the flow of information and capital and the movement of people across their borders. Of course, there is nothing natural about the nation or citizenship within it. Both are made and remade. People make an effort to belong to a particular state. Citizenship then should be seen as "a political process of participatory enactment that is increasingly broader than its territorial borders, and that is linked to other states through networks of migration" (Joseph, 1999: 158). Italian immigrants and their descendants actively negotiate and assert their identities within the opportunities presented to them by political tools employed by states in the transnational world. By doing this they reconfigure what it means to be Italian and Canadian.

States of Influence

To understand the way in which the transnational flows of the pan-Italian and ethnoregional diasporas are made material through specific sites, I offer a few ways Canada and Italy have adjusted their encouraging practices in response to the arrival or dispersal of people since World War II. Canada, and more specifically in this case, the province of Ontario, practices a species of flexible sovereignty in the way it has adapted to the sociocultural dimensions of the dramatic changes in its population. It seeks to discipline and regulate the subjective forms of identity emerging from the ethnocultural diversity of its population with a multiculturalist discourse. It adjusts to the potential loss in sovereignty,—the ultimate power over people, places and things—engendered by the flow of labour to capital, or the mass movements of people and diasporic discourses and practices by incorporating them into a pluralist nationalist project. Further, in the case of Italian regional governments, state programmes have adapted to economic deregulation and the new political configurations of the European Union that sees the reduction in traditional nation/state authority. Various levels of the Italian state have also responded to the displacement of Italians around the globe to find new ways to discipline and regulate them so that the national Italian state and its component regions can successfully engage the global marketplace.

On October 8, 1971, Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau announced the policy of multiculturalism in the Canadian House of Commons. In 1988, the policy was officially enshrined in law with the Multiculturalism Act. There has been much written about the government's intentions and the failure of the policy to live up to the expectations of various interests in Canada (Brotz, 1980; Fleras and Elliott, 1992). The emergence of the policy grew out of the rejection of the notion of two founding nations, British and French, in favour of a cultural pluralism. The massive sociodemographic and political changes occurring in the country as a result of postwar immigration, that saw more than a third of the country with origins other than British or French, necessitated this change in perception and policy (Harney, 1988). Canada was to be different from the popular perception of the American melting pot that erased ethnicity and created a homogenized American identity. Instead, a favourite metaphor for Canadian multiculturalism was the mosaic that suggested that ethnocultural groups maintained their integrity while contributing to the Canadian nation/state. The exact ways in which ethnocultural groups would be nurtured and maintained over time was left unspecified in terms of state policy although limited funding for celebratory festivals, heritage language and ethnocultural enrichment programs and citizenship adjustment was forthcoming. As Dusenberry notes the liberal message of the policy suggested an agency in identity construction asserted by individuals and ethnocultural groups who can "will themselves into existence" (Dusenberry, 1997: 742). Critiques of the policy came from non-European immigrants, Caribbean, South and East Asian peoples who felt the policy insufficiently addressed systemic discrimination. Interestingly, within the community leadership of some European groups there were and are complaints that the policy focussed too much on symbolic expressions of culture and less on genuine political and economic equality for all people regardless of their heritage. Moreover, some European immigrant group leaders envisaged an equality of cultures that meant Italian and Ukrainian cultural and linguistic efforts and programmes would be promoted and sustained by government support as readily as English and French (Kymlicka, 1998; Lupul, 1982). As both a discourse and policy, multiculturalism attempts to manage, co-opt, control, regulate and dis-

cipline the ethnocultural diversity of Canada. In effect, it responds to the nationalist idea that there is a threat to the Canadian nation-building project if people living within the borders of the Canadian state participate in social worlds beyond the host society in the era of globalization.

Within the world of Toronto Italia the general message that multiculturalism encourages "[e]very ethnic group to preserve and develop its own culture and values within the Canadian context" (Canada, 1971: 8580-8581) has been, in a limited way, embraced and espoused by many Italian Canadians. It has for many Italian Canadians created a broader nation-space to incorporate their ideas about citizenship in Canada, to nurture expressive and symbolic forms of culture and to maintain ties with their homeland.

The policy has done more than manage the diversity. It has created a deeper symbolic shift in the traditional axis of power by denying the claims of British and French Canadians to greater legitimacy (Breton, 1984). Politicians are not able to control this symbolic change in the meaning people invest in their society and collective identity. Through the articulation of a multiculturalist ethos, different levels of government in Canada have opened up space in public discourse for the articulation of ethnic identity projects. Although mediated through local experiences, in some instances these projects are reconfigured through transnational ties and emerge as part of diasporic projects. Some Italian Canadian ethnocultural leaders act on this shift in the symbolic order in Canada and actively seek the support of the Canadian state to pursue local projects that mix the local and the transnational.

Space and Seniors

There has been a tradition in Ontario for provincial governments to fund building projects sponsored by specific ethnic groups in the area of seniors' housing and seniors' care whatever their political stripe, whether Progressive Conservative or Liberal. In the 1970s and 1980s, to augment millions of dollars raised in the Italian community, the Italian Canadian Benevolent Corporation (ICBC) received significant financial support from the Ontario provincial government to build a home for the aged, Villa Colombo in 1975. Later, the Ontario government contributed financial support to the ICBC again to build a community centre, Columbus Centre in 1980, and a seniors' non-profit apartment building, Casa Del Zotto in 1987. The organization, now known as Villa Charities to encompass the range of social and cultural services that function under its name, has always used the discourse of multiculturalism as a central rationale for the legitimacy of its work. Located in the northwest corner of the city, in an area of traditionally high Italian immigrant settlement, the campus of Villa Charities has sought to represent the public face of the Italian community to the rest of Ontario. As the community's piazza, or town square, the Villa Charities complex, in the words of one long time participant, "is a bridge to ourselves and to the greater community. This piazza has helped to shed negative stereotypes and foster instead the vibrant values of commitment and multiculturalism" (Di Iulio, 1991). Villa Charities has therefore, always occupied that interstitial point between the needs arising from the experiences of the Italian settlement in Toronto and the transnationality of Italian identity. Columbus Centre, with its elegant glass-encased rotunda and Villa Colombo with its internal fountain and piazza reminiscent of an Italian hill-town, recall idyllic images of Italy and serve as symbolic sites of interaction and engagement for visiting Italian heads of state and dignitaries as well as Canadian politicians. The campus of Villa Charities offers a range of services such as meeting rooms, restaurants, seniors" programs, support services for the mentally and physically challenged, a day care, athletic facilities, an art gallery and community centre activities. Its cultural arm Centro Scuola Canadese e Cultura Italiana aggressively articulates a multiculturalist ethos while maintaining extensive and elaborate ties to Italy. To augment specific grants from the Ontario and Federal Canadian governments, Centro Scuola receives substantial funding from the Italian Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Education as well as more modest support from the regional government of Abruzzo. Among its programs are Italian heritage-language courses, athletic events and tournaments in Italy for Italian Canadian youth and a language and cultural program in Italy during the summer. It is the major sponsor behind an annual heritage-language banquet that brings together teachers and community leaders from dozens of groups engaged in teaching non-English and non-French languages in communities and schools to discuss pedagogical issues but more importantly to impress upon politicians the importance of non-French and non-British communities. (see Harney, 1998: 102-123).

In an attempt to manage a heterogeneous population and to reduce the potential threat to the production of a national citizenry from the destabilizing effects of having citizens loyal to more than one nation, the governments of Ontario and Canada domesticate and discipline diasporic discourse by incorporating it within the nationalist ideology of multiculturalism. The Italian government has had a century-long period to develop regulating regimes

to cope with its loss of population overseas and hence its loss of sovereignty over their subjectivity. Commissioners were sent out at the turn of the century to inquire about the conditions under which Italian immigrants were working in North America and how the Italian state might help (Rossi, 1903). Mussolini's interaction was more aggressive and propagandistic as he tried through his consular officials to cultivate a sense of national pride among Italians in the diaspora and control the development of community institutions (Zucchi, 1988). Since the 1950s and up to the present, efforts by the Italian government reflect the welfare state realities of this time and the more recent global economic changes. Pension benefits are made available through Italian agencies with offices in Canada to Italians who had worked in Italy before migrating to Canada and recently double citizenship rights were allowed for children born of Italian immigrants overseas. One Italian government official noted to me that one reason the Italian government encourages language and cultural programs overseas in general and among Italians living abroad in particular is that it is believed these programmes help to market Italy—its tourist attractions, design industry and agricultural products. Further, with a populace of Italians overseas there is a ready-made market and a conduit through which to enter new markets.

The Ontario government and Italian regionalism

Between 1990 and 1995, for the first time the New Democratic Party (NDP) governed Ontario as the majority party in the provincial parliament. As noted earlier Italian Canadians as a collectivity had received funding for a Home for the Aged through Villa Charities in the previous two decades (Harney, 1998). A number of conditions arose in the early 1990s that occasioned a particular concentration of state funding for community based projects. First, in the depths of a worldwide recession, the New Democratic Party, a social democratic party, was ideologically predisposed to community economic development projects to encourage community-based affordable housing and to stimulate the economy and relieve unemployment in the construction sector. In Toronto, Italian immigrant workers, small contractors and some major developers had traditionally dominated the building trades. Second, in provincial elections Italian immigrants had a tradition of supporting the NDP, electing three MPPs of Italian descent in Italian populated ridings in the mid-1970s (Sturino, 1996: 135). In the 1990 election, seven NDP candidates of Italian heritage were elected. Five of these Italian Canadians held ridings in the West End of Toronto with heavy concentrations of Italian Canadians. Four of these arrived as young immigrants years earlier from Calabria and one from Abruzzo, Italy and two eventually became Ministers. This convergence of ideological predisposition, economic recession, a core of elected officials with a co-ethnic tie to a constituency and an acceptance of a multiculturalist perspective created the conditions for Canadian state structures to engage in the process of encouraging the emergence of this Italian regional identity formation. It also created space for Italian regions, on the heels of political reconfiguration in the European Union and the vacuum in power in Rome with the break-up of the major postwar parties, to flex their creative notions of sovereignty.

In the post-World War II period, the Italian state had given some special status and powers to Sicily to quell its separatist agitation, and to Sardinia, Trentino Alto-Adige, Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Vale d'Aosta for geographic, historical and linguistic reasons. Even so, the interests of the unitary state were paramount in Italian politics and the inclusion of provisions concerning devolution within the 1948 republican constitution had little significance for the remaining Regions until the 1970s. Finally in the late 1970s and early 1980s Rome enacted enabling legislation and elections were held to permit the creation of some twenty regional governments. Cold war party politics in Italy had much to do with this slow pace of change. Another reason may have been that aside from the special regions mentioned above there was not much regional identification among ordinary Italians. Although the boundaries of these regions attempted to mimic some ancient historical territories, they had little meaning for the population encompassed by these new administrative structures. In fact rivalries and animosities within regions and loyalties to specific municipalities or provinces were more pronounced than feelings of loyalty to this larger governing unit. The example of Calabria indicates that loyalties were more likely linked to a local provincial city. Several riots in the early 1970s occurred in Calabria over which major city—Reggio, Catanzaro or Cosenza—would be the administrative seat of the new region and hence reap the economic and clientilistic benefit of jobs (Waltson, 1988). Regional identity for those in Abruzzo was also weak. Tensions between that segment that was part of the economic success in the 1980s of small and medium-sized businesses in the so-called "Third Italy" stretching from Veneto down through parts of Abruzzo and the portions that relied more heavily on funds transferred from Rome left Abruzzesi with identities not necessarily linked to the administrative region (Levy, 1996; Mazzonis, 1994).

Most Italian immigrants arrived in Canada before the 1970s and therefore had little experience with the

regional state, but this would change in the 1980s and 1990s. The regions were gradually ceded some power and responsibility in a number of areas including tourism and emigration. Following Rome's creation of advisory councils partly composed of representatives of Italian communities overseas in the diaspora to address issues facing emigrants, regional governments appointed bodies to do the same. Gradually in the 1980s and 1990s, in Toronto, notice appeared about regionally sponsored programs in newspapers, on local radio such as the Italian Canadian-owned multilingual CHIN International Radio and the multilingual television stations such as CFMT and TLN (Telelatino). Young Italian Canadians participate in soccer and other sports tournaments. Seniors who had immigrated to Canada in their twenties are offered month-long package tours to return to see their hometowns and explore their 'Region of origin." The regional governments, encouraged by Italian immigrants living overseas in migration targets as far afield for example as Toronto, San Francisco, Sao Paolo, and Melbourne, lobbied Rome to allow Italians overseas the right to vote in Italian elections. Italian regional governments such as Calabria offer Canadian-born students of Calabrian heritage scholarships to attend Canadian universities. Money is spent to encourage folkloric, literary and cultural linkages. Investment is sought to encourage economic development in hometowns of emigration.

Italian identity and transnationalism

Italian Canadians move easily between expressions of different orders of identity depending on the situation. Expressions of belonging based on hometown, municipality, region or pan-Italianism are common. A complex mix of factors encourages this lively discussion and assertion of identities within Toronto Italia. First, each subnational grouping has a population base large enough to sustain a sense of groupness within a larger Italian Canadian community. This numerical presence has led to ongoing comparisons not just between immigrants from the north of Italy and those from the south but also between regional groupings with, for example, distinctive dialects and culinary traditions. Second, chain migration was central to patterns of arrival. The concentration of residential settlement in neighbourhoods in the northwest corridor of the city has led to an intensification of social links. Third, the concentration of Italians in particular occupations such as construction and manufacturing has created opportunities for comparison and assertion of ethnic markers in everyday interaction between Italian immigrants from different hometowns and regions. Finally, the burgeoning of nostalgia for a place of emigration left over thirty years ago has encouraged these identities to flourish. Teenagers in schools in the northwest suburbs of Toronto such as Downsview or the densely settled Italian district of Woodbridge in Vaughan township observe the different expectations of parents from different regions in Italy about genders and careers and experience different styles of cuisine and interaction. They also quickly notice that their home language, often a town or regional dialect their parents speak, gives them ways of acknowledging insiders and excluding outsiders within the intra-ethnic mixing. As one Calabrian Canadian teenager, born and raised here said to his Abruzzese Canadian friend, also born and raised here, "You Abruzzesi are almost German." To which the response was, "At least we're not Greek."

In an accelerated fashion, Italian immigrants and their children can interact with and expend emotional energy on ties with their "homeland" in every sphere of social life. Magazines arrive from regions of origin in Italy and hometown web sites seek out rite-of-passage life histories, photographs and social activities of co-villagers dispersed around the world. While they may follow Italian professional soccer, or the latest RAI TV variety show, or Armani and Bennetton fashion trends, the preponderance of food products is certainly the most democratic, accessible and affordable form of consumer connection people make. Since constitutional changes in the 1970s empowered and enlivened Italian regions, products not only declare Made in Italy but also now with more aggressive marketing by the Italian regions, we observe Made in Calabria or Molise or Sicily. Even specific hometowns and provinces from which Toronto's Italians have migrated are noted. Common Italian brand names such as DiCecco, Barilla, Lavazza, or Kimbo, arrive in bulk but so do products from less internationally well-known firms from Cosenza in Calabria or Campobasso in Molise. Olive oils, espresso coffee, cured salsiccia and antipasti, pastas, and hot red pepper sauces from Calabria, often labelled with the names of specific farmers' co-operatives in Calabria, Abruzzo, Molise or Apulia are widely available in Italian neighbourhood stores in Toronto. Kinship and quasi-kin linkages, circulatory travel, investment and personal communications create chain migrations of importers and products from certain regions to markets of Italians overseas. Italian governments, at the national and regional levels, try to exploit this dispersal of peoples as a market through the sponsorship of trade shows seeking consumers for Mediterranean culinary products and espousing the benefits of its diet. The efforts to forge an imagined Abruzzo from those who emigrated from this mountainous region

east of Rome that gradually turns into rolling farmland as it reaches the Adriatic is one example. The phrase 'Abruzzese overseas" is used by speakers in the diasporic discourse to construct the members of this migratory population as part of an "imagined community" (Anderson, 1983). The Abruzzese in Toronto are confronted with a plethora of visual and electronic media and glossy print magazines found in doctor's offices, bakeries, travel agencies and social clubs. A recent issue of the magazine Abruzzo Italia, in an interview with the Vice President of the Regional Council of Abruzzo indicated the clear economic benefits of diasporan thinking. Asked what markets Abruzzo's small and medium sized firms would pursue, he responded that "First all those countries where there is a strong presence of immigrants from Abruzzo, such as Canada, the United States, Argentina [and] Brazil" (Abruzzo Italia, 1999: 22).

Building Abruzzo in Canada

In 1994 and 1995 people from the Region of Abruzzo, estimated in applications to the government at close to 75,000 people in the greater Toronto area, received funding from the joint Federal/Provincial (Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation and Province of Ontario Ministry of Housing) programme for a community-based seniors' housing project, the Casa Abruzzo.[2] While many were involved in the project, the main personality behind the proposal, Odoardo DiSanto, was a former NDP provincial MPP who was elected in 1977 and was widely known for his advocacy for workers' rights and job safety issues. An almost mythical figure for Italian labourers who relied on him to negotiate for them Canada's bureaucratic rules about workers' injury, pension and unemployment rights, this man had considerable influence within segments of the Italian community as well as access to the NDP political leadership. He was also involved in the Italian language media, print and radio, as a commentator and, just after the building of the seniors' housing and community centre began, he hosted a radio program about Abruzzo, entitled L'Eco d'Abruzzo. The Abruzzo Federation in Toronto was started in Toronto in 1982. The coincidence of its initiation with the enabling legislation in Italy underscores both the linkages between elites within the community in Toronto and their interpersonal connections to political leadership and party structures back in the homeland. The Federation is composed of forty different cultural and recreational clubs and helps to create social networks within the community, encourage business and trade shows for products from Abruzzo and networks in Abruzzo for Abruzzese Canadians wishing to do business there. It also sponsors language and folkloric activities for youth and seniors based on traditions in Abruzzo.

The Casa Abruzzo Benevolent Corporation, a key offshoot of the Federation, has received approximately $16 million to construct 175 seniors' apartments from a funding program of the Ministry of Housing and the CMHC. They received an additional $0.5 million from the Ontario provincial government Community Economic Development (CED) project JobsOntario [*sic*] Community Action (JOCA) which was to be matched by community fund-raising to build an attached community centre component (library, offices, meeting rooms, banquet hall, etc.) The Italian Region of Abruzzo gave $250 000 and promised educational materials and tour package arrangements to the region.

During a meeting in 1995 of a group of Canadians of Abruzzese heritage gathered to discuss the Casa Abruzzo project, I asked one member in the small gathering, why he supported the Casa Abruzzo project. Why not give financial support to build a community for all people of Italian heritage or why not support an organization such as the United Way that serves everyone in need in Toronto? He replied that the other causes were worthy but first

> We must take care of our own and we need somewhere to do it. Besides the Japanese, the Jews, the Friulans [a region in northeast in Italy] all have one. Why shouldn't we? With everything we did here to build this country, we deserve it. A gathering place for us and our kids where we can teach them about our culture or we can show Abruzzese about Canada. (Interview, Luigi D., 1995)

As with other ethnocommunal projects in the past, such as the pan-Italian Villa Colombo effort in the 1970s, the governments supplied financial assistance but the community itself also needed to raise funds. At the meeting where the architect planned to unveil the design for the Casa Abruzzo, the group also talked about a dinner they had organized in honour of Frank Iacobucci, the first Italian Canadian Supreme Court Justice and Honourary Chair of the Casa Abruzzo Fundraising Committee. Justice Iacobucci was a symbol of a successful Italian who had "made it" in Canada and seemed a sensible choice to those there as the one to encourage the diasporan project.

The meeting culminated in the reaction to the architect's drawing of the Casa Abruzzo. In the same room there were people who had emigrated from towns in the mountain areas of L'Aquila, and Avezzano and still others who were from the coastal towns, north and

south of Pescara. As the conversation continued, gentle and playful ribbing persisted between these groups of men from different parts of Abruzzo comparing the quality of the cuisine and the ingenuity of the people from their respective towns. The architect's drawings had a number of characteristics that recalled the architecture of cities in their region of origin. It had several architectural features reminiscent of the geography of the region, including a series of stone supports that had mnemonic resonance with the medieval aqueduct of Sulmona and expanses of cut stone to create the feel of a piazza. The one detail of the site plans that caused a stir, albeit light-hearted, was the perspective the architect had used to draw an image of the mountain chain running through Abruzzo, the Apennines. What side of the great mountain range should be constructed in Toronto: the Gran Sasso, a snow-capped mountain seen from the cities of Teramo or L'Aquila, the Maiella of the Marone chain as seen from Chieti and Sulmona? From the L'Aquila side one can see two rock formations, or horns, described by the people as the il grande corno (the big horn) and il piccolo corno (the little horn). From the other perspective one sees just the little horn. Each perspective on the landscape spurred the memories of those gathered: "The air is so fresh in the morning in L'Aquila. You know, when I left L'Aquila in 1952, I guess I thought everywhere had mountains and fresh air. At least it was not like where those regnisti live near Sulmona.[4] Toronto is flat and humid but it's my home. My nipotini [grandchildren] are here" (Interview, Luigi D., 1995). To further their identity projects as members of a diaspora they needed to make material their ethnocultural feelings. The Casa Abruzzo located the sentiment for the "imagined community" of 75 000 Abruzzese Canadians in a specific material place. It reterritorialized their identity.

Joseph Sciorra (1996) informs us how ethnicity is inscribed in a city's landscape and how diaspora or global processes are made local and constituted by actors. He has explored the way in which Puerto Rican immigrants in New York have reclaimed abandoned urban space and constructed vernacular architecture to reconstitute Puerto Rican social life through the construction of casitas, small housing structures. These small structures are similar in form to those found in rural Puerto Rico whose open air style encourages social gatherings. Cultural meanings are inscribed in the physical structures of the community and in the everyday activities of meetings, cultural programs and social life practised in a place. Memories are often organized around artefacts such as buildings and embedded in places. In this sense, through its construction and style, the Casa Abruzzo expresses Abruzzese Canadian history and identity.

The mood of the crowd surrounding the official ground-breaking ceremony for the Casa Abruzzo project was lively. The strip of land was situated on a piece of Ontario government land transferred to the non-profit housing corporation for the construction of the Casa Abruzzo. It was chosen from a number of sites based on cost and geographic proximity to Italian residential settlement. The site is in the heart of the Italian immigrant neighbourhood of Downsview. Diplomatic protocol required that the representative from the Region of Abruzzo be present before the event could start. For the occasion, the Italian regional Minister for Emigration and Culture, Silvana Pelusi had flown in from Abruzzo to participate in the ceremony. Her arrival was met with almost the same anticipation and excitement one usually sees reserved for celebrities. The NDP Premier of Ontario, Bob Rae and his Italian Canadian caucus, which included a Canadian-raised immigrant from Abruzzo, Anthony Perruzza, guided the project through the government for its political advantage because it appealed to a core constituency of Italian immigrant workers in the party's urban base. It also appealed to the governing party's social policy agenda to fund assisted housing and to encourage ethnocultural communities to organize non-profit groups to apply for these government funds. Premier Rae's presence, two Ministers and members of the Italian caucus and the 16 million dollars of provincial financial commitment were received as a matter of course. The buzz of the crowd revolved around nostalgia for Abruzzo and pride in being of Abruzzese heritage as well-dressed men and women tried to avoid the muddy terrain of the construction site just south of Highway 401. The conversations not only expressed feelings of pride and joy over the recognition of the contributions of Abruzzesi in Canada by both Canadian and Italian regional governments but also a sense of entitlement for the hard work and sacrifices of Abruzzese-Canadians.

> I've worked hard in this country. Without us Toronto would never be what it is today. We deserve a place for us. We need a place to collect the community, a place to maintain ties to Abruzzo and Italy in general. When I am showing people around I can point to it and say we belong here. A part of me is also Abruzzo. We need to expose children to the cultural and linguistic traditions through events and develop exchanges for students and anziani [elders]. The kids can learn about our culture and dialect. The regional government tells us we have the greatest number of people outside of Abruzzo. We can

> develop commercial ties. The Consiglio Regionale takes initiatives, offers cultural exchanges for Abruzzesi outside of Italy. Emigrants to those living in Italy have always been considered second class citizens, manipulated by Italian politicians. I guess we have a sense of injury for having left to succeed. We wanted to be sure to fare una bella figura [to cut a fine figure, i.e. to do well]. The pain of separation is not new, or aching. We have settled here. Our lives have been changed permanently by life in Canada but it provides a cultural justification for some and mental relief to have this place and to be recognized. Emigrants did a service to those living in Italy by leaving without aid because we provided more space and room for scarce resources. (Interview, Luca P., 1995)

The tricolour of the region of Abruzzo, white, blue and green, adorned the wooden platform constructed for the event. A local priest of Abruzzese origin blessed the land on which the new Casa Abruzzo would be built recalling in his prayers the Apennine mountain chain that runs through Abruzzo and the villages that sent thousands of immigrants overseas after World War II to find work. The elder statesman, Odoardo Di Santo, finally addressed the crowd. In a single breath he indicated some of the intra-ethnic competition between Italian regional groups in Toronto and the benefits of multiculturalism: "Abruzzese Canadians have never been involved in any criminal activity but have quietly, through hard work, helped to pass on heritage to our children and contribute to a vibrant multicultural Canada."[4] In the end the creation of Casa Abruzzo would let them do many things: preserve and pass on their heritage, add to the diversity of Ontario and Canada, but more than that it would be a "dot on the map of Canada for Abbruzzese around the world," as Di Santo told the crowd.

The terrain of greater Toronto is mapped with significant sites of Italianness through which Italian Canadians ground their transnational imaginings. In Toronto Italia to nurture these collective imaginings, people aspire to make their culture material and to reterritorialize the displacement they feel from the process of migration. Villa Charities, Casa Abruzzo, the Veneto Centre, the Friuli Centre and the dozens of hometown clubs are some of the places through which Italian Canadians attempt the "mastery of time through the foundation of an autonomous place" (de Certeau, 1984:36). These places let them erase the pain of displacement and reassert a belonging to a collectivity overseas through materializing their own lived realities as Italians in Canada. The construction of centres and the assertion of presence and identity embodies the "spatial symbolism of multiculturalism" (Soysal, 1993, cited in Caglar, 1997) and reproduces assumptions about the unity, fixity and homogeneity of communities. It also requires that we reconsider the central role of physical space in the constitution of identity. To negotiate transnational realities and networks people need to materialize identity projects in space. The restructuring of the global economy has forced people and states to be creative in the ways they respond to the challenges of mobile labour and capital. In Toronto the "flexible sovereignty" of several states has attempted to organize these transnational imaginings, some might say manufacture them, to control and regulate the subjectivity of their citizens whether through a multiculturalist discourse or the encouragement of diasporic expressions of community. People of Italian heritage in Toronto make use of these creative solicitations of the state (Carter, 1997) to mould and shape these resources to create meaningful worlds in diasporic places.

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Notes

1 During this government almost a dozen projects based on pan-Italian or Italian regional identity were approved for funding or at various stages in the planning process by June of 1995. Some pan-Italian groups who either received funding or were in the planning stages with bureaucrats include Columbus Centre (Villa Charities) Centro Scuola Canadese e Cultura Italiana, Eyetalian magazine, Le caravelle—Circolo D'Anziano seniors' group and Corriere Canadese-Tandem. At the Italian regional level Abruzzese, Calabrese and Venetian groups all had projects in the works for community centre development and/or non-profit assisted housing in Toronto. The Federal Canadian government was involved in financing non-profit housing through mortgage assistance (CMHC).

2 Social housing programs were cancelled in the province of Ontario after the election of the Progressive Conservative Party in June of 1995. The Federal government has also discontinued its social housing activities.

3 This term refers to the historical division of the territory of present-day Abruzzo between the Papal States and the Kingdom of Two Sicilies before Italian unification in 1870. As the man said this he smirked towards his neighbor sitting next to us. This man, in turn, called my informant a

papalini. Those in the northern part were known as papalini (little papists). Of course, the use of these terms bundled together ideas about belonging and difference between those who emigrated from northern/inland and those who emigrated from southern/more coastal Abruzzo.

4 The reference here was to the incidence of Calabrian organized criminal activity in Toronto. The vast majority of people of Calabrian heritage in Toronto have nothing to do with the actions of a few involved in the transnational activities of a few Calabrian crime families but the shootings every few years between rival factions make sensationalized copy in the Toronto press.

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Deterritorialized People in Hyperspace: Creating and Debating Harari Identity over the Internet

Camilla Gibb

Abstract: Where Glick-Schiller and others have preferred to use the terms transmigrant or transnational (1992; 1995) rather than immigrant, in order to suggest that identities are multiply constituted and lived across borders, these identities may, in fact, be further complicated by the creation of an additional dimension which others have not considered—a virtual reality within which aspects of community and culture are simultaneously being defined. In the deterritorialized space of hyperspace, where time and space are compressed (cf. Harvey, 1989), and constructions are detached from any local reference (Kearney, 1995: 553), members of a small Ethiopian population, known as the Harari, are invoking a new language of nationhood in order to give shape to a now dispersed community. This is an example of how new media can provide a forum for the creation of national identity outside national borders, and how those with access to this technology are the ones most active in that discussion. This exploration of the use of new media offers insight into the ways in which transnational, and more broadly, transtemporal and transspatial processes are involved in redefining community relations and identities amongst dispersed peoples in a postmodern world.

Résumé: Glick-Schiller et d'autres ont préféré parler d'identités transmigrantes ou transnationales (1992, 1995) pour évoquer la condition immigrante dans le but d'indiquer que ces identités sont constituées de divers apports et se vivent à travers les frontières. Ces identité peuvent en fait être compliquées davantage par l'addition d'une dimension qui a été négligée – une réalité virtuelle à l'intérieur de laquelle certains aspects de la communauté et de la culture sont définis simultanément. Dans l'espace déterritorialisé de l'hyperespace, où le temps et l'espace sont comprimés (Harvey, 1989), et où les constructions sont détachées de toute référence locale (Kearney, 1995: 553), des membres d'une petite population éthiopienne, connus sous le nom de Harari, font appel à un nouveau langage de nationalité pour donner une forme à une communauté maintenant dispersée. C'est un exemple de la façon dont les nouveaux média peuvent offrir un forum pour la création d'une identité nationale hors-frontières et du fait que ceux qui ont accès à cette technologie sont ceux qui participent le plus à cette discussion. Cette exploration de l'utilisation des nouveaux média permet de voir comment les processus transnationaux, et plus généralement les processus qui transcendent l'espace et le temps, sont impliqués dans la redéfinition des relations communautaires et des identités parmi les groupes dispersés dans le monde postmoderne.

Introduction

In 1991, Ethiopians abroad celebrated as revolutionary forces toppled the socialist dictatorship that had ruled their country of origin for nearly two decades. This regime, known as the *Dergue*,[1] will be remembered by many Ethiopians and foreign observers as a reign of terror during which the government committed gross systematic and wide-scale human rights abuses. Not only did the atrocities committed by the *Dergue* throughout the 1970s and 80s[2] create massive internal displacement, but hundreds of thousands of Ethiopians scattered worldwide in search of refuge. In a matter of less than two decades, a global diaspora of people from a country that had no previous history of immigration was created.

Diaspora, the idea of people who imagine themselves as a nation outside of a homeland (Kearney, 1995: 553), is a phenomenon implying movement—not only dispersal, but often that of an idealized return (cf. Safran 1991: 83-84).[3] Until recently, Ethiopians living outside the country were considered to be living in exile (Catholic, 1998: 1)—an undesirable and involuntary state of homelessness that could only be rectified by return. In the Ethiopian case, the possibility of return became an option in 1991. The majority of those living in exile, however, did not seize upon that opportunity. This has forced the creation of an identity which acknowledges the permanence of the diaspora, and demands the establishment of borders which define a community in global terms.

In this paper I explore aspects of this negotiation amongst members of one Ethiopian community. The Harari—a community of Muslim Ethiopians originally from the city of Harar—are a dispersed community, with one third of their population now scattered across the globe. With the creation of a Harari e-mail discussion forum and several web sites devoted to history, language and culture, Hararis are using the Internet as a space within which the widest number of people from the community living abroad can engage in the debate and cre-

ation of a new global identity. This is ironically, however, a conversation that excludes both Hararis in Ethiopia, who lack access to this technology, and most elders living abroad because they are not conversant in English, and/or the technological language required to participate. Elders are well aware of what is communicated though, as e-mails are regularly shared, translated and debated within families and community associations in different cities.

In the deterritorialized space of hyperspace, where time and space are compressed (cf. Harvey, 1989), and constructions are detached from any local reference (Kearney, 1995: 553), a limited number of Hararis are invoking a new language of nationhood in order to give shape to a now dispersed community. This is an example of how new media can provide a forum for the creation of national identity outside national borders, and how those with access to this technology are the ones most active in that discussion. This exploration of the use of new media offers insight into the ways in which transnational, and more broadly, transtemporal and transspatial processes are involved in redefining community relations and identities amongst dispersed peoples in a postmodern world.

Where Glick-Schiller and others have preferred to call such identities transmigrant or transnational (1992; 1995) rather than immigrant, in order to suggest that identities are multiply constituted and lived across borders, these identities may, in fact, be further complicated by the creation of an additional dimension which others have not considered—a virtual reality within which aspects of community and culture are simultaneously being defined.

The Myth of Return

In many diasporic cases, the idea of repatriation to the homeland is phrased as conditional; dependent upon a change in the circumstances which led to dispersal, and often attached, in the collective imagination, to a political or spiritual event such as the establishment of a separate state (as in the case of Israel), the overthrow of a dictatorship, the secession of war, or, for the more eschatologically oriented, the day of resurrection, or the afterlife. Since most Ethiopians who fled their country did so as a result of direct or indirect persecution by the *Dergue*, the fall of this regime and the installation of democratic government between 1991 and 1995[4] marked the realization of the condition upon which the idea of return had been premised.

Few Ethiopians have actually returned home though, since the combined forces of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (the EPRDF) seized power in 1991. The worldwide dispersal of Ethiopians has to be recognized as having a permanence now that repatriation is (for many) possible. The idea of return is often revealed as shared myth when the circumstances which created a diaspora have been ameliorated and repatriation is realistically considered and more often rejected than attempted. The sentiment "when there is democracy in Ethiopia" is now being rearticulated as a question of whether or not lasting peace and democracy is ever possible in Ethiopia.

The thought of having to give up material gains acquired abroad undoubtedly informs much of this new questioning. Generational differences in attitudes toward repatriation also assert a critical influence here. Ethiopian youth in the diaspora—the first generation of Ethiopians to grow up outside Ethiopia—tend to identify more with the North American contexts in which the majority of them have been raised than the distant homeland most left as young children. Where repatriation is discussed among them, it is a consideration framed more by their experiences in and perceptions of their North American environment than by the commitment to, memory or imagination of the homeland which members of their parents' generation are more likely to possess.

For people whose diasporic identities have to some extent been defined in terms of the notion of eventual return to the homeland from which they are exiled, rejecting the possibility of return once return is made possible, inevitably results in a reconsideration of one's place, and one's people in the world. But as Clifford states, "Peoples whose sense of identity is centrally defined by collective histories of displacement and violent loss cannot be 'cured' by merging into a new national community," (1994: 307). When return home is not possible, resisting merger may be easier; at a distance, home can be idealized and exile considered temporary. With the reopening of space and the creation of the option of return, the language of exile necessarily transforms into the new language of diaspora and identities are redefined in light of this.

Ethnographic Contact and Harari Dispersal

The Harari homeland is the small walled city of Harar in the eastern highlands of Ethiopia. The city is legendary among Ethiopians and adventurous European travellers.[5] Hararis governed what was an independent Muslim city state and a centre of commerce and Islamic scholarship for several centuries. As a population, they stood in a privileged position vis-à-vis neighbouring populations of Oromo, Somali, Argobba and Afar. Hararis owned the fer-

tile farmlands around the city, monopolized trade in the marketplace and converted neighbouring populations to Islam. While they were able to fend off successive attempts at invasion by warring factions of Oromo over the centuries, in 1887, the Harari army (which included both Hararis and enculturated Oromo) was ultimately defeated by the Amharas. The army of these Abyssinian Christian highlanders annexed Harar in their campaign of territorial expansion, incorporating it into the country we know as Ethiopia today. [6]

The first extensive ethnographic work on the Hararis was undertaken in the early 1970s, before the *Dergue* began to deny foreign researchers access to most parts of the country. Then, the community was described as a "one city culture" (Waldron, 1974: 6)—with the vast majority of the population living within the city walls and sharing something they describe as a moral commitment to remaining there, and, in particular, to defending the city from outside forces. Over the last two decades, approximately two thirds of the community has left the city, one-third taking up residence in larger Ethiopian cities, and the other third compromised of those who fled abroad and the relatives they subsequently sponsored. The largest concentration of Hararis outside Ethiopia is found in Toronto, where nearly 10% of the population has come to reside over the last 15 years.

The research upon which this paper is based is the first multisited ethnographic work (cf. Marcus, 1995) with a specific Ethiopian population and draws comparatively on three years of field research in Harar and Toronto. My field research in Toronto has drawn upon complementary sets of relations: participant observation with both individual families and the Harari community association, and, simultaneously, involvement in discussions taking place on H-Net an e-mail-based discussion forum for Hararis. Membership on the list requires nomination by one or more Harari "brothers" or "sisters," which means that to some extent, this virtual community is founded on real-world connections. The majority of subscribers are young men who live in North America. I was allowed access to this closed and moderated list otherwise exclusively subscribed to by Hararis. Some of the methodological concerns which might be legitimately raised relating to the anonymity of this kind of exchange are mediated by the fact that I, as well as most of the subscribers, know many of the other members in person. As such, people frequently elaborate on discussions raised on H-Net when they meet.

While Hararis are now dispersed around the globe, they call themselves the *Ge usu'*, literally, "the people of the city of Harar." This highly emotive and place-referential language is used to refer to many aspects of their culture, and to distinguish the Harari from Oromo, Amhara, Somali, Gurage and Argobba neighbours in Harar.[7] Just as Harari culture is known, for instance, as *Ge 'ada*, "culture of the city," houses as *Ge garach*, or "houses of the city," Hararis refer to themselves as *Ge waldach* and *Ge kahatach*, "sons" and "daughters of the city."

Since the ethnographic observations made in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Ethiopia has undergone nearly two decades of a socialist dictatorship which has had dramatic socio-economic and demographic repercussions. For the Harari, as a wealthy landed class, this included the total undermining of the basis of their position of relative economic prestige over neighbouring populations with the abolition of private ownership. With consequent movement in search of other economic opportunities, the execution of significant numbers of their population who were involved in resistance movements, and the flight of more than a third of their population abroad, only one third of the total population of Hararis remains in the original city today and Oromo, Somali and Amhara have moved in to occupy those places formerly occupied by Harari.

From the mid-1970s onwards, Hararis sought political asylum in the neighbouring countries of Djibouti, Sudan, Somalia, and Saudi Arabia. From here, most eventually left for Europe—primarily Italy and Germany. After an average of one to seven years of temporary residence in Europe, most Hararis left for the U.S., Canada and Australia—countries where many have found eventual citizenship. As was the case with members of other Ethiopian ethnic groups, the first Hararis to arrive in North America were young single men. In some cases they fled taking younger siblings with them, and in a limited number of cases entire families escaped together. These initial exiles subsequently sponsored friends and family members to join them.

While those who fled during the Mengistu era did so primarily as political asylum seekers, the establishment of communities abroad appealed to many who were less directly threatened by the *Dergue*, and presents an option to those who live in the post-*Dergue* era and wish to migrate to better their educational and/or economic prospects and/or be reunited with family. Where the notion of exile is associated with the temporary foreign residence of individuals, community building is a diasporic process. Migration is now considered a viable and desirable option for the younger generation of a population who historically did not generally consider such a possibility beyond the seasonal migration to Saudi Arabia during the month of the *Haj*, and for elderly parents whose children now all reside abroad.

Hararis are now concentrated in the major urban centres of Toronto, Washington, Dallas, Houston, Atlanta, Los Angeles and Sydney and struggling to maintain connections to each other and the homeland. As much as they are sons and daughters of the city, they are sons and daughters of transnational passage and a global diaspora. In the diaspora, they refer to themselves by the less place-specific term Harari, or Hararian, and in describing their current dispersal, they see themselves as *butugne usu'* (dispersed or scattered people) or *baqannga* (refugees—from the verb for flight, escape or evacuation during war time). In calling themselves Harari they implicitly acknowledge a global identity—the word Harari, the English word for inhabitants of Harar has been appropriated by the *Ge usu'* of the English-speaking world. What are the processes involved and repercussions of this semantic shift, though? What happens when *Ge usu'* become Hararis? What transformations of identity occur when people of the city leave the city? If *Ge usu'* identity refers to a specific place how is identity recreated in multiple sites and in whose terms and what language? How is this place embodied, abstracted or widened to encompass a global arena?

Where most work on diasporic communities emphasizes the sense of collectivity which dispersed peoples work to achieve, studying such a newly formed diaspora as this serves to illustrate the often exaggerated generational differences between members and the consequent tensions which occur as a community resettles in multiple sites.[8] "The empowering paradox of diaspora," states Clifford, "is that dwelling *here* assumes a solidarity and connection *there*," (1994: 322). In fact, where Clifford is rightly critiquing the assumption that there is a common *there*, or "axis of origin and return," equally as problematic is the implicit assumption of a solidarity and connection *here*. The diasporic and Western-world orientation of a significant percentage of Harari youth threatens to sever cultural continuity and contact with the city of origin that is their homeland. Where a long established diaspora might share some common orientation to a homeland most have never known, the differences between those who flee a homeland as refugees, and their children who either have no memory of the homeland or were born outside it create very different orientations. Events at "home" necessarily impact upon diasporic identities, though do so differently for first generation immigrants and their children. In the early stages of diaspora formation then, it might be the case that generational and gendered differences create tensions that determine what will be shared among subsequent diasporic generations.[9]

The Specifics of Homeland

The Harari homeland is not the country of Ethiopia, but the city of Harar, particularly its walled interior known as *Djugel*. The city was founded by their ancestors as early as the 9th century,[10] and the wall, built in the 16th century as a defensive measure to keep out warring factions of Oromo. As Hararis consider their city and its inhabitants to have been occupied and annexed by force by colonizing Amharas, they have long maintained that their identity is distinct. The last hundred years of their history have taken place under two successive Amhara dictatorships—an Imperial state established by King Menelik and latterly headed by Africa's longest reigning leader, Haile Selassie, and the socialist dictatorship known as the *Dergue* which emerged from the bloody revolution which overthrew the Imperial regime in 1974.

In the attempt to unify and bring under central control the disparate peoples of the Ethiopian region at the end of the last century, Amharic, the language of the Amhara, was adopted as the national language and Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity, as the religion of the Imperial state. Christian nationalists dominated Ethiopian politics throughout the Imperial rule of the Amharas and the Amhara-based socialist dictatorship, which succeeded it, despite the fact that somewhere in the order of 60% of the country is now acknowledged to be Muslim.[11] "Ethiopianness," as expressed in Menelik's campaign, was based on the idea of the acceptance of Christianity (Kinfe, 1994: 157). Under Haile Selassie's rule (1930-74), government propaganda asserted Ethiopia was a Christian island in a Muslim sea and was used to elicit support from the United States against the "Muslim threat" (ibid., 155).

For non-Amhara, Amharic was held up as the prestige language of education and political power and many assimilated into this largely class-determined category because of the privileges associated with membership and allegiance. While Christianity and Amharic were promoted as the religion and language of the Imperial state, the military dictatorship which seized power from Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974 intensified this to demand and enforce linguistic, religious and cultural conversion, exercising brutal and oppressive measures designed to suppress the expression of ethnic difference. [12] The *Dergue*'s socialism demanded conformity in ethnocultural terms; the reality of Amhara dominance over other ethnic groups[13] in the country was masked by nationalist rhetoric, and opposition was undermined through various economic and political strategies.

Since the overthrow of the *Dergue*, Ethiopia has adopted a democratic constitution, which guarantees basic

human rights including the right to freedom of expression in ethnocultural and religious terms.[14] The new government elected in 1995 proposed to restructure the country along ethnic lines, dividing the country into nine ethnic regions,[15] which were granted the right to self-determination, up to and including the right to secession. It was on this basis that Eritrea gained independence from Ethiopia in 1993, after 30 years of protracted struggle, though disputes over borders between Eritrea and the northern province of Tigray continue to this day.

Harar is the smallest of these newly defined autonomous regions. In this new era, after more than a century of foreign rule, Hararis have been granted the right to govern their city and its environs again. While the Harari have seen dramatic changes over recent decades, they remain an affluent and exclusive community, and now have administrative control over a region where they are far outnumbered by resident Oromo and Amhara populations. This suggests something more complicated than that implied by the macro-political perspective on Ethiopian history discussed above. It is not possible to divide the country neatly into the oppressors and the oppressed. While national rule was Amhara, in local sites, hierarchies of power were complexly stratified and often reflected long-standing historical patterns.

Hararis were situated at the apex of what Waldron described as "pyramid of ethnic stratification" in Harar (1974: 6), from where they dominated both agriculture and trade for several centuries. When the French railway linking the capital city to the coast through nearby Dire Dawa was built in the early 20th century, Harar declined in importance as a primary trading centre. Virtually all Hararis who still farmed at this time moved into commerce in order to capitalize on the cheap influx of new foreign goods, which came by way of Dire Dawa. Their land was rented out to and worked by Oromo tenants in a system of virtual feudalism where Hararis constituted a wealthy landed class.

Although private property was abolished under the *Dergue* and farmland was collectivized, Hararis managed, in many cases, to retain control over their land through creative arrangements with their Oromo tenants, and through subdividing their land within families into the 10 hectare plots which individuals were permitted to own. Hararis have long been skilled traders, and continue to dominate the markets of Harar. With their relative affluence a larger percentage of Hararis were able to secure passage abroad than was the case for members of many other populations. Those abroad have sent back substantial remittances to support their families, which works to support the historical pattern of marked differences in wealth between Hararis and their neighbours.

As a wealthy, highly literate and exclusively urban community, Hararis have come to be better represented proportionately in the new central government than any other ethnic group. The right to rule their city was won through vocal assertions of their previous autonomy. With popular party slogans like "The history of Harar is not the history of Ethiopia," their representative party, the Harari National League, has been able to demand recognition of the former autonomy of the city state.

Connections with the Homeland

Where some middle-aged men have been asked to return to Harar from exile to take up positions of leadership in the new administration, rates of repatriation have been particularly low among Hararis. Members of other populations who remained in exile in neighbouring countries are more likely candidates for repatriation. Because of their affluence and the community's small size, Hararis were better able to ensure that their members found quick passage from the refugee camps and temporary shelters in Sudan and Somalia to Western countries.

Connections with the homeland today largely take the form of correspondence and remittances. Arranged marriages between Harari girls in Harar and young men in the diaspora are also not uncommon and are seen as one way of perpetuating Harari language and culture in the diaspora (see Gibb, 2001). Arranged marriages were particularly important during the early years of community formation in the diaspora when the gender ratio was highly imbalanced. As an endogamous community, Hararis maintain a strict preference for marriage within the group. There remains a preference for marriage to girls from the city as they are seen to embody the homeland in many ways.[16] Marriages are also arranged between Hararis in the diaspora. By patrolling its borders in this way (cf. Tölölyan, 1996: 14), the community seeks to ensure its survival.

Since 1991, a number of Hararis have made frequent visits home for investment purposes. While I was in Harar, for instance, I met a Harari Canadian businessman there to identify investment opportunities for a consortium of 50 Harari businessmen in North America. At the time, they were considering purchasing a gravel quarry. In 1998 though, they began construction of a modern shopping complex just outside the city wall, where imported goods such as televisions and computers, goods previously not available in the area, are now being sold.

Contact within the diaspora takes place through various networks including those based on kinship, and

those created by inter-city soccer competitions, cultural festivals and communication over the Internet. The fastest and easiest mode of communication has proven to be H-Net, the Harari e-mail discussion list established in 1996. H-Net brings together Hararis who might otherwise never have the opportunity to interact, transcending traditional associations, which are primarily based on kinship and physical proximity. Over the Internet, spatial and temporal distances are compressed, transforming and reconfiguring identity (Harvey, 1989: 239; Kearney, 1995: 554) and redefining community relations. Communication via H-Net is dominated by Harari teenagers and young adults. Many of the participants grew up outside Ethiopia, often in Somalia, Saudi Arabia and Italy before coming to North America. Some of them were born in the first country of their parents' exile and arrived in North America speaking Arabic or Italian. Their treks have, in many cases, taken them through several countries and the way in which this impacts upon how they are identified, and how they identify, is reflected differently given their particular experiences.

For many teenagers then, Harar represents something of a mythological homeland, which they do not remember or have never even visited. Return to this place is thus rarely interpreted literally among members of this generation. As Tölölyan notes, "it makes more sense to think of diasporan or diasporic existence as not necessarily involving a physical return but rather a re-turn, a repeated turning to the concept and/or the reality of the homeland," an orientation which may manifest in symbolic, ritual or religious rather than physical terms (1996: 14-15). While this might be true in the case of Jews of the Western diaspora to which Tölölyan refers, the parents of this generation of Hararis generally still speak of return in literal terms. Their children too, as I discuss here, may invoke return as a literal, physical notion at certain times when they feel insecure about their future in North America. Return is thus informed not only by changes at "home" which are needed to make this option possible, but also by political events that effect popular American perceptions of Muslims and make the idea of returning "home" to a more sympathetic climate, an appealing option to Hararis in both the U.S. and Canada.

With the change of government in Ethiopia in 1991, the possibility of voluntary flow between Hararis in the homeland and abroad has increased. Access to the technology which allows Hararis to construct, circulate and consume images of the homeland and the diaspora over the Internet, is limited, however, to those in the diaspora, reflecting a global hegemonic hierarchy of technological control and access. Appadurai states that "the homeland is partly invented, existing only in the imagination of the deterritorialized groups" (1991: 193). The Internet is one place where that imagination can speak in visual, literate and interactive terms and provides an environment in which the young, literate, and technologically savvy become in some senses those responsible for the communication and creation of culture. The loosening of ties between people and place, has, as Appadurai suggests, fundamentally altered the basis of cultural reproduction in this case (1995). Elders in the community, who have hitherto been responsible for transmitting knowledge of Harari history, religion and culture are largely excluded from this form of diasporic communication, although many are often informed about the discussion which takes place here by their children. Young Hararis who have had limited direct contact with the actual city of Harar are engaged in redefining community and identity in the global and largely impersonal arena of cyberspace, a space which largely excludes both elders in the diaspora and Hararis in the homeland.

Precisely what this global identity of Hararíness is though, particularly for the youth of a scattered people whose contact with the homeland has been limited, and whose experiences between there and here have been so varied, is unclear. What has been most consistent perhaps, is the sustained, or even increased commitment to Islam in the North American context. For many Hararis, religious identity, rather than national or ethnic identity has become the most salient point of reference in the diaspora. Many Hararis have found in Islam an ideological framework through which to cope with the upheaval of recent decades, and establish new relations in the non-Muslim countries in which they have resettled (see Gibb, 1999a).

Through upheaval and resettlement however, what it is to be Muslim has been reoriented from a culturally specific understanding revolving around highly localized practices to a more homogenized, globalized tradition of standardized practices reinforced by other Muslims. In Toronto for instance, many Hararis, particularly men in their late 20s and 30s active in the Harari Community Organization, have told me that they have become "more Muslim" since being in Canada. This process has resulted in Hararis having much more in common with other Muslims in Canada than members of many other Ethiopian groups (ibid.). As part of a larger Muslim community, or *umma*, Hararis are situated in a wider ideological framework and social network from which they derive support.

As Hararis tend to identify first and foremost as Muslims in this context, specific historical knowledge

about the city becomes less relevant than the history of Islam with which most Harari children are taught to be familiar. If Hararis are simply Muslims, the relevance and meaning of the term Harari appears to be unclear to some younger members of the community. Earlier this year, a young man posted the following message on H-Net entitled: WHO AM I? "I've just got one brief question," he wrote. "What makes a Harari ... Harari??? Signed WAFA GADID age 18 (DALLAS, TX.)."

The discussion this question provoked proved that there was no immediate, obvious or unanimous answer. Up until this point, discussion on the net had assumed a shared identity. Wafa Gadid was, in all innocence, asking precisely what was shared. Given the focus of many discussions on the net, it might appear that what was most common was the experience of living as Muslims in North America. "You have to be, believe, feel and understand what it is to be Harari to be Harari," was someone's circular reply. "I subscribe to H-Net because I am a Harari," was someone else's equally as tautological reply. "If I were simply a Muslim, I would only subscribe to Islam-Net, if I identified as an Arab it would be Arab-Net, or as an African, African-Net. As it is, I subscribe to Harari-Net."

Farhan, a regular contributor and vehement Harari nationalist posed a similar question in response to Wafa. "Harar is just the capital city of the Emirate of Harar. You can chose to live anywhere you like," he wrote. "The question is, are you Harari or will you change your ethnicity when you move?" This assumes that there is something constant about identity over time and space. Remaining Harari is in some senses a commitment to the embodiment of place. While the debates which ensued on H-Net played with various criteria, primarily linguistic and cultural, and acknowledged both blood lines and assimilation as means of connection to the community, what appears to be central is the notion of allegiance, which one subscriber defined as "a strong—not superficial—belief that you belong to the Harari Nation." Critical to the Harari understanding of nationhood is kinship—as a nation they are *ahli*, family, and all Hararis are related to each other as many Harari proverbs state.

"If we organize ourselves we will be winners—we will attain our goal—we will be one of the recognized nations which has historical background, which has identity, which has its own religion, culture and tradition in the universe," wrote Ahmed, implying that though nationhood, identity can be made recognizable and permanent. Others agreed that Harar is a nation, appealing to a glorious and exalted past in which the city stood at the centre of an autonomous Muslim state governed by a Harari elite, and a democratic present in which the Hararis have been granted the right to self-govern over the region they historically dominated. Like other cases where eventually, as Tölölyan has stated "the concept of homeland is overlaid by the national idea," Hararis have "come to view themselves as members of one nation that is spread across different states" (1996: 14).

While the concept of nationhood is largely troubled in a world where populations are not bounded by national borders, it is the condition of dispersal that has provoked this particular discussion of Harari nationalism. Where Hararis in Harar refer to themselves as a community, a people, or a tribe, young Hararis in the diaspora have begun asserting Hararíness as nationality. In order to do so though, they must make constant reference to the motherland and discuss what their obligations to it should be. The form of this allegiance, the issue of repatriation, and the experience of Hararis as Muslim Africans in North America are complexly intertwined as the discussion on H-Net suggests.

While very few Hararis have moved back home, for those who have grown up in North America and describe themselves as "bicultural" or, in many senses more American or Canadian than Ethiopian or Harari, return is still a refrain or motif, but one more often motivated by perceived or anticipated changes in popular North American attitudes toward Muslims than by changes in Ethiopia. These youth have less, or rather, differently romantic ideals than their parents about the homeland they were forced to flee as young children, and have generally not embraced the imperative to return in literal terms.

Among the first questions many youth ask me, as a researcher who spent a year in Harar, is how I could withstand the desperately unhygienic conditions, the lack of adequate water, the flies, cockroaches, rats and hyenas, and the lack of modern conveniences which they associate with a city they see as dirty, crowded and "third world." Although many of them might condemn it as third world, they do not perceive it as a hostile, racist world—terms often levelled by Hararis in North America against the government and citizens of the United States. Voiced in the language of racism, and raised on a media which has demonized Muslims from the Iran-Contra affair, to the Lockerbie bombing, the P.L.O., the fatwa issued against Salman Rushdie, Saddam Hussein's "mother of all battles," the war in Somalia, and most recently, the bombing of the World Trade Centre, Harari youth in the United States are aware that as Muslims they are popularly associated with America's post-Cold War enemy #1.

Where members of their parents generation see return to Harar as a moral imperative, the discussion of repatriation among youth on H-Net is voiced primarily as a response to the perceived fears of increased racism and anti-Muslim sentiment in the United States, and by extension and association, Canada. These concerns played themselves out most dramatically through an ongoing discussion about Y2K. Throughout their discussions in 1999, there was considerable anxiety concerning the impending millennial computer compliance crisis. A couple of members, prophesizing total pandemonium in the year 2000, began in 1998 to urgently encourage Hararis to return home. One member, Mohammed, wrote:

> Our chance of survival is greater there. Ethiopia will not be as affected as the U.S. Of course the impact will be there. Shortage of gasoline and consumer goods will (happen) everywhere ... Harar is less dependent on electricity, and there is no water and wastewater treatment plants and no chemical plants to worry about. If you acquire land, you could start farming, raising cattle and chickens. All we need to survive is food, water, shelter, and clothing. The rest is luxury and materialism.

The new romance of the homeland suggests a return to a simple agricultural existence—ignoring the fact that Hararis, although historically farmers and traders, stopped working the land over a century ago. It idealizes an environment which many young Hararis otherwise imagine as an undesirable place to live. Other members suggest additional advantages to living in Harar, including "a sewer system which won't fail (because there isn't one)," and "Y2K compliant cooking equipment" (a fireplace, in other words).

Members also appealed to the sentiment that if Y2K was going to impoverish everyone in North America, then it was better to be poor among your own people. What was at issue was not only the fear of the breakdown of infrastructure and the supply of essential resources, but social breakdown as well. Mohammed wrote:

> I would not recommend that you stay in this country. The U.S. is a place that is highly charged with racial tension. With the economic disparities that already exist, when further exacerbated by Y2K induced poverty the whole place could erupt into Balkan style warfare ... There is talk of National Guards being deployed in some states due to Y2K. What is the consequence of that to you? I would only remind you of what the Canadian special forces did to Somalis in Somalia.

Another member added:

> I was watching C-PAN last night. The State Department at the CIA were giving a briefing to the Senate subcommittee on Y2K. The issue raised was the possibility of terrorism in the U.S. during the Y2K crisis. And of course I hope we all know who is meant by these terrorists. Whenever there is a problem in the West they always look for a scapegoat. I happened to watch the 700 Club one night. It is a Christian ministry station. They were also discussing Y2K and terrorism. However, unlike the CIA they named who they thought were the potential terrorists, and lo and behold it was us ("the Muslims").

Related to this is the common Muslim response that millennial anxiety is a Christian superstition—the Muslim calendar, after all, begins 622 years after the Christian calendar with the *Hijra*, the flight of the Prophet Mohammed and his followers from Mecca to Medina. But while Hararis use the Hijri calendar for the purposes of fasting and commemorating other Islamic events, this is false comfort for those who live in the West and those who rely on Western technology. Using Islam as a counter-argument, several members responded with appeals to religious faith, (or fatalism depending on your perspective), with sentiments like "Nothing will happen to us that Allah has not willed," or likening this to the punishment God inflicted during Noah's lifetime upon those who disobeyed him. Being Muslim might be a problem in a racist America, but Islam is still salvation.

The Imperative of Return

Mohammed ended one of his frequent postings on this subject with the following postscript: "In my humble view I believe this is the time ... *Gey waldow gey giba', tey saribey waraba yagba'ba*." This line is from the chorus of an old Harari wedding song and translates as: "Child of Harar, return to Harar/Let the hyena live in the black mountain." The lines are understood to be a call for Hararis to return to where they belong, to their rightful place in the city of Harar. The city is juxtaposed with the black mountain, the hyena with the child of the city. The black mountain is not a specific place, but a metaphor for all the distant and alien places beyond the city. "In our case," stated one man, "North America/Australia or anywhere that is not Harar is considered 'Tey Sari.' The soul of the meaning is a place not fit for Hararis to inhabit." Adding, "I just happen to believe this thing to be true now more than ever."

There is an imperative for Hararis to reside in Harar. The obligation to honour this call is regarded as

the "last will of the ancestors." Where there is impossible, as it was for those forced to flee as refugees, the obligation is, in the words of one young Harari man, "to contribute everything we can afford to strengthen and enhance the interests of our people in Harar." One of these obligations is to protect and defend the city—to wage *jihad*, holy war, and be willing to die in defense of Islam. "If necessary we should go back to defend our motherland against any potential enemies," wrote Farhan. In the wake of a Y2K crisis, "I think (Harar) will need all the men it can get for defensive measures . . . " wrote Mohammed. "It is potentially possible that any kind of warmongers could invade Harar and destroy it. Protecting Harar could be one incentive to make you think of going back."

Historically, where Hararis engaged in ongoing struggles with warring factions of Oromo and Amhara and dominated inter-ethnic trade in Harar, they were forced to manage foreign influences in various ways. Defining what is foreign, and maintaining boundaries around the group in such a way as to prevent foreign infiltration, are issues with which Hararis have long had to contend. As an exclusively urban population, the place of the Hararis is in the city. The mountains beyond are the untamed wilderness—the world outside the city wall is inhabited by creatures that threaten—hyenas and outsiders. Relations with these outsiders are carefully negotiated through political, economic and ceremonial means.

Vital to this is the possibility of enculturation. Despite a strict pretence to endogamy and ethnic exclusivity, members of other populations, notably Oromo and Somali can and sometimes do "become" Harari through a recognized process known as *Ge limaad*—"learning the way of the city," or rather, the way of life of its people. This involves adopting the language and cultural and religious practices of the Harari, and being integrated socially through kinship, friendship and membership in a community observance association. As Hararíness has long been associated with class-based prestige, enculturation is often considered desirable by Oromo and Somali who have lived in the urban Harari environment for generations, have already adopted many aspects of Harari culture, and have strong social ties with Hararis.

Hyenas, are, like outsiders, creatures with which interaction must be carefully managed. Their threat is omnipresent, but provided Hararis can show them respect, and feed them regularly they can maintain sufficient distance in order to protect themselves. Limiting and controlling contact with outsiders is more difficult, particularly where the Harari are now a numeric minority in the area. This is even truer in the diaspora, where the Harari population cannot rely on their continued occupation of a place to support their claims to exercising power greater than their numbers might warrant. In the diaspora, alliances with other Muslims, create a sense of belonging to a much wider and more effective community—the *umma*, or brotherhood of Islam.

The verse above has come to serve as something of an allegory—a narrative device that alludes to historical circumstances and in certain senses can be used to refer to the current dispersal of the *Ge waldach*, the children of Harar. Exile from the city is likened to the *Hijra*, the flight the Prophet Mohammed and his followers were forced to make in order to escape persecution in Medina for their religious beliefs. The journey many Hararis have been forced to undertake has been a migratory passage over landscapes that have symbolic and moral meanings. To arrive in non-Muslim countries demands the creation of Muslim space—creating a separate social and moral universe within dominant society (cf. Metcalf 1996).

For Hararis, the notion that their rightful place is back in the city of Harar, is reinforced by the perceptions of racism against Muslims (and less often against Africans) in the North American environment, and particularly in the U.S. If there is a Y2K crisis, "I would much rather fold my arms and raise my own food in my own country, and even die there if necessary, than wait for a handout from racist institutions like the police, army and National Guard," wrote Mohammed. "I believe that the only reason we were welcome here (the U.S.) was to serve (their interests). When there is nothing for us to do we will be disposed of unceremoniously." In the paradigmatic diaspora, there is a belief, as Safran states, that people "believe they are not—and cannot be—fully accepted by their host country,"—a significant reason for the imperative to return to the homeland when the time is right (1991: 83-84).

Mohammed's parents, who fled from Harar to Saudi Arabia, where Mohammed was born, might beg to differ. Generational differences in experiences are reflected in people's conceptions both about North America and the homeland. Romance about the homeland among elders is based on a nostalgia, which their children cannot share. This nostalgia refers to the social rather than environmental aspects of Harar. Many older Hararis miss the tight sense of community made possible in the concentrated space of Harar, and the obligatory support between neighbours and extended family members residing in close proximity. Imagining the homeland in these terms is easier for the older members of this first generation of immigrants because, as Tölölyan states, first

generation immigrants "bear the homeland's and nation's marks in body and speech and soul" (1996: 29). Many older Hararis move with much less ease than do their children in North America. Often illiterate in English, limited in their spoken English, and with few relations with non-Hararis, they feel "alien" in a way their largely North Americanized children do not. This is particularly the case, as my work in Toronto suggests, where youth perceive of their environment as diverse and multicultural.

Parents embody the cultural signifiers—from the circumcised genitalia of women, to national dress—which their children opt not to carry. Where members of the younger generation do adopt signifiers they chose transnational symbols of Islam—the veil and modest dress—recognizable currency in North America that connects them to the broader community of believers. Having grown up here, their associations are not nearly as exclusively Harari as those of their parents and their relationships to other Muslims are made clear when they discuss their fears about anti-Muslim sentiment in North America. Although they are Black Africans they identify with the broad Sunni Muslim *umma*, rather than a more specifically African American Islamic consciousness.

Creating an Essentialist National Identity

In applying the concept of *Hijra* to the contemporary reality of Harari dispersal, and *jihad*, or holy war in defense of Islam as a reaction to anti-Muslim propaganda in the United States, people can make Muslim sense of contemporary circumstances and find support in a wider community. As Voll observes, for Muslim minorities everywhere, the interpretation of these concepts provides the basis for establishing principles by which Muslim life can be maintained in non-Muslim contexts (1991: 205).

Among Hararis, return is still phrased though, in the culturally specific terms of origin—"home" is Harar, rather than the spiritual heartland of Mecca, and the discussion about fears of anti-Muslim sentiment takes place between Hararis over the Internet, Hararis who, if they were simply Muslims, would only subscribe to IslamNet. Through Muslim discourse, Hararis can simultaneously orient themselves in multiple landscapes. As part of the broader *umma* of Muslims in North America and worldwide they can establish allies in defence of racism in North America and refer to *jihad* as the fight against those forces which seek to demonize their religion and its followers. *Jihad* is a concept simultaneously employed with respect to the homeland—in terms of defending their holy city of origin, known as *medinat-al-awlia*, or "the city of saints" (see Gibb, 1999b). The imperative of return is articulated in culturally specific discourse calling the children of the city to return from the black mountain, and this is framed by broader Muslim principles.

Eickelman and Piscatori write that "Muslims seem effortlessly to juggle local and multiple identities—villager, tribesman, woman, citizen—with the broader identity of believer and to legitimise them all by reference to the idiom of the cosmopolitan community of believers (*umma*) (1990: xiv). While I question the effortlessness of this balancing act, this perhaps could only be said to be true where each of those identities is Muslim by definition. This was not the case for Hararis in the Christian-defined Ethiopia, nor is it the case for Muslims who form a religious minority in North America and both sites consequently represent battlegrounds within which there are limits to the rights to Muslim expression. Interestingly, while young Hararis in the diaspora appeal to the idea of Hararis as a nation, it is at the level of nation-states, Ethiopian, and American and Canadian that reconciling multiple identities appears to be problematic.

Some Hararis do identify more strongly as Ethiopians in the diaspora. In part, this reflects the imperative of defining origin in national terms—population statistics privilege national origin over subnational or ethnic origin or religious orientation—and the fact that the designation Harari is for the most part unknown to anyone not of Ethiopian background. "But for those of you proud of being Ethiopian," writes Farhan, "do you know how we became Ethiopian? Do you know (the Amhara King) Menelik? Do you know Chelenko?"—the infamous battle at which Harari autonomy was lost. Many Harari children born in the diaspora have, in fact, never heard of either. This particular battle, used to support the current claims to Harari authority in Ethiopia, is the one historical episode most often referred to on H-Net. Historical references like this are being evoked in discussion on H-Net to ask questions about how to build a new Harari nation. As "long-distance nationalists" (Anderson, 1983: 12), H-Net members engage in regular debates around the questions of how the economy of Harar be revived; whether the Harari should employ their own currency as they did during the time of the Emirate; and whether the state should have an independent Harari army as it once did.

The romance of former autonomy and glory is not, however, a sufficient basis upon which to construct a new state in what is a complex, ethnically heterogeneous locale. Nor does the creation of an essentialist nationhood (Anderson, 1983; Appadurai, 1995) which uses ter-

ritorial claims to "assert their identity as an ancient, homogenous peoples" (Glick-Schiller, 1992: 52) address the fact that Harari has long been an assimilative category into which neighbouring Oromo and Somali have become enculturated to varying degrees. As Clifford asks, "How long does it take to become 'indigenous'?" (1994: 309). What if one is not a Harari, but an Oromo or Somali who has grown up in Harar and shared many aspects of Harari culture and is now resident in the diaspora? Is this person more of a "person of the city" than a Harari child who has never been there?

In some senses, Hararis in the diaspora have not had to deal with these issues. Given the economic and educational disparities between populations in Harar, very few Oromo and Somali from Harar have been able to settle in North America. When they have, they have associated themselves with their respective ethnic communities, as Sorenson's work on Ethiopian voluntary organizations in North America illustrates (1992). This suggests that being Harari is obviously much more than being of a specific place. For a dispersed community though, a territorialized, spatialized locale provides a fixed and tangible point of reference.

The discourse of Harari nationhood, which invokes a specific territorial and localized domain, is, ironically, largely being generated and debated in the deterritorialized space of hyperspace. Through the Internet a place may be relocated in virtual reality, and a community, constituted around a deterritorialized point of reference. Community ties amongst dispersed people may thus be redefined as networks of overlapping relationships, many of which have virtual dimensions, which may be defined by youth whose contact with their place of origin has actually been limited. Contemporary identity then, may not only be a hybrid, transnational or transmigrant formulation, but a phenomenon related to the creation of a virtual form of cultural and community existence—one which is exportable across, or despite the apparent limitations of time and space.

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Notes

1 *Dergue* is Amharic for council, and refers to the Provisional Military Council, which ruled the country between 1974 and 1991.

2 For details of the atrocities committed under the *Dergue* see de Waal 1991.

3 The strictest definition, as Khachig Tölölyan notes, is that shaped by the Jewish paradigm, wherein "the desire to return to the homeland is considered a necessary part of the definition of 'diaspora,'" (1996: 14).

4 From the time of the revolution in 1991, until the first elections held in 1995, the country was governed by an interim government known as the TGE, or Transitional Government of Ethiopia. My original fieldwork in Harar took place during the last year of the TGE, through the elections, and into the first few months of the newly elected government.

5 The most famous of these is Sir Richard Burton, who in 1854, was the first non-Muslim to enter the city. In his *First Footsteps in East Africa: or, An Exploration of Harar*, he calls the city "forbidden" and "under a guardian spell" and writes that it is

> ... the ancient metropolis of a once mighty race, the only permanent settlement in Eastern Africa, the reported seat of Muslim learning, a walled city of stone houses, possessing its independent chief, its peculiar population, its unknown language, its own coinage, the emporium of the coffee trade, (and) the head-quarters of slavery.... (1987: xxvi)

6 For details of this history see Caulk 1971, 1972, 1977; Hassen 1980, 1990; and Zewde 1991, among others.

7 The major populations that have come to settle in Harar in order of their numerical significance.

8 The same could certainly be said of gendered differences, but this discussion requires room of its own. For a partial discussion of this issue see the article by Celia Rothenberg and myself, "Believing Women: Harari and Palestinian Women at Home and in the Diaspora," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 20(2): 243-259.

9 For some discussion of gendered and generational differences please see Gibb 1999a; and Gibb and Rothenberg 2000.

10 This estimate is provided by Alfred Bardey, among others, who suggests that the population is derived from intermarriage between Arab immigrants and members of local populations (1897: 130-180).

11 This is roughly the estimate suggested by the first census of the new democratic era conducted in 1994.

12 See de Waal, 1991.

13 i.e., the Oromo, the largest single ethnic group in the country, the Eritreans, and the Tigrayans, another highland Christian elite with strong historical claims to regional dominance who currently form the basis of the new Ethiopian government.

14 The extent of the new government's commitment to democracy has, however, been subject to question since its inception. Major political parties such as the Oromo Liberation Front (representing the majority of Oromos in the country) boycotted the 1995 elections, suggesting that the current government is not truly representative of the diversity in the country. The current regime has also been criticized for reversing its stance on the freedom of the press and for continued aggression against Oromo nationalists.

15 The Transitional Government of Ethiopia (1991-95) originally proposed 13 regions on the basis of the ethnic majorities in various parts of the country. Four of the smaller southern states subsequently merged to form the Southern People's Region. Two of the remaining regions are city states given over to particular ethnic authorities: Addis Ababa as the Imperial Capital established by King Menelik, is now an Amhara enclave in the Oromo Region, and Harar and its environs have been delineated as the Harari Region.

16 For a detailed discussion of the subject of arranged marriages please see my forthcoming article, "Manufacturing Place and the Embodiment of Tradition: Muslim Africans in a Deterritorialized World" (2001).

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Le lien familial au coeur du quotidien transnational : les femmes shi'ites libanaises à Montréal

Josiane Le Gall

Résumé: Les femmes shi'ites libanaises résidant à Montréal organisent symboliquement leur espace de telle façon que leur quotidien se déroule simultanément à Montréal, au Liban et ailleurs. Tout en étant très fortement impliquées dans la vie montréalaise, elles participent à distance grâce à la technologie à la vie de leur société d'origine. Même si les études sur le transnationalisme portent généralement sur les hommes, notre recherche montre l'implication des femmes shi'ites libanaises dans ce processus. Leurs pratiques transnationales doivent être comprises à la lumière du caractère central de la famille pour les Libanais et de certaines particularités du réseau social des femmes à Montréal. Ces éléments augmentent l'importance des contacts avec des membres de la famille vivant au Liban ou ailleurs dans le monde. Les migrantes ne se rassemblent plus autour d'un lieu mais autour d'une réalité familiale qui dépasse les frontières.

Abstract: Lebanese Shi'ites living in Montreal reconfigure space in such a way that they can be said to be living simultaneously in Montreal and in Lebanon. Though very involved in the Montreal setting, they participate at a distance in Lebanese society, with the help of modern technology. Women are often neglected in writings on transnationalism, but our research shows Lebanese Shi'ite women involved on a daily basis in transnational ties. Their transnational practices must be understood in relation to models of the family in Lebanon as well as certain particularities of the women's social relations in Montreal. Both contribute to intensifying the importance of contact with family members living Lebanon or other national contexts.

Les femmes shi'ites libanaises résidant à Montréal organisent symboliquement leur espace de telle façon que leur quotidien se déroule «simultanément» dans plusieurs lieux, que ce soit à Montréal, au Liban ou ailleurs dans le monde. Les migrantes ont recours à de multiples procédures pour reconfigurer leur espace, notamment en maintenant leur culture et leur identité et en multipliant les liens avec leur pays d'origine et ailleurs. Le présent article vise à illustrer deux aspects de ce processus : 1) le rôle des relations sociales, en particulier des liens familiaux et 2) la participation des femmes.

La reconfiguration de l'espace observée dans le cas des Libanais shi'ites à Montréal fait partie de la migration transnationale. Pour expliquer la transnationalité, les auteurs font généralement appel à des facteurs économiques. Toutefois, dans le cas des Libanais shi'ites à Montréal, le maintien des liens familiaux à la base du processus transnational ne s'explique-t-il pas non seulement par la position des migrants et la situation économique dans les pays auxquels ils participent, mais surtout parce que l'aspect central de la famille persiste? Tout d'abord, la recherche d'unité familiale et la recomposition familiale qui en découle nécessitent la poursuite des contacts, peu importe le lieu de résidence de ses membres. Ensuite, l'aspect particulier des relations sociales qui caractérisent la vie des migrantes à Montréal et dans de nombreux cas, l'absence ou la forme réduite de la famille, intensifie l'importance des membres de la famille qui se trouvent ailleurs et de ce fait, favorisent la continuité des liens avec eux et donc, du réseau transnational. Finalement, si la cellule de base pour les Shi'ites libanais reste la famille, c'est à partir et autour des femmes que se tissent les relations sociales, ce qui laisse présager l'implication considérable des femmes shi'ites libanaises dans le maintien des liens avec le groupe familial dispersé dans le monde. Autrement dit, dans le cas des Shi'ites libanais à Montréal, 1) la famille ne sert pas uniquement de base pour l'établissement des liens transnationaux mais en est

aussi une justification; 2) suite au redéploiement des membres du groupe familial dans l'espace, les liens transnationaux s'étendent bien au-delà du Québec et du Liban; 3) la pérennité de la famille donne forme à une «famille transnationale»; 4) la participation active des femmes dans la création et le maintien des liens transnationaux s'explique par leur rôle de pivot au sein des relations familiales.

Migration transnationale : de l'explication globale à la vision micro sociale

Pendant de nombreuses années, l'analyse des populations migrantes a été influencée par des représentations de l'espace dépendantes d'images de rupture, dans lesquelles le monde correspondait à un espace fragmenté en territoires distincts. À chacun était associée une société particulière, possédant sa propre économie, culture et trajectoire historique. Dans cette optique, la migration était envisagée comme un processus linéaire et il était sous-entendu qu'il y avait déplacement d'un territoire vers un autre ce qui entraînait automatiquement la rupture des liens avec le pays d'origine (Malkki, 1995). L'accent était placé principalement sur les questions d'intégration et d'assimilation et la perte des traits culturels du groupe d'origine était considérée comme un phénomène inévitable.

Récemment, avec la reconnaissance des caractéristiques du monde contemporain[1] et de la nouvelle configuration de la réalité migratoire, cette conception de la migration a été modifiée. L'expérience des migrants n'apparaît plus autant segmentée entre le pays d'origine et le pays récepteur. Ils établissent de nombreux et multiples types de liens à travers les frontières politiques, culturelles et géographiques. Ils le font, non pas en contradiction, mais en conjonction avec leur installation dans le pays récepteur. Non seulement les migrants participent aux institutions politiques et économiques de ce dernier, mais ils se trouvent incorporés à son rythme de vie quotidien tout en maintenant des liens ailleurs. Les termes de transmigration, de transnationalité, de migration circulaire ou transnationale et de va-et-vient sont employés pour désigner ce processus social. Selon la définition du transnationalisme proposée par un groupe de chercheurs, les migrants conservent des relations politiques, économiques, organisationnelles, religieuses, familiales et sociales avec le pays d'origine dans leur vie quotidienne :

> We have defined transnationalism as the processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement. Immigrants who build such social fields are designated «transmigrants». Transmigrants develop and maintain multiple relations, familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political that span borders. Transmigrants take actions, make decisions, and feel concerns, and develop identities within social networks that connect them to two or more societies simultaneously. (Glick Schiller et al., 1992 : 1-2).

Pour rendre compte d'un tel phénomène, les auteurs font appel principalement à la technologie et aux facteurs économiques. La migration transnationale s'expliquerait principalement par les formes changeantes d'accumulation du Capital à un niveau global qui rendent instables les conditions économiques et sociales du pays d'origine et du pays récepteur des migrants (Basch et al., 1994; Massey et al., 1987). Ces derniers se retrouvent donc dans une situation d'insécurité économique tant dans un pays que dans l'autre, perçoivent le pays d'origine comme une porte de secours et pour cette raison, conservent des liens avec lui (Basch et al., 1994). Parmi les autres raisons avancées, on retrouve l'exclusion sociale et le racisme que subissent certains groupes suite à la migration (Basch et al., 1994), ou la recherche d'une valorisation du statut social (Goldring, 1998). Ces explications justifient l'emphase placée dans les études sur les activités économiques (Tarrius, 1995), et politiques (Basch et al., 1994; Glick Schiller et Fouron, 1999) au détriment des activités socio-culturelles.

Pour mieux cerner ce phénomène, il semble nécessaire d'élucider le rôle et la signification des relations sociales qui lient les espaces et rendent les pratiques possibles. N'est-ce pas aussi parce que les individus avec qui ces liens s'établissent sont essentiels pour les migrants que la migration ne provoque pas une rupture? Or, le développement et le maintien des réseaux sociaux au-delà des frontières par les individus restent peu connus et peu compris (Smart and Smart, 1998). On se penche davantage sur les activités transformées par les réseaux sociaux et pour lesquelles ces derniers sont mobilisés, que sur les réseaux sociaux eux-mêmes. Les auteurs ont montré comment la famille et les liens parentaux servent généralement de base sur laquelle reposent tous les autres types de liens (Basch et al., 1994; Rouse, 1989; Soto, 1987), rôle rendu possible par la place qu'elle occupe à l'intérieur de différentes sociétés et par les normes et obligations qui lui sont associées. Mais est-ce que la famille est cantonnée à ne jouer qu'un rôle d'intermédiaire? Certaines caractéristiques de la structure familiale libanaise que nous avons examinée non seule-

ment faciliteraient le maintien des liens d'un pays à l'autre mais surtout, motiveraient ou justifieraient leur établissement. Il est donc essentiel d'accorder une importance aux formes familiales et aux significations de la famille pour les individus.

Participation des femmes à la migration transnationale

Dans la présente recherche, l'accent est placé exclusivement sur l'expérience des femmes. Si quelques auteurs se sont penchés sur la question du genre (Georges, 1992; Goldring, 1996; Sutton, 1992), celle-ci a généralement été négligée dans les recherches sur la transmigration (Mahler, 1998; Rios, 1992). L'accent est placé principalement sur le groupe et la communauté ainsi que les questions portant sur l'identité et l'ethnicité. De plus, dans la majorité des cas, les femmes n'apparaissent que comme des acteurs secondaires dans le processus et l'attention est accordée presque entièrement aux hommes. C'est le cas de l'étude de Tarrius (1995) sur le territoire circulatoire des commerçants Maghrébins en Europe, où les femmes ne sont guère mentionnées. Par ailleurs, les quelques études qui ont montré l'implication de ces dernières dans la transmigration, la plupart du temps des femmes seules en provenance des Philippines, d'Haïti ou d'autres pays des Caraïbes, suggèrent une moindre participation de leur part (Georges, 1992; Glick Schiller et al., 1992; Goldring, 1998; Kearney, 1995b). Pourtant, parce que les liens transnationaux peuvent témoigner d'une recherche d'unité familiale et qu'il revient généralement aux femmes de maintenir les réseaux familiaux, ces dernières risquent d'être amenées à jouer un rôle essentiel dans l'établissement de liens transnationaux. En effet, faire circuler les informations, les biens et les services, ce que DiLeonardo (1987) nomme le «travail de parenté», est une des responsabilités le plus souvent assignée aux femmes qui persiste suite à la dispersion de la famille.

Afin de montrer le rôle de la recherche d'unité familiale et la participation des femmes Shi'ites libanaises vivant à Montréal au processus de reconfiguration de l'espace, j'examinerai, après avoir tracé un rapide portrait de la migration shi'ite libanaise à Montréal: 1) le caractère central de la famille pour les Libanais et son maintien suite à la migration; 2) les facteurs qui intensifient la valeur de la famille; 3) la recomposition familiale et; 4) les types et les formes que les liens transnationaux prennent dans la vie quotidienne des femmes.

La présente étude est construite autour de données recueillies lors d'un travail de terrain d'une durée de deux ans (de mars 1997 à septembre 1999) portant sur la place de la famille dans l'expérience des femmes shi'ites libanaises à Montréal. Ce travail est constitué d'observations dans leur milieu d'insertion et d'entretiens semi-directifs d'une durée moyenne de quatre heures menées auprès de 16 femmes shi'ites, âgées entre 20 et 50 ans et ayant vécue à Montréal de quatre à 10 ans. Le terrain a été complété par un court séjour de quelques semaines dans les banlieues sud de Beyrouth, au printemps 1998, chez les parents d'une des femmes interviewées.

La migration shi'ite libanaise à Montréal

Différentes vagues migratoires sont identifiables au sein de la migration libanaise à Montréal, la plus importante se situant au début des années 90. En 1996, 47 745 Libanais étaient recensés au Québec, principalement dans la région de Montréal. C'est la population migrante qui a connu la progression la plus considérable à Montréal, passant de 8700 personnes à plus de 28 000 entre 1986 et 1996, une hausse de 220%[2]. Dispersés dans plusieurs municipalités de l'île de Montréal, les Libanais sont principalement concentrés à Montréal, à Laval et à ville Saint-Laurent.

Aucune donnée précise n'est disponible sur la composition confessionnelle de la migration libanaise, celle-ci étant une projection de l'hétérogénéité du Liban. Les Shi'ites libanais, une des nombreuses confessions religieuses présentes au Liban[3], ne représentent qu'une fraction minime, à peine 20%, du nombre total de Libanais au Québec. Pendant longtemps, la migration libanaise a été essentiellement composée de chrétiens et comptait très peu de musulmans. Avec le déclenchement des hostilités au Liban, son rythme s'est accentué et ses caractéristiques se sont modifiées, reflétant ainsi la tendance observée au Liban en général (Labaki et al., 1993). Les Shi'ites commencent à s'installer au Québec dès le début de la guerre civile, mais ils arrivent beaucoup plus nombreux vers la fin des années 80. Comme pour les autres Libanais, leur départ du Liban est lié principalement à la guerre civile qui a ravagé le pays entre 1975 et 1990 et à la détérioration de la situation économique dans le pays qu'elle a engendrée.

Même si pour beaucoup de Libanais et pour la majorité des Shi'ites le retour au Liban demeure une option, on dispose de peu de données sur le sujet. Élément d'une stratégie pour améliorer le bien-être de sa famille, la migration n'est jamais envisagée par les femmes interviewées comme une solution irrévocable ou une fin en soi. Le retour symbolise l'ultime réalisation du projet migratoire familial. Si la migration devient une réalité durable pour certaines, sans toutefois provoquer une rupture des liens avec le Liban, pour d'autres le projet de

retour se concrétise. Parfois, une troisième destination est sélectionnée. Mais si plusieurs personnes repartent vers le Liban, quelques-unes reviennent éventuellement, pour des raisons identiques à celles qui avaient motivé leur départ la première fois. Cette grande mobilité, faite de «parcours réversibles», révèle la construction d'une vie au gré des opportunités. Elle atteste que les individus n'organisent pas leur vie en fonction de l'attachement à un seul territoire. Tout en étant et en se revendiquant Shi'ites libanaises, il ressort des entretiens que les femmes reconstruisent leur espace et planifient leur avenir dans une perspective internationale. Même si le projet de retour reste vivace, les migrantes suivent des stratégies pragmatiques pour améliorer leur avenir.

Le probable retour ultérieur au Liban est indissociable de la participation à distance à la société libanaise. Parce que les femmes conçoivent leur séjour comme temporaire, leur principale préoccupation reste le maintien des liens avec le Liban. Toutefois, le projet de retour n'explique pas à lui seul la création et la persistance des liens transnationaux, qui eux s'étendent bien au-delà du pays d'origine. Pour comprendre les va-et-vient qui se tissent à travers les frontières, il est essentiel de ne pas perdre de vue les motifs derrière un tel projet : la présence de la famille dans le pays d'origine, l'attachement affectif au Liban et à leur famille, le souci de transmettre les valeurs libanaises aux enfants et le rythme de vie à Montréal.

Place centrale de la famille au Liban

La famille représente l'institution sociale de base de la société libanaise[4]. Au sein de la société, elle se trouve impliquée dans les sphères religieuse, politique, sociale et économique (Barakat, 1985; Joseph, 1996; 1997; Sharabi, 1988). Les analyses font aussi ressortir la primauté de la famille pour les individus eux-mêmes. Au Liban, les individus seraient liés à la famille, responsables vis-à-vis d'elle et lui accorderaient la priorité (Barakat, 1985; 1993; Khalaf, 1977; Joseph, 1993, 1996). D'une part, l'appartenance familiale constitue un des critères employés par les Libanais pour définir leur identité. D'autre part, les choix que les individus sont amenés à faire au cours de leur vie ne sont pas des choix individuels mais pris en fonction des intérêts de leur famille. Joseph emploi le terme de «connectivité» pour décrire la nature des liens qui unissent les membres d'une même famille et expliquer la priorité donnée à la famille :

> By connectivity I mean relationships in which a person's boundaries are relatively fluid so that person feels a part of significant other. Persons in Camp Trad did not experience themselves as bounded separate, or autonomous. They answered for each other, anticipated each other's needs, expected their needs to be anticipated by significant others and often shaped their likes and dislikes in accordance with the likes and dislikes of others. They saw other as extensions of themselves and themselves as extensions of others. (1993 : 452)

Il s'ensuit que les membres d'une même famille sont responsables vis-à-vis d'elle, d'où l'existence de nombreuses obligations familiales, qui n'excluent pas l'absence de conflits, de tensions ou de compétition entre ses différents membres[5]. Pour la plupart des Libanais, la famille constitue une source privilégiée de sécurité, d'entraide et de support tant sur le plan matériel qu'affectif. Du fait de sa place centrale au sein de la société, la famille remplit de nombreuses fonctions pour ses membres. Dans le contexte libanais, marqué entre autres par l'inefficacité ou l'inexistence des programmes gouvernementaux, les relations familiales représentent une ressource économique, politique et sociale indispensable[6]. Par leur biais se fait presque toujours l'accès aux institutions de la société, aux services gouvernementaux et aux emplois (Joseph, 1996). Les individus peuvent également compter sur le voisinage et l'amitié, mais la famille est de loin la ressource la plus cruciale. Dans le cas des Shi'ites, leurs origines paysannes, leur position marginale au sein de la société et leur récente mobilisation en termes politico-religieux ont eu pour effet de favoriser la primauté de la famille. Celle-ci se traduit entre autres par l'existence de familles nombreuses et de larges réseaux de parenté.

Le soutien de la famille s'avère indispensable pour les femmes. Il diminue les pressions rencontrées quotidiennement, particulièrement celles qui découlent de leurs responsabilités parentales Ainsi, elles peuvent compter sur leur famille lors de maladie, pour la garde des enfants ou les tâches domestiques[7]. La famille constitue aussi un soutien moral énorme pour les femmes. Elles y trouvent toujours un interlocuteur et grâce à elle, ne se sentent jamais vraiment seules ou démunies face à des difficultés. De plus, les femmes se situent au coeur du réseau de communication et d'échange. Elles gèrent les relations familiales et les relations sociales «significatives» à l'intérieur de la sphère domestique. Le maintien du réseau familial, nécessaire à la cohésion familiale, impliquant de nombreuses visites et l'organisation des rassemblements lors des fêtes, leur incombe.

Pérennité de la famille à Montréal

Selon les observations recueillies, la signification de la famille pour les femmes shi'ites libanaises ne semble pas

avoir subit de modifications majeures après leur départ du Liban. La famille, tant conjugale qu'élargie, détient toujours pour elles une position dominante et demeure l'unité de base dans leur vie. L'importance de cette entité pour les femmes va de soi. Lorsqu'on leur pose la question, on note l'abondance d'expressions telles : «*Évidemment*», «*Bien sûr* », «*C'est certain*», «*C'est normal*». Du point de vue de l'organisation sociale, les femmes évoquent constamment l'unité familiale. Non seulement elles attachent une importance extrême au groupe familial, mais lorsqu'elles y font référence, toutes parlent en termes d'unité et de continuité. Elles emploient alors les expressions «*Être ensemble*», «*Penser selon une même idée*» ou «*Une même pensée*». Même si elles ne vivent pas auprès de leur famille, tous les détails de la vie de chacun leur sont familiers.

La plupart des personnes interrogées se montrent peu enclines à s'orienter vers les valeurs et les comportements familiaux en vigueur dans la société québécoise et opposent la famille libanaise à la famille québécoise. Les femmes la voient comme peu unie, constituée de gens qui ne se rencontrent qu'occasionnellement et pensent qu'elle se désagrège une fois les enfants adultes. Toutes soulignent qu'au Québec, la famille est dénuée d'importance et dénoncent plusieurs de ses caractéristiquesfcolon; absence de respect, manque d'unité, divorce, refus de l'obligation, liberté individuelle, etc[8].

Non seulement la migration n'a en rien modifié les sentiments des femmes envers les membres éloignés géographiquement, mais en aucun cas, la mobilité spatiale et l'éloignement géographique ne passent par la rupture du groupe familial ou par son affaiblissement. Au contraire, la migration devient l'occasion d'un resserrement du lien familial. Un plus grand attachement aux membres de la cellule familiale directe (les parents, frères et soeurs), vivant la plupart du temps à l'extérieur du Québec, est même observé. Plusieurs éléments, liés aux obligations familiales et au contexte montréalais, amplifient le poids que prend la famille en situation de migration et l'intensité des échanges hors frontière qui en découle. Paradoxalement, c'est l'absence des membres qui augmente le besoin que les femmes ressentent de cette structure.

Vivre éloignée des membres de sa famille

Une des plus grandes difficultés éprouvées par les femmes shi'ites libanaises à Montréal consiste à se retrouver loin géographiquement de leur famille. Les parents, les frères et les soeurs de la plupart des femmes habitent au Liban ou ailleurs dans le monde. Seulement trois des 16 femmes rencontrées sont venues à Montréal accompagnées de leurs parents et de quelques-uns de leurs frères et soeurs. Dans le cas de deux de ces femmes, les parents sont retournés depuis au Liban. Les autres vivent toutes avec leur mari, sauf l'une d'entre elles qui a migré seule. Trois sont arrivées à Montréal en même temps que celui-ci, les neuf autres sont venues ici épouser un homme rencontré au Liban ou ont quitté le Liban peu de temps après leur mariage[9].

Les femmes qui se sont mariées à Montréal ou peu de temps avant leur départ se retrouvent loin du foyer parental pour la première fois. Cette séparation n'est jamais vécue aisément, même au Liban, mais en migrant ces femmes quittent la maison parentale et le pays et se retrouvent éloignées des personnes qui leur sont significatives[10]. Toutes affirment que cette séparation est extrêmement difficile et douloureuse. L'absence des leurs provoque un sentiment d'isolement, surtout au début de leur séjour : elles se sentent seules, impuissantes et avouent pleurer souvent, sans raison et surtout, sans pouvoir se contrôler. Quand on leur demande si elles envisagent éventuellement de retourner au Liban, la présence de la famille conditionne ce projet. Dans le même temps, ces femmes s'inquiètent continuellement au sujet de leurs parents. Ces craintes vis-à-vis du bien être des membres de leur famille sont constantes en raison de la situation instable qui sévit dans le pays et qui touche particulièrement leur région d'origine.

Manque de soutien

À Montréal, leur situation précaire accroît la difficulté d'être séparées de leurs proches. Elles se sentent isolées et manquent de soutien face aux obstacles rencontrés. Tout d'abord, se retrouver seules, loin des individus à qui elles se confiaient habituellement, signifie ne plus pouvoir partager ses confidences avec d'autres. Ensuite, la plupart des femmes ont des jeunes enfants et leur principale responsabilité porte sur leur rôle de mère[11]. Dans ces conditions, être loin de leur mère et de leurs soeurs signifie un surplus de travail et de préoccupations et moins de temps disponible. De plus, des événements particuliers, telles que des naissances ou des maladies, occasionnent des problèmes alors qu'elles recevraient une aide substantielle si elles étaient près de leur famille. Finalement, elles doivent entreprendre seules de nombreuses démarches administratives (contacter des gens, payer des factures, remplir des formulaires, etc.). Au Liban, elles pouvaient toujours compter sur des membres de la famille ou des amis pour les seconder ou accomplir ces démarches à leur place. D'ailleurs, les femmes ne mentionnent jamais l'existence de contraintes associées à la famille. Au contraire, elles valorisent la

famille et tiennent un discours élogieux sur les diverses formes de soutien qu'elle apporte dans le quotidien et lors des moments difficiles. L'aide obtenue à Montréal n'est pas nulle. Voisins, amis et belles familles prennent le relais de la famille directe. Cependant, parce que les individus bénéficient de temps libres restreints, la quantité et la qualité de l'aide apportée sont insuffisantes.

Qualité de la vie sociale à Montréal

L'éloignement est d'autant plus ressenti du fait de l'insuffisance qualitative des relations sociales nouées à Montréal : il est difficile de remplacer sa famille. L'écart entre les modes de vie de Montréal et du Liban renforce le sentiment de manque vis-à-vis du cadre familial libanais. Le sentiment d'isolement ressenti par les femmes à Montréal équivaut rarement dans les faits à leur isolement réel. Au contraire, la plupart des Shi'ites qui sont à Montréa se connaissent entre eux, fréquentent les mêmes institutions religieuses et habitent souvent à proximité d'autres Libanais. Un tel sentiment d'isolement subjectif est provoqué par l'absence des parents d'une part, mais aussi parce que les rapports sociaux sont moins développés qu'au Liban. Du point de vue de ces femmes, elles ont des relations moins satisfaisantes en raison du rythme de vie propre à Montréal. Le manque de temps et les occupations de chacune semblent être une des principales raisons pour expliquer le caractère superficiel ou non satisfaisant des relations sociales. En contrepartie des avantages qu'offre la vie à Montréal, toutes les femmes considèrent le quotidien beaucoup trop axé sur le travail aux dépens des contacts entre individus. C'est, avec l'absence des membres de la famille, un des commentaires les plus fréquents par rapport aux obstacles rencontrés à Montréal.

Les femmes sont loin d'être passives et résignées. Même si elles ont beaucoup de responsabilités domestiques, la plupart préfèrent étudier et travailler au lieu de rester confinées à la maison à s'ennuyer pendant l'absence du mari. Elles avouent d'ailleurs vivre beaucoup de difficultés au début lorsqu'elles n'ont aucune autre activité que de s'occuper de la maison et des enfants. Dans les deux cas, si elles restent à la maison ou si elles étudient ou travaillent, elles ont peu de temps disponible à consacrer aux personnes qu'elles connaissent ou encore, pour développer de nouveaux liens.

Leurs récriminations face à la vie à Montréal se comprend à la lumière de la situation au Liban où l'intensité des rapports sociaux est beaucoup plus élevée, en particulier pour les femmes. Là-bas, le mari travaille également et occupe parfois deux emplois. Mais, même s'il n'est pas toujours présent dans la journée, elles ne se retrouvent jamais seules. Comme plusieurs vivaient avec leur famille au moment de leur départ et que celle-ci est généralement nombreuse, elles étaient entourées de plusieurs personnes. Quand elles sont mariées, elles habitent souvent à proximité de membres de leur famille et échangent intensivement avec leurs voisines. Quelques études ont insisté sur le fait que les visites font partie intégrante de la vie des femmes (Eickleman, 1998; Joseph, 1978). À l'exception des travaux domestiques, ces visites constituent une activité qui occupe une partie de la journée. Dans les moments libres, les femmes ne restent jamais seules mais se rendent chez des amies, des voisins ou de la famille. Le matin, plusieurs femmes se rencontrent chez l'une d'elles pour les *subhiyye* ou matinées, c'est-à-dire pour prendre le café ensemble. Les visites prennent place généralement dans leur propre rue ou encore, dans le même édifice. Les rues des quartiers populaires à Beyrouth, d'où provient la majorité des Shi'ites, sont des lieux où se forment d'important réseaux sociaux (Joseph, 1978). Au Liban, les gens disposent de plus de temps libre, ou ont le sentiment d'avoir plus de temps, pour pratiquer différentes activités, telles qu'aller à la plage, dans un café ou un restaurant, faire des visites, etc. À Montréal, ces femmes ont l'impression de se retrouver seules à la maison une grande partie de la journée.

Famille transnationale

Suite à leur départ du Liban, la valeur que les migrantes accordent à la famille s'exprime sous une nouvelle forme. On assiste en effet à la transnationalisation du réseau familial. Si les liens familiaux se situent au coeur de l'organisation sociale des femmes, ces derniers transcendent les frontières. Quand elles mentionnent la famille, la notion renvoie tant aux membres qui vivent à Montréal, qu'elles côtoient plus ou moins régulièrement, qu'à ceux qui se trouvent ailleurs. L'univers de la famille ne fait pas l'objet d'une parcellisation entre «la famille ici» et la «famille là-bas». À travers cette recomposition familiale, une «famille transnationale» s'élabore. Les contacts entretenus avec les membres de la famille «là-bas» vont même jusqu'à dépasser en intensité et en qualité les échanges avec la population locale montréalaise. Même si les coûts pour établir des liens à travers les frontières prennent rapidement des dimensions considérables, il semble plus difficile d'entretenir des liens continus avec des personnes à Montréal, si elles ne font pas partie de la famille «proche». Les occupations de chacune, le manque de soutien et de temps, font de la dispersion dans la ville un obstacle plus grand que les kilomètres les séparant des personnes significatives à l'extérieur de Montréal.

La recherche de l'unité du groupe familial, suite à son éparpillement dans des processus migratoires différenciés, demeure un objectif prioritaire, en dépit de la séparation physique imposée par la migration. Elle dépend fortement des diverses pratiques de mobilité mises en place et sans cesse renouvelées par ses membres. Pour surmonter les risques de désorganisation familiale liés à la situation migratoire, les attaches avec la famille au pays ne se relâchent pas et un réseau de liens familiaux étroits et solides se perpétue au sein des familles. Autrement dit, les contacts entre les membres, peu importe le lieu où ils se trouvent, persistent justement pour que le lien familial ne soit pas rompu et pour effacer la dispersion géographique. Le travail d'entretenir les relations familiales est assuré en large part par les femmes. De par leur rôle de pivot des relations familiales, il leur revient souvent la tâche de faire circuler informations, biens et services au-delà des frontières. Pour toutes, les contacts avec le groupe familial se maintiennent, en dépit du déploiement de celui-ci sur plusieurs espaces, et une continuité s'établit.

Réseau transnational multilocalisé

Le type de transnationalité auquel les femmes participent opère principalement à travers les contacts maintenus par les membres d'une famille élargie entre eux, tout en recouvrant d'autres types de relations sociales. Mais même si elles le désirent, entretenir des liens avec tous représente un investissement trop élevé, étant donné la taille de la famille, le prix des communications et les ressources monétaires à leur disposition. Si les échanges touchent un grand nombre de personnes, ils s'établissent de façon privilégiée avec une partie d'entre elles seulement. À l'intérieur de la nouvelle configuration transnationale des relations familiales, une tendance se dessine. Les relations maintenues par les migrantes sur une base régulière impliquent un noyau de base comprenant un nombre restreint de personnes. La préférence va à la famille directe, c'est-à-dire aux parents, aux frères et aux soeurs. Même s'ils s'avèrent beaucoup moins fréquents, des contacts impliquent aussi directement quelques oncles, tantes et cousins. Autrement dit, la proximité familiale abolit la distance spatiale.

Mais les rapports avec le reste du groupe familial ne disparaissent pas. Les nouvelles s'échangent à un rythme constant et les femmes connaissent les allers et venues de tous, peu importe leur lieu de résidence et la distance qui les sépare de ces personnes. Les parents, principalement les mères, servent en quelque sorte d'intermédiaires puisqu'ils transmettent des nouvelles aux autres membres de la famille. Une chaîne de communication se crée, chaîne qui véhicule la communication directe. À cet effet, les appels téléphoniques et les visites possèdent un caractère multiplicateur puisque les femmes profitent toujours de ces occasions pour s'informer de plusieurs personnes. Quotidiennement, elles obtiennent des nouvelles de leurs proches et du Liban. En même temps, les configurations de la famille élargie peuvent et sont réactivées à tout moment. Lorsque l'occasion se présente, en cas de nécessité par exemple, les migrantes n'hésitent pas à renouer le contact, pour faire appel à l'un des membres de la famille. Ce sont les voyages au Liban et les nombreuses visites auxquelles ils donnent lieu qui offrent l'occasion de renouer avec tout le cercle familial. De plus, les migrantes ne limitent pas les liens à leur propre famille. Elles conservent des liens avec d'autres personnes, notamment la famille du mari. Ce sont souvent elles qui maintiennent la relation avec la mère ou les soeurs de leur conjoint. À cet espace de sociabilité se greffent aussi quelques amies d'enfance, lesquelles sont souvent intégrées aux réseaux des femmes en tant que membres de la famille.

Les liens tissés à travers les frontières englobent un champ beaucoup plus large que le pays d'origine. En effet, le réseau inclut des personnes dispersées dans plusieurs pays, d'où le caractère multilocalisé de la transnationalité. L'ampleur des migrations et du champ migratoire libanais explique le redéploiement de la famille dans l'espace. La plupart des femmes possèdent de la parenté ailleurs qu' au Liban et en cela, sont très représentatives de la migration libanaise. Presque toutes ont des frères ou des soeurs, des cousins ou encore des belles-soeurs et beaux-frères à l'extérieur du Liban; dans d'autres villes du Canada, aux États Unis, en Australie, en Europe, en Amérique du sud, dans les pays du Golfe et en Afrique. Lorsque des frères et des soeurs vivent à l'extérieur du Liban, le contact persiste. Même sans toujours conserver des liens réguliers avec des oncles et des cousins installés à l'extérieur du pays d'origine, elles connaissent également très bien les détails de leur vie. Dans tous les cas, le Liban joue le rôle d'une sorte de centrale par laquelle transitent de façon rapide et efficace toutes les informations. Une fois de plus, les mères se chargent d'informer leurs enfants des nouvelles concernant ces personnes. Leur réseau transnational englobe également la famille du mari et les amies installées hors du Liban.

Types de liens

Les échanges entretenus avec la famille au Liban et ailleurs dans le monde en vue d'exprimer leur attachement au groupe familial et d'en assurer la cohésion prennent diverses formes. De façon très nette, le type de transnationalité auquel participent les femmes shi'ites libanaises

concerne beaucoup moins les aspects économique ou politique et davantage le domaine relationnel. Au sein de la nouvelle configuration des relations sociales, la dimension affective domine. Les liens qui en découlent concernent principalement la circulation d'informations, de biens, de services et d'argent.

Parmi les liens transnationaux observés, l'échange d'informations l'emporte. Les femmes shi'ites libanaises sont parfaitement informées de la situation des membres de leur famille se trouvant loin d'elles, qu'ils soient au Liban ou ailleurs. Cette connaissance leur permet de ressentir une unité familiale en dépit de l'éloignement, et traduit une proximité affective. Comme mentionné, l'information qui circule ne concerne pas seulement les personnes présentes au Liban, mais l'ensemble des présents et des absents. Lorsqu'elles communiquent avec leurs proches, elles s'informent premièrement de leur situation ainsi que de celle de tous les autres membres de la famille. Elles demandent des détails sur leur santé, sur les enfants, sur leurs projets, sur les nouveautés dans leur vie, etc. De la même façon, elles leur donnent des nouvelles de leur vie à Montréal. Les enfants constituent un sujet de discussion central[12]. La conjoncture économique et politique du Liban, indissociable de la vie des individus, tout comme celle de Montréal, constituent le deuxième pôle d'intérêt.

Suite à la migration, le lien familial semble perdre quelque peu son rôle instrumental et devenir plus expressif. Les obligations envers les membres de la famille se maintiennent mais en raison de l'éloignement, le soutien quotidien apporté par la partie du cercle familial qui ne se trouve pas à Montréal diffère. En même temps, tout en demeurant l'aspect central des échanges familiaux, la qualité du soutien moral apporté par les membres de la famille au Liban s'affaiblit quelque peu, en raison de l'affaiblissement des contacts face-à-face. Ces femmes ne peuvent plus tout raconter à leurs parents comme par le passé. Au Liban, ils se voyaient quotidiennement et pouvaient tout partager. À Montréal, le prix des télécommunications limite les échanges. Si les migrantes maintiennent la communication avec leurs parents et les tiennent au courant du déroulement de leur vie, elles évitent de mentionner leurs problèmes et filtrent les nouvelles par peur de les inquiéter ou encore d'entraîner de mauvaises interprétations.

En dépit de la distance, elles continuent d'échanger de nombreux services avec leur famille. Elles peuvent recourir à ses membres en tout temps et pour diverses raisons : pour obtenir des papiers officiels, chercher un acquéreur pour leurs biens au Liban, trouver un locataire pour leur maison, obtenir certaines informations précises, etc. Par ailleurs, la situation économique des femmes installées à Montréal ne leur permet pas d'aider financièrement la famille restée au Liban comme elles le souhaiteraient. Les sommes envoyées au pays sont minimes. Les femmes qui se trouvent momentanément dans une situation de grande fragilité financière font parfois appel à leurs parents au Liban pour obtenir des sommes d'argent. La migration n'entraîne pas une division du noyau domestique en divers lieux et une grande partie de l'argent gagné par le mari est dépensée à Montréal. Mais si elles se trouvent dans l'incapacité d'envoyer régulièrement des sommes d'argent à leurs parents, une aide matérielle ponctuelle n'est pas absente. Celle-ci prend souvent la forme d'envoi de produits non disponibles ou plus onéreux au Liban, notamment des vêtements et des produits électroniques. De la même façon, elles reçoivent régulièrement divers présents envoyés par leurs proches du Liban. Il s'agit souvent de requêtes spéciales de leur part. Elles profitent alors du départ ou du retour d'une personne pour demander à la famille ou à des amis de leur faire parvenir des articles introuvables à Montréal.

L'aide obtenue ou offerte pour faciliter les déplacements de leurs proches constitue une autre manifestation de l'unité familiale. Elles entreprennent des démarches auprès de divers organismes pour faciliter le séjour temporaire ou permanent de leurs proches à Montréal. Elles remplissent les lettres d'invitation, écrivent aux ambassades, etc. Toutefois, les efforts consentis ne produisent pas toujours les résultats escomptés. Une fois le visa obtenu par ces personnes, elles les reçoivent et font tout pour leur assurer un séjour aussi agréable que possible. Lors de leurs déplacements à l'étranger, elles peuvent à leur tour compter sur l'hospitalité de leurs proches.

La participation à des activités économiques et politiques transnationales demeure l'exception. Au sein des familles observées, aucune entreprise économique impliquant des échanges avec le Liban ou d'autres pays dans le monde n'a vu le jour. Le manque de moyens financiers et le nombre restreint d'années passées à Montréal pourraient expliquer une telle absence. En effet, au cours des dernières années, de nombreuses entreprises libanaises d'export-import ont été mises sur pied à Montréal, mais cette pratique est beaucoup plus répandue auprès de chrétiens plus fortunés et établis depuis plusieurs années. Même si elles le désirent, les femmes et leur famille ne bénéficient pas des ressources nécessaires, principalement du capital financier, pour monter une entreprise ou un commerce. Les relations familiales ne sont donc nullement mobilisées pour le déploiement d'activités entrepreneuriales vers le Liban. De plus, la plupart des femmes

cherchent à économiser pour investir elles-mêmes au pays, pour assurer leur retour, mais aucune n'a accumulé une somme suffisante pour y faire construire une maison, acheter un appartement, une terre ou un commerce. De la même façon, si les femmes se disent préoccupées par la politique libanaise, aucune ne participe directement à une association ou un parti politique ayant pied à terre au Liban, ce qui ne signifie en aucun cas une neutralité à l'endroit de la politique libanaise.

Formes des liens transnationaux

Les processus de transnationalité opèrent à travers les nombreuses activités ou actions quotidiennes des sujets. Le téléphone, la poste, l'Internet se substituent aux visites et, en permettant d'abolir la distance le temps d'un contact, jouent un rôle tout aussi grand, mais différent, dans la réalisation de l'unité familiale. Pour les femmes shi'ites libanaises à Montréal, ces moyens technologiques rendent possible l'établissement des liens avec des gens à l'extérieur du pays, même si de nombreux obstacles persistent, liés à l'étendue considérable entre le Liban et Montréal, ainsi qu'aux conséquences de la guerre civile. Or, en dépit des coûts inhérents à de tels échanges, leur fréquence est exceptionnellement élevée.

Depuis le début de la guerre civile la poste libanaise n'est pas fonctionnelle, mais l'échange de courrier est relativement abondant. Dans ces circonstances, la meilleure façon de faire parvenir du courrier au Liban est de profiter des fréquents va-et-vient des membres de la famille, des amis ou de connaissances entre Montréal et le Liban[13]. De façon identique, les individus au Liban font parvenir des lettres à leurs proches par l'intermédiaire des migrants qui retournent à Montréal. En plus des lettres, de nombreux articles sont échangés lors de ces déplacements. Il s'agit d'une part de photographies et de vidéocassettes filmées à Montréal, au Liban ou ailleurs, particulièrement lors d'événements particuliers. Plusieurs vidéos tournées lors d'un voyage, d'un mariage, d'une fête, ou d'un anniversaire d'enfant par exemple, que chacun regarde inlassablement lors des soirées passées entre amis et avec la famille, circulent d'un lieu à l'autre. L'échange de vidéocassettes, sur lesquelles apparaissent tour à tour les individus chers, permet un rapprochement en abolissant, le temps de la projection, l'étendue qui les sépare. D'autre part, une partie des produits achetés à Montréal en guise de cadeaux, notamment suite à une naissance ou à un mariage auxquels elles ne peuvent assister, parvient à leurs destinataires au Liban par l'entremise une fois de plus des membres de la famille, des amis ou des connaissances. Régulièrement, la quantité d'objets emportés avec soi lors d'un voyage au Liban prend des dimensions considérables.

La fréquence de la correspondance avec leurs proches est dépendante à la fois du nombre d'individus à l'intérieur de leur réseau personnel et de la capacité de mobiliser les liens. Ainsi, connaître des personnes à Montréal et maintenir le réseau social, notamment par l'entremise des visites, renforcent les contacts avec le Liban. Ces échanges favorisent la multiplication des relations sociales d'une façon supplémentaire. Au Liban, les parents de migrants nouent des contacts plus intenses avec les parents des cousins ou amis de leurs enfants installés à Montréal. Par les contacts qu'il génère entre Libanais shi'ites, le dispositif mis en place pour faciliter les échanges entre individus éloignés géographiquement et la circulation des informations permet à la nouvelle configuration des relations sociales de s'étendre aussi au niveau de la communauté dans son ensemble.

Pendant la guerre, le système de télécommunication était non fonctionnel et seuls les téléphones cellulaires permettaient de parler aux migrants à l'extérieur du pays. À présent, la plupart des Libanais possèdent une ligne téléphonique à la maison. Dans les villes, de nombreux bureaux privés fournissent aussi ce service. Toutefois, le réseau téléphonique libanais présente encore des failles. Pour parler à ses proches au Liban, il faut parfois patienter plusieurs heures avant d'obtenir la communication, celle-ci n'est pas toujours très claire et les interruptions sont fréquentes. La fréquence des coups de téléphone varie en fonction des coûts, en dépit de la baisse des prix observée au cours des dernières années, et de la situation économique des individus : les appels sont mensuels, hebdomadaires et parfois quotidiens. Toutes aimeraient parler à plus de personnes, plus souvent.

Certaines occasions donnent lieu à un nombre plus important d'appels. Les fêtes (anniversaires, naissances, etc.) et les cérémonies religieuses, événements familiaux par excellence, servent de prétexte à la communication entre tous les membres de la famille. Les regroupements de personnes à ces occasions favorisent la diffusion des nouvelles dans l'ensemble du réseau familial. Les difficultés familiales qui surgissent parfois ou les décisions à prendre donnent lieu également à plus d'échanges, notamment lors d'un décès, tout comme les détails à régler lors d'un voyage. Les événements difficiles affectant le Québec et le Liban, comme la «crise du verglas» en janvier 1998 qui a paralysé Montréal ou les nombreuses attaques israéliennes, accroissent aussi les appels téléphoniques.

Les migrantes sont très rapidement renseignées sur les événements qui se produisent ailleurs, souvent dans la journée même, par l'intermédiaire des amis, des membres de la famille ou des connaissances, installés à Montréal ou ailleurs. Les membres de la famille restés

au pays, les individus qui vont en vacances ou en voyages d'affaires au Liban sont des sources privilégiées d'information sur les événements qui touchent le Liban. De plus, les nouvelles circulent rapidement à l'intérieur de la communauté shi'ite de Montréal puisque la plupart des individus se connaissent. Les mass-médias (radio, journaux, télévision satellite, Internet) permettent également de suivre le déroulement de la situation au Liban. Finalement, le courrier électronique joue un rôle sans cesse croissant. Grâce à l'Internet, elles peuvent envoyer et recevoir des messages écrits ou des photographies, et le font régulièrement. Chacune peut compter sur un membre de sa famille qui a accès à un ordinateur et à l'Internet pour faire circuler les nouvelles dans le cercle familial. Toutefois, si le courrier électronique est de plus en plus répandu au Liban, où de nombreux «café Internet» ouvrent leurs portes, tous n'y ont pas accès.

Descendre au Liban

Les voyages constituent le moyen le plus efficace pour favoriser la permanence des liens. Toutes les femmes interviewées sont retournées en vacances au Liban depuis leur arrivée à Montréal ou planifient d'y aller sous peu. En moyenne, elles «descendent» au Liban au moins une fois tous les trois ans. Une fois de plus, la fréquence des voyages est tributaire des ressources monétaires de chacune. La plupart souhaiteraient s'y rendre beaucoup plus souvent, mais le coût du voyage, lié à la distance, les en empêche[14]. Le principal motif des migrantes pour retourner au Liban est de retrouver leur famille. Parfois, le voyage est motivé par des occasions particulières, tels un décès ou un mariage. Jamais elles n'expriment des raisons professionnelles, liées à des activités économiques.

Les questions financières réglées, il faut organiser le voyage en tenant compte de diverses autres contraintes. La majorité des individus quitte Montréal durant l'été. Cette époque coïncide avec la période des vacances scolaires et il n'est pas question de faire manquer l'école aux enfants. Le Liban reste le lieu quasi exclusif des vacances familiales, à moins de visiter un membre de la famille installé ailleurs. Lorsqu'elles vont au Liban, les femmes y restent en moyenne pendant une période de trois mois. Les hommes travaillent et ne disposent que d'un certain nombre de jours de congé. Ils rejoignent leur femme qui les a précédé et reviennent avec elle. Lorsque les femmes voyagent en dehors des vacances scolaires, elles partent avec les plus jeunes enfants en laissant les autres sous la responsabilité du mari ou d'un parent.

Retrouvailles familiales

Lors des vacances au Liban, le cercle familial et amical se reforme, permettant au cadre transnational de perdurer. Descendre au Liban permet de renouer les liens avec la famille restée au pays. La période estivale est également l'occasion pour les migrants de divers pays de se retrouver. Le voyage au pays participe lui aussi du «travail» de «reconfiguration symbolique» de l'univers de la famille. On va au pays pour maintenir le réseau familial, pour renforcer les liens. Ce type de voyage prend son sens par rapport à la situation de migrante, il permet à l'espace symbolique transnational d'exister. Les individus voyagent pour en rencontrer d'autres, pour maintenir ce lien, la famille, qui les rattache affectivement avec le pays d'origine. L'entretien de ce réseau perpétue l'enracinement dans le pays d'origine, l'appartenance au Liban et la volonté de transmettre la langue, la religion et les traditions aux enfants.

Lors des vacances, la disponibilité des uns et des autres est beaucoup plus grande que dans la vie quotidienne. Les femmes consacrent l'essentiel de leur temps d'abord et avant tout à parcourir le cercle familial et amical. Les rassemblements familiaux sont multipliés lors d'événements particuliers, c'est-à-dire à l'occasion des fêtes et des cérémonies. De tels événements jouent une fonction particulière: ils rassemblent la totalité de la famille. Suite à la dispersion de plusieurs des membres de ce groupe à travers le monde, ils permettent alors de réactiver les relations que la migration a transnationalisé et deviennent ainsi un mécanisme central de la réaffirmation de la nouvelle configuration des relations familiales. Moments privilégiés de rencontres familiales, les fêtes et cérémonies fournissent l'occasion à la migrante de renouer avec toute la famille.

Circulation globalisée

La dispersion des familles dans plusieurs pays entraîne la pratique de nouvelles mobilités. La délocalisation multiple d'une partie des membres de la famille explique pourquoi le retour au pays d'origine n'est plus un impératif ou un passage obligé pour maintenir les liens familiaux. Les migrantes reçoivent du courrier par voie régulière, tout comme des appels téléphoniques, des membres de leur famille installés ailleurs qu'au Liban. Les tarifs spéciaux leur permettent de se parler de manière régulière, au moins une fois par semaine ou quotidiennement dans le cas des migrantes possédant de la famille au Canada et aux États-Unis. Pour se retrouver, les migrants se rendent aussi dans d'autres pays. Souvent, lors d'une visite au Liban, parce qu'il n'y a pas de vol

direct à partir de Montréal, elles profitent d'une correspondance pour visiter des proches qui vivent en Europe.

Le dispositif d'échanges transnationaux fonctionne aussi du Liban et d'ailleurs vers Montréal. Dans des proportions moindres, l'obtention du visa canadien ne se fait pas sans mal et le prix du voyage en freine plus d'un, des membres de la famille et des amis viennent visiter les migrantes. Occasionnellement, les mères viennent assister leur fille suite à un accouchement. Les parents qui ont déjà habité Montréal possèdent la citoyenneté canadienne et en profitent pour venir régulièrement visiter leurs enfants. La circulation des personnes dans plusieurs sens renforce le caractère transnational du vécu des individus; ils ne vivent plus sur un territoire mais en naviguant entre plusieurs, le lien permettant de les rapprocher étant la communauté familiale.

Conclusion : reconfiguration de l'espace et recomposition familiale

Toutes les femmes interviewées, par le biais de liens s'étendant au-delà des frontières nationales, construisent un espace qui n'est plus circonscrit au simple territoire. Autrement dit, elles ne se situent plus par rapport à un espace territorial mais par rapport à un espace symbolique reconfiguré au gré des réalités de la situation de migration. Leur quotidien ne se fait pas sur un plan local mais dans une perspective transnationale, non seulement entre le pays récepteur et le pays d'origine, mais aussi avec tous les autres pays dans lesquels se trouvent des membres de leur famille. Une telle reconfiguration de l'espace se voit modelée par les contraintes matérielles et le contexte social des divers pays impliqués. Or, l'accès à la technologie et l'instabilité économique ne peuvent à eux seuls rendre compte de la densité et de la multiplicité des liens observés dans le cas des femmes shi'ites libanaises à Montréal. Elles obtiennent quotidiennement, de façon directe ou indirecte, des nouvelles de leurs proches installés au Liban ou ailleurs dans le monde. Tout d'abord, pour une population disposant de moyens financiers limités, l'éloignement géographique du Liban et l'état des infrastructures de ce pays augmentent considérablement les coûts de telles pratiques. Dans tous les cas, les sommes dépensées pour maintenir les liens contredisent la stratégie migratoire, orientée vers le retour. Ensuite, parce que les femmes et leur famille ne disposent pas du capital nécessaire, aucune ne participe au dispositif commercial mis sur pied entre le Liban et Montréal. Finalement, le type de transnationalité auquel participent les femmes shi'ites libanaises concerne principalement le domaine relationnel.

D'après les observations, le cadre familial sous-tend la construction d'un espace symbolique reconfiguré. Suite à la migration, les liens familiaux ne sont pas rompus mais se trouvent au contraire renforcés. Paradoxalement, c'est l'absence des membres de la famille qui assure la pérennité des relations. Toutefois, suite à leur départ du Liban, la valeur que les migrantes accordent à la famille s'exprime sous une nouvelle forme. On assiste à une recomposition familiale qui implique la circulation des liens familiaux au-delà des frontières. Pour surmonter les risques de désorganisation familiale liés à la situation migratoire, les attaches avec la famille au pays et ailleurs ne se relâchent pas et un réseau de liens familiaux étroits et solides se perpétue au sein des familles, donnant lieu à une famille transnationale. La tâche de construire et d'entretenir les réseaux qui assurent le lien familial incombe principalement aux femmes, en raison de leur rôle de pivot des relations familiales. Le processus de transmigration est donc loin d'être un phénomène réservé aux hommes. Dans le cas des femmes shi'ites libanaises, leur rôle s'avère primordial dans la constitution d'un réseau transnational.

En quoi l'expérience des Shi'ites libanais diffère-t-elle de celle des autres migrants et des autres Libanais à Montréal? S'il est vrai que la place de la famille dans la constitution de réseaux transnationaux caractérisent plusieurs expériences migratoires, la spécificité de la structure familiale chez les Libanais en général influence l'intensité et la forme des liens. D'autres facteurs propres à ce groupe interviennent également : la présence importante de Libanais et d'institutions libanaises à Montréal, l'ampleur des migrations et du champ migratoire libanais, la prégnance du projet de retour chez un grand nombre d'entre eux. La reconfiguration décrite dans le présent article et la place centrale de la famille dans ce processus s'observent chez de nombreux Libanais. Toutefois, tous ne sont pas touchés de la même façon par les facteurs qui intensifient l'importance de la famille et favorisent la continuité des liens familiaux transnationaux chez les femmes shi'ites libanaises. Il semble également que le type d'activités transnationales diffère d'un groupe confessionnel à l'autre. Par exemple, contrairement à plusieurs Libanais installés à Montréal, les Shi'ites ont développé jusqu'à présent peu d'entreprises transnationales. Cette différence peut s'expliquer par les caractéristiques particulières des Shi'ites. En effet, le type, l'échelle et l'étendue des relations transnationales subissent l'influence non seulement des conditions du pays récepteur, mais également des caractéristiques des migrants eux-mêmes, en termes de classe ou d'origine régionale par exemple. À ce niveau, plusieurs traits distinguent les Shi

'ites de l'ensemble des migrants libanais à Montréal : ils proviennent des couches les plus défavorisées de la société libanaise, et disposent donc de ressources économiques réduites; ils vivent à Montréal depuis une plus brève période de temps; ils subissent l'influence du modèle islamique qui renforce les valeurs familiales. Pour déterminer en quoi les caractéristiques des migrants influencent les liens transnationaux et produisent des différences, l'élaboration d'études comparatives s'impose.

On peut s'attendre à ce que l'espace et le temps affectent le caractère des rapports poursuivis avec les personnes vivant ailleurs qu'à Montréal. Si la migration n'affaiblit pas le lien familial, elle le transforme. Or, si les femmes signalent quelques modifications, celles-ci ne concernent jamais la nature de leurs rapports familiaux. Leur récente présence à Montréal, les nombreux échanges avec leur famille, leurs voyages au Liban, le poids accordé aux valeurs familiales, à la religion et à la culture libanaise en général expliquent ce constat. Des recherches longitudinales et d'autres impliquant plusieurs espaces, notamment lors des vacances au pays d'origine, seraient nécessaires pour bien saisir la nature des transformations des rapports familiaux.

Notes

1 L'observation du rétrécissement du monde (Harvey, 1989) et de la fluidité des frontières (Kearney, 1995a) a déclenché la remise en question du rapport entre la culture et l'espace (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997).

2 La Presse, décembre 1997, 1.

3 Les Shi'ites sont présents dans la région qui va devenir le Liban depuis le tout début de l'Islam. Le mot *shi'a* signifie «partisan» ou «parti» et renvoie à l'origine du shi'isme comme mouvement politico-religieux au septième siècle. Le Shi'isme est issu d'une scission avec le sunnisme, à la suite d'une controverse survenue lors de la mort du prophète concernant le choix de son successeur. Les Shi'ites sont convaincus que seul Ali, le cousin et beau-fils du prophète, ainsi que ses descendants et ceux de Fatima, sont en droit de lui succéder. Les Shi'ites duodécimains, majoritaires au Liban, tiennent leur nom de la reconnaissance d'une série de 12 Imams ou guides en qualité de successeurs de Mohamed. Ces derniers sont reconnus en tant que maîtres spirituels possédant la capacité d'interprétation des bases de la loi islamique. Les trois premiers Imams sont Ali et ses deux fils al-Hasan et al-Hussein. Ce dernier et ses partisans furent assassinés en 680 à Kerbala par le gouverneur d'Iraq sous les ordres de Yazid. Cet événement marque la rupture entre Shi'isme et Sunnisme et est un point tournant dans l'histoire du Shi'isme. Ce «martyre» est commémoré annuellement lors de la cérémonie de l'Ashoura. La plupart des Shi'ites, comme les autres musulmans, soulignent l'unité de l'Islam et l'intégrité de la communauté musulmane. Cependant, ils sont conscients que leurs pratiques et croyances sont différentes de celles des Sunnites, en termes de leur façon d'interpréter et d'exprimer leurs croyances (Eickelman, 1998).

4 Même si la notion de famille reste capitale, tous ses membres ne se trouvent pas nécessairement englobés dans le même réseau. Selon les circonstances, les relations fluctuent énormément et, pour une période donnée, certains liens sont privilégiés à d'autres. De plus, au Liban, les amis sont généralement considérés comme des parents même si socialement, ils n'en sont pas. Pour désigner ce type de relations, Joseph (1996) parle de parenté idiomatique. Pour elle, les relations d'amitié sont souvent basées sur le modèle de parenté qui sert de «métaphore centrale» pour les relations sociales.

5 En raison du caractère patriarcal de la plupart des familles, les hommes et les personnes âgées (hommes et femmes) sont privilégiés par ce système et symbolisent la principale source d'autorité au sein des familles. Par conséquent, l'appartenance à la famille est contraignante pour les femmes, notamment lorsque les intérêts de ces dernières diffèrent de ceux des hommes.

6 Les chercheurs supposaient une diminution des liens familiaux suite à l'industrialisation et à l'urbanisation. Au contraire, les événements qu'a connus le Liban depuis sa création, notamment les diverses crises socio-économiques, ont contribué à l'extension du rôle attribué à la famille (Farsoun, 1970), comme durant la guerre civile de 1975-1990. Analysant l'impact de la guerre du Liban, Maksoud (1996) indique que celle-ci a renforcé les liens familiaux et les traditions familiales. Durant cette période, alors que l'État libanais était quasi inexistant et que les institutions publiques ne remplissaient pas leurs rôles, la famille est devenue plus que jamais la source privilégiée de protection et de sécurité.

7 Au Liban, après l'accouchement, les femmes retournent chez leurs parents pendant plusieurs jours pour se reposer alors que les membres de la famille prennent soin de l'enfant. La mère ou les soeurs et même des voisines et des amis s'occupent régulièrement des enfants et il n'est pas rare que les femmes qui travaillent amènent leurs enfants chez les grands-parents pour la journée.

8 Parce qu'elles craignent un relâchement du contrôle social, les femmes s'opposent farouchement à ce qu'elles perçoivent comme une apparente absence de normes. En même temps, parce qu'elles entretiennent peu de contacts directs avec le groupe majoritaire, elles possèdent une connaissance réduite des familles québécoises. Quelques-unes, mieux informées, admettent que la situation différait dans le passé au Québec et c'est d'ailleurs ce qui les inquiète, elles ne veulent pas que leur famille subisse les mêmes transformations.

9 En fait, les maris de ces femmes étaient installés à Montréal depuis quelques années et ont profité d'un bref séjour au Liban pour trouver une fiancée. Ce genre de pratique semble assez fréquent chez les Shi'ites libanais de Montréal, comme d'ailleurs chez d'autres Libanais. En agissant ainsi, ils établissent une stratégie transnationale. Dans trois cas, il s'agit de cousins, mais en général, le couple ne se connaissait pas auparavant et les deux partenaires se sont rencontrés par l'entremise de parents ou d'amis.

10 Au Liban, lorsqu'elles se marient, elles ne vivent plus avec leurs parents, mais elles ont la possibilité de maintenir des rapports quotidiens avec eux. La fréquence de ces contacts

est facilitée, car en général, les femmes habitent à proximité de la maison familiale, surtout dans les villages. Pour celles qui vivent à Beyrouth, tous les étés sont passés dans le sud du pays, dans leur village d'origine, auprès de leurs parents et d'autres membres de la famille

11 À l'exception de deux femmes qui ne sont pas mariées et de trois d'entre elles qui attendaient leur premier enfant, la plupart des femmes rencontrées ont entre 1 et 5 enfants.

12 Elles ne connaissent pas toujours tous leurs neveux et nièces, parfois nés en leur absence. De façon similaire, leurs propres enfants nés au Canada n'ont pas toujours visité le Liban.

13 De la même façon, parce que ce service leur est indispensable et parce qu'il y a réciprocité dans les attentes d'échange de courrier, toutes acceptent d'acheminer les lettres confiées par autrui

14 Pour un couple avec de jeunes enfants, le voyage équivaut à un investissement de plusieurs milliers de dollars. Plusieurs variables influencent les frais de voyage. Selon la saison, le prix du billet d'avion varie entre $1 100 et $2 000. Un budget supplémentaire doit être prévu pour les dépenses durant leur séjour. De plus, les cadeaux achetés pour toutes les personnes rencontrées lors des voyages accentuent encore l'investissement financier représenté par celui-ci.

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The Structural Marginalization of Artisanal Fishing Communities: The Case of La Boquita

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Abstract: The fishing community of La Boquita located on the West coast of Mexico provides a case study of the structural marginalization that faces artisanal fishing communities. Employing political ecology theory, this article analyzes (1) the conflicts between the community and the government regarding their property rights over the territory, (2) environmental degradation induced by tourism development, and (3) the pressures the sport fishing industry places on artisanal fishing practices. The article analyzes how these changes influence the community's socio-economic organization and jeopardize La Boquita's social reproduction.

Résumé: Les communautés de pêcheurs artisanaux font face à de nombreuses pressions provenant de diverses sources, les plongeant dans une situation de marginalisation structurelle. Le cas de la communauté de pêcheurs de La Boquita, se trouvant sur la côte Ouest su Mexique, en est un exemple. À l'aide de la théorie de l'écologie politique, nous analyserons la dynamique de cette situation à travers 1) les conflits que la communauté entretient avec le gouvernement au sujet des droits de propriété du territoire, 2) la dégradation environnementale de leur région induite par le développement touristique, et 3) les pressions des pêcheurs sportifs sur leur pratique halieutique. Nous verrons que ces variables modifient l'organisation socio-économique de la communauté et précarisent la reproduction sociale de la Boquita.

Introduction

In Mexico, the artisanal fishing sector suffers from structural marginalization characterized by, on the one hand, the growing loss of economic autonomy and control over the economic activity, natural resources, and territory of artisanal fishing communities, and, on the other hand, by these groups' increasing social exclusion and the deterioration of the internal social bonds linking their members. Three main factors have led to this situation. First, the neo-liberal reforms introduced by the federal government have led, on the one hand, to an effort of diversification leading to the promotion of industrial fisheries and, on the other hand, to the increasingly frequent sale of coastal land to foreign investors. Second, a reduction of the government's involvement in the social sector of the fisheries, especially the artisanal fishery has led both to a decrease in the size and number of loans accorded to fishing co-operatives and to a deregulation process that has eliminated the co-operatives' exclusive control over certain species. Finally, despite diverse governmental initiatives to take into account the importance, heterogeneity, and needs of the artisanal fishing communities by commissioning scientific reports and organizing meetings with community leaders, bureaucrats, and scientists, these attempts remain insufficient and often irrelevant to the population concerned because they fail to acknowledge pivotal issues: poverty, environmental degradation, resource depletion and the internal atomization of fishing communities.

This article offers a case study of structural marginalization in the artisanal fishing community of La Boquita, on the Mexican Pacific coast. This community owes its existence to the battle its members have led for the right to keep on fishing and to remain on the territory that they have now occupied for more than sixty years. As we shall see, their struggle revolves around three elements: (1) land conflicts with various government institutions that have repeatedly failed to respect community mem-

bers' property rights, (2) the encroachment of the tourism industry on residential and productive areas, which severely damages the environment and its marine resources, (3) increased pressure from the sport fishing industry to limit the community's access to some demersal species, such as tuna, swordfish, and marlin, and to certain fishing zones. The combined conflicts of this context have embroiled community members in a constant and time-consuming mobilization process, and moreover have jeopardized the community's internal cohesion, rendering its future even more precarious. Let us first consider how the theory of political ecology allows us to analyze this dynamic.

Political ecology and La Boquita's struggle

Political ecology is a relatively new research field in the social sciences. It emerged in the 1980s from political economy, human geography, ecological anthropology, and human ecology as a testimony to a growing concern with the complex interactions between humans and the environment. Even though its definition is quite elusive and somewhat variable between researchers and academic backgrounds, Blaikie and Brookfield (1987: 17) identify some basic commonalities:

> The phrase political ecology combines the concerns of ecology and a broadly defined political economy. Together, this encompasses the constantly shifting dialectic between society and land-based resources, and also within classes and groups within the society itself.(...)The complexity of these relationships demands an approach which can encompass interactive effects, the contribution of different geographical scales and hierarchies of socioeconomic organizations (e.g. persons, household, village, region, state, world) and the contradiction between social and environmental changes through time.

More succinctly, Bryant (1992: 13) proposes that "broadly, Third World political ecology may be defined as the attempt to understand the political sources, conditions and ramifications of environmental change." I will rely heavily in this article on Bryant's appreciation of political ecology theory as involving three elements. The first element, "the contextual sources of environmental change" (ibid.), refers to the need to relate environmental changes to state politics, interstate relations and global capitalism. The second element of the framework "addresses conflict over access, and emphasizes location-specific struggles over environment" (ibid., 14), which relate in synchronic and diachronic perspective to the issues of constraints and possibilities facing grassroots actors in their struggle over the protection of their environment with local, regional and international actors. The third element involves the "political ramifications of environmental changes," exploring "the ways that environmental change influences socio-economic inequalities, and by extension, political processes" (ibid., 24).

This perspective on political ecology allows the analysis to go beyond simple explanations that link ecological processes, such as soil erosion or deforestation, to isolated socio-economic and political factors. It leads us "to focus not on a description of the physical environmental changes themselves, but rather on the systemic way in which those changes relate to human activity" (Bryant and Bailey, 1997: 29). This more politicized conception of the environment underscores the fact that environmental changes and degradation are not neutral processes, but rather are always a manifestation of some actors' particular interests and are often the materialization of social injustice and marginalization. In this sense, political ecology emphasizes the importance of considering power relations between different actors in shaping environmental relations, and also of acknowledging the major role played by discourses in those power relations, which influences the practices and meanings of the different actors involved. Political ecology approaches the dialectical relationship of society to environment by analyzing the social relations existing between actors at all institutional scales (families, households, communities, the scientific establishment, capitalist enterprise, and the state), thus making sense of the different facets of a group's marginalization.

Numerous studies in various field settings have been conducted within a political ecology perspective. Many have focused on the analysis of soil erosion, degradation and tropical deforestation and are situated within a geographic perspective wherein the study of a natural phenomenon is coupled with a political economy analysis (Blaikie, 1985, 1988; Blaikie and Brookfield, 1987; Dauvergne, 1993; Goudie, 1993; Hecht and Cockburn, 1989; Turner, 1993). Another political ecology approach relates to studies in which the angles of analysis are the processes by which concepts and ideas about the environment are developed and appropriated by different actors (state, enterprises, communities), and how they are manipulated in order to serve particular interests (e.g., critiques of scientific discourses on forest management policies: Banuri and Marglur, 1993; Bryant, 1996a; Guha, 1989; Jewitt, 1995; Peluso, 1992; and critiques of discourses on sustainable management: Adams, 1990; Dore, 1995, 1996; the Ecologist, 1993; Escobar, 1992, 1995, 1996, 1999; Fisher, 1993; Fisher and Black, 1995; Grillo

and Stirad, 1997; Luke, 1995; Peet and Watts, 1993; Redclift, 1987). This research orientation regroups studies generally politically engaged and embedded into a perspective questioning the bases of different "facts." mediated mainly by dominant groups, concerning the environment, its management and the changes affecting it. A third approach explores the links between environment and politics through the analysis of different socio-economic characteristics such as ethnicity (Bullard, 1993; Bryant, 1996b; Colchester, 1993; Gedicks, 1996; Hong, 1987; Jones, 1995; Smith, 1994) and gender (Agarwal, 1992; Carney, 1993, 1996; Dankelman and Davidson, 1998; Jackson, 1993; Joekes et al., 1995; Leach, 1991; Rocheleau and Ross, 1995; Rocheleau et al., 1996; Schroeder, 1993; Shiva, 1988). Finally, all these studies take place in different regional settings allowing the analysis to consider the particularities of different ecosystems and community organisations (Africa: Amanor, 1994; Gezon, 1997; Jarosz, 1996; Moore, 1993; Schroeder, 1997; Latin America: Asher, 1995; Bebbington, 1996; Collinson, 1996; Painter and Durham, 1995; Schmink and Wood, 1992; Stonich, 1993, 1995, 1998; Zimmerer, 2000; Asia: Bryant, 1995, 1997; Peluso, 1992, 1993). Regional studies, which can integrate different perspectives in political ecology, have often been criticized for their lack of theoretical systematization. However, they represent a great variety of case studies encompassing synchronic and diachronic analysis as well as analysis of the different interests at stake at the micro and macro levels regarding the complex relations between environment and society, a perspective which relates closely to the case I presented here.

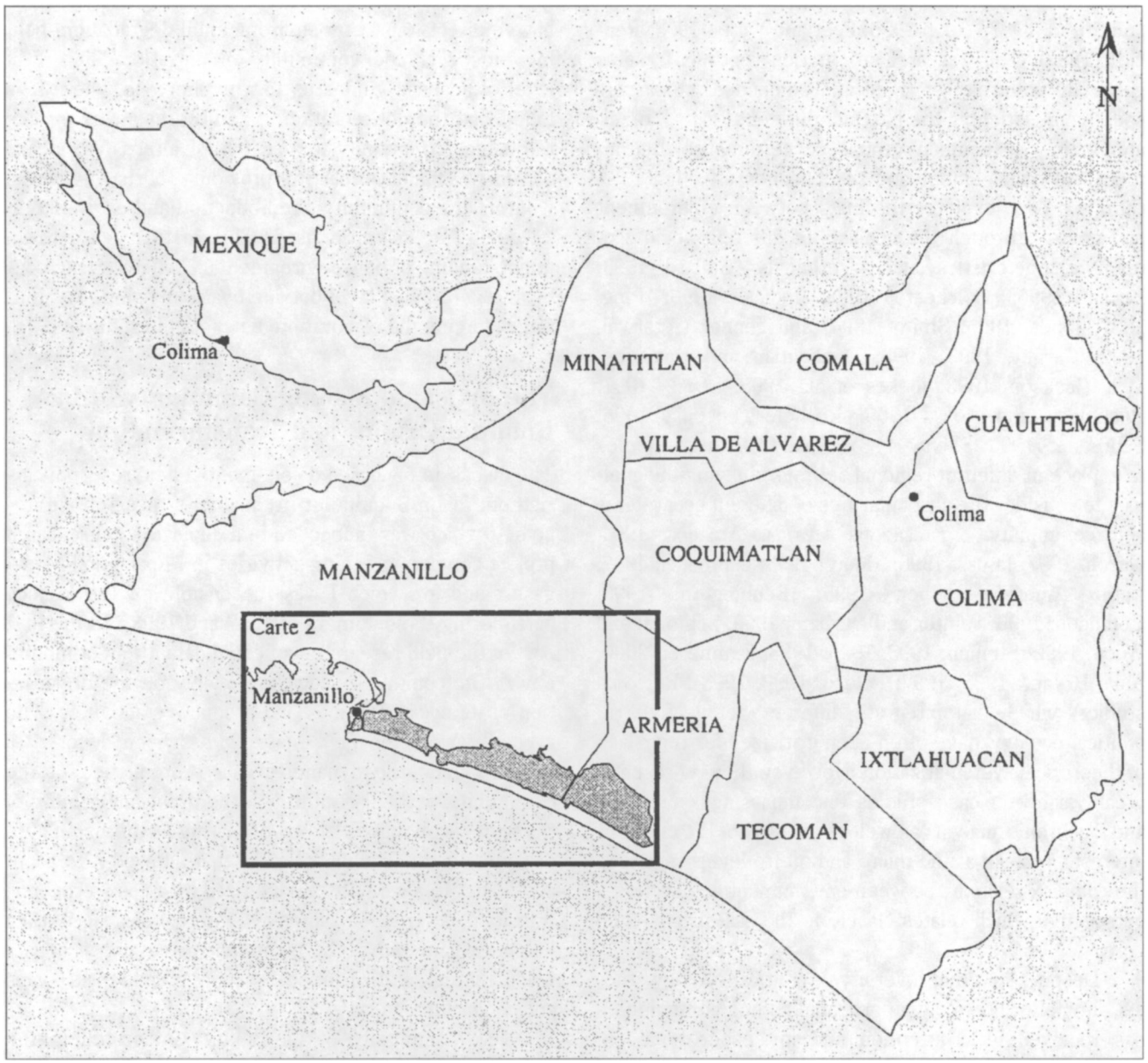
Despite the great diversity of political ecology studies, the political ecology of artisanal fishing communities has received little attention and my paper hopes to redress this neglect. This article provides a case study of such a community within the theoretical framework of political ecology, and assesses the dynamic interactions of government, international tourism development, the fishing community, its reproduction and activities, and environmental degradation. This analysis allows us to shift scales between different levels of social relations and practices to better understand the structural marginalization and struggles faced by the community of La Boquita.

From this point of departure, we can first analyze the links established between the federal and local government and the international tourism development companies and understand that their practices affect more than just the legal status of the lands used, or competitive advantage in the world market. Indeed, they have a direct impact on environmental degradation, fishing practices, and community organization. This first level of analysis guides us to a further one where it is found that the deterioration of natural resources orients the fishing community to a search for alternative means of survival found, in part, in providing tourism services, wherein the community's reproduction and environmental quality are compromised. This in turn leads to an understanding of how environmental changes create conflicts at a regional level between various fishing communities, forcing the elaboration of negotiated solutions.

The Artisanal Fishing Community of La Boquita: Origins and Transformation

The discussion is based on six months field research carried out in La Boquita for my master's thesis in anthropology, which was embedded in a departmental research project comparing fishing activities in Mexico and Madagascar and for which I was responsible for the Mexico part, during the summers of 1997 and 1998.[1] In the first part of the field research I collected data for an ethnography of the community, focusing mainly on the organization of its social relations and productive activities. The second part of the field research has been devoted to understanding the dynamic social reproduction of the community, particularly through the great malleability of the socio-economic relations occurring at the fishing cooperative and households levels, that allowed it to adapt and adjust to a context characterized by a socio-economic transition, external pressures and internal cleavages. Data has been gathered in the community area and in households, through participant observation, tracing genealogies and conducting interviews.

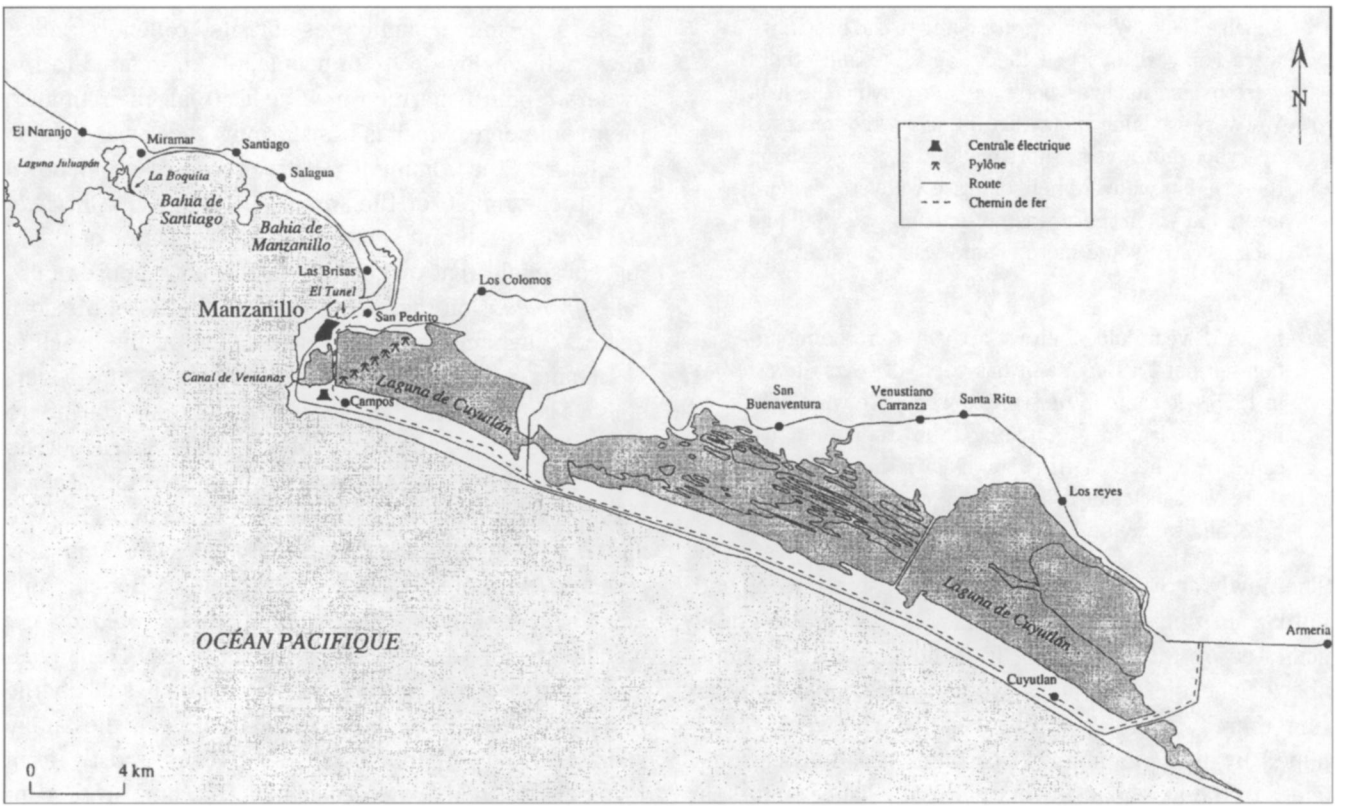
The community of La Boquita is located in the region of Manzanillo in Colima, one of Mexico's smallest states (see map 1). Manzanillo is one of the more populous *municipios*[2] of Colima. Agriculture, fisheries, and tourism are the most important economic sectors in Manzanillo together accounting for the use of almost half of the state's 157 km of coastline (see map 2). The development of Manzanillo's economy can be traced back to a federal government policy of the 1950s and 1960s which was based on a theory of poles, whose main objective was to counteract previous economic difficulties by developing the economic sectors of targeted states and their main regions, while also unblocking the economies of the country's big centres, such as Mexico City and Guadalajara (Bianchi, 1992; Breton et al., 1998; Doyon, 1999). In that context, Manzanillo was thus developed along the lines of the "Walking to the Sea" national strat-



Map 1: Mexico, Colima State and Manzanillo Region.

egy, which aimed, within the theory of poles framework, to give high priority to developing the country's coastal zones and harbours.

La Boquita is one of 14 fishing co-operatives in Manzanillo. All of the co-operatives practise an artisanal type of fishing based on rudimentary equipment and low levels of finances. The kind of technology they use varies with their location. Hence, depending on whether lagoon or coastal fishing is practised, *trasmallos* (a large net, 100m long and 7 metres wide), *cimbras* (long fishing line on which up to 300 hooks are suspended), *atarrayas* (a round net of 3m diameter), *redes de cucharas* (small spoon-shaped net attached to a wooden shaft), *tarimas* (wooden cage similar to the lobsted cages), *tapo* (fixed wooden gear located on a lagoon entry) or *armadraba* (large fixed sea net similar to the Canadian cod nets) may be employed.[3] All require handmade nets and out-board motors of 55 horsepower propelling small fiberglass boats able to carry two to three fishermen. Their activity, and the type of equipment used, rely exclusively on the exploitation of local fish resources found in lagoons and on the sea coast; while coastal fishing, the fishermen do not go farther than 5km offshore. This dependency on the fragile local ecosystem renders the fishermen heavily



Map 2 : Map of the Manzanillo Region

affected by any ecological changes to their environment, such as water contamination and mangrove cutting, which decrease the quantity and quality of their catches, and hence their quality of life.

The name La Boquita, which literally means "little mouth," refers to two things. First, it is a physical location including the lagoon of Juluapan and the beach which separates it from the sea. This place is surrounded by the Pacific Ocean, but also by La Facultad de Ciencias Marinas de la Universidad de Colima, a luxury hotel, and the residential development "Club Santiago" and its golf club (see map 3). La Boquita also refers to the small fishing community that has grown up on this site, and where the fishing co-operative is based. Compared to the other co-operatives of Manzanillo, La Boquita is in a relatively rural environment, even if tourism complexes are mushrooming around it. The fishing community of La Boquita is also distinguished by strong and deep kinship ties, which is one of the reasons it can be called a community (see Doyon, 1999).

The community of La Boquita has gone through four key stages of development: agriculture (1930-50); lagoon fishing (1940-70); coastal fishing (developed by the fishing co-operative in the late 1970s); and, most recently, tourism, since the middle of the 1980s. The community was established around 60 years ago, at the same time as the surrounding *ejidos*,[3] during the cardenist revolution of 1930-40. In this period, many migrants from other parts of Mexico came into the region to become *ejidatarios*. At the time, agriculture was extremely difficult, but once it was better established, the government sold off many hectares of the Naranjo and Miramar *ejidos*. In the face of this strong pressure on resources and territory, the members of the *ejido* developed various strategies, one of which was to start lagoon fishing.

Ejido members, along with other recent immigrants to the region, began lagoon fishing at La Boquita's lagoon, Juluapan. They did so sporadically at first, but it soon became a way of life. Although it started off as a rootless place that had attracted migrants from all over the country, La Boquita grew as families settled there, and soon formed a well-established community, whose members identified more with La Boquita than with their home villages. Two members of the community relate:

> I have fished here since the *ejido* was created. We started to fish because there was no work, there were only *cocos de aceite* in the *ejido*, there was noth-

> ing else to do. When we were going to the beach, we were going all of us of the village. Me and others were fishing for everybody, we were giving the fish. We were catching more that 30 or 40 kilograms for everybody. In a very short while, we were catching the fish, but we were not selling it, we were giving it away, and when there was not enough, we would go back to catch some more. There was fish for everyone. [6]

> I was 12 years old when we arrived from the mountain here at La Boquita, it has been 43 years, it was in 1955. We came from Armeria where we were fishing in the lagoon of Cuyutlan, and from there we came over here to fish. We liked it here because there were a lot of fish, it was great, so we stayed here, and we are still here.[7]

The newly arrived migrants quickly created kinship and mutual aid networks in La Boquita. This process was facilitated by the building of little houses at La Boquita where fishermen's families would spend most of their time thereby creating strong relations between them, helped by the commonness of their situation as "outsider" to the neighbouring agricultural villages, and their common needs and way of life, which differs greatly from traditional agricultural Mexican society. These relationships grew deeper through subsequent intermarriages between members of different families and the creation of a system of fictive family, or *compadrazgo*, a primary feature of social relations in Mexico, cementing on a lifetime basis the links joining individuals and families. La Boquita came to represent not only their source of food and income, but also a shared place with a common way of life, their source of social security as well as the birthplace of their children, and this generated a strong community identity.

After some years fishing only in the lagoon, the members of La Boquita started sea fishing on a regular basis, with the aid of government loans obtained after the creation of the *Cooperativa Pesquera de la Costa de Colima* in 1978. However, the transition to coastal fishing was also due to another factor: the lagoon was dredged in 1985 by developers who wanted to build a hotel complex. This destroyed most of the lagoon's mangroves, inhibiting the reproduction of marine resources and hence the fishing activity (see map 4). Due to the fluid and flexible character of social relations in the community, however, members were able to remain united and to adapt to these transformations.

Finally, along with the development of tourism, restaurant services also consolidated and strengthened the community of La Boquita. Small and modest at first, these fishermen's family restaurants, called *ramadas*, now each employ up to 25 people, all kin-related to the owners. Some fishermen now dedicate all their time to their commerce, which is transforming the social division of labour in the community. This process can be shown with the example of the *Ramada el Rey*. This *ramada* started its restaurant service in the 1970s after one fishing household that owned one of the little houses (also called *ramada*) on the beach, realized that local Mexican visitors, spending their days of vacation on the beach of la Boquita with their family, would want to buy beverages. This household bought a cooler and started to serve soft drinks and beer. After a while, local tourists expressed the desire to consume the fish and seafood that the fishermen and his sons were catching. The wife and her daughters then started to cook for this new clientele. As more people began to visit La Boquita, this household expanded the size of their *ramada* and installed tables where people could sit to eat. The household's entire catch of fish was soon being sold in the restaurant. As the business grew each year, the family started to buy other fishermen's catches, mostly from members of their extended family (brother, brother-in-law, son-in-law, cousin, etc.); they employ the girls and women in the kitchen and to serve tables. As years went by, the business grew and the *ramada* now serves 80 tables and employs 22 people full-time, all of whom are kin relatives of the owners and members of the community of La Boquita. With the success of their enterprise, most of the household's fishermen abandoned the fishing activity, buying all their products from other fishermen of the co-operative and dedicating themselves full-time to managing the *ramada*. The five *ramadas* of La Boquita form social networks that link together the whole community, thus helping to give the people strength to resist pressure from tourist developments and even the capacity to adapt to them by serving foreign clients.

The population of La Boquita is now 300 people and is made up of 50 families. Its co-operative has 47 members, in addition to the hundred independent fishermen, almost all of whom are linked by kin ties (son, son-in-law, brother, cousin, etc.) to the co-operative's members. Men dedicate themselves to coastal fishing while women take care of on-shore activities linked to fishing such as sorting the catch, processing and selling, in addition to all household chores. Besides these activities and the restaurant jobs, almost 50 members of the community offer a recreational fishing service to tourists. For example, in one fishing household, the father and two of his sons tend the fishing nets at dusk and collect the catches at dawn. When they come back from fishing, the other

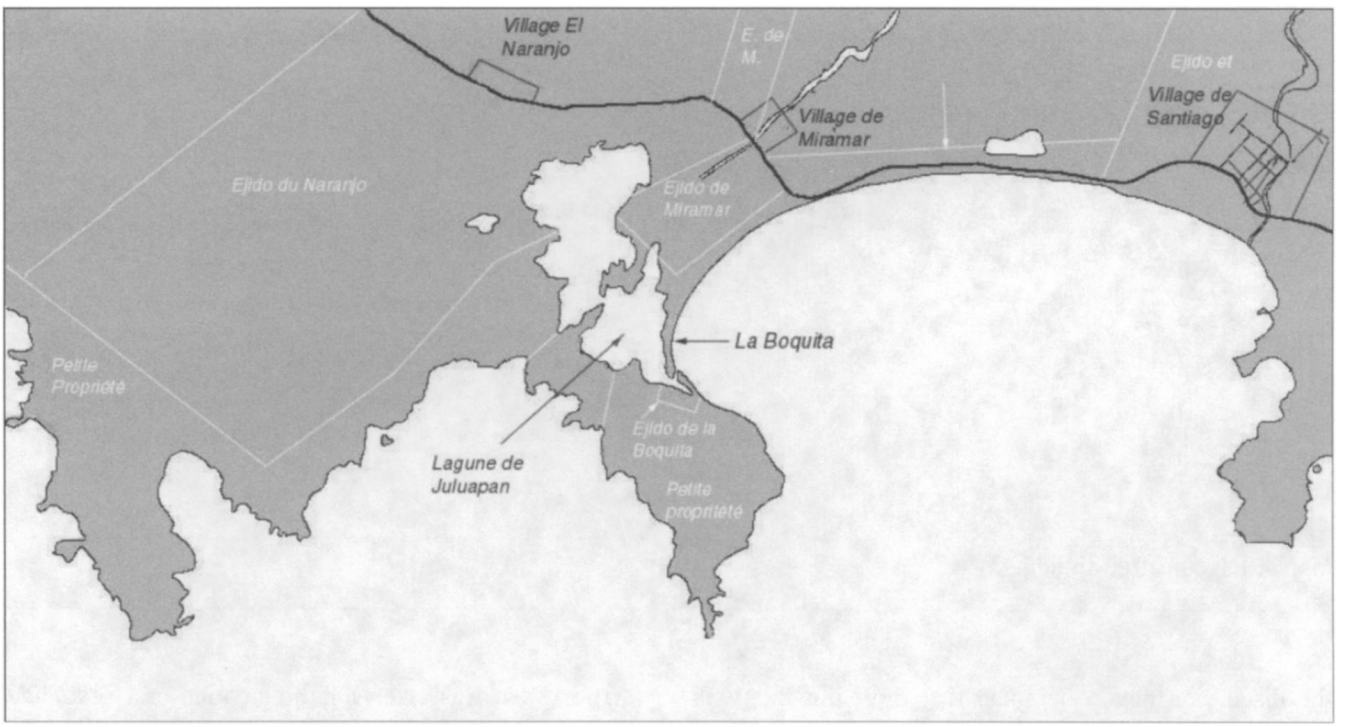
son of the family, along with his cousin and his brother-in-law, start preparing the boat for recreational activities. During the day, while the others are resting, they search the beach, helped by their sisters, for clients to take on a fishing ride near the coast and for trips on a big pneumatic tire, called the *banana* due to its shape, pulled by the family fishing boat.

Community members of La Boquita are members as well of three villages surrounding La Boquita site: El Naranjo, Miramar and Santiago, where their main residences are located and where they benefit from facilities such as running water, electricity and domestic appliances. However, many of them still own a little house at La Boquita beach where they pass their days and where they sometimes sleep. Hence, La Boquita's members go back and forth almost every day between their respective villages and La Boquita.

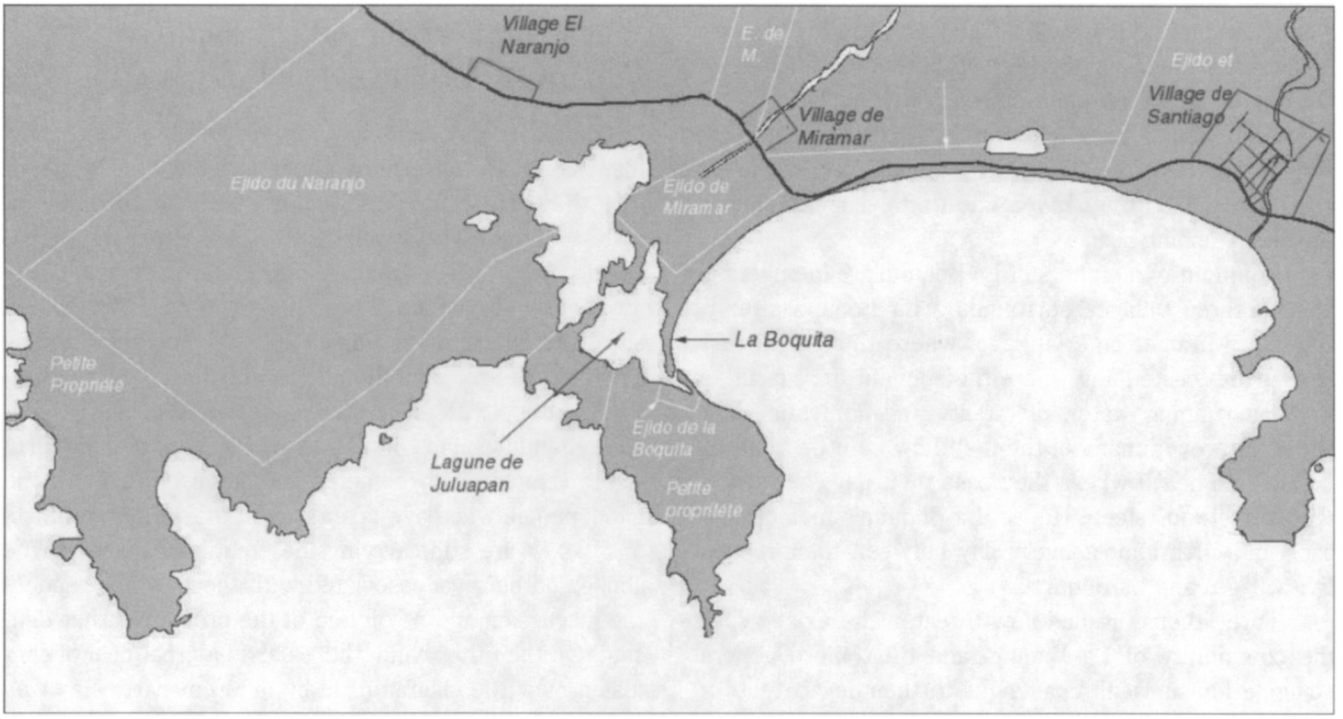
Three thorny issues now threaten the existence of the community of La Boquita and their more general struggle for survival: challenges to their legal rights to occupy the territory of La Boquita; the environmental degradation of the site; and, the atomization of the community's solidarity.

Whose Property? Public, Private or Communal? Confusion and Struggle

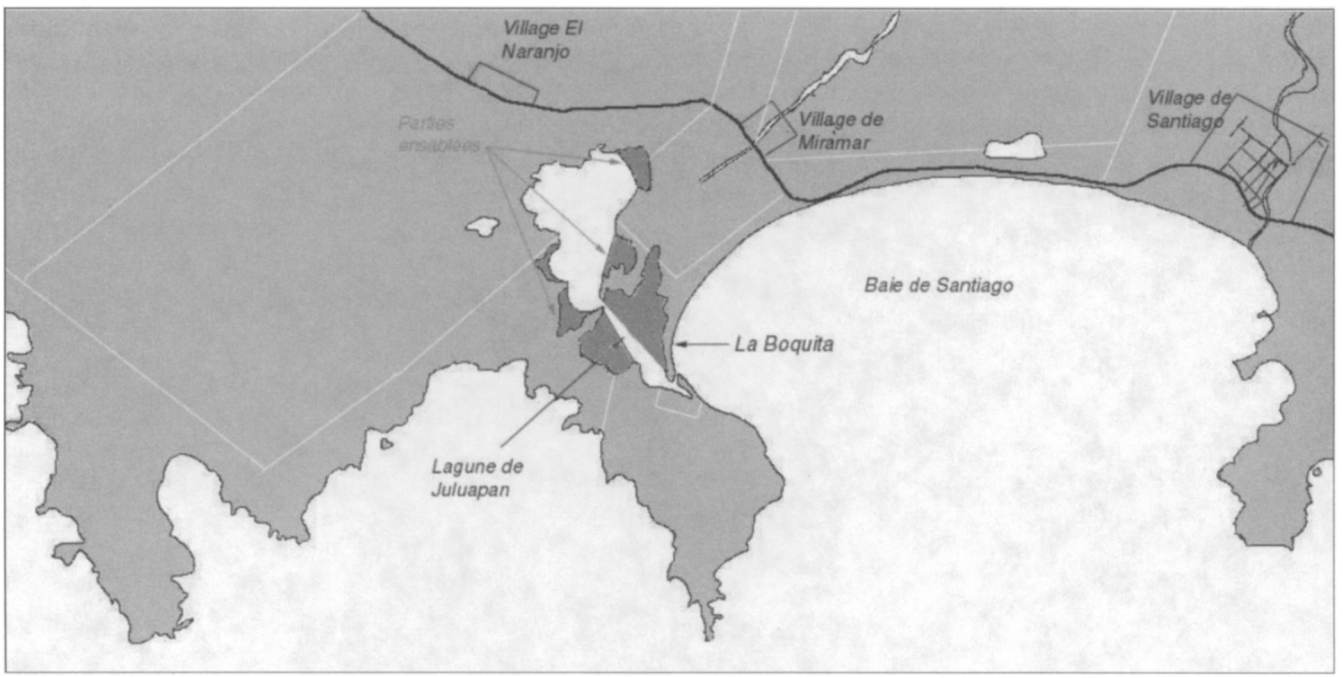
La Boquita's members have faced, and are still facing, many conflicts concerning property rights over the territory they are occupying. Current conflicts are rooted in history and are very similar to problems that the neighboring *ejidos* of El Naranjo and Miramar have also faced. Two types of conflictual situations can be distinguished since the 1950s: one kind related to the creation of new *ejidos* in the area, and the other over three land sales on the territory with all their accompanying disputes, misunderstandings and corruption. The question of property rights remains very complex and confused. On the one hand, people who have taken part in the various conflicts of the past are still carrying the emotional charge of the abuse and betrayal associated with them, which renders the discussion and resolution of the problem rather delicate. On the other hand, there exists a great deal of confusion over the claims made by different parties as well as over the government's management of the situation. Indeed, each actor claims to own the territory on the basis of various arguments, but everything remains very ambiguous, and the formal type of land-use for the territory has never been decided. However, this may sometimes suit the social actors involved, since it means that



Map 3: Ejidos and small properties.



Map 3.1: Sold land and hotels.



Map 4: Lagoon after dredging.

the discussion never ends and that therefore they will always have the opportunity to claim more.

One of the land property problems faced by the community of La Boquita is related to the legal status of the territory that was taken for the creation of a new *ejido*. When the Mexican federal government first formed the local *ejidos*, some parts of the territory were declared *pequenas propriedades* (see map 3). These "little proper-

ties" were given away by the federal government to the public servants, such as the engineers and managers, who had taken part in the creation of the *ejidos*. However, the population did not know of the existence of such units, and they therefore considered them as abandoned land.

This situation gave rise to conflict in La Boquita in the late 1960s when a group of fishermen decided to build houses and cultivate the land where the Palma Real hotel is now located, on the north side of the lagoon. Because the territory was unoccupied, the group thought that they could legally take it to create a new *ejido*, which they called the *ejido* of La Boquita. But this land was in fact a *pequena propriedad* and once the owners, who are non-resident of the region, realized what was going on, they informed the federal government of the situation. Shortly after this, the army arrived and ordered the population to destroy their belongings and to leave the site, which they wouldn't do. Facing this refusal, the army burned the crops and houses of the site, forcing the people from the land. This situation, and particularly the role of the federal government, still remains quite obscure, but the members of La Boquita who would talk about it hold the Mexican government directly responsible for the destruction. The truth about the case has never fully come to light, but it is typical of the ambiguity of the relationship between the people of La Boquita and the government.

In addition to these problems, the question of land property rights has been rendered even more complex by a number of land sales (see map 3.1). One took place in the early 1970s, when an investor bought the lands surrounding the lagoon of Juluapan, which constituted almost half of the Miramar *ejido*'s lands, in order to construct the Club Santiago, a residential development, where rich Mexicans coming from different parts of the country as well as Americans now live during their vacation period. This transaction took place even though it was illegal: privatization of ejidos has only been allowed since 1992, when article 27 of the constitution was modified. However, the administrative council of the Miramar *ejido* sold the land secretly and then ran off with the money. After the event, when the *ejidatarios* and the members of La Boquita discovered what had happened, they went to the state governor to reclaim the land, which was essential to ensuring the livelihood of many of Miramar's *ejidatarios* as well as the lagoon's fertility. The governor, however, refused to hear their case. The *ejidatarios* therefore had no choice but to cultivate the remaining parts of the *ejido* in the mountainous lands behind the village of Miramar.[8]

After this land sale, to which the fishermen and *ejidatarios* objected, the Club Santiago owner asked the government to sell the contiguous lands, which belonged to the El Naranjo *ejido*. In spite of renewed protest by people from the *ejido* and La Boquita, the government accepted, and 30 hectares were sold. Seventy-four *ejidatarios* were thus deprived of their shares of land and their livelihoods. This episode ultimately led to violence. The Club Santiago owners demanded that the members of La Boquita leave the site permanently, which would force them to stop fishing and to close their restaurants. In order to get them to do so, Club Santiago representatives blocked the entry to the site, but La Boquita's members managed to enter by other routes to protect their property. But open violence broke out and Club Santiago's representatives burned and destroyed some *ramadas*, while some members of the community were laying ambushes, such as blocking the only road to the beach with big pieces of firewood in flames. One *ramada* owner summarized the situation:

> He came, he was an engineer, his name was Ramon Rodriguez (pseudonym), he is the one who would not let us work. We were building a *ramada*, and he was tearing it down, and we were building another one, and he was angry, and it got to the point that he was punching us. He wanted us do nothing here because he was working for Club Santiago, and he did not want us to build a *ramada* here. At one point he got tired and he left us in peace. Well, he got tired because he died in a car accident, so on every area that is in the federal zone we started to build again houses and *ramadas*, and so we have continued until now.[9]

After a tense period, the atmosphere calmed down, and the community was able to resume normal activities.

The third land sale on La Boquita's territory occurred during the early 1980s. A foreign investor purchased, from the federal government, La Boquita's lagoon of Juluapan and all the remaining lands surrounding it. Again, this transaction took place even though it was in contravention of the territory's federal zone status. In point of fact, coastal waters and beaches are supposed to remain federal properties, and thus accessible to all the population. But here again confusion reigns over the case. Community members initially accepted compensation and relocation to another place around the shore of the lagoon within the six months following the transaction. However, the terms of the contract were not respected, and as time went by almost all members withdrew their commitment, realizing the importance of what they were about to lose. Even though the community was not in total consensus over this question, they decided to fight

for the territory they occupied, despite the threats of expulsion received from the foreign company that wished to destroy all properties on the site in order to construct their hotel and marina. The battle continues today, having moved to the judicial arena where the community aims to demonstrate, on the basis of law and the constitution, the illegality of selling federal zones, especially when it is to the disadvantage of the Mexican population. They also argue that their prior occupation on the site takes precedence over any subsequent claims to it. Once again, the federal government, which is in the middle of all this, has adopted a rather ambiguous position, giving contradictory promises to each party while remaining inactive, thus disabling any decisive action.

As we can see from these conflicts over territory, attempts at legal resolution of property rights and land use problems lie in stagnation and chronic confusion, which may be interpreted as a form of power control on the part of the national government. On one side, La Boquita's members do not recognize the transactions made and they fight to remain on the territory they already occupy, which sustains not only their livelihoods, but also their identity, their social life and their future. On the other side, the investors want to make the property profitable. Meanwhile the government sits between the battle lines, apparently unwilling to resolve the question, if one considers its inaction to date. Legal property rights and use of the territory have never been clearly established. However, while the conflict in all its complexity still poses some obstacle to the pursuit of the companies' and the government's goals, it also prevents the community of La Boquita from functioning and evolving and renders its existence ever more precarious.

Whose Work First? Fishing or Tourism: A Battle against Contradictions

In my discussion of earlier struggles, we have seen how the corporate tourism industry has expanded through its occupation, of dubious legal status, of La Boquita's territory. From the community's standpoint, this represents further encroachment on their residential and productive areas, which has a grave impact not only on natural resources but also on the community's social structure and organization. While the people try to resist the intrusion of the tourism industry, they also find themselves caught up in some of the more appealing aspects of tourism, which makes the situation even more complex.

Tourism developments in this sector have caused irreversible damage to the lagoon and marine ecosystem on which the community of La Boquita depends (see map 4). The company involved in the third sale of land that I discussed dredged the lagoon to construct a marina for their hotel in the lagoon without carrying out any kind of environmental impact study. The soil dredged up was dumped on the lagoon's shores, which also destroyed large sections of the nearby mangroves and fresh water sources that provide nutrients and oxygen to the local ecosystem. Moreover, the dredging sanded up many parts of the lagoon, considerably diminishing its surface area. The entry to the lagoon was particularly affected. Whereas it once reached depths of up to 10 metres, it is now totally dry in some places, with a maximum depth of half a metre. As one resident describes:

> Before, here in the lagoon, there were fish coming from the sea. The lagoon was more natural. There were red snapper, The entry of the lagoon was very deep, up to 10 metres, and big animals were passing the entry, it was beautiful. But slowly, all that diminished, and now it's very sad here. The lagoon had scallops, crab, and oysters, there were a lot of all of these fish, there were large quantities, but now, they just dredged and they destroyed all of this, it has hurt us very much.[10]

The damage to the ecosystem has had significant negative effects on the fishing activity of La Boquita's members. Fishermen confirm that, since the dredging, the marine resources have decreased not only in the lagoon, as might be expected, but also along the sea coast where they set their nets. Fishermen's productivity and income have decreased proportionately and, hence, so has their quality of life. Their feelings about the decline in quality of life can be observed in the nostalgic discourse about the lagoon as it used to be, apparently a paradise on earth where all fishes, birds and vegetation flourished in abundance:

> With the dredging, they destroyed the natural lagoon, so, the lagoon is dying. It is just about to die. Before, it was so beautiful, you could hear at 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning, when I was throwing my net, you could hear the birds' shrill calls. There were a lot of animals, they live in great numbers in the mangroves. It was pretty because that was by night. During the day, when they were feeding, you could see all the different birds, but now, where do you see that? Now, there is nothing left.[11]

Besides the environmental degradation and land property problems, the development of the tourism industry has affected the community's social structure rendering it fragile. Firstly, the tourism industry has created

changes in the social division of labour. Many fishermen of La Boquita have modified their activities in order to provide tourist services, such as fishing day-trips and fast rides on inflatable banana-shaped rafts. Hence, co-operative members are no longer all practicing fishermen. Moreover, the young people, who are the most attracted to the tourism industry, are learning related activities but not the main practice of fishing. An old fisherman is worried about this situation:

> We want the young people to follow the example we set, to work with motivation for their own good and not to have problems. They have to work in a straight way and with good heart, and god will help us all. They also have to work to sustain us, they have to work. Some of them don't want to understand, but we have to make them understand, for the good of all.[12]

The community is thus in the process of losing the bases of its fishing knowledge. This situation is changing the community's social structure, and is causing divisions in the co-operative since not all members make their living with the same shared interest. Furthermore, services to tourists do not help the organization of the co-operative in any way, since members contribute to it financially on the basis of their catches of fish. Those who spend more time selling their labour to tourists catch fewer fish and therefore contribute less money to the co-operative, while benefiting from its services as much as those who spend their time in full-time fishing. A fisherman and a *ramadero* explain their point of view:

> The *ramadas* are fine, but I would like that every one of the 47 members would get a part of the land, because here only 4 or 5 *ramadas* occupy the whole beach. I would like that they share the land and that they would say this is yours and you can give it to whoever you want. This way, we would all be able to have a *ramada*, or get associated with 3 or 4 other members, or make an union, and from there would come out the money for the fees, but everything to only one person, no. The others, what are they going to do, just watch them, no.[13]

> Everyone of us who has a *ramada* has put efforts into it. The others haven't helped us at all, and for that they should not feel bad; here, the land was always free. They didn't do it because they didn't want to. What made them want to do things, to build a *ramada*, was when others were already built. They didn't think about it before when the place was empty, and now that they see that sometimes there is a lot of tourism, there is some jealousy, but there wasn't any when the place was empty, when there were no owners here. So they should have thought of building a *ramada* in those days.[14]

This creates conflict within the co-operative which spreads into the other major issues concerning the community, such as what direction to take in negotiations with the tourism industry over territory, or what agenda the co-operatives should favour in regards to members' services to tourists.

The conflict between the fisheries and the tourism industry is complex and each side has its own internal contradictions. The tourism industry wants a coastal paradise for its clients, but it ends up destroying the very environment it wishes to promote and profit from. The fishing community is fighting to stop environmental degradation but they lack the advice and finances they need in order to be able to manage the ecosystem properly.[15] The community is also attracted by some aspects of the tourism industry, since it brings in money and allows members to diversify their work activities. But at the same time, members realize that the very advantages of tourism are leading to transformations in their social structure: young people, sons of fishermen and others member of the community, do not want to become members of the co-operative any more since they say that "no es civilizado," or "it is uncivilized," to be a fisherman as opposed to work with tourists; elders who want to retire think about selling their equipment to outsiders of the community since members of their own families do not want to take it up; the co-operative does not represent all of its members' interests any more and many are slowly disengaging themselves from it; and, as the latter process is taking place, some women of the community are starting to take on stronger roles in the community, which is challenging local gender ideologies. In spite of the conflicts the tourism industry generates in the community, the people of La Boquita are still willing to fight to remain on their land and to keep their environment as healthy as possible. They are not going to give up all they have been working for.

Whose Fishing Counts? A Battle for Recognition

While on the one hand tourism creates opportunities for some fishermen to make money by developing new kinds of services, it also puts certain constraints on artisanal fishing and contributes to its marginalization. Sport fishing is an example. This increasingly popular fishing activ-

ity, mostly oriented toward a foreign tourist clientele, involves day-trips to fish particular demersal species, such as tuna, marlin and swordfish. Not only has it become a key activity in Manzanillo's economic development, it also earns the region international recognition. Manzanillo is known as the swordfish capital of the world and every year, a well-known and popular international sport fishing tournament is held there.

However, this event is not appreciated by the artisanal fishing communities of the region, including La Boquita. In fact, in order to ensure that there are sufficient supplies of the fish sought after by the sport fishermen during the tournament, Capitania de Puerto, the government institution responsible for fishing law enforcement, suspends all other fishing activities, including those of the co-operatives two weeks beforehand. The co-operatives are thus deprived of their right to work and are put in a precarious situation.

Secondly, sport fishing is a controversial activity from the co-operative's point of view because the local fishermen are not able to fish those species themselves. The fishing of demersal species is only allowed a long way out from the coast, which prevents artisanal fishermen from practising it because their boats are too small and their equipment too rudimentary. Some fishermen still risk their lives to attempt it, and others risk a fine and the confiscation of all their equipment in the zone where it is forbidden because the selling of demersal species is very lucrative. On the other hand, sports fishermen, who are not members of any co-operative and come from downtown Manzanillo, can practice this activity wherever they want to because they are supposedly not doing it for commercial use, even if many local fishermen say that these people are actually selling their catches illegally.[16]

Some members of La Boquita have been trying to change the conditions of sport fishing by proposing to modify the regulations governing the activity. They are asking the fisheries ministry to allow them to fish demersal species at the beginning of the week (Monday to Wednesday), while the sport fishermen would have exclusive access on the remaining days of the week. The elaboration of this plan demonstrates their awareness of the need to protect the resource as well as to maintain tourist activities, and also their desire to benefit from this type of fishing. This could be crucial, since the artisanal fisheries are in a more and more difficult position due to the decline in marine resources from which they can now barely eke out a decent living.[17] One fisherman holds that the lack of respect for the lagoon's ecosystem cycles is the cause:

> In the lagoon there were a lot of fish and not many fishermen, not like today. Now there is not a lot of fish because there are more fishermen than fish. They catch too much fish and that is why there is not much fish. They should let two months, four months pass without fishing, and then the number of fish would grow a lot in the lagoon, because there is a lot of fish, but because they continue fishing, the number of fish can't increase.[17]

However, as with the other problems facing artisanal fishing communities, the government is not making any progress towards dealing with the fishermen's claims. Meanwhile, sport fishing is gaining in popularity and is having a growing impact on the region.

The case of sport fishing is typical of the general context surrounding artisanal fisheries and their reorganization. The withdrawal of government support from the co-operatives has driven many to bankruptcy; the governmental emphasis put on the expansion of the private sector is detrimental to government's investments in the social sector, which regroups all of the fishing co-operatives of the country and hence employs the great majority of fishermen. This last example of La Boquita's battle for the recognition of its right to exercise its activity and to diversify its catches in order to maintain the community typifies the government's failure to implement resource management policies that correspond to artisanal fishing communities' needs, or even to give them answers about their demands. In this way, the communities are kept in a situation where it is impossible to improve their conditions and where others' recreational activities seem to count more than the needs of the population who have to live on such wealth as the fisheries can generate.

Conclusion

Although community members at La Boquita have had some successes in their fight against marginalization and disempowerment, their future is uncertain. Over the past few years, the confusion over land tenure, the environmental destruction and social friction caused by the development of tourism, and the lack of central government or other external support in their battle to have their agenda recognized and their activities developed have undermined the community's internal cohesion. The socio-economic transformations and related pressures that the community has faced in the past actually contributed to its initial formation and its subsequent cohesion, thanks to malleable adaptations in a context of change. However, the pressures of change are now so intense that they tend to create divisions in the commu-

nity around apparently irreconcilable interests. This leads to atomization within the community, inhibiting its social reproduction and compromising its existence and future.

The case of La Boquita suggests that the viability of such communities is in doubt, due to a combination of factors: the non-enforcement of the tenurial rights of artisanal producers, adverse government regulations giving privileged access to competing interests in local fishery and environmental resources, and changes in property law that undercut community resource bases. The reproduction of community is a pressing policy issue, and more favourable policies can only emerge if the problems, viewpoints, and diversity of the communities are recognized. As shown in this paper, a political ecology analysis of such groups is one way of understanding and analyzing the great heterogeneity and dynamism of fishing communities, represented through the multiple, divergent, and fluid interests and practices of their members in the face of government actions, tourism expansion, and environmental degradation, a perspective that would reward the wider attention of the social sciences in the future.

We must also take into consideration the significance of a broad matrix of variables when trying to understand fishing communities and to develop supportive measures. Political ecology focuses our attention on the dynamic interactions of environmental, political, economic and cultural factors, at macro- and micro-scales from households and local co-operative, to domestic and international market pressures, to state laws and policies.

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Notes

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2 A municipio is an administrative unit comparable to a municipality.

3 The *ejidos are* villages in which inhabitants collectively manage land held in common. They were created in thousands after the 1910 revolution, when the government redistributed lands owned by *haciendistas* to the population. This structure remained in place until 1992 when the government allowed its privatization.

4 For more information on the different fishing technologies used in Manzanillo's co-operatives, see Breton et al., 1998, chap. 3.

5 "Tengo pescando desde que se hizo el ejido, iva a pescar. A veces agaremos la pesca, como no había chamba, el ejido era puro coco de aceite, no había más que hacer. Cuando nos ibamos a la playa, ivamos todo el rancho de aqui. Yo y otros sacabamos pescados para toda la gente, regalado. Y sacabamos mas de 30 o 40 kilos por toda la gente. En un ratito sacabamos, y no vendiamos el pescado, puro para regalar, si no ajustaba, nos metiemos de vuelta un ratito, y toda la gente tenía." Interview extract, Doyon 1999.

6 Andaba de 12 anos cuando caimos aqui nosotros en la Boquita, en el cerro, hace 43 anos, en el 1955, ya. Veniamos de Armeria, de ahi pescamos en la laguna de Cuyutlan, y de allá, nos venimos a pescar aqui. Nos gustó aqui porque había algo de pescado, estaba bien, y ya nos quedemos aqui y aqui estamos todavía." Interview extract, Doyon 1999.

7 The mountainous part of the *ejido* of Miramar, located right behind the village of Miramar, is still farmed by the *ejidatarios*. The main crops farmed are mangoes, lemon, peppers, and coconut, which are cultivated without any mechanization and very few chemical inputs.

8 "Nos tocó, era un ingeniero, se llamaba Ramon Rodriguez (pseudonym), el fue el que empezó a no dejarnos trabajar. Haciemos una ramada, y nos la tumbaba como ora, y otra haciemos, y se ponia bravo, y llego el momento que nos agaro a golpe. El quería que no hacemos aquí nada porque el era como encargado de Club Santiago, y no queria que se hicieron ninguna ramada. Hasta que se enfadó, y nos dejó en paz. Pues se enfadó porque se murió en un carro, entonces, lo que es zona federal, nos empezó a hacer de nuevo casitas, ramaditas, y asi nos fuimos hasta ahora." Interview extract, Doyon 1999.

9 "Anteriormente aqui en la laguna se arimaba pescado ribereno, la laguna estaba más natural, entonces había robalo, la boca era muy onda, de unos 10 metros y pasaba animalones asi de grande para dentro y para fuera, en la boca, era una chulada. Pero poco a poco disminuio, y ahora, está muy triste. La laguna teniá cayo de acha, pata de mula, almejion, y almeja, todo eso había mucho, había en quantitad, pero no más dragaron y nos acabaron, nos perjudicó mucho a nosotros." Interview extract, Doyon, 1999.

10 "Con la dragada, le acabaron con lo natural que tenía la laguna, entonces la laguna anda muriendo, está quasi por morirse. Antes era una lindura, oías tu a veces a las 2 o 3 de la manana, yo andaba atarreando, y tiraba la atarraya, y oias la grita de los pajaros asustados, el animalero, habia en quantitad en los mangles. Era lindo, porque eso era en la noche, en el día, cuando andaban comiendo, vías aves, garzas, gaviotas, toscanos, y aora, a donde ves eso, ya no hay nada de esto." Interview extract, Doyon 1999.

11 "Queremos que los jovenes siguen el exemplo que estamos poniendo, ganas a trabajar por proprio de ellos y que no arman problemas. Deben de trabajar derecho y con buen corazón, y dios nos socorre todos. Deben de trabajar para que nos mantegan también, tienen que trabajar. Hay unos que no quieren entender, pero hay que hacerlos entender, por las buenas." Interview extract, Doyon 1999.

12 "Las ramadas, está bien, pero me gustaría que a cada quien de los 47 socios le toca parcela del terreno, porque aquí no más son 4 o 5 que están ocupando toda la playa. Me gustaría si reparterían el terreno, y que dicen eso te queda a ti, y le puedes dejar a quien quiera. Asi podriamos tener todos una ramada, o asociarnos con 3 o 4 mas, o hacer una unión, y de allí saliera para los gastos, pero a uno solo no más, no. Los demas que vamos a hacer, no más verlos, no." Interview extract, Doyon 1999.

13 "Cada quien que tenemos una ramada, metimos nuestros esfuerzos, y los demas no nos ayudaron para nada, y por eso no tienen que sentirse mal, aquí el terreno estuvo todo el tiempo libre. No hicieron porque no quisieron. Les han dando ganas de hacer cosas, de hacer ramadas, porque ya están hechas. No les han ocurido antes cuando estaba vacio, ya que ven que hay mucho turismo a veces, hay algo de envidia, pero no había cuando estaba vacio, que nadie tenía dueno aquí, entonces les hubiera ocurido de hacer una ramada en ese tiempo." Interview extract, Doyon 1999.

14 In this regard, the co-operative tried several times to dredge the lagoon entrance in order to restore flushing by sea water, enhancement of the lagoon's natural resources and the possibility for fishing boats to shelter from stormy seas. However, lacking the knowledge necessary to properly undertake this operation, they ended up worsening the previous situation.

15 La Boquita's fishermen could buy a sport fishermen's licence however the fees are prohibitive and the possession of such a licence hinders the simultaneous practice of commercial fishing. Moreover, the fishermen implicated in this kind of activity must buy a large boat and sophisticated equipment to accommodate the tourists, in addition to the life insurance, the costs of which are beyond the means of most artisanal fishermen.

16 The average income of an artisanal fishermen is approximately 150$CAN a week.

17 "En la laguna pués, había mucho pescado y poco pescadores, no como hoy. Orita, no hay pescado porque hay más pescadores que pescado. Le atrapan recio y por eso no hay mucho pescado. Deben de dejar unos 2 meces, 4 meces sin pescar, y aumentaría mucho el pescado en la laguna, porque hay mucho, pero porque continuan pescando, no aumenta." Interview extract, Doyon 1999.

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Fish Talk

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Abstract: The article draws on recorded interviews undertaken over the course of three summers of fieldwork among Aboriginal fishers of the Miramichi river of northern New Brunswick. Here particular attention is given to the discourse of these fishers, taken to mean their "talk" about the fishery. Indeed it is through such talk that the fishery is at once created and transformed reflecting in part past practice based on family gill net operations, and in more recent years, the experience of a highly regulated and waged trap net operation. It is hoped that the article will contribute to our understanding of the discursive construction of economy especially as this relates to the practices of Aboriginal riverine fishers.

Résumé: Cet article est basé sur l'enregistrement d'entrevues réalisées au cours de trois étés d'enquête chez les pêcheurs autochtones de la rivière Miramichi au nord du Nouveau-Brunswik. Une attention particulière est accordée au discours de ces pêcheurs, c'est-à-dire de leurs «propos» sur la pêche. En fait, c'est dans ces propos que la pêche est à la fois créée et transformée, reflétant en partie les pratiques passées d'activité familiale utilisant le filet maillant, et dans les années plus récentes, l'expérience de travail avec le filet-trappe très réglementé et rémunéré. Cet article veut contribuer à la compréhension de la construction discursive de l'économie, spécialement en tant qu'elle est liée à la pratique des pêcheurs riverains autochtones.

According to Makah legend, salmon were people before they were transformed into fish and, as fish, they look forward to fulfilling their duty as food for earth people, part of the sacred cycle of life.

— Roche and McHutchison, 1998: 12.

Introduction

Part of the legacy of late 20th-century ethnography has been a thorough critique of standard styles of representation in ethnographic writing (Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Crapanzano, 1992; Geertz, 1988; Marcus and Fischer, 1986). In response ethnographers have sought alternatives to an "ethnographic authority" based on third-person objective reporting (Clifford, 1988), and have explored ways of using first-person voice and of presenting data in the form of a discursive encounter between ethnographer and cultural collaborator (Crapanzano, 1980; Dumont, 1992; Rabinow, 1977; Tedlock, 1983; Tedlock and Mannheim, 1994). Even so, such a discursive model of ethnographic practice has remained largely derivative within the overall context of "field" experience. In the present article such discursive practices are considered in a more formative light—that is as "constitutive" of actions and decisions made within an Aboriginal riverine fishery. Here particular attention is given to the "talk" of fishers and to ways in which this results in a discursive construction of their fishery.[1] At the same time such "talk" also reveals quite different and often competing conceptions of the fishery reflecting perhaps " . . . the inevitability of difference and disagreement . . . " (Palsson and Durrenberger, 1992: 303) or perhaps a "discursive dissonance" (Robben, 1994: 297).

The principle source of data in this study is an extensive collection of recorded interviews[2] undertaken over the course of three summers of fieldwork (Adlam, 1997, 1998b, 1999) among Aboriginal fishers of the Miramichi River in northern New Brunswick, Canada. These fishers live in one of three Aboriginal communi-

ties: Eel Ground First Nation, Red Bank First Nation, or Big Hole Tract. The interview material, some of it collected by Aboriginal research assistants,[3] provides a running commentary about the place of the fishery in Aboriginal life. The time frame covered by these interviews extends from the present back to about 1950. Over this period of time a number of major changes have taken place in the fishery which are described in the talk of Aboriginal fishers. Prominent among these changes was the beginning of the *Aboriginal Fisheries Strategy* (AFS) program initiated in 1992, coming on the heels of the Supreme Court's ruling in *R. v. Sparrow*. These agreements which started as single-year arrangements have grown into multi-year agreements. They include provisions for fish and stream enhancement, Aboriginal Fisheries Guardians,[4] monitoring of fish stocks, and training. They have provided a valuable opportunity for the participation of Aboriginal fishers in a co-management arrangement providing employment. But not everyone has witnessed the implementation of these agreements with the same degree of anticipation. In fact concerns continue to be expressed over the distribution of benefits under these agreements as well as with respect to the overall effect these agreements have on "existing" Aboriginal and treaty rights. In addition, although these concerns have on occasion taken the form of violent confrontations such as occurred in 1995 at Big Hole Tract, much of the debate has remained embedded in what people say about the fishery. Indeed it is within this "talk" about the fishery that one can find not only different but often competing conceptions of the Aboriginal fishery. But perhaps more important than simply the differences found in these discursive practices, are that such discourses serve as the basis for decisions and actions taken with respect to the fishery. In short, they form, as a growing number of economic anthropologists have shown, a constitutive dimension of economy (Gudeman, 1986; Gudeman and Rivera, 1990; Robben, 1989, 1994).

In what follows, then, attention focusses on principally two competing conceptions of the fishery among Aboriginal fishers. These the fishers have framed using various terms to characterize one as *traditionalist*, *conservationist* or *environmentalist*, and in the other, as *assimilated*, *modernized* or *modern ways* which I refer to here as "modernist" conceptions of the fishery. Further, they hold a number of general notions about how these positions are constituted and differ from one another, as well as, more specific or technical points that they consider to be important to this distinction. Finally, for fishers espousing any one of these positions, they are able to offer a critique of the other position citing its apparent failings and short comings. But the position taken can change and with it the associated discourses, suggesting, as Robben found among fishers of Camurim, Brazil, that these " ... discourses are not static and clear-cut but shifting and ambiguous" (1994: 894) and likely to change in the face of new circumstances whatever their source.

The Aboriginal Fishery of the Miramichi

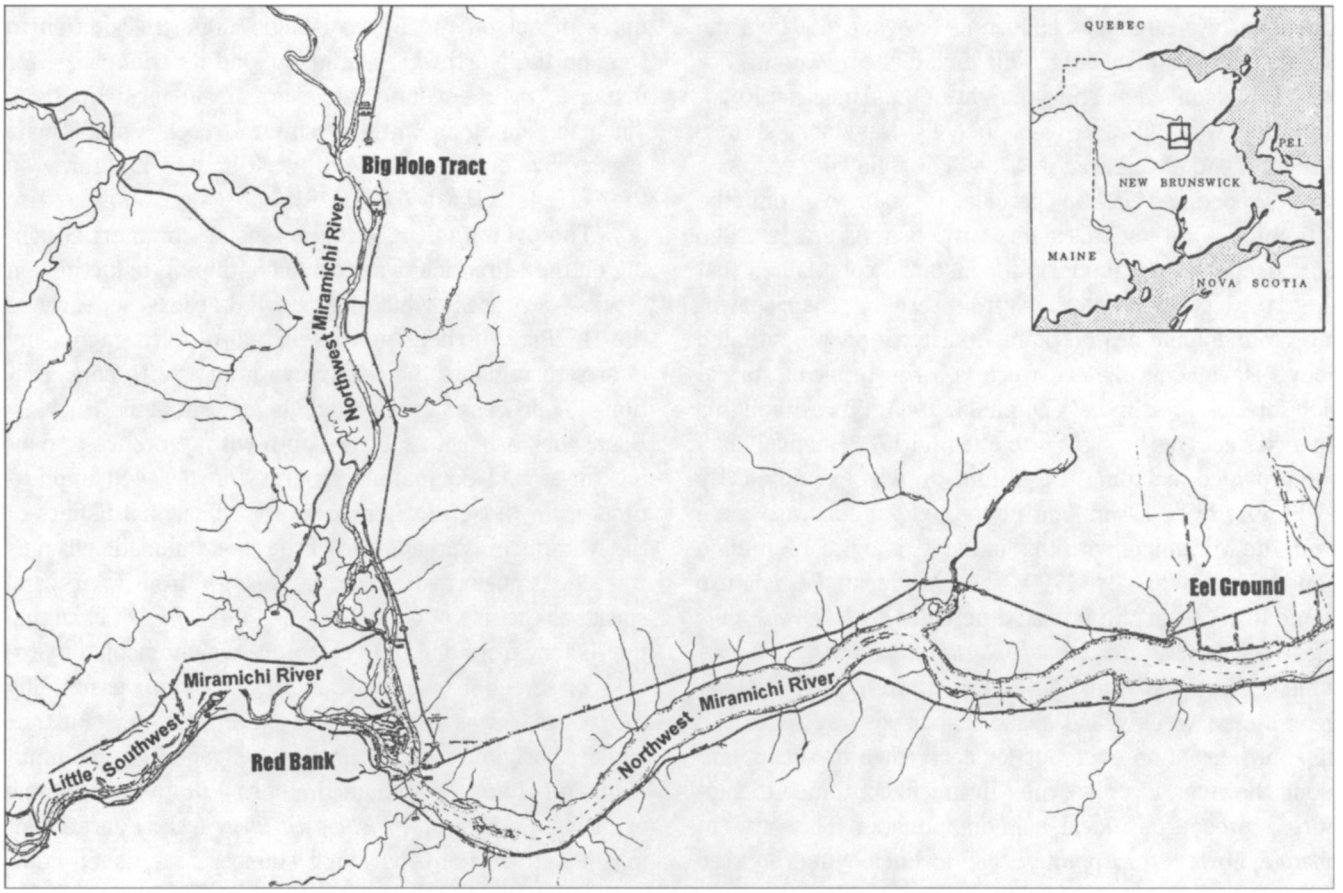
As the records of early explorers show, Aboriginal people of Atlantic Canada carried out an extensive fishery by means of weirs, nets of various types, traps, hand nets, scoop nets, spears and even angling. The Mi'kmaq of the Miramichi River were certainly no exception to this rule where spears, particularly when employed using canoes equipped with torches, and weirs were prominent features of their fishery. Archaeological evidence attests to some 2 500 years of fishing activity along the Miramichi river (Allen, 1994).

The country of the Miramichi Mi'kmaq contains numerous fish species—including Atlantic salmon, striped bass, sea-run brook trout, eels, gaspereau, smelts, shad and sturgeon. Although fishing took place from spring through until fall, particular attention was given to major runs of fish such as sturgeon and Atlantic salmon.

Certainly through the early 1900s, fish such as sturgeon[5] and salmon were taken at a number of key locations along the Miramichi and its connecting rivers. *Metepenagiag* situated at the confluence of the Little South West Miramichi and the North West Miramichi River was a principal village site where the Mi'kmaq convened to capture, dry and store large quantities of dried sturgeon and salmon. Today, the Mi'kmaq fishery is restricted to stretches of river in the immediate vicinity of the communities of Red Bank First Nation, Eel Ground First Nation and Big Hole Tract.

Selected descriptions of Mi'kmaq life begin as early as 1606 with Lescarbot (1911-14) with subsequent contributions being made by Bock (1966, 1978), Denys (1908), LeClercq (1910), Maillard (1758), Prins (1996). Rand (1850, 1888, 1894) and Wallis and Wallis (1955). Most contain references to the Mi'kmaq fishery such as this one by Denys:

> At the narrowest place of the river where there is the least water they make a fence of wood clear across the river to hinder the passage of fish. In the middle of it they leave an opening in which they place a bag net like those used in France, so arranged that it is inevitable the fish should run into them. These bag nets are much longer than ours



Map of the Northwest and Little Southwest Miramichi River, depicting the communities of Red Bank First Nation, Eel Ground First Nation and Big Hole Tract.

> they raise two or three times a day and they always find fish therein, it is in the spring that the fish ascend and they descend in autumn and return to the sea. At that time they place the opening of the bag in the other direction. (Denys, 1908: 437)

Indeed later, in direct reference to the Miramichi, Denys observes:

> If the Pigeons plagued us by their abundance, the Salmon gave us even more trouble. So large a quantity of them enters into this river that at night one is unable to sleep, so great is the noise they make in falling upon the water that after having thrown or darted themselves into the air. (Denys, 1908: 193)

One Aboriginal collaborator recounted how, when her father was a young man, "he would go down to the river and in an hour . . . would have enough salmon to salt for the winter" [Marilyn A,[6] Red Bank First Nation]. But this refers to a period of time perhaps in the late 1800s and certainly before the enforcement of regulatory measures which ultimately saw the closure of the salmon fishery in 1972. In fact it is hard to discuss the Mi'kmaq fishery of the Miramichi without reference to the non-Aboriginal fishery as it has developed over the past 300 years.

Although the Miramichi was largely unknown to the English in 1760, the French used the islands at the mouth of the river for drying and curing fish from the early 16th century (Dunfield, 1985: 52). In 1688, Richard Denys,[7] the son of Nicolas Denys, established a trading post on the Miramichi and although several settlements existed in the area by 1690, little attention was given to the salmon fishery. By 1765, however, this changed with the arrival of William Davidson from Scotland. Davidson, along with an associate John Cort, received a 150-square-mile land grant surrounding the lower reaches of both the Northwest and Southwest Miramichi rivers and proceeded to develop a fixed-net method of salmon fishing. This involved hanging nets from poles which had been driven into the river bed in lines stretching diagonally across the river from shore to shore. By the mid-1770s

Davidson was annually exporting between 660 000 and 850 000 pounds of salmon. This ended effectively in 1777 with Davidson's departure to fight in the American Revolutionary war but was re-opened by Davidson, shortly after the end of this war, in 1784. The following year saw him exporting 472 000 pounds of salmon from the Miramichi. Nor did his aggressive fishing practices go unnoticed, the Local sheriff for instance complained that the cross nets prevented fish from reaching their spawning grounds; and at one point Aboriginal people situated above Davidson's fishery were "on the brink of starvation for lack of salmon" (Dunfield, 1985: 65). Although a fisheries act was brought into effect in 1786, virtually half the province including the Miramichi was exempted. By 1789, just over 1.4 million pounds of salmon was taken from the Miramichi with that amount rising to 1.8 million pounds by 1800. By 1799, the Provincial Legislature found it necessary to invoke a new *Act for Regulating the Fisheries in the County of Northumberland*, a county which embraced the Miramichi, thereby establishing gear limits, weekly and seasonal closed times, and the appointment of an overseer for each town or settlement along the river. Even so, the Miramichi continued to support a prosperous local salmon industry. This was to change, however, with noticeable declines being reported in salmon stocks by the 1820s, and although there were slight increases during the 1830s, declines were once again being reported by 1843. In addition to the impact of fishing practices, the timber industry through stream driving and dam building created yet further obstacles affecting stock survival, a fact noted by Moses Perley in his report to the New Brunswick legislature in 1849. Indeed in responding to Perley's report, the Legislature moved to draft new fisheries regulations which it enacted in 1851. As before, though, as one observer noted:

> All the rivers in New Brunswick are very much damaged by over netting, both in the tideway, along the coast, and also in fresh water. At first, it appears a miracle how any salmon can manage to pass the labyrinth of nets, set with hardly any restriction; for although there are very fair fishery laws, they are but seldom enforced. (Dashwood, 1872: 31)

Finally, in 1843, salmon canning operations opened on Portage Island at the mouth of Miramichi Bay followed by, a short time later, a similar operation on Fox Island. By 1864, island canneries were exporting more than 400 000 pounds of salmon to the United States and the United Kingdom (Dunfield, 1985:128). Supporting these cannery operations on the islands were 30 fishing stands, which if combined, represented some seven miles of net on these two islands alone. In addition to this, on the Northwest Miramichi and its tributaries, for instance, over seventy nets were being used by 1865, "including nineteen on the freshwater reaches of the main stream, five on the Little Southwest branch, and three on the Sevogle" (Hardy, 1855:118).

The overall effect of this intensive commercial fishing on the Miramichi was to see continuing reductions in stocks—a process which had started at least as early as the 1820s. Further, this occurred despite increasing efforts to regulate the fishery with an eye to conservation—a process which had been initiated in New Brunswick as early as 1786—both with reference to fishing times and equipment. There were as well implications from these developments for Aboriginal fishers of the Miramichi. Perhaps one of the most dramatic changes was the transformation of the fishery from weirs and spears to the use of gill nets. It had the effect of changing the fishery from one of live capture which enabled a process of selection using spears to one where essentially the harvest was anything caught in the net. Further while Aboriginal fishers remained engaged in a communal food fishery throughout the period up to negotiations of the first *Aboriginal Fishery Strategy* (AFS) agreement in 1992, their non-Aboriginal counterparts fished commercially around them. Larry G., aged 57 years and a Fishery Guardian from Eel Ground First Nation conveys his experience of this:

> A French fisherman from St. Louis de Kent or Buctouche area used to come in and fish gaspereau. Sometimes I remember there were about 30 or 40 boats. Then you had your non-Natives that live here and fish commercially with gaspereau and salmon. We were surrounded but the Native people were not allowed to fish. They used to sneak in at night and set a net. And the Indian agents used to give the okay to the gaspereau fishermen ... to fish on the shores of the Indian reserve. ...

A rather different experience is related by a former fisheries development officer and fisher, Sam G., aged 36 years, from Eel Ground First Nation:

> When my father had a commercial licence back in the '60s and '70s, and my grandfather before that, you would figure that a commercial licence was to sell ... commercial ... to sell and all that. But because he was Native he couldn't make a living from it. He wasn't allowed to sell anything. He could eat all he want, but how many people do you see out there in the commercial fisheries living off whatever

> they caught? They don't. It's sold so you can make money, so you can buy other things. But we weren't allowed to do that.

Gerald P., a self-ascribed traditionalist in his mid 40s from Red Bank First Nation, summed it up this way:

> When the Europeans came with their customs, traditions and values, it started a process of change and assimilation. To a degree, the Native peoples have been assimilated or modernized. The change has devastated a lot of our culture, our traditional, holistic value system ... Nowadays everything is very, very commercial ... exploiting everything that moves. Today they are concentrating on a few areas that are good commodities. People got to eat, and if you have food people will buy that. One of the delicacies in this area is salmon. Therefore the fishery has become a focus and the industry is seen as an area where "you can haul in the cash."

But the process of change, certainly with respect to commercial interests, has not been a particularly smooth one. Examples of this began to surface in the 1970s amidst a more stringent enforcement of fishery regulations. What erupted were the so-called "salmon wars" with violent confrontations between Mi'kmaq fishers and provincial authorities over issues of jurisdiction and access to the fishery. Indeed one such hot spot was just up the coast from the Miramichi at Restigouche. The incident drew national attention and became the subject of a full-length documentary film by the National Film Board of Canada.[8]

On the Miramichi, initially protests took the form of legal challenges to do with a band's communal fishing license and fishing in waters outside the area specified in that license. This developed into a full blown dispute in 1995 with confrontations between Federal fisheries officers and local Aboriginal residents of Big Hole Tract. Dan W., a 47-year-old fisher from Big Hole Tract explains:

> They blew all my windows out; while my family and I were in there. They came in the middle of the night, well 2 am in the morning, they pulled up outside and they blew all the windows out of my house ... and holes in the walls.... We never once picked up arms, or ... any kind of weapon to attack Fisheries.... [After this] everybody was just getting ready to, you know all out war.... Everybody had loaded guns.

At issue was being able to fish using gill nets within reserve waters at this location. This was problematic because of the narrowness of the river at Big Hole, the fact these were non-tidal waters, and resulting concerns for conservation. Fortunately an agreement was reached to use a trap net at this location.[9]

What characterizes the fishery of the Miramichi is a process of intensive exploitation, typically difficult to regulate and manage, in which non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal fishers face off over their access to a dwindling resource. That one has been able to sell their catch, while the other has been restricted to a food fishery, continues to be a source of tension. Although the *Aboriginal Fishery Strategy* (AFS) has brought Miramichi Mi'kmaq into the regulatory and management process, providing training and employment, as well as commercial possibilities,[10] concerns continue to be expressed about the equitable distribution of these benefits within the Aboriginal communities and the overall effect of these agreements on "existing" Aboriginal and treaty rights.

The Discourse of Aboriginal Fishers

Evidence of the enduring importance of Mi'kmaq culture can be found running through all three Mi'kmaq communities of the Miramichi River. Here Mi'kmaq point to such facilities as the Mother Earth Lodge II, a wellness and healing centre, and to the *Metepenagiag* Heritage Park project,[11] both at Red Bank First Nation, as tangible evidence of the continuing relevance and vitality of their heritage and traditions. Perhaps not surprising, reference to this dimension of community life is also embedded in people's conversations. Indeed this forms an important part of what Mi'kmaq say about the fishery both in terms of its significance to their "way of life" and as a marker of what it means to be Mi'kmaq. It is also the way in which a traditionalist conception of the fishery takes shape and is deployed discursively.

At the same time, Miramichi Mi'kmaq have faced considerable challenges in their developing relationship with Euro-Canadian society. Certainly it has been a struggle to maintain their Aboriginal fishery, even as a food fishery, given the scale of access afforded Euro-Canadian fishers. Essentially, the problem has been one of "being Indian" which has effectively prevented Aboriginal fishers from obtaining the necessary licencing to be able to participate in a commercially based fishery. But in the early 1990s this started to change. Under the *Aboriginal Fishery Strategy* (AFS) program large and expensive trap nets came into use requiring fishery crews both for their installation and maintenance. The operation, which provided for the live capture of fish, also meant that harvesting could occur for food as well as for commercial purposes. Further, for Aboriginal communities long faced with chronic underemployment, these

agreements offered important wage-labour opportunities around monitoring of fish stocks, enforcement through guardianship and in the area of habitat restoration. In effect, this new style of participation in the fishery has brought with it important social and economic benefits, and with these, a different set of considerations about the meaning and significance of the fishery. It is also in this way that a modernist conception of the fishery begins to take shape and becomes deployed discursively.

In what follows, then, these two conceptions of the fishery serve as important counterpoints as fishers articulate their concerns on a wide range of issues from their "rights" as Aboriginal people in the fishery through to their position on conservation, regulation and overall management of fishery resources. This said, we might proceed by asking: how do Mi'kmaq "talk" about their Aboriginal fishery; are there recurring features embedded in their talk; and finally, in what sense might it be said that the fishery is constructed through these discursive practices?

Traditionalist Conceptions of the Fishery

Traditionalist conceptions of the fishery, as asserted by self-ascribed traditionalists and other adherents to this position, are fundamentally about the relationship between nature and Aboriginal society. The relationship is described as long-standing, as broadly encompassing and as more than just about meeting the material needs of Aboriginal society. Indeed it is in this sense that the relationship is presented as traditional, holistic and as central to the value system of Aboriginal society. As Gerald P., a self-ascribed traditionalist in his mid-40s from Red Bank First Nation explains:

> it incorporates a lot because it has to do with the right to be a people on the land—the original people on the land—to be able to hunt, to fish, to trap and to be able to do all those things that the creator has given us.

As this relates to the fishery, it is a relationship which embodies the principles guiding the use and management of fishery resources. As such, traditionalists argue that Aboriginal people should have unfettered access to fishery resources as a matter of right—a right which they should not be required to justify or defend. Accordingly, for traditionalists, entering into agreements with government, such as under the AFS program, only serves to compromise such rights by offering short term benefits aimed at drawing Aboriginal people into regulatory arrangements. Tracy P., in her late 30s and a former Head of Fisheries for Red Bank First Nation explains:

> as I said, we go by government regulations, their set rules. They basically set up the agreement. There is no "let's sit down with the Natives and talk about an agreement that's equally balanced for one another, and work together." It doesn't work that way. They make the agreement and tell you to read it and sign it. When people start to rebel on them, people wonder why, because they never sat down. Another reason why is that they always hold funding back.

In fact for some, such agreements are seen as having yet a further effect, namely, commodifying such rights so that they can be "sold off." Of course part of the attraction to any such agreement with government, as John W., a traditionalist in his early 40s from Eel Ground First Nation explains, has a good deal to do with the circumstances faced by many Aboriginal people:

> there are some people with not enough employment. So that's why sometimes they look at it [the fishery] as gold, because they make their living by them fish and that river. They have been on welfare all winter and if you've been on welfare all winter, you want to catch a salmon and maybe catch one or two salmon—holy jumpin's, you gonna get a couple of dollars if you sell them. Turn around, that's the reason why it's been exploited the way it has been because the lure of that almighty dollar overrides your tradition, your heritage,.... But we're slowly trying to bring [our tradition] back into our way of life.

Yet another dilemma faced by Aboriginal fishers has to do with the perceptions held by non-Aboriginal fishers. As Gerald P. explains:

> if we set nets, the non-Natives will say, "If they can set nets, so can we" and poaching starts, wardens get hurt because of disputes at night. Non-Natives say that it's the Native people who are causing it. But Natives say that it's their right to fish. They've always been here. They can't understand why there is the dispute.

Beyond this, an additional impact has come from the commercial fishery. Gerald P. continues:

> One of the delicacies in this area is salmon. Therefore the fishery has become a focus and the industry is seen as an area where you can haul in the cash. It may do something for the economy if you put back into it and build the economy up. The value system has changed; there's a clash between traditional and modern ways. The people are forgetting about the holistic traditional value system.

But not only has the commercial fishery had an impact, various forms of industrialization have had an effect on the larger eco-system. Again Gerald P. explains:

> I know that the environment is changing, I can see that happening. How does the DFO control the run of the salmon up the river? They are making all the rules and regulations but sometimes things happen like pulp mills dumping waste straight into the river. We can't touch them cause they're a multi-million dollar corporation. Heath Steel mines are dumping also, and that's also a big corporation and we can't touch them. But we can wrestle with the Indians. Let's blame it on them so that at least we can say we're doing something. But where else do you hear that the DFO is involved with a group of people? You don't hear it anywhere else; just with Native people.

For traditionalists, then, while access to the fishery is regarded as a right based on a long tradition of use—the appeal, at least for some, of agreements with government, the perceptions of non-Aboriginal fishers, the importance given to the industrial fishery, as well as the polluting effect of other forms of industrialization—have all worked to severely constrain the exercise of this right. Further, added to this are technical constraints linked to equipment and location. Here Dorothy W., in her mid-40s, who lives with her fisherman spouse at Big Hole Tract explains, contrasting the fishery at Eel Ground with that at Big Hole Tract:

> Here [Big Hole Tract], they did it here because they could wade out. They could wade out, set their net and come in. You didn't need a boat, you didn't need all this equipment—safety gear, motors and everything. Where up where they've got the fishing spot now [Eel Ground] you do. You need that equipment. So a lot of people who traditionally fished with nets can't do it. The only ones who can are people ... who have motorboats and all these things that are at their disposal at any time because they also run the fishery programs and the fishery equipment. It's stuff like that that causes conflict.

For the Aboriginals above, agreements with government have privileged some with access to equipment which enables them to participate in both trap net operations, as integral features of such agreements, as well as in gill netting. More troubling, though, for Dorothy W. and others is that these agreements have meant fishing outside traditional waters. Again Dorothy W. explains:

> In Eel Ground's agreement there's ten nets for traditionalists, but they're not in band waters. They're not in traditional water; they're not in places that are easily accessible. In my agreement, they would be. They would cover all band waters—which is traditional fishing ground. That would have to be in any agreement that I put together; it would have to have that right in there.

For those who subscribe to a traditionalist position, then, fishery agreements under the AFS program have worked to compromise the fundamental rights of Aboriginal people in the fishery. Further they have raised questions about who controls the Aboriginal fishery as well as who really benefits under these agreements. In fact this is part of a critique they offer of those they see as the principal promoters of the alternative position featured in the next section.

Modernist Conceptions of the Fishery

Modernists speak from a different experience of the fishery often with the objective of trying to achieve an equal footing with Euro-Canadians in their access and use of the fishery. Indeed this has grown out of situations where two standards seem to apply. Here Sam G., aged 36, a former Fisheries Development officer from Eel Ground First Nation provides one such illustration:

> When I was growing up I was about 15 years old and I was sitting by the shore one night, cleaning a salmon. I was putting the guts in the river and the smell of the blood was getting in the water. The eels came flocking into shore. Big, huge things. I was 15 years old and getting out of high school and get this big brain storm; I am gonna make lots of money. I'm going downtown and buy an eel licence—$50. Anybody today can buy an eel licence. And you are suppose to be able to sell any eels that you want to sell. I went down and asked for a licence. "No problem, just fill out the application ... " Then it asked for 4 or 5 pieces of ID. At that time I gave my student ID, my Indian Status card, and my birth certificate. He looked at the card and said "you're an Indian." I said, "Yes, I'm from Eel Ground." "You don't need a licence." "Geese, that's great, I don't need a licence. But can I sell?" "Oh, you can't sell ... you're an Indian." "If I buy a licence, am I allowed to sell?" "You're not allowed to have a licence, because you're an Indian." But anyone else could walk in that door and buy a licence for $50.00 and make a living. We couldn't.

For Sam G., this early experience embodies the central contradiction that really all modernist fishers have faced, namely, two different types of access to the fishery—one

use-based essentially for food—the other commercially based, and consequently, with one, the former, offering little by way of opportunity while the latter holds all the potential for social and economic gain. For modernists, then, a good part of the objective has been to find a mechanism which would legitimize an expansion of the Aboriginal fishery beyond its traditional food-based roots. Indeed this opportunity surfaced for the first time in 1992, in the wake of the *Sparrow* decision, in the form of AFS agreements. These offered important wage-labour opportunities around monitoring of fish stocks, enforcement through guardianship and in the area of habitat restoration. For Ronald W., aged 52, a past Director of Fisheries at Red Bank First Nations, this translated into important employment opportunities:

> See, right now, the Red Bank people here has received that money. That means—the 99% of the people here that are unemployed for most of the season—that means $400 000 really helps the reserve pretty good as far as employment goes. What that is, also, it creates the work plus we get a little bit of fish for the reserve.

Admittedly, a dilemma with such agreements is the potential for cut-backs in government funding. Ronald W. explains:

> We'll be receiving $469 000 this year. They cut our budget by 15%. What that means is about $60 000 that we certainly could use, but the DFO decided to cut it and they said they'll give it to us later on. We'll get it back later on ... if there's other reserves in the province that don't sign these agreements ... the money will come to Red Bank.

Another issue has to do with ensuring community compliance under these agreements. Jimmy D., a past Fisheries Co-ordinator at Eel Ground First Nation explains:

> In the early seventies, the Native really had to fight for any rights to the fishery without being hassled by fisheries people. Through protests and such, access was gained. Old timers that remember having these protests and struggles are the ones that want to fish the gill nets because it's something that they had to fight for.... Anglers on the Miramichi take their sport to heart and when their sport is threatened by Natives using the gill net, "people get their feathers ruffled." There has been a lot of tension on the river for a long time in terms of Natives using gill nets and taking catches in different times. The people who abused this resource really took a lot of fish and sold them on the black market.

Sonny W., aged 52 and a Fishery Guardian with Red Bank First Nation, offers his perspective on the process:

> A lot of people didn't want the trap nets—they still wanted to fish. They didn't want their rights to be trampled upon. So whatever these little changes year after year, the federal government put the money up, so let's put the Natives working with their own resource, manage their own resources and proper distribution. They going to do the nets away and have the river regulated by their own people and this is what happened over these years here. That's what it is today.... There was violence, there was threats ... but it was our people that had to deal with our people, in a more friendly way.... Well, I think sometimes it was a little more forceful, doing things you didn't like to do. But it was a way of teaching. Maybe that's not the word for it, but teaching that there's a change here and we have to abide.

The transition from gill nets to communal trap nets has been difficult and has been handled differently by the three Aboriginal communities. Thus Red Bank First Nation has curtailed its use of gill nets other than for a period of about two weeks during installation of two trap nets when it uses three or four gill nets; while Eel Ground First Nation installs four trap nets and has retained the use of some nine gill nets. For its part, after years of fighting for its rights in the fishery through the use of gill nets, people at Big Hole Tract have negotiated a co-management agreement with Eel Ground First Nation to operate a single communal trap net with no provisions for gill nets. The change from gill nets to trap nets has also meant a change from the two or so individuals needed to set up and run gill nets to where crews of 10 to 12 are required to set up and operate the larger trap nets. In fact, it takes crews seven days to build the two trap nets in the waters off Red Bank First Nation.

A further consideration in this process is location. Thus at locations such as Red Bank First Nation and Big Hole Tract, the river is narrower and more shallow than at Eel Ground First Nation, where not only is the river wider but considerably deeper with four to six foot tidal waters. Yet while the former are restricted to traditional fishing water, Eel Ground First Nation has been able to establish an expanded fishing area which includes, in addition to waters within reserve boundaries, trap net locations on the South-west Miramichi river. Even so, Jimmy D., a past Fisheries Co-ordinator at Eel Ground First Nation sums it up this way:

> Overall, I think that it turned out to be a better fishery. Now we are more conservation minded, more

> aware of the effects of how to utilize the fish. Our technicians are becoming more experienced in terms of the different habits, diseases and parasites, mating, etc. The stuff we know today was not common knowledge 11 years ago. Overall, the best thing to come out of the contemporary fishery is—one, that everyone has access to the fishery and everyone gets their fair share—and two, those who want to utilize the gill [net] fishery can. But we only use a dozen stands, since people will all get some fish, most don't bother to go out and use the gill nets.

Discussion

Traditionalists frame their construction of the fishery around the relationship of Aboriginal society to nature. Indeed it is in terms of this relationship that we find the holistic, traditional value system as the source of a fundamental right which Aboriginal fishers argue they have to the fishery. For these fishers, then, agreements with government for access to a fishery to which they already have an established right of access, only serves to compromise or, in their words, "bargain away" their right. Of course what needs to be remembered is the struggle of Aboriginal fishers of the Miramichi to win recognition of this right—a right established by treaty some two centuries ago as well as recognized and affirmed by section 35(1) of the Canadian Constitution. But modernists are not above using this established right themselves as a bargaining chip in their negotiations with government. However modernists are equally as quick at referring to this struggle as part of the past and those who won it as "old timers." They are also likely to see what was won, at least in reference to traditionalists, as more limited in scope—perhaps even as being won on a technicality.

Both traditionalists and modernists are acutely aware of the political and economic conditions surrounding the fishery. Here Gerald P., a self-ascribed traditionalist, offers a critical perspective of the modernist position:

> ... The leaders [political] have to be more careful with what they sign. They may be anxious to sign those papers because they'll get $500 000 or $600 000 and create a lot of jobs in the community. It looks good for the next election or looks good publicly but that's dangerous 'cause they could be selling out the rights of the people.

Sam G., a 36-year-old former Fisheries Development officer might respond:

> Some of the traditionalists up here get me so mad because the talk is there but the walk isn't. It's great to know that we have community leaders going all over the country saying how wonderful it is, but in their own backyard it's falling to pot. But he or she is out there getting the benefits of the non-Native culture—getting all that money— but their own children are dying because of drug abuse, mental, physical or sexual abuse—just suffering.

Broadly there are two issues at play here, one to do with the relationship of Aboriginal society to the larger non-Aboriginal society perhaps particularly as this relates to the deployment of traditional Aboriginal culture ("how wonderful it is") but also to do with certain consequences ("selling out the rights" or "drug abuse, mental and physical abuse") as a result of this relationship, and another which centres on the internal dynamic of Aboriginal society around governance ("the next election") and a responsibility to an emerging Aboriginal generation ("creating a lot of jobs" or "but their own children are dying"). In short, for traditionalists, financial partnership with non-Aboriginal society produces short term employment benefits at the risk of jeopardizing longer term "rights"—particularly those of future generations of Aboriginal people. For modernists by contrast, an evolving relationship with non-Aboriginal society is inevitable and it is the consequences of this for younger Aboriginal people which must be recognized and addressed.

Traditionalists and modernists both have a good understanding of the threatened state of fish stocks as well as knowledge of the technical aspects of the fishery to do with the behaviour of fish in their riverine environment, the life cycle of fish species, and habitat problems related to water and bed conditions. But they are likely to use this information in their assessment of various fishery strategies in different ways. The following assessment by Dorothy W., offers one such illustration:

> Conservation, management, regulation, I can agree with. That has to happen. There has to be sometimes some tight restrictions, for instance, trap nets as opposed to gill nets in some areas as communal food fisheries. But there still has to be that option open for the individual who wants to get his own fish for his own family and teach his children to get his fish for his own family—and that can't be done with a communal trap net. That whole way of life is completely wiped out with communal trap nets.

There are essentially two issues here. One has to do with a more selective use of trap nets as part of a communal food fishery in contrast to the use of gill nets by individuals as part of the traditional Aboriginal fishery. The other has to do with "teaching one's children" to

fish as part of a broader enculturative process. They are important issues because they are how Miramichi Mi'kmaq enter the fishery. Communal trap nets are installed and operated by waged fishery crews while gill nets can be set and run by one or two individuals. Indeed it is the very nature of gill net operations which lend themselves to the "teaching" just noted. But as Larry G., a 57-year-old Fishery Guardian from Eel Ground First Nation observes, the use of gill nets can directly affect the access of others.

> Let's say he's fishing on five here—license #5, gill net license 5. So he fishes there for one week and he sets up his buoys and everything. Then, he says, "I don't want nobody using my buoys!" You know what I mean? That's the fishing they're going to have and some people don't have the buoys.... A lot of people complain that they don't have the chance to fish.

Alternatively, communal trap nets seem to solve the problem of access by offering, at least potentially, a more equitable system of catch distribution. But the trap net's limited means of capture often results in a catch which falls well short of meeting the needs of a food fishery. As Gerald P. explains:

> The way it is now, I have to wait in line and wait for this process they go through with the trap nets.... To me it doesn't work ... This year, so far they have only brought one gruilt. That's not a food fishery. Some people might be satisfied but I'm not. I don't eat a lot of salmon but if I had enough to last me the winter it would help me a lot, cause I'm unemployed. If you draw $500-$700 a week salary you don't need that, but when you're on welfare—it makes you want to go out there and get those salmon.

Finally, added to this is a regulatory regime around the communal trap net fishery which some view as at odds with an older system of exchange. As Dorothy W. explains:

> We still barter and trade fish here ... What fish I don't use, what fish I know I'm not going to use, people come here from Burnt Church or Big Cove, they bring me lobster from their fishery, I trade gruilt to them. People from Big Cove come with bass, we don't get bass here, we don't get lobster here. I trade gruilt to them for bass, you know it still goes on. It goes on between Indians the same as it always has.... There was no money changing hands 200 years ago, but they're signing clauses in here that you can't do this.

While the communal trap net fishery, then, offers a means for the live capture of fish—ideal for fish monitoring activities as well as for food selection—it by no means guarantees an adequate supply of fish nor necessarily allows for the exchange mechanism just described. But perhaps most troubling for traditionalists is the loss created through the use of communal trap nets in terms of the enculturative process. Again Dorothy W. explains:

> My husband taught my children to fish with gill nets and be able to supply fish for their families. He taught them how to walk them out, he taught them how to set them. He taught them how to check them safely and how to get the fish off, how to kill the fish, how to clean the fish, how to put them away. That way of life is destroyed with fishery agreements....

But as Larry G. suggests:

> For some of the traditionalists to come to me and say, "you should be doing this or that" and you don't see them doing it here, but they are doing it everywhere else—a thousand miles away. Why can't they do it here? I think of one fella' so plain. He showed me a few things in life, but I look at his children and his grandchildren and wonder why he don't show his own children. Why are you even trying to show me? I had to learn his son how to fish cause that traditional person's son didn't know how to fish—didn't know how to sew a net—didn't know how to row a boat—didn't even know the difference between the tide coming in or the tide going out. Didn't know what a salmon or a trout looked like.... But yet they have the traditionalist talk about the wildlife, habitat, the forests, yet his son doesn't know.

These competing discourses around fishery strategy form the backdrop which shapes the decisions and actions that traditionalists and modernists make in the fishery. As can be seen from above, they are the discourses of individuals embodying a particular history of engagement within the fishery. But within such discourses can be found areas of common representation from which are fashioned the two competing conceptions of the fishery profiled in this article. That these conceptions vary to some extent from individual to individual simply reflects the different paths by which fishers arrive at this common ground. That these conceptions, constituted here as traditionalist and modernist positions, exist at all is suggestive of what Robben concludes about his work among fishers of Camurin, Brazil:

> ... that what may seem like a coherent, logically integrated system of economic actions and decisions

may actually be a complex of contradictory structures, practices and discourses (1994: 897).

Conclusion

In their paper entitled "Icelandic Dialogues: Individual Differences in Indigenous Discourses," Palsson and Durrenberger, in a tack similar to that taken by Gudeman and Rivera (1990), argue for an approach to indigenous discourse which recognizes:

> the continuity of the discursive community, the role of human agency, and the inevitability of difference and disagreement, embracing and participating in both the flow and unity of the Malinowskian "long conversation" and the noisiness of the Bakhtinian "dialogue." (1992: 303)

As demonstrated throughout this paper, the Aboriginal fishery of the Miramichi is more than the physical presence of boats, gear and fishery crews—it is a fishery constructed through the discourses of its Aboriginal practitioners. Further, these discourses serve to frame different conceptions of the fishery, which as we have seen, are cast along traditionalist and modernist lines. However even within such broad categories, the flow of discourse we encounter is not static or necessarily clear-cut—given instead to shifts and a certain level of ambiguity—and expected to change in the face of new circumstances. But even as conceptions of the fishery—they are more still—since they are constitutive of the actions and decisions made in the fishery. Indeed a major incident demonstrating this fact occurred in 1995 when residents of Big Hole Tract, long frustrated with growing fishing restrictions in their area, decided to take matters into their own hands and set gill nets. The ensuing confrontation with fishery authorities drew national attention to their situation and eventually led to an agreement. The incident highlights one further point, namely, that in the face of an emerging dominant discourse around government sponsored trap net operations, little room was left for the expression of alternative interpretations. Unable to effect meaningful change, residents of Big Hole Tract in this case, could see no other choice than to engage in resistance strategies.

Author's Note

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Notes

1 Discourse refers to "systematically-organized modes of talking." In this respect, it owes a good deal to the work of Michel Foucault. In the present case, discourse provides a set of possible statements about particular areas within the Aboriginal fishery, lending organization and structure to the way in which one "talks" about these areas.

2 Interviews started with those directly responsible for the management of the Aboriginal fishery and proceeded through a network of individuals identified as being actively involved with the fishery in one capacity or another. This resulted in 16 in-depth semistructured interviews ranging from two to three hours in length. Eight of these interviews were undertaken over June and July of 1997, a further eight over July and early August of 1998 and follow-up interviews from June through until September of 1999. In addition, a recorded focus-group session involving seven individuals was undertaken by Aboriginal research assistants in August, 1999.

3 Aboriginal research assistants: Anita Ward and Pam Ward of Red Bank First Nation and Helen Ward of Eel Ground First Nation, were particularly helpful during the 1999 field research season.

4 This is part of the management responsibility of First Nations. Essentially a Fishery Guardian must be present at the openings of the fishery and through until all fish are landed. This monitoring is also important in terms of record keeping and periodic reporting.

5 The last sturgeon to appear in the Miramichi River was in the early 1980's.

6 Pseudonyms are used in reference to all Aboriginal collaborators in this article.

7 In a footnote to his translation of Chrestien LeClercq's *New Relation of Gaspesia: with the Customs and Religion of the Gaspesian Indians*, William G. Ganong offers this characterization of Richard Denys and his father Nicolas Denys:

> Richard Denys, Sieur de Fronsac, looms large in the early history of this part of Canada. He was the son of Nicolas Denys, the long-time Governor and Proprietor of all the Coasts of the Gulf of Saint Lawrence from Gaspe to Canso, and the author of the well-known Description geographique et historique ... et Histoire Naturelle ... de l'Amerique septentrionale.... He was probably born at Saint Peters, Cape Breton, about 1655. On his father's departure from Acadia to France in 1671 he was made Lieutenant in his stead, and served in that capacity until his father's death in 1688, after which he held the post upon his own account. He inherited the Seigniory of Miramichi from his father, and, about 1690, he bought from its grantee the great Seigniory of Nepisiguit,.... He strove to promote the settlement of this region, and with some success. His principal establishment was at Miramichi at the Forks of that river.... But all of his activities were brought to a close with his death by shipwreck in 1691 at the age of about thirty-six (1910: 159-160).

8 The film is entitled *Incident at Restigouche* [1984—46 min.]. Directed by Alanis Obomsawin, the film raises important questions about the role of government (federal and provin-

cial), the actions of police, the neutrality of the judicial system.

9 Trap nets enable the live capture of fish which can then be sorted by size and species for release if desired. Gill nets, on the other hand, which are suspended from floats and anchored to the river bottom typically drown everything which becomes entangled in its mesh.

10 For instance, the 1998 AFS Fisheries Agreement for Eel Ground First Nation contained a schedule for a "Communal Commercial Licence." This outlined catch limits for such fish species as: gaspereau and shad, eel, lobster, herring, mackerel, oyster and soft shell clam.

11 Ms. Pam Ward-Levi, Community Economic Development Officer for Red Bank First Nation and Co-ordinator of the Metepenagiag Heritage Park project, presented a overview of this major initiative at the symposium, "Our Experience, Our Knowledge: Aboriginal Tradition and Heritage at the Millenium" held at Mount Allison University, Sackville, NB in February, 2000.

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Niitooii—"The Same that Is Real": Parallel Practice, Museums, and the Repatriation of Piikani Customary Authority

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In Dialogue with Reg Crowshoe, Thunder Medicine Pipe Keeper, Sun Dance Ceremonialist, and Director, Old Man River Cultural Centre

Abstract: Over the last two decades, use of museum-repatriated ceremonial Bundles and associated knowledges, practices, songs and rights by Piikani people has also been aiding in the reconstitution of wider socio-economic, political, and authority practices. Related to this, attention is drawn to a specific Piikani Blackfoot trajectory of material-metaphoric action over an extended history of contact relations: that is, of *making parallels*. A Blackfoot term for this is *Niitooii*, "the same that is real." As in such Bundle-centred ceremonies as the Sun Dance, *Niitooii* makes things real because it mobilizes a complex of shadows, transferred rights, and the authority of people and things. Recent Piikani mediation practices parallel this complex against those in Canadian non-native civil and political society which similarly give authority and force to people. In effect, this has helped advance a collateral process of reconstitution: that of reasserting—or *repatriating*—customary practices of law and governance, which historically have been enacted through the authority of the Bundles themselves.

Résumé: Au cours des deux dernières décennies, grâce aux collections des musées, l'analyse des «ballots sacrés» et des connaissances, des pratiques, des chants et des droits qui y sont associés chez les Piikani a aussi aidé à la reconstitution de sphères plus étendues comme le domaine socio-économique, la politique et l'autorité. Dans ce type de recherches, on peut relever une trajectoire spécifique d'action matérielle-métaphorique chez les Piikani Pieds Noirs couvrant une longue histoire d'interrelations: la propension à *faire des parallèles*. Un terme Pied Noir pour cette opération est *Niitooii*, «le même qui est réel.» De la même manière que dans des cérémonies centrées sur les ballots sacrés comme la Danse du Soleil, *Nitooii* rend les choses réelles en mobilisant un ensemble d'ombres, de droits accordés, ainsi que l'autorité des gens et des choses. Des pratiques récentes de médiation Piikani mettent en parallèle ce complexe avec celles qui dans la société civile et politique non-native canadienne donnent autorité et force aux gens. De fait, cette pratique a contribué au développement d'un processus parallèle de reconstitution: celui de réaffirmation – ou de rapatriement – des pratiques coutumières de droit et de gouvernance qui historiquement ont été accomplies grâce à l'autorité des ballots sacrés eux-mêmes.

> When we dissect western process, we can dissect out the language, what is written, what is legal . . . formal, informal, what's authority. . . . We should be looking at parallels at every one of those levels too, for every one of those things, in our traditional processes with our practice. . . . — Reg Crowshoe

While land claim and resource actions have dominated headlines on Native/non-Native relations in Canada since the 1990s, another intersecting set of materially and politically important interchanges has been unfolding. Museums and First Nations people have been engaging in extraordinary re-negotiations surrounding sometimes corresponding, often conflicting goals concerning Aboriginal cultural property and knowledges retained by museums.[1] Many museums are now collaborating respectfully with First Peoples on the making of exhibits, engaging in ceremonies with objects in those spaces and in communities, and, even more importantly, returning objects to original peoples. The Glenbow Museum in Calgary, Alberta, which concentrates on Western Canadian history is notable both as a flashpoint—recall the Lubicon protests associated with *The Spirit Sings* exhibition in 1988[2]—and a mediation point, especially in relations with members of the three Blackfoot speaking First Nations of southern Alberta: the Siksiká, Kainaa, and Piikani—the last of whom are the principal focus in this article.

Though encounters with museums—in particular with the Glenbow—form the launching point for the following discussion of transcultural relations, there is far more at play. This paper pointedly tracks relations into an Aboriginal community setting where accelerated use of repatriated materials and associated knowledge, practices, songs and rights by Piikani people has been aiding the reconstitution of wider socio-economic, political, and authority practices, affecting ever wider circles of

Native/non-Native relations. Attention is drawn to an historical trajectory of contact relations associated with a Blackfoot practice of metaphoric action: that is, of *making parallels*. Reg Crowshoe offers a Blackfoot term which captures this practice: "*Niitooii*, the same that is real." As elaborated over the course of this paper, *Niitooii* refers both to the paralleling of Blackfoot and non-Aboriginal sociocultural practices, as well as the paralleling of entities of the physical world and those of the *shadow* or *abstract* world.

A key proposition is that parallel-making enables the "repatriation" (in the political sense of return to an originating nation) of indigenous cultural, material, legal and personal rights and authority—or *Niitsitapi shadow authority*, the authority to survive as *Niitsitapi*, a "Real Person."[3] The premise is that *Niitsitapi authority* is attached to transferred community objects and is further animated by restored use of these objects, often following their return through relations with museums.

The paper is organized into four sections: first, aspects of the contemporary network of museum/Blackfoot transcultural relations are outlined; second, a particular *genealogy* of Piikani/non-Native relations emphasizes the persistence of material/metaphoric exchange historically; third, the tradition[4] and contemporary manifestation of *Niitooii* "abstract relations" and parallel-making is considered. Anthropologist Michael Asch's recent analyses on the "relational other" offers inspiration for the fourth section. There, *Niitooii* parallel-practices—what Reg Crowshoe terms *abstract repatriation*—are considered for what they offer to the renovating of native/non-Native relations by recognizing indigenous authority and principles of "sharing" between nations.

Entangled Authorship—A Note for Readers

This article draws significantly on exchanges of the last 15 years between Brian Noble, *Mai'stooh'sooa'tsis*[5] and Reg Crowshoe, *Awakaasiinaa*.[6] Noble has been associated over that period as cultural exchange developer, anthropologist, museums programming advisor, and extended family member. Reg Crowshoe belongs to a prominent lineage of transferred bundle-keeping people of the Piikani Nation, which reaches back through his parents, Joe Crowshoe, *Áápohsoy'yiis* and Josephine Crowshoe *Pyok'omonoiitapiaakii*, to Reg's great great Grandfather, Brings-Down-the-Sun, *Naato'siinapii* and his wife Bird, *Sisttsí*, both of whom lived at the time of the signing of Treaty Seven in 1877 and on into the early 20th century.[7] In keeping with the *Niitooii* thematic, the writing tack in this article both parallels and entangles our authorial positions as anthropologist of Euro-Canadian, settler descent and as Piikani Ceremonialist.[8] While following scholarly standards, the approach also highlights Reg's personalized, suggestive telling-practice.[9]

Noble's description and analysis is presented in first person, or in plural first person.[10] Reg Crowshoe's specific commentaries appear in the form of quoted statements (not italicized) from recorded discussions and dialogues with Noble.[11] Quotes from others are in italicized form.

Beyond the "Sacred"— Networks of People, Things, and Shadows

The recent repatriation of Glenbow-held ceremonial bundles and related objects to the three Blackfoot speaking bands of Alberta, and likewise in the Province of Alberta's new legislation on repatriation to Alberta First Nations,[12] media stories and official representations typically highlight "spiritual" restoration and "sacred ceremonials." The prominent material in question has been the complex bundles which have long been recognized by Blackfoot people, and also by anthropologists, as integral elements of communal ceremonies such as the Thunder Medicine Pipe Dance, the Sun Dance, and the Beaver Medicine ceremonial.

Gerald Conaty has rightly suggested that emphasis on "sacredness" in delineating objects has certainly helped to minimize impediments in conveying repatriation principles to members of Boards of Directors who might be nervous that entire collections could be lost through repatriation claims.[13] However, while respectful, the language of "spirituality" continues to romanticize the material in question along with native peoples from whom the material originates.[14] This language obscures the remarkable sociopolitical and personal reconstitution that is taking place in Aboriginal communities—which, in turn, is beginning to slowly correct power imbalances in Native/non-Native relations well beyond museum walls. As Kainaa Band Councillor Narcisse Blood aptly remarked to the *Globe and Mail* on the repatriation: "It means so much more than the general public out there will ever realize."[15]

The principal bundles referred to were those culturally and politically powerful objects, which had to be transferred through proper ceremonially supported payments or gifting, and kept responsibly by a woman and a man for communal purposes, either of a clan or of the entire tribe. Blackfoot leaders, museum curators and media stories alike have compared the bundles to the

Canadian Constitution, the Bible, written laws. It is with the bundles that communal social order has been regulated by means of explicit adherence to relations with the spiritual dimensions of life—referred to here as *abstract* or*shadow relations*. Glenbow scholars Gerald Conaty and Robert Janes have noted the sociocultural relation of the bundles and their keepers in their potent discussion of the *relational network* of communal *Niitsitapi* action:

> *Sacred bundles also embody the norms, values, and protocols by which Blackfoot culture functions.... When disputes arise or issues of cultural norms are breached, it is [the bundle keepers] who, through their bundles evaluate the situation. Since humans attain this authority only because of their bundle ownership, it is properly understood that the authority resides with the bundles, not with the humans.*[16]

They go on to point out emphatically how the bundles are crucial to activate the entire social, spiritual, human, non-human and ceremonial network, highlighting, in addition, the importance of songs in this action:

> *One cannot isolate songs from ceremonies; one cannot think of the relational network without including bundles, Other Beings, ceremonies, etc.*[17]

In this sense, the bundles are always, necessarily part of the relational network, as are the people, the songs, the entirety of life and beings. In addition, Reg Crowshoe explains how the authority is transferred over time with the transfer of bundles:

> ... our authority goes through the bundles, and the lineage of the bundles to Creator ... we don't have a hierarchy.... Anybody can challenge the leadership through those bundles ... cause they're transferred to anybody. Like I had hoped to keep the Old Man's bundle in the family.... But it's still open to challenge ... for that leadership....

When not in use during an actual ceremony, bundles are respectfully cared for by the woman keeper and hung on walls in the homes of the keepers, or if in camp on a tripod outside their lodge. They are smudged daily and also "fed" spiritually on occasion. At the Glenbow, smudging and feeding of the bundles within the collections spaces has also been adhered to, either by museum staff on their own or led by Blackfoot ceremonialists. When bundles are used in Blackfoot communities, the practice is to meet in the circle arrangement of a tipi, where all of the participants fill various rightful roles according to protocols, sitting in designated positions in the circle, and with the bundle(s) placed in an authoritative focal position in relation to the other actors.[18] (See Figure 1.) If the ceremony is held in a house or any other building, these positions are maintained, the circle of discussion and protocols retained explicitly. As such, the circle and all the relations of humans, non-humans and their shadows are always already embodied by the bundle. In other words, the practice associated with the bundles and the mobilization of the relational network is enacted in this circle arrangement—a point of signal importance in the concept of *Niitooii*, the same that is real, and in contemporary parallel-making, as elaborated in the latter half of this paper.

From Zone of Contact to Extended Relational Network

Returning to the issue of museums/Piikani relations, the value of continuing the museum/First People relation as a locale for transcultural exchange and political engagement has to be underscored. Encounters and movements of the bundles and other cultural materials between museums and the Piikani has generated new forms of conjoined action. James Clifford has remarked that museum/First Nations interchanges like those between the Glenbow and Blackfoot produce a "zone of contact"—terms he borrows from Mary Louise Pratt. Pratt notes that such a zone stresses " ... copresence, interaction, interlocking understanding and practices.... " She is also quick to add the crucial caveat that in 19th century colonial context those interlocking arrangements have been played out, " ... within radically asymmetrical relations of power,"[19] If we take this as a premise of the colonial workings of this zone of encounter, then the test of postcolonial correction lies in demonstrating how the noted asymmetry of power is being redressed *within or as consequence of* the actions in the zone of contact. As Michael Ames noted wryly some years ago, regarding the challenge of restoring power symmetries, " ... more drastic measures are required than simply balancing non-Native curators with Native consultants, like counterpoising so many Cowboys and Indians."[20]

With regard to the Glenbow, for instance, the museum has adopted a thoroughgoing "partnership" policy in its programming surrounding collections, exhibitions and relations with originating communities.[21] That said, it has to be remembered that these actions are still largely circumscribed within the general standards of museological practice, a notably modern, Western practice.[22] Once more, Michael Ames aptly suggests an even more radical vision requiring "the restructuring of the

entire enterprise and its value system in order to recognize the primal and sovereign status of First Peoples and their right to radically different claims to truth. . . . "[23] Again, this is not to fault Glenbow officials for their efforts, which certainly exceed most museums in Canada, but rather to suggest that the redressing of power imbalances is still being conducted within (and limited by) the ontologically privileged practices of the museological profession, rather than by practices of First Peoples themselves. As such, the contact zone continues to accord greater authority to museums officials over Aboriginal people.

To address the larger sociopolitical effects of shifting museum/First Nations relations one has to consider a wider landscape and a longer history of Niitsitapi/non-Native relations. This brings us to the matter of *shadow* relations (to use Reg Crowshoe's term) operating in transcultural, material and political encounters spanning a period back to the late 19th century (and arguably farther back than that). Interestingly, Blackfoot *shadows* echo aspects of Mauss's formulations about the "hau" of gifts in his *Essai sur le Don*, adding further grist to the longstanding critical discussion in anthropology of the pragmatics of exchange signalled in Mauss's essay.[24] In the context of the historical place of ceremonies in relation to past government policies, the discussion turns to a more localized genealogy of material/metaphoric relations.

Histories of Parallels and Recognition of Niitsipati Shadow Relations

Joe Crowshoe, *Áápohsoy'yiis*, long-time spiritual leader of the Piikani, passed away in 1999. From the days of his earliest involvement as Sun Dance and Thunder Medicine Bundle keeper in the 1930s, he would often explain to non-Native people how, " . . . We are now cross-culture, now cross-culture. I'm teachin' you my culture. You teach me your culture. So we can be the same."[25] The approach of many Piikani and Kainaa ceremonialists was one in which they directly engaged and welcomed non-Natives into their ceremonies and political ranks.[26] Joe Crowshoe strove to form respectful relationships with non-natives insisting, "We have to work hard on the cross-culture . . . the cross-culture is very important." What was this "cross-culture" to which he referred? The *Old Man*—a term of honour used throughout this paper in referring to Joe Crowshoe—offered his view on resisting assimilation:

> You see, the old people, the old people one time told me, "If you think like a white man, you're gonna die like a white man. If you think like an Indian, you're gonna die like an Indian." That's why I get my white people to come, governments come, when I open up my bundle over here. I want 'em to see it. I want 'em to learn it. We all pray to one god above. We're not strangers, you and me. All the same to god.[27]

Long before the Old Man, his great grandfather Brings-Down-the-Sun encouraged open-minded non-Natives to join ceremonies in order to build better understanding.[28] Reg Crowshoe described the historically persistent inclusions of non-natives as pointed efforts to build up non-native recognition of the "shadows" of Niitsitapi relations:

> . . . some of the stories I hear in my language. . . . When Crow Eagle and Mad Wolf and Bull Plume and Brings-Down-the-Sun . . . those Old timers . . . when they were dealing with the first Europeans . . . there was a standard set, at that point, of why they were allowed into the ceremonies. . . . To look at this context of what our shadows were . . . so that we can work together. . . . I believe from that point and even earlier on was where the idea was conceived and it was passed on to the Old Man. . . . I [was] fortunate to grow up in the Old Man's shadow . . . at home. . . . Even though I was gone a lot through residential school . . . growing up to him, I think certainly planted the seed of direction. . . . I credit this whole direction that I take to the Old Man's capacity to be able to pass that information on to me to keep going . . .

Reg also emphasized that the Old Man, Brings-Down-the-Sun, and other Blackfoot ceremonialists were discerning about *who* they invited into the ceremonies:

> They were dealing with ethnographers, anthropologists, missionaries, and Indian agents . . . those were the people that they were dealing with . . . not just settlers, but these main people that they were dealing with, were allowing into their ceremonies, because, they wanted to show them the shadow, and the institution to the best of their ability . . . the process started there. . . . And I feel that the Old Man and myself are just going to be part of those links. . . . In his words, I hear them in Blackfoot and in English: "If the white man can understand my people the way my people understand the white man, then we can get along. . . . "

In a similar vein, the Kainaa (Blood Tribe) very effectively enlisted sympathetic non-native allies via the Kainaa Chieftainship.[29] One influential member was the Member of Parliament for Lethbridge, John Blackmore,

who discussed his credentials during the 1951 parliamentary debates on amending the Indian Act:

> *In addition to being a Member of Parliament I possess another set of credentials . . . I am an honourary chief of the Blood Indians. It makes a difference when you are an honourary chief. You feel you have more responsibility. . . . I was initiated at the Sun Dance in 1945 by Head Chief Shot From Both Sides, Chief Cross Child and Chief John Cotton, and given the name of Motuskumau, "The Good Adviser." In addition to that I am director on the executive of what is known as the Kainaa Chieftainship, which is an organization comprised of 35 members who have thus far been selected by the Blood Indians as honorary chiefs from among their white brothers. . . . The aim of the organization is to help the Indians help their children to a better life.*[30]

In the course of the debates, Blackmore also spoke of his understanding of the treaty obligation to involve natives in discussions to amend the Act, remarking:

> *The Indians have always considered themselves to be partners with the white men. All the treaties they signed indicated that the white man looked upon them as partners; but since the Indians signed the treaties they have had an excessively difficult time asserting their right to be looked upon as partners. The white men choose to disregard their claim for partnership.*[31]

Blackmore had clearly expressed his recognition of this partnership, having been enlisted into the sociopolitical and ceremonial action of shadow relations in the Sun Dance. He saw parliament and chieftainship in parallel, manifesting the same intent as the Old Man: " . . . We are now cross-culture. . . . So we can be the same."[32]

This very idea, of being "the same" is a complicated one, as it is predicated on notions of difference, parallels, and crossing, as signalled in the opposed term "cross-culture." To better apprehend these ideas, I want to consider the term "museum" as a parallel practice which emerged while working closely with the Old Man.

"Museums are Death Lodges"

I met with the Old Man in 1988 to offer assistance to him and his son Reg in developing a museum in the unoccupied house behind the Old Man's place on the Peigan Reserve near Fort MacLeod. This museum would, in the Old Man's words, "help the young people get back to their culture." Special objects, some of which were being loaned by the Glenbow Museum and the Provincial Museum of Alberta, were to be put on display, and the elders would teach the young people what these things meant. The Blackfoot term he used to describe this museum—and which had also been applied to non-Native museums for some time—was *Makíínimaa*, or "Death Lodge," a word that also referred to graves elevated on poles or put on the ground where the remains and certain untransferred objects of the deceased person were reverently placed to go back to the earth, and back to the Creator. The very practice of using the Blackfoot term, "death lodge," for the non-Native idea "museum" is a specific case of cross-cultural paralleling.

Reg pointed out how this parallel opened up the opportunity for clarification of cultural meanings of the term, and an appropriate practice surrounding it during discussions with government officials in the 1980s. One official had latched onto a very limited notion that all the things in a museum were *dead*, including bundles which would have been transferred items, but being "dead" had been effectively disconnected (or alienated) from their users and the shadow relations of the Niitsitapi relational network. Reg recounted how he talked first with the official, and then with the Old Man, to arrive at a more adequate understanding of the term in terms of shadows and authority:

> . . . we talked about . . . designating the museum as a Makíínimaa, or "death lodge," so that we don't have to take things and put them on the ground . . . we can take them back to the museum and put them there. . . . That way, he said, well, things will be dead and we don't have to deal with the other situation [of whether bundles in museums belong with the Piikani]. . . .
>
> But, can you really kill a shadow? That's my question. . . . [33] So, when we discussed it with the Old Man. . . . He told me that renewal comes from the environment you live in. . . . So, in this case, we're saying. . . . Our path of authority will come from Creator . . . to the earth . . . to the bundles . . . to human beings that are responsible for those bundles and carrying out the decision-making. So, that's why we put the bundles back out on the hills, so that the authority stays in. . . . They renew. . . .

Designating the museum in the Old Man's house as *Makíínimaa* was properly recognizing it (and this would also apply to non-Native museums holding native materials) as a place of renewal, not a place of termination in prevalent Western senses of death, finality, and the extinguishing or detaching of spirit or life from bodies and things.

"Today, the Dollar is the Buffalo"

In that same visit in 1988, the Old Man made another parallel for us, this one similarly drawing upon material-

ized metaphors, indeed the most material of metaphors: money. He told us that the buffalo, the traditional Blackfoot "source of life" were gone, and now people had to think differently. Holding up a two-dollar bill, he said, "today, the dollar is the buffalo." Fully in his "cross-culture" way of thinking, he was considering how dollars, money, could be used to develop a museum according to his sense of tradition. Some months later, in a letter to Chief and Council on the development of the Piikani Museum and dictated to Reg Crowshoe and me, the Old Man went further:

> *I would like to express my feelings regarding the spiritual ways of our native culture. This is very important from our heritage, from way back up to the present days. In our spiritual ways, the source of life comes from nature and the Creator. It also comes from the teachings of the Elders. àWith the bundles and songs and the artifacts it's known that only the ceremonialists have the rights to open them and recognize the power for the people.... This museum has to be developed in the right way, the traditional way. It should be just like organizing the spiritual ceremonies. This is the right way. It should draw the people by spirit, with spirit. I want to give you an example. We, the ceremonialists, prepare carefully for the ceremonies, but it is the bundles that have the spirit and draw the people together. This museum will need money to be developed. That money is an offering for this museum to the Creator. The spiritual opportunity comes first, the commercial opportunity comes next.*[34]

The Old Man noted that the power of the bundles to "draw the people by spirit, with spirit" was "very important from our heritage, from way back up to the present days." His sense of tradition was in no way something of the past, but rather something fully enduring or timeless which could be mobilized even in the work of museum-making. Equally important, he was putting *money* into the place of *buffalo*, the former "source of life" and survival, recognizing it as a spiritual offering to the Creator for the museum to succeed. The "cross-culture" demonstrated was one in which the Old Man folded money and museums into the relational network of the bundles, not to replace the network, but to both parallel it and strengthen it. With this, he extended shadow relations into the making and operating of a museum such that the notion of "commercial" viability would be built upon traditionally-meaningful, practiced, spiritual viability where money used is viewed as an offering to the Creator.

Such a transposing of money or other contemporary items in ceremonial gifting, offerings and payments exemplified in recent years by the Old Man and the Old Lady, Josephine Crowshoe, as they discussed the Sun Dance of 1977 when the Brave Dog Society had become active again. The Old Man recalled how:

> *... 1977 is when we had our Sun Dance over at Lizards' house just over to the prairie side. That's when Mike Swims Under ... I started working with him the first time in 1977. Look, and I gave him a tipi and a tent and a camp stove. All that to take home.*

The Old Lady felt compelled to explain why such a thing as a campstove or tent could be given out like this:

> *New campstove and a tent was new for helping the Old Man. That's how they trade things.... You know, when Indians, you don't buy. Give me this much for this. Dollars. You, me, no. You give me goods. What I need. That's what I want. That's the way Indians trade. They call it "trade." They don't call it "buy."*[35]

Of course, cash has also been given out in ceremonies for many decades. The Old Lady was making the crucial point that things of all sorts—by extension, even money—are not alienated but fully wrapped into the relational concern of "what I need" to survive, in the sense of "trade." The relational network, quite clearly, is a network of circulating items of value to recognize shadows—i.e., as the underlying authority—of the bundle practices, which in turn are the link to the Creator.

Shadows to "Make things Real," to "Keep the Circle Strong"

To this point "shadows" and "shadow relations" have been mentioned many times. These parallel ideas were further clarified in that first meeting, sharing coffee, food and stories in the Old Man's kitchen in 1988. At the time of these discussions with the Old Man and Old Lady, I had repeatedly been struck by the borrowing of non-Native models and the mixing of material metaphors: museums as death lodges, learning of *living* culture in a such a place by means of display cases, equating dollars and buffaloes. I wondered how the idea of museum cabinets—with their implicit meanings of looking at rather than holding and using of objects—could possibly work in "renewing" culture. At the time, and with Reg on hand, I also asked the Old Man what the old ways, quite apart from museums, had been for learning one's culture. The Old Man thought for a moment, grabbed a piece of paper, and began to draw an outline picture of the Sun Dance camp, showing the lodges of the clans and families arrayed in a large circle around several other lodges for the Societies and the two key Sun Dance ceremonials

themselves—the Holy Lodge and the Sun Lodge. Handing me the drawing and speaking sparely, he added: "We've got to get the young people back to the traditional camp, to the ceremonies, that's where they can learn respect for their culture. We need to keep the circle strong." So, here were more contrasting, paralleled ideas: a building with cases and objects, against a camp circle with tipis and ceremonies. The museum indexed the camp circle, and was a contemporary means of leading young people back to the camp, to renew it and ultimately to strengthen it. When reminded of the Old Man's drawing and comments, Reg added something which had eluded me in the original conversation:

> I agree ... [with the Old Man]. We have to make those camp circles a lot stronger.... Today, I would say, those camp circles are disappearing.... Let's look at it this way.... The camp circles were strong in the old days, because you could see the different designs that belonged to the different clans, or bands, or who owned those designs ... and which ones were stronger ... and who was transferred bundles, and who wasn't.... You can identify that way ... today, you go to a camp ... and you see tents instead of tipis.... And on the tipis all you see are nothing but white.... How can you identify the camp? It seems to disappear before your eyes....

As with the Old Lady's point on "trade," Reg was making yet another crucial point. In fact, painted tipi designs—which like bundles are transferred items—are re-appearing in Piikani as well as Kainaa Sun Dance camps, but many lodges still lack designs. The restoration of the camp has to be more than just a lot of tipis arranged in a circle, just as the restoration of bundles is more than the return of objects made up of skins, feathers, beads, or parts of animals, no matter how much they are labelled "sacred" or "ceremonial." Specifically, it is also the *transferred* dimensions and with that the reciprocal exchange obligations of the camp that need to be restored. In Reg's and in Blackfoot terms generally ... that would be the *abstract* or the *shadow* dimension, in addition to the material dimension. He emphasized the importance of this dimension:

> When I talk about the shadow ... it's what makes things real.... We would say, Creator created ... my physical body so that I could survive by feeding myself.... But he also gave me my shadow, that represents HOW I can feed myself ... what I could eat ... that abstract information ... that shadow is always represented by a song.... And that song is part of the authority....

Designs on tipis, bundles on their tripods, people wearing transferred regalia, all the clans, the giveaways and transfer payments, the dances, and very importantly, the transferred and personal songs—all of these working together, show that the circle has been "strengthened" in the Old Man's metaphor. Without these shadows, the abstract authority, registered by the designs and by the songs sung by rightfully transferred people, the camp is neither restored, nor can it even properly materialize: in Reg's words, it "seems to disappear before your eyes."

People and things may be present, but it is their shadows activated by the practices and the songs, that make them real, gives them authority, makes people *Niitsitapi*, real people. David Duvall, the Piikani who recorded Blackfoot stories for Clark Wissler a century ago captured it in the simple statement of one old man speaking of ceremonial bundles: "One never gets power without a song to go with it.... "[36] Songs, then, come close to evoking, literally and figuratively, the "shadow" of which Reg speaks, as they are the empowering links, of real persons to real bundles. They are the authority which links everything to the Creator.

Contemporary Parallels to Redress Relations

> Why not take your system apart and bring your theories and we'll bring our practices.... At least that way we've got mutual partnership for co-management....[37] — Reg Crowshoe

What Reg Crowshoe and the Old Man have been speaking about is the Aboriginal reconstitution of what counts as *traditional*, faced with histories where museum officials and anthropologists have claimed far more authority on such issues. Referring to the Glenbow's plans for a cooperatively developed exhibition, *Nitawah —sinnanii: The Story of the Blackfoot People*, Reg reflected on matters this way:

> This is what I look at ... the concept of Western practice, and traditional "theory." What's happened is we're taking our traditional "theory," and we're processing through Western practice ... what comes out we call traditional.... But is it really traditional? That's where the question lies....
>
> The Glenbow is taking traditional theory. [They're] processing it and [they're] saying it's traditional theory. We're wondering if that's right. You have to say, "what is our practice?" That's going to be our language, song, action ... and the process is our pro-

> cess. If that comes through . . . then we can say it's traditional.[38] . . . But [even there], the practice was extracted from us when they took the bundles, when they stopped the ceremonies. . . .

Nicholas Thomas has described how museums—and disciplinary practices of anthropology in hand with museums—have been able to fashion their theories of tradition by recontextualization of captured things:

> *Creative recontextualization and indeed reauthorship may . . . follow from taking, from purchase or theft; and since museums and exhibitions of history and culture are no less prominent now . . . that is a sort of entanglement that most of us cannot step outside.*[39]

In the face of recontextualizations resulting from histories of museums encounters, Reg, the Old Man and the Old Lady have turned to lived practices of shadow relations as that which properly constitutes the traditional, "from way back up to the present." Tradition in this sense is not theory-bound, nor does it have to do with some archaic moment of lost glory. Tradition is imminent at any moment, activated and strengthened by the practice of enduring practices.

With such a history of mixed meanings and transcultural practices as a catalyst, Reg Crowshoe is also proposing practice-based actions for *sorting through* Native/non-Native entanglements in order to create delineated senses of identity and authority for Niitsitapi traditional practice. In particular, following the lead of many bundle keepers back into the 19th century, Reg has been extending upon the "cross-culture" and material/metaphoric paralleling work discussed above.

Over the last several years, Reg and his wife Rose Crowshoe have been continuing with three sorts of activities. One is the ongoing, responsible practice of Thunder Medicine Pipe and the Holy Sun Dance ceremonials involving peoples with transferred keepers' rights, and tangible or intangible objects, returning clan members, and rightful Society members, whose numbers are in fact increasing as more and more transferred objects along with the songs which activate them are coming back into circulation. Among the ceremonies undertaken are the All Night Smoke Ceremony, which, as a matter of traditional practice, is drawn upon to address community-based social and political issues, as well as for resolving conflicts and disputes in the Aboriginal legal sense.

A second area, is a *research* program, paralleling that which museums conduct, but with Blackfoot traditional practice as its focus. At the Old Man River Cultural Centre, Piikani are working to gather songs and dances, to record them, and to differentiate those that are transferred from those that are not. This is then turned to education parallels, for instance, by means of the enacting and practicing of children's ceremonial Societies, such as the *Niipomakiiksi*, or Chickadees, again using rightfully transferred authority of songs, dances, and ceremonial objects. Interestingly, the conduct of these activities is also providing a remarkably effective and appealing means for children to learn and use Blackfoot language, in the same instance that they increase their confidence and immersion in the shadow relations.[40]

The third area of involvement for Reg and Rose is perhaps the most explicit and definitive application of parallel-making, akin to the mixing and paralleling which the Old Man was advancing in speaking of dollars and buffalo, museums and *Makíinimaa*. Reg explained these actions:

> What I want to do is look at practice at a parallel. I'd say real traditional today has to be understood in parallels . . . right down to the fine point. . . . The reason I say that . . . when we dissect Western process, we can dissect out the language, what is written, what is legal . . . formal, informal, what's authority. . . . We should be looking at parallels at every one of those levels too, for every one of those things, in our traditional processes with our practice. . . . If you can accomplish that, then we're giving authority back to the practices which in turn should bring back our bundle ceremonies and ceremonialists. . . . And then . . . , we can look at a traditional practice . . . but only in that parallel context. . . .

The key example of such explicit use of "parallel context" has been the conducting of *traditional camps* to bring together Native and non-Native people to address critical social, legal, or economic issues arising in transcultural encounters. Reg indicated some of these in a conference presentation:

> We have a Police Camp, a Justice Camp and Health Camp, which are attended by people from all over Alberta. These are not wilderness survival camps where you learn to make jerky and cut up a deer. They're our traditional alternative to western system conferences which we run using traditional parallels for everything from the conference room to Robert's Rules of Order.[41]

Reg was speaking of the use of Blackfoot ways of sitting and making decisions in ceremony as a parallel means for pro-active discussion related to contemporary Native/non-Native relations. A wide array of participants from agencies spanning non-native civil and political society have engaged in this process: museums, Universities,

the RCMP, Calgary Rockyview Family and Social Services, the Chinook Health Region, the City of Calgary, Heritage Canada, major resource companies in their relations in Aboriginal territory, and provincial Child Custody courts.

A formative case outlining the principles and sources of parallel practices is documented in *Akak'stiman: A Blackfoot Framework for Decision Making about Health Administration and Services*, prepared by Reg Crowshoe and Social Psychologist and healthcare-giver Sybille Manneschmidt, which was used productively by the Peigan Nation's own Health Services Board. That document included a set of three illustrations showing in parallel: (a) the seating and material arrangements in a bundle-centred traditional ceremonial circle structure, (b) a generalized "Modern Circle Structure Outline," and (c) the applied case of the "Health Services Circle Structure Outline." (See figures 1, 2, 3).[42] The Health Services case works much as the Old Man suggested in his guidance on developing the Piikani museum project: to proceed in the manner of the ceremonialists as they prepare for their ceremonies. The arrangement used brings together the various players, assigns them to appropriate parallel roles, follows appropriate speaking rules, and allows the non-Native and Piikani participants to undertake their discussions and arrive at decisions *within the structural terms* in which the network of Niitsitapi shadow relations operate.

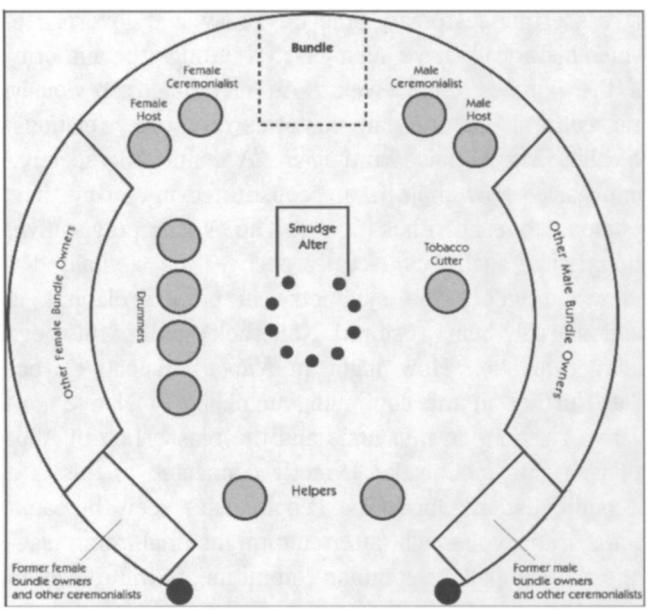

Figure 1: Traditional circle structure outline. Original illustration by Rob Storesham, © University of Calgary Press.

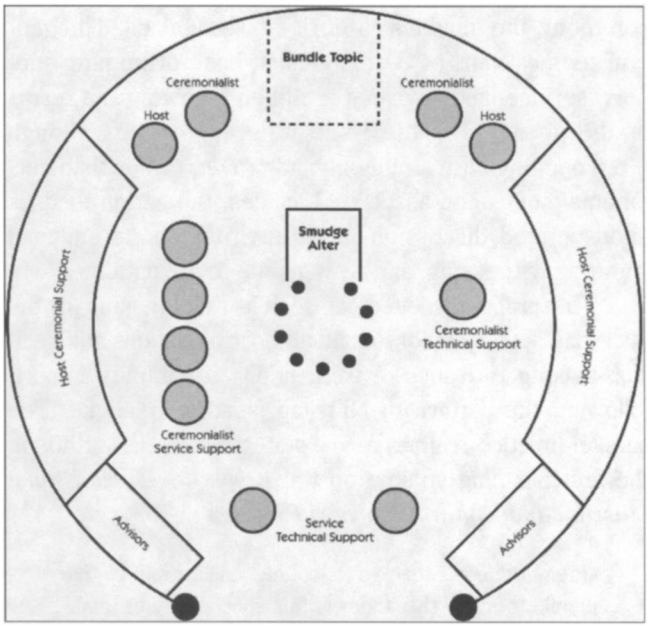

Figure 2: Modern circle structure outline. Original illustration by Rob Storesham, © University of Calgary Press.

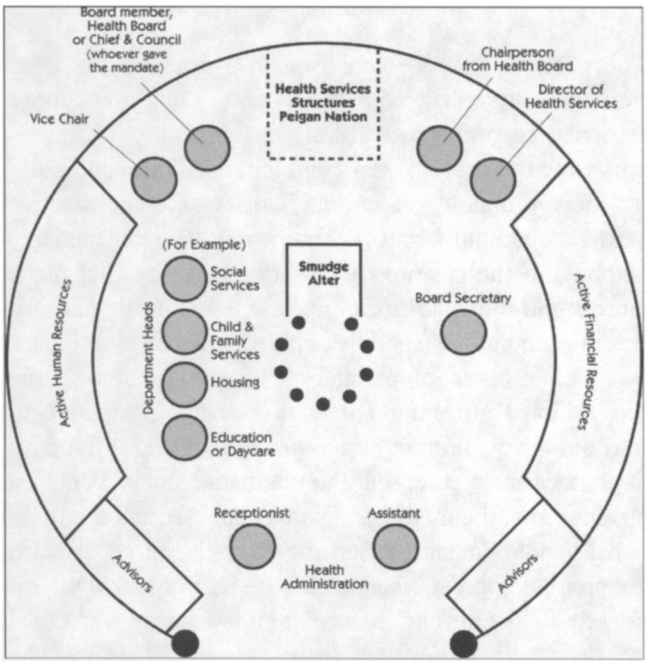

Figure 3: Health Services circle structure outline. Original illustration by Rob Storesham, © University of Calgary Press.

The authority of the bundles is paralleled in these arrangements by the authority invested in the policies and goals of the Health Services Board. As such, the policy documents are placed in the position of the bundle—recognizing their authority, in the same way that during a

ceremony, the bundle's authority is recognized. The generalized positions of Ceremonialist, host, drumming support, service, and advisory, are filled following the terms of the agency and the issue it is addressing. Though often opening with smudging and prayer, rather than ceremonial songs and associated dances, the action focuses upon pointed discussion in an environment of support, common witnessing, and responsible participation.

The pragmatic effect of such parallel-making is the everyday application of Piikani authority relations and decision-making to issues of tremendous community import, following the pattern of Niitsitapi shadow relations. The parallel practice realizes a goal stated by Reg Crowshoe in the first planning volume on the *Keep Our Circle Strong Museum and Cultural Renewal Program* in 1990:

> One of the goals that we're looking at is for non-Native people to know that there is this special way of thinking for our people—a way that is different from the non-Native way. Many non-Natives don't realize our values. This program gives us a chance to bring deep understanding to non-Native people about our Native ways.[43]

The potential for developing such a practice has been tremendously enhanced by the action of material culture repatriations and transcultural engagements with museums over the past 15 years and longer. With many more transferred bundle keepers and society members active in the community, and so many more people actively involved in the relational network, there are that many more rightful people to call upon as responsible authorities in running these parallel, circle structure meetings.

The process of parallels, then, is facilitating the recognition and reinforcement of Blackfoot, bundle-centred authority through active practice. Several domains of practice have emerged: the non-native domain entailed by museums; the mediating, parallel domain; and the traditional bundle domain. Taken together, the three domains are prompting great diligence on the part of native practitioners to define and secure their sense of traditional practices and authority with increasing precision. The restoring of the objects to native hands is allowing a widening collective of keepers to collaborate all the more in restoring shadow relations in this Blackfoot sense of tradition.

Returning, at last, to questions of redress in relations of power, what Reg points to in making parallels in such a deliberate and conscious manner is to effect a move beyond structural entailment, toward renewed cultural sovereignty. In this extended relational network then, the action of *museum repatriation* has begun to contribute to an even more potent action: the repatriation of *Niitsitapi authority.*

Abstract Repatriation and Customary Legal Authority

> "We're not strangers, you and me."
>
> — Joe Crowshoe, Áápohsoy'yiis

Parallel practice can be summed up in the Backfoot word, *Nitooi,* "the Same that is Real"—real because it mobilizes shadows, transferred rights, and the authority of people and things. It sets those practices that make things real and authoritative in Piikani terms against those in non-Native civil and political society that similarly give authority and force to people. Reg Crowshoe points out that not just identity, but indeed the entirety of traditional culture in modern venues is being defined and accorded its proper realness and authority through the paralleling work.

Obviously, this parallel work addresses pressing, everyday matters for the agencies, communities, and people concerned. In addition, however, these actions are also bringing about increasing recognition of sovereign indigenous authority by non-native people engaging in the parallel work. That authority is invested in the bundles and the associated practices of the Niitsitapi relational network, as a practical source of customary social, moral and legal regulation. In effect, the larger reconstitution underway is that of reasserting customary practices of law and governance, which historically have been enacted through the authority of the bundles themselves.[44] As mentioned previously, transcultural histories are histories of contact relations. Recalling Mary Louise Pratt again: "A 'contact' perspective emphasizes how subjects are constituted in and by their relations to each other. . . . "[45] The *Nitooi* perspective, then, is just such a contact perspective—but a vitally distinct one where the symmetry of power relations is demonstrably being restored. Nonetheless, all of this begs a larger question: How might the *Nitooi* perspective articulate further in the continuing unfolding of Native/non-Native relations in museums and the reassertion of Aboriginal rights in Canada? Directly connected to this is a second question: Once First Peoples have seen the satisfactory return of sought-after cultural material from museums, what impelling, common commitments will remain to extend the remarkable gains of re-negotiated transcultural relations won over the last 15 years in museums and First Peoples relations?

While Canadian museums have made considerable advances in developing respectful collaborations with Abo-

riginal communities over the last decade, there remain other structural limits relating directly to questions of the fuller recognition of Aboriginal cultural authority and sovereignty in the exercise of native customary rights. The core of the issue is competing senses of what counts as "culture" which Piikani see as including the authority accorded practices themselves in both local community and transcultural context. In relation to this, Reg Crowshoe has remarked:

> I'm saying ... we still have our practices ... they're given respect, a lot of respect ... but ... the question is, are they given the authority? That's where the question really is. Until we put that authority back.... That is really when we can make those practices complete.

This question has pragmatic ramifications for museums—beyond the now exhaustive discussions of the politics of representational practices such as collaborative exhibition development, which repeatedly conclude with a call for redress of authority yet struggle to suggest pragmatic alternatives.[46] While museums repatriate bundles, designs, regalia and other *tangible* matter, the vitally important issue of *intangible* matter—as in the example of songs held as recordings in archival collections—remains problematic. Reg points out how some museums have dissociated the bundles and the songs:

> This is what the museum people say: "We'll give you the bundles back.... But Freedom of Information Act says you can't have the songs, because they're on tapes and they're in the archives.... [47]

Other non-Native practices of authority have impinged here, most notably the primacy accorded to intellectual property laws which have tended to trump the customary transfer rights which Reg and other Blackfoot ceremonialists would otherwise apply to the determination of rightful title.

Native conceptions of relation to bundles and songs are akin to Aboriginal conceptions of the relation to land: they are understood as being inalienable from the relational network. In contrast, the separating of songs from bundles, societies from ceremonies, exchange relations from the camp arrangement, rights from all of this, derives largely from the modernist practices of anthropology and museology and museum management. As an example, Clark Wissler's landmark ethnographic reports on the Blackfoot compartmentalized and so separated "dance societies" from "medicine bundles" from "social life" from "material culture," each assigned to an individual volume.[48] Likewise, material objects have long been directed to museum collections where they are typologically fragmented, while recorded stories and songs have often been directed to archives and libraries—divided up according to the structures of administrative and architectural arrangement of museums themselves.

Might these matters of disarticulation and rearticulation of native tangible and intangible, social and material, craft and aesthetic, ceremonial and political practices, and indeed, the displacement of customary rights by Canadian juridical rights, become the next potential area for making parallels? Is this a new project to which museums and First Nations could apply themselves in extending relations that have been respectfully developed since the release of the AFN/CMA Museums-First Nations Task Force report in 1992?[49]

Certainly, Canadian courts have been moving gradually in the direction of recognizing and rearticulating the authority of intangible matter to issues of land and resource tenure, most notably in the acceptance of the evidentiary validity of Aboriginal oral accounts in *Delgamuukw v. R*(SCC).[50] Legal scholars Catherine Bell and Robert Paterson suggest that Supreme Court of Canada decisions of the last 14 years have underscored the redress motivation informing such recognition:

> *... because of the significant power imbalances and problems arising from language barriers, Canadian courts have maintained that treaties are to be interpreted in a manner that reflects how the Aboriginal signatories to the treaty understood the treaty. Any ambiguities in the terms of the treaty are to be resolved in their favour.*[51]

Interestingly, this move by the courts is both founded upon and braces up an acceptance of the Aboriginal cultural sense of *relationality* and *sharing* as the native understanding at the time of signing historic treaties, a point which Michael Asch has been examining in considerable depth in recent work on the notion of indigenous *relational* orientations.[52] Echoing the previously quoted statements of John Blackmore in the 1951 House of Commons debates, Asch cites legal scholar Leroy Little Bear—himself part of a highly-regarded Kainaa Blackfoot ceremonial family—who has discussed the Aboriginal understanding of the treaty relation:[53]

> *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.... when Indian nations*

> *entered into treaties with Europeans nations, the subject of the treaty from the Indians' viewpoint, was not the alienation of the land but the sharing of the land.*

In his paper prepared for a 1998 Glenbow-hosted repatriation conference, Asch saw that the basic premises of Little Bear's position—and that of most Aboriginal peoples whose relational economies were based on sharing and not on the alienation of land *or things*—was consistent with what he calls a "Self and relational-Other" orientation between most Aboriginal peoples and the settler populations that have arrived in North America over the last several centuries. He shows how this relates to philosophical propositions from Martin Buber, and then writing on repatriation claims concludes:

> *... there is a strong relationship between the I-Thou as described by Buber and the mode of thought respecting the relationship between the Creator, the Land and the People as depicted in much Indigenous political thought. And it is through the adoption of processes based on this mode of thought which I believe will be quite helpful in resolving the issues that will arise were we to adopt the proposition that Indigenous peoples have a better claim to the ownership of materials than does Canada.*[54]

It is our contention that the Niitsitapi parallel-making approach proposed by Reg Crowshoe—which builds on a continued legacy of practices from the Old Man and those before him back to the treaty days of 1877 and even to pre-treaty days—fits with the sort of processes which Asch urges museums and First Nations to adopt in their relations.

At the heart of all these matters is the slowly emerging civil and political recognition in Canada of Aboriginal authority that inheres in key forms of tangible matter *as a consequence* of their largely inalienable connection to non-tangible entities and practices (e.g., transferred songs, shadows, stories, as well as by ceremonial giving, face painting, and payments). That recognition is emerging through the continuing relational orientation of Aboriginal people with non-Aboriginal societies. Clearly, museums have an important role to play in this action: in this instance by finding ways to fully rearticulate songs and other intangible matter with relational objects like bundles in their repatriation and partnering activities. Rather than foreclosing future relations, Reg Crowshoe suggests that the Niitsitapi view on such a move would actually *lead to strengthened relation*s in the future. Indeed, Piikani and other Blackfoot people would be strengthened in their relational networks just as the reciprocal bonds with museums are reinforced. Reg's terms for these strengthened transcultural relations is *re-repatriation*, or *abstract repatriation*, which sees an ongoing reciprocal relation and authorization between First Nations and museums among other institutions of Canadian civil and political society:

> ... if we really want to understand repatriation we've got to re-repatriate back.... That would keep the door open to parallels.... If it's just a one-way street, then when it's given back to us, the door can be closed so fast, just like that, after it's given back.... So, you've got to be able to re-repatriate back.... For example, when I say "re-repatriate" ... we've already given up our authority to the courts, for example.... Say for temporary guardianship orders.... Now we've opened up the middle door we call mediation.... But.... we haven't opened the third door, where we give temporary guardianship orders to the bundles, so that they can be restored, and be an option for our own people....

As with Reg's example of the courts in slowly moving toward recognition of the authority of bundles in child custody matters, museums can also help to open this third door for Aboriginal communities. When songs and other intangible transferred elements are *fully* reattached and returned with the bundles, then their customary legal authority will have been recognized, and the assymetries of power will have been more adequately redressed. That judges are able to entertain discussion of such propositions is a sign of emerging power shifts, much as museum Boards are now able to endorse the productivity of repatriations even when this means a significant deaccessioning of institutional holdings. The reciprocal benefit is enhanced relations. Running alongside the many other collaborative programming activities now underway in museums—from joint research to partnerships in exhibit development—this sort of parallel action and *re-repatriation* would advance the radical project which Michael Ames has suggested as necessary, "the restructuring of the entire enterprise and its value system."[55]

Inseverable Ties?

Museums specialists such as those at the Glenbow Museum are now offering some remarkable understandings of how "relational networks" are mobilized with and through powerful objects like transferred medicine bundles, and how those networks effectively operate for native communities. The question we ask, however, is are they stopping short in their reconceptualizations in a very important way? Utlimately, what we are suggesting

is that museum officials themselves, as stewards of institutions which hold tangible and intangible relational material are, *de facto*, part of the relational network, and they have been so throughout the history of Native/museums encounters right back to the time of treaty signing and earlier. In faithfully enacting spiritual ceremonies in museums, or visiting native communities to join in their ceremonies, are not the museum practitioners themselves becoming *Niitsitapi*, at least in some measure, and so becoming increasingly entangled in the shadow relations? In so doing, are they not also *beginning* to restore the sort of relations which Aboriginal people have repeatedly stated was the intent of treaties settled with the Crown in the 19th century?

With its ever-strengthening ties with Blackfoot and other Aboriginal nations, Calgary's Glenbow Museum stands as a critical proving ground for Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relations. This is likely to be increasingly true in many Canadian museums which have earnestly acted upon, or even exceeded, the recommendations of the 1992 Task Force—that is, as long as museum managers and governing Boards resist neocolonialist impulse to retrench in the orthodoxy of museums as sites for objectification and aesthetic fetishism. While actions falling in line with the Delgamuuk'w decision, the Nisga'a Treaty, and the Marshall decision may be sorting through dimensions of self-determination and matters of resource rights and inherent title on one front (the often adversarial Western juridical front), museums as part of an extended relational network are sorting through equally subtle matters of lived transcultural interaction in a highly-informed and mutually respectful manner. In this approach, the museum as *Makíinimaa* becomes a dynamically adjustable place of crossing in response to changing demands for transcultural sharing and, ultimately, for transcultural redress.

Reg Crowshoe nowadays, is drawing productively on the perseverance of his ancestors, *Áápohsoy'yiis*, Joe Crowshoe, over much of this past century, and the Sun Dance man *Naato'siinapii,* Brings-Down-the-Sun, at the end of the previous century, each of whom managed Native/non-Native encounters diligently. In Dara Culhane's words, these are Aboriginal *models of reconciliation*.[56] The resulting recognition of indigenous shadow authority in transcultural parallel practices suggests to me that the balance of power relations is beginning to shift.

The repatriation of *Niitsitapi* shadow authority is by no means complete. Indeed, *completion* itself might best be characterized as *extension*, not termination, of relationships in parallel practice and sharing. On this, Reg summed matters up far better than I possibly could:

> I see repatriation, in one sense, where, I can physically drive my pick-up truck to the loading door of the museum and take out all the material objects. . . . The "sacred" objects . . . and put 'em in my pick-up and repatriate them back home . . . but what I'm really trying to do . . . is I'm coming up to the museum loading door, and I'm looking for an abstract repatriation. . . . That's why, when we look at . . . justice . . . health . . . mediation . . . when I see those things happening, or working with those. . . . Those are what I call the beginnings of an abstract repatriation . . . next time I come to the loading door, I want them to give me the bundles *and* the shadow. . . . We need those shadows to make real bundles. . . .

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Notes

1 In the late 1980s, the Assembly of First Nations and the Canadian Museums Association collaborated in a series of nation-crossing workshops and consultations in both the museums and First Nations communities, resulting in the report "Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships between Museums and First Nations." See note 19 below.

2 Cf. Harrison et al., 1988.

3 Gerald Conaty (1995: 405) gave the following description of Niitsitapi, which is more or less in accord with the way we use the term here: "Real People (Niitsitapi), human members of the Blackfoot culture, use the physical representations within the bundles as a means of connecting with the intangible (that is, the spirits and their power). This connection, or awareness, is necessary for reminding the Real People that they must maintain a balance between the concerns of the material world and the con-

cerns of the spiritual world. Success comes to those who are able to maintain this balance."

4 I use the word "tradition" here in the sense of an historically continuous practice, one that is recurrent over time. Clearly, it is a contested term. See Graburn 2001 for a discussion of the word and its complexities in modernist terms, and Povinelli 1999 for a discussion of how forceful fantasies of "tradition" are deployed by indigenous and non-indigenous peoples in settler states to compartmentalize, rationalize, or factionalize indigenous peoples claims to sovereignty and title to land.

5 This Blackfoot name translates as "Crowtail Feathers," a name associated with the Sun Dance ceremony, and was given to Brian Noble by Joe Crowshoe and Josephine Crowshoe in 1987.

6 *Awakaasiinaa* translates as "Deer Chief"; *Áápohsoy'yiis* as "Weasel Tail"; *Pyok'omonoiitapiaakii* as "Far-Away-Nez Perce-Woman."

7 Reg Crowshoe is also Director of the Keep Our Circle Strong Cultural Renewal Program and the Oldman River Cultural Centre of the Piikani Nation in Brocket, Alberta.

8 Brian Noble has been entangled with this lineage over 15 years through participation in bundle ceremonies through collaboration on the development of the "Keep Our Circle Strong" museum and cultural renewal project, and coordination of a international cultural exchange involving the Piikanii, Mongolian and Khazak peoples, along with Canadian and Han Chinese palaeontological researchers (cf. Grady, 1991: 108-113).

9 Although drafted into a literary text by Brian Noble in the role of anthropologist, the development of the content was achieved through the longstanding dialogue (an oral-literary practice) involving Brian Noble and Reg Crowshoe, along with others, especially Reg's father, Joe Crowshoe Sr.,*Áápohsoy'yiis*.

10 Plural pronouns are used to convey entangled propositions derived from our history of interchanges. In relation to anthropological discourse, the paper is a revised version of one presented at the annual CASCA meetings in Calgary on May 4, 2000. The convention followed also reflects the wish to critically engage and advance questions of anthropological discourse and practice.

11 Reg Crowshoe's comments are presented as indented quotes, but are not italicized. Italic quotes are used in the case of individuals being cited other than Reg Crowshoe. In addition to drawing upon our own recorded exchanges which took place in April of 2000, Reg Crowshoe's comments are also drawn from a number of other entangled-authorship publications (Crowshoe and Manneschmidt, 1997; Eggermont-Molenaar and Crowshoe, 1993; Noble, Crowshoe and Ross (Penumbra), 1990; Ross and Crowshoe, 1996) as well as a number of public-speaking engagements by Reg Crowshoe on the topics here. The words of elder Joe Crowshoe Sr. also figure prominently throughout, and are drawn from a series of interviews with Michael Ross and Brian Noble to be published in the forthcoming volume *My Stories*, (M. Ross (ed.) and J. Crowshoe, n.d.)

12 Province of Alberta, Bill 2, First Nations Sacred Ceremonial Objects Repatriation Act, S.A. 2000, c. F-11.2.

13 Personal communication with Gerald Conaty, July 2000.

14 Conaty (1995) and Conaty and Janes (1997) begin to complicate what "spiritual" and "sacred" may mean for Aboriginal people, but still limit the scope of the terms to mean that which is associated with ceremonial activity of the Blackfoot peoples themselves, and do not engage the actual question of Native/non-Native relationality, which is the central thesis of our paper. They do begin to elaborate on these matters in their discussion of a "relational network" that operate for Blackfoot peoples (1997: 33-34), but do not take up how that relational network directly implicates the museums, only the native communities themselves. Indeed, one of their concluding statements suggests that their consideration is still only preliminary and developing: "The first step toward power sharing is the acknowledgement of a people's right to self-definition and rights to access objects which are fundamental to that definition." (36) We take up here what are emerging as one line of subsequent steps in that process.

15 *Globe and Mail*, January 17, 2000, A1. This was a front page story in this, Canada's leading national daily, with a circulation of 315,000 daily.

16 Janes and Conaty, 1997: 34.

17 Ibid.

18 See Crowshoe and Manneschmidt, 1997, for their discussion of "The Blackfoot Circle Structure Process," which also refers to early 20th-century documentation of these practices documented by David Duvall and Clark Wissler in the latter's monograph (Wissler, 1913), *Societies and Dance Associations of the Blackfoot Indians*. Several of Wissler's monographs are republished in D. Thomas, 1986.

19 Clifford, 1997: 192, citing Pratt, 1992: 6-7.

20 Ames, 1994: 15.

21 While the Glenbow is outstanding in its proactive efforts to revert title or control to original peoples, especially given the major 1999/2000 repatriations and the introduction of Province of Alberta, Bill 2 (First Nations Sacred Ceremonial Objects Repatriation Act, S.A. 2000, c. F-11.2), a few of the major museums conducting notable partnership relations include the Royal British Columbia Museum, the UBC Museum of Anthropology, the Provincial Museum of Alberta, Manitoba Museum of Man, Canadian Museum of Civilization and the Royal Ontario Museum. There is no unitary template for actions which are, for the most part, reactive rather than pro-active. Rather, a complex of factors come into play on an institution by institution basis: the exigencies of community requests, general guidelines from the AFN/CMA task force report on museums and First Nations relations, local institutional aims and staff practices, the particularity of collections holdings and cultural affiliation, the highly varied emphasis on retaining control of collections exercised by individual curators and managers, the degree of community accord established between museum staff and individual native communities, Board policies and inclinations, alignment with larger political actions (e.g., The Nisga'a Treaty heritage components), jurisdictional issues, budgetary capacity to support repatriation and partnering, etc.

22 That is to say, exhibitions, collections, storylines, advisory committees, even community partnering itself, are practices rationalized within the bounds of a self-identified "civil society" institution. See Janes, 1995 for his discussion of the Glenbow as an element of civil society. Janes's position

parallels that outlined by Smithsonian anthropologist Ivan Karp (1992) in his introduction to the volume *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture.*

23 Ames, 1994: 15. For compelling discussions of the unremitting suspicion about the effect of the new museums/First Nations relationships see gii-dahl-guud-sliiaay (Terri-Lynn Williams) 1995, and Doxtator, 1996.

24 Sahlins (1972) has pointed out the difficulty in interpreting Mauss, owing to the fact that Mauss's interpretation is at best a secondary one, based on Best's idiosyncratic translation's of the accounts of Ranapuri, the Maori who provided the original story. Chris Gregory (1982) has offered a political economy analysis of how gifts may become commodities, or commodities become gifts. Strathern (1988) has discussed the matter of gendering of gifts in Melanesian society exchanges and in anthropological readings of such exchange. Arjun Appadurai (1986), has discussed the social life of commodities affected, most notably, by transnational circulation and the shifting politics of value, and finally, Nicholas Thomas (1991) addresses the complexity that emerges when one takes into account those transactions that do not fit comfortably with rigid formulations of the Maussian gift, or the Marxian commodity. Of these, Bourdieu's position bolsters the pragmatic approach to exchange relations we point to, where he comments that structuralist and economistic analyses seek to reduce principles "to the state of isolated atoms . . . ignoring the economic and social conditions in which historical agents are produced and reproduced, endowed (through their upbringing) with durable dispositions that make them able and inclined to enter into exchanges, equal or unequal, that give rise to durable relations of dependence." (Bourdieu, 1997: 239). M. Ross (ed.) and J. Crowshoe, n.d., 132.

25 M. Ross (ed) and J. Crowshoe, n.d., 132.

26 Kainaa Thunder Medicine Pipe and Beaver Medicine woman Beverly Hungrywolf (1996) noted how elder ceremonialists had so often stressed to her that non-Natives should be welcomed into Blackfoot ceremonies. She also notes how Thunder Medicine Pipe man, George Kicking Woman, in sitting on Blackfeet Tribal Council (Montana), and his wife Molly "are among the last to practice the Blackfoot custom of 'mixing religion with politics'" (1996: 130), a comment meant to acknowledge the connection between community political leadership and ceremonial involvements.

27 J. Crowshoe, n.d., 133. Many of the old people of which Joe Crowshoe speaks were active in ceremonies and transfers in the 1930s when he first was transferred many tipi designs and Medicine Pipe Bundle rights. Katherine Pettipas (1994) has offered a fine overview of the complexity of ceremonial/State relations which folks like Joe Crowshoe would have faced up to that time and through to the 1950s. Hanks and Hanks (1950) also discuss the resurgence of Blackfoot (especially Blood tribe) involvement in transfer relations among ceremonialists in the 1930s and 1940s, locating that action within the terms of State economic wardship.

28 The life story of Brings-Down-the-Sun and of ceremonial bundles and societies were recounted by the U.S. Forest Service agent Walter McClintock, whom he had welcomed into his lodge as had Mad Wolf of the Blackfeet to the south, in order to encourage fuller understanding of their lives. McClintock noted how Mad Wolf wanted him to recognize that the ceremonies were not injurious to anyone, "You have been among us for many years, and have attended many of our ceremonials. Have you ever seen a disturbance, or anything harmful, that has been caused by our Sun-dance?" McClintock, 1968: 508.

29 See Dempsey, 1998. Today, the Kainaa Chieftainship includes, among others, Alberta Premier Ralph Klein.

30 *Hansard*, House of Commons, Federal Parliament of Canada, February 27, 1951: 752,754.

31 Ibid., 752.

32 M. Ross (ed.) and J. Crowshoe, (n.d.), 132.

33 Reg's point here specifically hearkens Mauss and his discussion of Ranapuri's indescribable and inextinguishable *hau* of the gift, where, spirit, relationships, resources, reciprocity, etc., are always perpetually attached to the objects in question. It is also akin to and complicated by Nicholas Thomas's (1991) point about transcultural *entanglement*, that the objects, being in circulation are always relationally in play, while their status as more commodity-like or more gift-like becomes quite blurred.

34 Letter from Joe Crowshoe, Elder to Peigan Chief and Council, June 26, 1989.

35 M. Ross (ed.) and J. Crowshoe, n.d., 174. This is a counterexample to Appadurai's (1986) and Kopytoff's (1986) discussions of the movement of things into and out of commodity state. In this case, the object, a campstove by example, has moved into ceremonial payment state—what others might have taken as alienable is here fully activated as inalienable.

36 Wissler, 1912: 263.

37 Reg Crowshoe, quoted in Ross and Crowshoe 1996: 247.

38 Reg's position on what counts as "traditional" lies outside of a temporalized, evolutionary conception, which has commonly regulated the logics by which canonical anthropological positions have operated (cf. Fabian, 1983; N. Thomas, 1991). Rather, he notes how that "traditional theory" of museums is more or less a view to the "traditional" from a "modern" standpoint, "modernized indigeneity," as opposed to his own approach which is more in line with Marshall Sahlins inversion of this process in his terms of the "indigenization of modernity" (Sahlins, 1999). This contrasts with Fabian's (1984) descriptions of the standardized anthropological production of the Other by means of placing non-Western peoples on a progressive time scale which primitivizes indigenous people and modernizes Western peoples.

39 N. Thomas, 1991: 5.

40 In light of the parallel-making discussion, this research program has some rather more subtle and productive dimensions, beyond knowledge-augmented repatriation, than that which former Glenbow Museum Director Robert Janes was able to discern in 1994:

> Reg Crowshoe, a Peigan Ceremonialist, observes that this is not simply a matter of museums making objects available, as museums may also possess knowledge about the use, meaning and context of the objects which has been lost to the memories of first Nations peoples. Reg Crowshoe is also calling for a deliberate

> process to ensure that relevant information is collected in Native communities. This documentation, along with the knowledge which the ceremonialists possess, will add immeasurably to what we know about our collections.

Though museums do indeed have documentary knowledge that is useable by the Piikani, and while the Piikani efforts may reciprocally augment Glenbow's knowledge of collections, the action taking place is considerably more than the restoration of lost memory. More decisively it is about the reinforcement of Niitsitapi shadow relations, the strengthening of the Old Man's circle of the traditional camp.

41 Reg Crowshoe speaking during the "Citizens Forum: Challenging Power with Power," Calgary, Spring 1997; organized by Social Investment Organization, SIO, a non-profit organization to promote socially responsible investment and corporate social responsibility.

42 See Crowshoe and Manneschmidt, 2002: 38, 39, 48. For an extended synopsis of the "circle structure process" see the transcription of Reg Crowshoe's presentation (Crowshoe, 1996) at the 1994 Commonwealth meeting of indigenous peoples and museums specialists in Victoria, BC, *Curatorship: Indigenous Perspectives in Post-Colonial Societies*.

43 Reg Crowshoe quoted in Noble et al., 1990: 44.

44 In a 1993 article Reg Crowshoe and legal scholar Mary Eggermont-Molenaar began discussing in more general terms some of the propositions which this paper has developed further on the relations between material repatriation and the repatriation of "cultural authority." What we have sought here is to elaborate those propositions in considerably greater detail out of our own history of exchanges.

45 Pratt, 1992: 6-7.

46 See, for instance, Miriam Kahn's recent article on the complexity of representing multiple "Pacific Voices" in collaborative exhibit-making (Kahn, 2000). The matter of representational politics associated with exhibitionary practices has been a principal focus of the critique of museums issuing from scholarly and Aboriginal positions over much of the last decade. The American journal *Museum Anthropology* regularly publishes on such matters, and a recent volume of the National Museum of the American Indian (West et al., 2000), has been devoted to these issues. The turn we are gesturing to in this article is from the otherwise critical second-order issue of *representation* to the first-order issue of *practice* in its most articulate, lived and transcultural sense. Others who have offered general discussions of the problem include Bray, 1996; Johnson, 1997; Johnson and Phillips, 2000; and Kreps, 1998. Pragmatic guidelines have been proposed in the voluminous reports of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1996. Interestingly, archaeologists are among the most pro-active players in their interactions with Aboriginal communities on these issues (see Holm and Pokotylo, 1997).

47 Gerald Conaty has indicated (personal communication, July 2000) that the Glenbow actively makes copies of songs from archives when rightful people make requests for them. They also restrict copying in response to ceremonialists' strictures on transferred rights. That said, the original tapes themselves are not given over entirely. An even more complex question, however, is what the effect is of the very technological mediation which separates songs from peoples or objects by means of recording, and what the parallel common law, customary law consequences of such a separation may be. The ease of analog or digital reproduction of songs, and the equal ease of listening to them in a public or research library setting, or over the internet for that matter, raises many issues of rightful use if customary protocols and contextual fidelity are to be taken seriously.

48 Michael Ames (2000: 83) has commented on such academic segmentation practices in relation to the exhibition-making work of Native peoples: "Aboriginal curators, as well as Aboriginal artists, often do not perceive as important the common academic distinctions between anthropology and art history, art and artifact, art and craft, secular and spiritual, and aesthetics and politics. Their approach is more holistic or inclusive."

49 Assembly of First Nations and Canadian Museums Association, 1992.

50 Julie Cruikshank (1999: 1-2) notes on the Delgamuuk'w decision: "The decision states that, 'the laws of evidence must be adapted in order that this kind of evidence,' meaning oral tradition, 'can be accommodated and placed on an equal footing with the types of historical evidence that courts are familiar with, which largely consists of historical documents.'" As a cautionary note about the risk in taking the court's parallel too far, she goes on to suggest: " . . . we need to think really hard about oral history as historical practice, as history, not merely as sources, not merely as evidence, not merely as "like legal documents." Again, I would suggest that while the court gives them some definitions to think with, we don't want to be bound by those definitions because it can constrict the range of ways that people can talk about their histories and oral histories."

51 Bell and Paterson 1999: 189.

52 Also see Seguin, 1986 for a cognate case of relational "real people" orientations among the Gitksan (Tsimshian) in their kin and potlatch relations.

53 Asch, 1998a: 18, citing Little Bear 1986: 246, 247. Leroy Little Bear's sister is Beverly Hungrywolf, the Kainaa Beaver Medicine and Thunder Medicine Pipe woman. For more context on treaty relations, see Ponting, 1986.

54 Asch, 1998b: 14.

55 Ames 1994: 15.

56 Culhane, 1999: 3.

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An Interview with Andrew Hunter Whiteford

Kevin A. Yelvington

Introduction

Andrew Hunter Whiteford, "Bud" to his family and friends, has enjoyed a long, diverse and distinguished career in anthropology, from archaeology in the Southwest and in the Southeast of the United States, to the anthropology of industrial relations, to innovative urban research in Latin America, to museum collecting and artifact stewardship. Born in 1913 in Winnipeg, he was an anthropology major at Beloit College, in Wisconsin, graduating in 1937. As a sophomore he was awarded the Logan Prize which financed his archaeological fieldwork on a project in Reserve, New Mexico. He pursued his MA at the University of Chicago, leaving for a job at the University of Tennessee archaeological laboratory where he worked on a Tennessee Valley Authority-Works Projects Administration archaeological project for four years. Returning to the University of Chicago, he took his PhD in 1951 working under W. Lloyd Warner (on Chicago anthropology, see Stocking, 1979). His dissertation (Whiteford, 1951) was based on fieldwork on union-management co-operation, conducted as part of a research team which included such Chicago notables as Warner, Everett C. Hughes, William Foote Whyte, Allison Davis and Burleigh Gardner. He then took a full-time position in the Logan Museum and Department of Anthropology at Beloit, where he stayed until retirement in 1976, and where he served as departmental chair for 20 years.

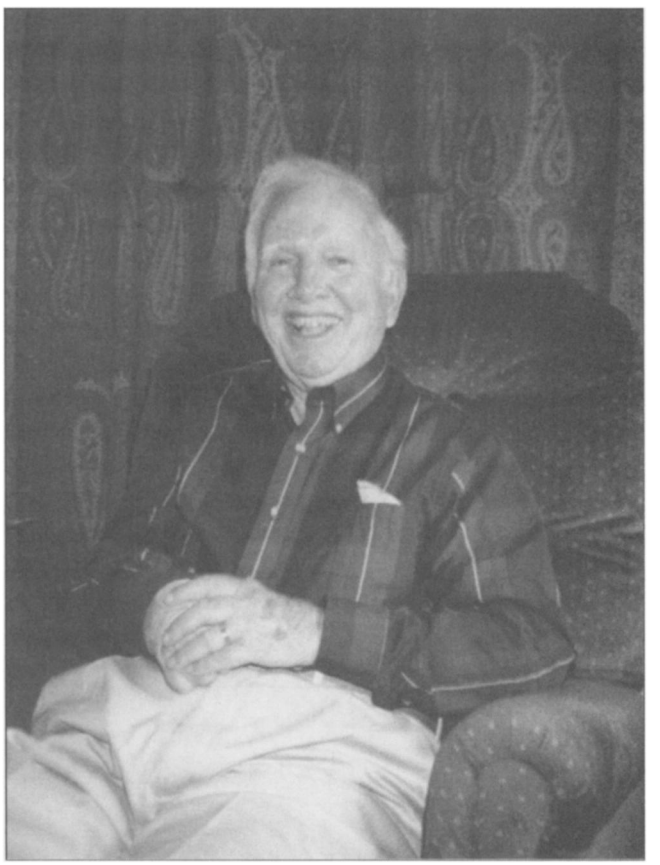
Fieldwork in 1949, 1950, 1951-52, 1962, 1967, 1970, and 1974 in Poyapán, Colombia, and in 1957, 1958, and 1975-76 in Querétero, Mexico, resulted in perhaps his best-known works, *Two Cities of Latin America* (Whiteford, 1991 [1960]) and *An Andean City at Mid-Century* (Whiteford, 1977). In these books, he developed a pioneering focus on urban Latin America, and on social class, employing a perspective that considered class in a multidimensional way, foreshadowing later work that attempted to transcend the objective-subjective distinction in conceptualizing social class, class ideology and class status. As well,

he was one of the first to examine elites, not just the poor. It was not until years later that it became fashionable to "study up" in order to understand power relations. The recipient of grants from the Wenner-Gren Foundation, the Social Science Research Council, and the National Science Foundation, among others, he conducted research on social change in Málaga, Spain, in 1961-62.

In his praxis, Whiteford addressed critical issues in anthropology that have only recently come to the fore with the discipline. He was a committed teacher who thought undergraduates should do research (Whiteford, 1959). He displayed a pioneering commitment to training undergraduate cultural anthropology students, taking many of them on fieldwork trips to Latin America. One reason he took students on field programs was not just to expose them to Latin America, but to teach them to ask questions, to critically examine data and explanation and wrestle with interpretation. A good number of these students went on to get advanced degrees, although not always in anthropology.

In many ways Whiteford forged a new paradigm of collaboration with Latin American colleagues. He trained Latin American students, he worked with Latin American researchers, and published his work in Spanish in Latin America. All of this was done years before North American researchers were criticized by colleagues in Latin America for taking their data home and excluding their Latin American counterparts in the process. He was one of the first anthropologists to made a commitment to training Latin American anthropologists. He had Latin American students in his field programs decades before anthropologists began to discuss training students in the country where they were doing research. *Two Cities of Latin America* was one of the first anthropology publications translated into Spanish and published in Latin America (Whiteford, 1963). Today, almost 40 years later, the importance of publishing where one does research and working with Latin American colleagues is acknowledged.

His work in building the collections at Logan Museum and teaching a very broad range of anthropology courses helped him keep a strong interest in the field as a whole. Upon retirement in 1976, he and his wife Marion ("Marnie") Whiteford moved to Santa Fe, New Mexico, where they were active at the Indian Arts Research Centre at the School of American Research, the Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, New Mexico Museum of Indian Arts and Culture, and the Laboratory of Anthropology. Working with Native American artists, he began publishing significant works on Native American art and basketry (McGreavy and Whiteford, 1985; Whiteford, 1988, 1989). Here, his early training in archaeology, his work on material culture, Native American art, and museum collections, as well as his cultural anthropological vision, came together. In 1987, he received the lifetime achievement award from the Native American Art Studies Association. In 1981, he was presented with an honorary LL.D. by Beloit College. In 1986, Beloit established the Andrew Hunter Whiteford Fund to provide financial assistance to students engaged in research in anthropology, and in 1995 the Andrew H. Whiteford Curatorial Centre opened in the renovated Logan Museum of Anthropology. Three of the Whitefords' four children (Michael B., Scott, and Linda M. Whiteford) became Latin Americanist anthropologists.



Andrew Hunter Whiteford.

The Interview

KAY: Many people know you through your work, spanning as it does many years and many subjects and methodologies. I was hoping that you could recount for this audience how one gets from Winnipeg to the University of Chicago to Latin America to Santa Fe—and beyond.

AHW: The department of anthropology at Chicago, when I went down there was really a very friendly place. The departmental secretary, Ernestine Bingham, was the mother of the department. She knew everybody. And what she hated was to have anyone left alone and she would search them out. She had wonderful parties at her house that other departments knew about enviously. Her husband was a publisher's representative. Later she was divorced and she went on to get her own degree and became a PhD. But the parties were such a beautiful ball. She always provided food and everybody brought something and it was it a place of great dancing. Katherine Dunham was a student at that point, and a Canadian by the name of Martin Loeb, who eventually became a member of the faculty at University of Wisconsin, thought he was instructing Katherine about how to dance! But they danced madly and inspired everybody else to dance too. So, that was the glue that held the whole department together because we all knew each other and it was very jolly. We often went to lunch together or in groups of two or three or four and so it was a good place to be. And at that time there was a national survey searching for the outstanding graduate department in the country and for about five years in a row Chicago was chosen. They were impressed by the productivity of the faculty and the selection of the students. So they had reason to think that they were pretty fancy.

KAY: I would like to talk about before your time at Chicago, and then maybe we can come back to that in a chronological way, beginning by talking about your childhood.

AHW: I was born in Canada. I'm from Winnipeg. And we came down to Chicago when I was 10 years old. And somewhere, out of, I'm sure, reading English books, I got interested in archaeologists and stories of archaeologists and I decided that archaeology was what I wanted to do. Then also, at the same time, I just realized, I became interested in Indians when we were living in Winnipeg my grandmother from Scotland came to live with us and she was in great demand as a practical nurse. And she went up to a little town in Manitoba called Minatonis. The train came through one day each week. It was up near Swan River. The important point is that not only was it small and very interesting to me as a boy of eight, but right across the railroad, the other side of the railroad, was a Cree encampment and the Indians were living there and the little Indian boys played with the boys in town and we were back and forth all the time. So I'm sure my interest in Indians stems originally from that experience, though I probably didn't know it at the time.

Something happened in Chicago which affected the rest of my life. A fellow I was in junior high school with and I started off to visit some relatives he had up in Ontario and we hiked and hitch-hiked up to the country where they lived. They were very simple folks and hospitable to us. But unfortunately this was the period when there was, almost every summer, a large epidemic of polio that struck very strongly up in the Ontario area, and unfortunately I came down with it. So I wound up in the hospital. Then they took me out of the hospital; they didn't know what was wrong with me, of course. Then they took me to a farm where I was supposed to recover, but unfortunately I got worse. I didn't want to let my folks know that I was sick, I didn't want to worry them. Finally when I was very ill out on the farm I said, "I have to call my father." So I called him and he immediately took the train and took me back with him; and I could just barely walk. This was the period when Sister Kenney came up with a treatment for polio which I believed was founded in Australia. I didn't have access to her treatment but some of my mother's relatives had just arrived in Chicago from Scotland and one of them had worked in an institution for the mines and he had also been taught a great deal. So he was medically inclined, and he just set about immediately giving me the Sister Kenney treatment which involved wrapping me up in steaming hot blankets. He used to come over four times a week and give me this treatment and shoo my mother and father out. They'd go shopping or go to a movie or something to get out of the house. And he would wrap me up, and while I lay there steaming he always put on a show for me. He was a relatively young fellow and he had gone to all the music halls in Scotland and he knew all the songs and dances. He would come out and dance and keep me entertained. I have a lifetime obligation to him. Bill Forsythe was his name. I recovered, at least enough so where he could rig up ropes to the bottom of my bed. When my mother was in the kitchen ironing I pulled myself up with the ropes and toddled out into the kitchen and I said, "Hey Mom, look at me." Then I fell down!

Arrangements were made for me to go to high school and I made up the courses that I lost. In high school I had a friend named Jim Walters and he had a very nice mother with a very broad understanding for a lot of things. And she was talking to us one day about "What are you going to do after you graduate?" and "What are you interested in?" I told her I was interested in history and I was interested in nature and maybe I'd be a fire warden. I thought that might be good for me, but I was interested in people too. And she said "You're interested in people?" And I said "Yes." And she said "You

ought to be an anthropologist then." I said "What? What's that?" And she explained to me what an anthropologist was, and I wanted to be an anthropologist. Then in the high school, at the time of graduation, there was a dean who knew my interest and told me I should go to either Chicago or go to Beloit College. I'd never heard of Beloit College. But she knew about it and she said that will give you an opportunity to do field research, and it has a museum. I didn't realize until later that maybe she went there or somebody in her family had gone there so she knew something about it.

I went over to the Oriental Institute to talk to somebody about doing field archaeology. I was doing a great deal of drawing at the time and I thought maybe I could get a job on an expedition drawing specimens or something. I wish I could remember the name of the man that I talked to but I can't. He must have just come from an unhappy interview with the director or something because he immediately said to me "Whatever you do, be a specialist." And I said "In what?" He said "It doesn't make a damned bit of difference, just be a specialist; be a specialist in the evolution of the three-tined fork." I said "Who the hell cares about the three-tined fork?" And he said "Just be the world's specialist in that." I think he must have been chewed out for being a generalist instead of a specialist. But he said "Go to Beloit College." He said they have a museum and the only place that you'll get to go into the field to study archaeology as an undergraduate is Beloit. We don't take students into the field here. If you want to get into the field here you must first get an MA. And so I said "Here's Beloit again." Anyway, I wound up going to Beloit and got my degree there. When I was a sophomore I did my first archaeological field work. We came down to the Southwest, which was an everlasting experience for me, I never got over that. I wound up later living for 20 years after that in the Southwest and loved it, and my wife loved it.

I travelled through the Southwest in '34 and worked in the Starkweather Ruin and lived in a tent and had a completely, thoroughly enjoyable time of it. I liked the Southwest and I liked digging and we found a very rich site, which I think was partially Pueblo III, and Mogollon. That was my first exposure to Pueblo and Mogollon cultures and I did a lot of work on them subsequently, but not as much as I would have liked to have done.

When I was at Chicago, I was invited to come in and talk to one of the archaeology classes because I was an expert on the Mogollon, and I realized not very many of the students had ever heard of the Mogollon. It was the most important thing in my early academic career. My principal professor in the department, Paul Nesbit, who had worked in France and was known for his work in the Minubres culture and the Starkweather Ruin, joined the Air Force and left. The College brought in Madeline Kneberg from the University of Chicago. She was an everlasting influence on my career. She restimulated my interest in anthropology and I did some fieldwork with her. When in 1937 I'd graduated she'd already gone back to Chicago. She had taken a position as the director of the laboratory at the University of Tennessee in Knoxville. It was a joint project of the University of Tennessee, and the TVA [Tennessee Valley Authority], and the WPA [Works Projects Administration], and some foundation. And I heard about it from her. I thought I would like to work with her. By the time I had gotten down to Chicago Madeline had left already, but I heard from her saying "If you finish your degree I'll have a position for you." I thought immediately that the first thing I would do was finish my work. I moved over into the laboratory which was the ex-studio of Loreado Taft, the great sculptor. I lived there and I studied very hard. I had to take five examinations for the Master's. I hadn't taken the courses to cover some of them, but I was in a hurry to go to the job in Tennessee. So after two terms I started in taking the exams and figured that if I just got low passes they would be behind me and I'd be able later to take them again with a chance for high passes. Well, it turned out that I got five high passes so I didn't have to worry about a return bout. I remember waiting out in the room at the department and the professor who was in the committee reading the exams, Harry Hoijer, a linguist, came out and said "Well, we'll get another crack at you." I didn't know what he meant by that. What he meant was if I kept going I'd be back for some more.

We graduated from Beloit in 1937 and I began my graduate work while Marnie went to work for a well-known pediatrician. At the end of my first term the departmental secretary asked me to fill out a form requesting a scholarship. I had not thought of this and I was surprised and pleased when I received a research fellowship for the second term. I didn't know what I would be doing but I was assigned to a visiting professor. She was a noted archaeologist from Arizona, who had come to Chicago to establish a dendrochronological calendar for the Midwest. Her name was Dr. Florence Hawley (Senter at that time). I worked for her all year, learning about dendrochronology, and other things. When summer came I left, with a slough of graduate students, to work in the department's archaeological site in southern Illinois, at the famous site called Kinkaid. While working there I leaned a great deal and met many people who would figure in my subsequent life: J. Joe Bauxer (Finklestein at

that time), Moreau Maxwell, Thorne Duell, and others. When we finished work at the site I left to drive to New Mexico with two friends from the department. I had a job as Dr. Hawley's lab assistant at the field school of the University of New Mexico at Chaco Canyon. While there I learned something about Southwest archaeology. I also met people like Donald Brand, Clyde Kluckholn of Harvard, J.R. Kelly of the Park Service. W.W. Taylor, and others.

I returned to Chicago and it was there I received the letter from Madeline Kneberg promising me a position at TVA in Tennessee. This prompted me to make some new plans and I immediately dropped my classes and began studying non-stop for the PhD exams. I just got on a train and went down to Knoxville, and I walked into the laboratory and Madeline said "What are you doing here?" And I said "I came for the job that you said you had for me." She said "I do, but it has to go through channels, it has to go through Washington before we have the money for it. You can't get paid for a while. But now that you're here you can stick around and we'll see what we can do." So the job came through and I was in charge of artifact analysis. It was a large laboratory and it had an enormous amount of excavated material coming in because we had about five crews out in the field and they were all digging like mad. WPA found archaeology didn't compete with anything so they were very happy to fund it. We had these five crews that brought material into the laboratory by the truckload, an enormous amount of material that kept us very busy. I've thought since that if we had had computers then we really could have gotten something done, because we worked out a program for detailed description of artifacts for a card file. We used the early sorting method of holes on a spindle which worked fairly well. But a computer would have simplified life. That was a big project with various sites. There were some parties out in west Tennessee and some in east Tennessee. And eventually, one of the first things that came out was on the site at Hiwassee Island, with Madeline and with Tom Lewis. He was the first director of the museum. Kneberg and Lewis wrote *Hiwassee Island* and we all contributed to it (Lewis and Kneberg, 1946). It was one of the early reports from the Southeast.

I met a lot of people in the course of that project because many were involved in the excavations or working in the laboratory. I lost touch with most of them after the war. I was surprised that so many of them went into business instead of continuing to be archaeologists. I met other professional archaeologists. One of the most significant was Jimmy Griffin, from Michigan. He was in the process then of editing a very large volume that was being prepared as an anniversary present for Fay-Cooper Cole at Chicago. He was hitting on all Cole's old graduates for articles to go into this compendium (Griffin, 1952); I contributed a chapter (Whiteford, 1952). I met Jimmy then and I continued to know him until about 10 years ago when I met him at the Smithsonian where he had retired. And I met Carl Guthe, W.C. McKern, Jesse Jennings, Robert Wauchope, Charles Fairbanks, William Haage and James Ford.

Marnie was pregnant with our first son and she went back to Beloit while I stayed and went out to one of the basins that was being flooded to dig up a fairly large mound. I was with an old friend of mine, Chandler Rowe, who had gone to Beloit, been a fraternity brother of mine, and later became the dean of Lawrence University and then was the president of Hawaii Loa College. He was conducting excavations in Chicamaga Basin. The empounded water was coming up so fast that the engineers kept saying, "Come on you guys, it's time to get out of here or your gonna be flooded right away." We kept digging and finding wonderful stuff. Alas, so much of that mound that we were digging we would never see. We finally were flooded out.

My experience in Tennessee was very pleasant, with long-lasting effects on my life. After Tennessee I tried to enlist in the Army and the Marine Corps but when they found out I'd had polio they just wrote me off. A couple of times I thought I had made it into the Navy, but not quite. I finally went back to the University of Chicago because I had quite a bit of my work done. I had to have a dissertation topic approved before I could finish taking the final exam for a PhD. Dr. Fay-Cooper Cole suggested I take the Tennessee material that I wrote up for my Master's degree (Whiteford, 1943) and extend that topic a little into something for the dissertation for the PhD. And I thought "No, I've already done that, I'm not interested now" and I wanted to move on to something else. So I sat down, over the weekend, and thought of a topic that they might like and I suggested a dissertation on the Cheyenne. Not the Cheyenne as they exist now in Wyoming and Montana but the Cheyenne as they were in the Great Lakes early days and what had happened to them when they moved out to the West. I thought it would be an interesting study about how an agricultural tribe developed into the buffalo hunters. And they accepted it and passed it. I remember Fred Eggan saying to me when they came out after looking it over, "It's very interesting, I think we could get money for that." And I said, "Oh, I'm not going to do that." Anyway, I stayed around the university for one term and took several courses. And then I had an opportunity to go back to

Beloit where our new son had arrived and teach. So I started teaching. Some of the best teaching I ever did, I think. When you're at that stage, you know the answers to everything. But I didn't know enough to know how complicated some of the ideas were, and so I filled the students full of my wisdom. I worked hard and I enjoyed it. Eventually, the opportunity came to go back for another term at Chicago, which I did. Then I decided two things. One was that my courses were very interesting to me and I think to the students, but they were like *National Geographic*, informative, purely descriptive, with no punch line. I decided I was going to improve on that. I needed some work with [Robert] Redfield, [W. Lloyd] Warner, and Cole at the university. And I decided definitely I was interested in cultural anthropology, and contemporary peoples.

I went to the university and Ernestine directed me to Lloyd Warner. Warner was an energetic sort of a character. "Well," he said, "I've got quite a few projects." And he did. He had lots of projects going on and he had one that interested me. He said "I have one I would especially like to use you in. One of the factories here is closing and moving out to Crystal Lake and I would like to see what kind of adjustments the people make, and I'd need somebody to do that. Would you like that?" And I said "Yes, that sounds good, that's the kind of thing I'm interested in." So I'm back, and we were on the farm at this point. I never knew that I was a farmer but if I wasn't going to get into the army I would rather do that than be in a factory. I'd been on the farm for several years and came back and we sold the livestock and finally went back to Chicago. I walked in to Warner's office and he said, "Good, good to see you, good to see you and nice to have you here. What did you come for?" I said "I am going to work on Crystal Lake." And he said "Didn't anyone tell you that the Crystal Lake project fell through?" And I said "No, nobody told me" and I was beginning to get riled up. And he said "Now take it easy, take it easy. We've we got other projects to do and I can use you other places. I'm glad you're here." And I said "Okay, that's fine." He said "I have a big project going on with a study of labour co-operation." And I said, "Factory? I don't want to work in a factory. I could have gone to a factory and gotten rich if I'd wanted to go into a factory." And he said "You young guys are so damned ignorant. You think the only people worth studying are the people who live up the river in a grass shack or something and have their noses pierced." He said "You have to learn that people are people wherever they are and the ones right around you are having the same kind of problems as the ones in the grass shack." Then he said "Listen to me," and he pulled out from his desk a batch of papers and said, "have you read any of these?" I took a quick look at them and most of them I hadn't read, I'd never even heard of them. He said "Go and read those and when you're read those come and see me." So I said "All right, where do I do that, the library?" He said "No, you have an office next to me." So I went into my office and sat down with this pile of papers and I'd bring out the books and read like mad. Then I went to see him and that turned out to be a real turning point in my life in terms of dealing with people. He was studying industrial co-operation. Co-operation with people and co-operation between labour and management. The research was under the direction of a wonderful group of people. Their work was really cross-disciplinary. One of the leaders whom I came to know well was William Foote Whyte. He was relatively new in Chicago at that time and was very seriously crippled. He'd been an athlete, had polio, and walked with a very marked limp. He was very bright. The other important leader was Burleigh Gardner, a terrific guy. He was in the business school. Allison Davis came from the education school. Here were these people from sociology and business school, education. Everett Hughes was there and he was very influential. The thing that was interesting to me as a student was that we had frequent seminars, many discussions with students and the faculty. And you could see the interplay between the various people from the various disciplines and that was very good.

They sent us in to a factory in Chicago that was involved in plastics, making plastic raincoats and various things like that, run by the Buchbaum family. They had a very active union that was just developing and the academic committee got the Buchbaums and the union interested in the study of their own co-operation. We were very helpful to them because there were many things going on. Every time the company had any kind of meeting or when the company and the union met or when they had a dinner or something, we—usually Bill Whyte, Burleigh Gardner and I—would go. One typical time, when we were going to one of the fancy dinners which included all the union representatives, Burleigh turned to Whyte and said "I think we ought to record this." And Whyte said "I think we should too." Then, Whyte turned to me and said—I was the low man on the totem pole—"Bud, I think you ought to record this." And I said "How do you wanted it recorded? You want me to just sit down afterwards and recall what it was about?" And he said, "No, verbatim." I said "Verbatim?" He said "Yeah, verbatim." So I went back to my office after the dinner and spent until 5 o'clock the next morning. The verbatim recording

that they took for granted was really verbatim. They taught us various techniques to remember what people talked about. And if it wasn't verbatim, it was pretty close to it. I was involved in interviewing and gathering data. And I wrote my dissertation finally on co-operation, worker-manager co-operation (Whiteford, 1951). That sounds strange now but it was very interesting to me.

I want to tell you something about the department. The department believed very strongly in the whole matter of interdisciplinary research. Warner got into this just after he'd come back from Australia where he'd been living with the Aborigines for a couple of years. When he came back he went to Yale and he was big draw at cocktail parties and at one of these he was holding up, as ethnologists do, and there was a couple of people from Harvard. Elton Mayo from Harvard was there and he listened to Warner with amazement and he said afterwards "Why is it we have men like Warner who know so much about the damned Australian Aborigines and we know so little about the people we're trying to work with in New England? Why can't we know more about them?" He eventually went back to Warner with this problem and Warner's answer was "Why not, we can learn as much about them the same way we learn about the state of the Aborigines if we sell our project." And so, this was just after the Hawthorne Project, and so there some interest in what was going on with people in industry and this had a great deal to do with the eventual Yankee City series that Warner directed (Warner, 1959; cf. Warner, 1963; Warner and Low, 1947; Warner and Lunt, 1941, 1942; Warner and Srole, 1945).

While I was away from the university, Redfield became the dean of the Social Sciences at Chicago. To me he was an awesome character. He was so intelligent and so perceptive. I used to have a desk outside his office and I would hear him interviewing some of the senior students. Almost every interview ended with "Have you read so and so and so and so?" And they hadn't. So he would say "Come back and see me when you've read it." They were always going out to read his latest notations. I was struck with that. So I didn't want to get tangled up with Redfield when I was back until I'd read a little bit more. A couple of weeks after I was back I was walking down the hallway and bang, I came nose to nose with Redfield. He pointed his finger at me. He was a tall, thin eagle-like character. And said "Whiteford, you've been ignoring me." And I said, "No Dr. Redfield I haven't, I would have been in to see you but . . . " And he said "All right, tomorrow afternoon at two." So I didn't have any choice but to go in. Then he said "What are you doing here? I didn't even know you were here until just the other day." And then I told him about the labour-management stuff I was doing which I thought would really turn his stomach. But it didn't. He was just the way he always was. He got very interested and so I explained to him about some of the ins and outs of the co-operative study that we were doing and mentioned Elton Mayo's books to him. And he said "Who?" And so I had the great pleasure of saying "When you've read these, you can come back and talk to me." So I went to the library and got Elton Mayo out for the dean to broaden his scope! A short time later I was walking home with Lloyd Warner and told him my experience and said "Redfield was really interested." And he said "Yeah. And the Atom bomb blew Bob back into reality!" Redfield was a graduate lawyer and it turned out that he frequently offered his services in racial situations with the NAACP. He did legal work for them for free. He had some interests beyond Tepoztlán.

KAY: Did you work with Sol Tax?

AHW: No, I didn't, I'm sorry to say. I had frequent interaction with Sol Tax because he was doing his work with the Mesquake and I thought it was a very interesting kind of thing that he was doing. Somewhat different from what anyone else was doing. And I always felt that Sol had so many ideas that if he hadn't been an academic he would have been a millionaire. Ideas just poured out of him. He was the bubbliest member of the department. He did good fieldwork as well as organizing things. Beloit gave him an honourary degree when the Logan Museum was renovated. But I never had a course with him. I'm not even sure that he was giving courses when I was there. The man who was most close with Indian materials when I was there was Fred Eggan. Fred was a quiet, very friendly person. The students used to go to him not as an advisor but to get advice. I was telling somebody the other night that I signed up to take his course on the American Indian and I found the first two lectures were very dull, and I said to some senior student that I thought I'd drop out. And he said "You'll make a mistake if you do. Just stick in there and listen to what he has to say and you'll get the best notebook you ever had." Fred Eggan may have lectured dully, but his lectures were full of references from a hundred books and frequently from books that you wouldn't have access to at all. So he really had something to tell you in his course. His work with the Indians was very good.

KAY: So 1948 is your first trip to Colombia?

AHW: That was a couple of years after I got out of Chicago. I'd always wanted to go to Latin America. As a matter of fact at one point I had a rather lengthy correspondence with George Valient about studying in Mex-

ico. He said "Don't go down there to study. Study in the United States and then after you learn something go down there and work, but don't try to get your degree down there." So, I went back to teach at Beloit College and after I was there, or at the same time, a new president came in who was a top-notch geologist from Chicago by the name of Cary Croneis, and he had a lot of students and a very broad reputation. And he was constantly having visitors. One day Croneis called me over to his office and he had a visitor from Colombia, a former student by the name of Gilberto Restrepo. He was now a geologist with the government geological service in Colombia and he said "If you want to do research, come to Colombia. There are many problems there, and you'll get good co-operation." I began to think about Colombia, which I hadn't before. The Logan Museum had always done a lot of research. At one time it was doing as much archaeological research as any institution in the country. The college had an expedition in France, had another one out in the Plains and were giving an annual contribution to their graduate Roy Chapman Andrews at the American Museum. A member of the museum staff went out there to the Gobi Desert with him. I was thinking I would like to have the museum continue doing research. I thought, after my own experience, it was very worthwhile to give students, undergraduate students, an opportunity to do this kind of thing. And also I thought it would enhance the teaching in the department. And I didn't want to go back to Europe because it seemed to me that there was so much work being done in Europe by very proficient archaeologists. North Africa, where the Logan Museum also had previously worked, didn't entice me at all. I thought about Mexico, but there are a lot of good Mexican archaeologists—they didn't need us. So when the idea of Colombia came up I thought that opened a whole new vista to me, and Gilberto was saying we'll give you all this great co-operation so I thought "Why not? Let's go down there and take a look." I had one man in my department, Moreau Maxwell, a good archaeologist, and together we planed a survey which could take us down to Colombia. On the way we could stop in some other places and test the situation. And much to my amazement when I went in to tell the president about it and he said "Fine, that sounds good. When do we leave?" We got down to Bogotá and we were put in a nice pension that was *the* place where professional people stayed when visiting Colombia. The word that Croneis would be coming down to Colombia had gotten around among his students. They were in Ecuador, Venezuela and other places and they all began to flow into Bogotá. We had a real reunion there with these geologists who knew the area well. We spent three days talking with them and went to the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología and I was very impressed with the staff there. They were very good, sharp young men and women, and they offered every co-operation. And while we were discussing all of this in the evenings I thought I really didn't trust what I was hearing. I was suspicious of the unanimity. Everybody was talking about co-operation and about how wonderful it was and I didn't quite believe it. I heard that an American anthropologist was working down in the Southwest corner of Colombia, in a place called Popayán, and I decided I'd go down and talk to him. It turned out this was John Rowe who had worked in Peru and who was in later years at Berkeley. So Moreau Maxwell and I went down to Popayán and John took us in hand and showed us around town and I was enchanted with it. Before we went to Colombia there was an article published by the Social Science Research Council saying that more and more work was being done in Latin America by anthropologists. There were quite a number of tribal studies and also some village reports. But nothing had been done about cities. Something ought to be done if there was going to any kind of understanding about the continuity in the building of the cities. So, I thought, "Well that's a hot project, maybe we could get the money to go there and do something about it." When I saw Popayán it brought together my thoughts very well. Here was an aristocratic little city with no industry at all. But the city had been important in the affairs of the country for many years and it had produced archbishops and presidents and writers. And so I thought maybe Popayán was it. And the area looked very nice. The people say that the climate, because it's up several thousand feet, is like eternal spring. A geographer who worked with me down there by the name of Raymond Crist was really the fellow who introduced me to Latin America. He called it eternal spring because summer never came. He was a southerner and liked hot weather and Popayán never got warm enough for him. It was always a little cool and so some days he would say "I must go down in the valley for a while and see how they live." So we'd go down to Cali for a couple of nights and live it up. It was very jolly.

KAY: Do you think that you have a theory of the city? I'm thinking of your work comparing Popayán and Querétaro (Whiteford, 1991 [1960]). Has there been an implicit theory of the city that has driven your work?

AHW: I think so. I think I should have said more about it. I think there is a very real force in the size of the city as well as its age, and the kind of relationships that have developed with the people. There is always change and we saw change even over the period that we were there

between the early days when we first were there and in the later years. I used to tell the story about the great maestro Guillermo Valencia, the poet and a politician. When he met a well-known beggar on the street corner he always took off his hat to him and the beggar took off his hat too. They knew each other. You can't image that kind of thing happening now. It is partly the result of size but it's also those kinds of relationships which a more advanced civilization brings. I didn't go back to Popayán to fully see the developments of the second step. What I wanted to study was an industrialized city and see the process of industrializing. I would have liked to have stayed with Popayán long enough to see all the changes. A couple of factories came to Popayán. There is now some factory life. I would have liked to have seen that.

KAY: Do you recognize some similarities between your ideas about social class and those in the work of other anthropologists? I am thinking about your ideas in the *Two Cities* book (Whiteford, 1991 [1960]) where you talk about education, family, family names, mannerisms, occupations, sources of incomes, residence, all these things going into class composition, not just relations to the means of production. I see some of those ideas in the work of others who may not have even read your work. People like Pierre Bourdieu (e.g., Bourdieu, 1986 [1983]; cf. LiPuma and Meltzoff, 1989), for example, writing about social capital, cultural capital, economic capital—all of these things combining to define class. Because I think in many ways yours is very much a holistic way of looking at class.

AHW: I thought that something more should be done about the study of social class. I stopped, not in mid-passage but before the end because I didn't make many conclusions. I am convinced that social class is a matter of beliefs, attitudes and interrelationships. People recognize others who are different or similar to themselves and interact with them. This is social class. But at the time that I last read on it there seemed to be very little progress being made. Several years after Popayán I changed directions. That's why I didn't read the subsequent material. But other people might have used mine. So I can't answer the question.

KAY: What's been your collaborative relationship with Marnie, in terms of doing anthropology?

AHW: I couldn't be without her. She's says she's the only one in the family that's not an anthropologist. But she is. I think she believes in it very thoroughly. Obviously, with the kids all being in it she sees it going on. She doesn't believe society can get along without anthropology.

KAY: Can you tell me how and when you met Marnie?

Fieldwork in Popayán, 1951.

AHW: I met her at Beloit College. I was a freshman. That long ago. And asked her for a date and she said "No."

KAY (to Marion Whiteford): Why did you say no?

MW: Because I had another date!

AHW: She was hard to get. But worth it!

She's very adaptable. I mean if I came home and said "I have to go to South America" she'd say "Okay. Where are you going?" She was ready to go. I received a grant to go to Colombia more suddenly than I'd expected and she was ready to go. I was going down with Raymond Crist to do a study of Andean migration. But he received, suddenly, a request from some Middle Eastern government to come there and do some work. He went to the Middle East and wrote to me and said "Things are all set up, you must go to Colombia." So I landed there and took the entire family. This was the beginning of thirty years of Latin American research.

KAY: How did you come to go from cities in Latin America to research on baskets in Santa Fe?

AHW: I hoped to be working sometime later in an industrializing city where I could actually see what was happening and that would be the follow-up. But, one thing that happened to me was this. In my work I like to interview particularly older people and I got to the point to where, interviewing a little old lady with half of her teeth, crouched down in the back of her shack, in the shadows, I couldn't hear anymore. My hearing dropped off and I finally gave it up. I decided I couldn't do field-

work, I didn't hear well enough. So, I didn't do any, and after I retired we thought about where we would live and I selected the Southwest and so did Marnie. We had stopped there coming back from Mexico. So we came down to the Southwest. We decided that that was the best thing for us to do. I began working at the School of American Research, where I was greeted very cordially by Doug Schwartz, the president. He was so nice I could not believe it because he gave me the run of the place. I went over to the Indian Arts Centre to see what was going on and to meet members of the staff. The place was full of archaeologists, but they had so many problems in the Southwest that when you said to them "Cherokee" they'd say "Four-wheel drive, isn't it?" Anything outside of the area didn't exist. Now that attitude has changed because of a great change in personnel. When I went over to the research centre at the SAR I was an instant authority. Whenever they got specimens that didn't come from the Southwest they'd say "Ask Whiteford what it is." So I knew something about it because I'd always been interested in Indian arts and came from the Logan Museum where I'd handled a lot of Indian materials (see Whiteford, 1970). They had a very large collection of basketry about which they knew little. As a volunteer I set about doing some cataloguing of it and I quickly got so deeply involved in it that I became a research assistant and I had to read a great deal to understand baskets and materials. That is what got me into basketry, working with that collection (McGreavy and Whiteford, 1985; see Whiteford, 1988, 1989).

KAY: Three of your four children have become anthropologists, and prominent ones at that. Michael even did fieldwork in Popayán (Whiteford, 1976) and Scott in Querétaro (Hoops and Whiteford, 1983). You have even published in their edited books (Whiteford, 1998). How did that happen? What does that mean to you?

AHW: I had nothing to do with it! I never suggested that any of them go into anthropology. I remember when Scott was a student at Stanford and he was transferring to Berkeley and thinking about going someplace else to do anthropology. I said "Don't do that. Human beings are too difficult. Become the authority on—not the three-tined fork—but the domestication of the llama." He ignored me. And went on to be what he wanted. He went to Texas. He'd been at Stanford and Berkeley and got his degree at Texas because they had a good department on Latin America down there. Our younger daughter, Laurie Richards, worked in a related field. She took her graduate degree in urban planning.

KAY: The three of them have done Latin America as well.

The Whitefords in Colombia in 1951. Marion (centre), Scott (standing), Linda (seated on left), and Michael (seated on right).

AHW: Yes, they liked it. That's the only thing I can think of. They saw that Marnie and I enjoyed it and it was a good way of life and it appealed to them. They also all enjoyed living in Popayán, Querétero, and Málaga, Spain. All of them have stayed with families and they still keep in touch with them. In fact, Mike has somebody living with him now who is a grandson from one of these families. The three generations have kept together very well. Also, last summer our two grandsons were down in South America. They're both taking anthropology. Whether they'll be anthropologists or not we don't know.

KAY: Thank you.

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Book Reviews / Comptes rendus

Setha M. Low, *On the Plaza: The Politics of Public Space and Culture,* Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000, 274 pages (paper).

Reviewer: *Pamela J. Downe*
University of Saskatchewan

This book offers a highly readable and quite interesting historical and ethnographic narrative of plaza life and public space in San José, Costa Rica. Drawing on over twenty years of fieldwork in Parque Central and Plaza de la Cultura (the two most central plazas of Costa Rica's capital), Setha Low addresses three fundamental questions throughout the course of the book: "(1) Why is public space culturally and politically important—particularly urban civic spaces such as the plaza in Latin American cities? (2) What are the theoretical underpinnings of the relationship of space and culture, that is, of spatializing culture? (3) How are individual narratives, ethnographies and histories interwoven into a loose fabric in which fragments of experience and memory are juxtaposed with theory and interpretation?" (pp. 34-35). For the most part, Low succeeds in convincing readers of the importance of plazas as meaningful public spaces in Costa Rican society and of the significance of the spatialization of culture. Her commendably nuanced readings of historical process, contemporary interactions and ethnographic mapping represent a more insightful appreciation and knowledge of Costa Rican cultures than her previous work in the area and this book is sure to be of value to a broad range of readers.

On the Plaza consists of four discrete sections, beginning with an introduction ("Part 1") that establishes the context for analysis with excerpts from the author's fieldnotes and an interspersion of photographs. This is an engaging strategy that allows the reader to feel connected to the fieldwork experiences and the challenges of initial observation. The anthropological study of public space is immediately humanized with the personal—and stark —comments about the perceived ugliness of the bandstand in Parque Central and the apparent youthfulness of Plaza de la Cultura. This lends great salience to the more pedantic introduction to the central analytical concepts of spatializing culture and the meanings of "place" that follow. The greatest strength of this introductory section, however, is the succinct but inclusive discussion of methodology that includes and explanation of method, observation, interview and historical documentation, ethnohistorical archival research, photographic documentation and analytic strategy. This discussion, which preludes the similarly revealing methodological insights that are scattered throughout the text, stands as an excellent example of methodological rigour and innovation, and would be well suited for any undergraduate course on ethnographic methodologies.

"Part II: Histories" comprises three chapters which, together, present the historical processes influencing the design, use and interpretation of the Costa Rican plaza. The first chapter in this section examines the sociopolitical and economic history of Costa Rica and San José, with particular attention given to the interaction between physical space and the absolute as well as abstruse power structures of society. Low provides a reasonably sound overview of the general Costa Rican context and, like others, she successfully echoes the arguments against the prevailing view of Costa Rica as an historically egalitarian, homogenous nation free from political conflict and discontent. However, the disappointing brevity of this discussion, particularly that pertaining to the ways in which nationalism has informed the shaping of Costa Rica's public cultures, results in a lack of detail and theoretical sophistication. This cursory treatment of national context is fortunately offset by a far more in-depth and interesting exploration of San José as the supposedly "modern" and progressive vanguard of Costa Rican society, class structure and political activity. Excerpts from late 19th- and early 20th-century literary works along with the illustrative historical photographs and a research participant's story about returning to San José after a long absence enhance and bolster the argument that the local sociopolitical production of space is mired in a history fraught with contradictions and struggle. To understand these struggles more fully, Low demonstrates that the historical gaze must extend to the international influences as well. In the second and third chapters of this section, she therefore turns her attention to the European and Indigenous histories of urban plazas. Unlike the superficial discussion of national context, these chapters are rich with detail and illustrations that support the argument that "the Spanish American grid-plan-plaza urban design had its roots in a multiplicity of architectural and cultural tradition" (p. 86). Issues of Eurocentrism and colonial representation figure prominently in this discussion of multilocality, cultural process and

public space; and the three the case studies of pre-Columbian and Conquest plaza architecture in Belize and Mexico are particularly informative. Throughout this entire section Low does an excellent job of demonstrating that such historical contextualization "is not just a backdrop for the ethnographies and interviews, but an integral part of the social production and social construction" of the plazas today (p. 51). This work therefore makes a noteworthy contribution to the emergent field of historical anthropology as well as to the contemporary ethnography of urban Costa Rica.

"Part III: Ethnographies" is arguably the strongest section of the book. The three chapters included here set out fascinating and detailed ethnographic accounts, photographs and mappings of daily life in Parque Central and Plaza de la Cultura. The section begins with a discussion of spatializing culture, meaning "to locate—physically, historically and conceptually—social relations and social practice in space" (p. 127). Earlier in the book, this concept was explained primarily in ecological terms and the assertion was made that by focussing on the spatialization of culture, *causal* relationships between sociopolitical economy and urban environment could be determined (p. 36). Fortunately, such a deterministic goal is set aside in this third section and the discussion is far more complex as readers learn about the movement of police officers, the contested presence of evangelical healers and preachers, the debates over plaza renovations, the fear of "clandestine" and dangerous activities, and the decidedly masculine space that characterizes both plazas. It is obvious that plaza life—so often taken for granted by so many residents of San José as well as by visiting anthropologists—is indeed an important part of the daily negotiation of Costa Rican "cultura," a notion that is popularly employed "as a value from the past, a cultural ideal that is desired but that conflicts with aspects of modern life" (p. 157).

A compelling chapter is devoted to the ways in which the construction of social differences is reified and resisted in public plaza space. Low begins with a timely theoretical discussion of boundaries that does not negate their symbolic and metaphorical importance but reminds readers that they are also "political devices for social control and discipline. In situations of social or political inequality, boundaries may provide the logic for inclusion or exclusion, with tragic consequence for those without power" (p. 155). She then moves on to discuss how these inclusions and exclusions are forged through the daily rhythms of movement and mood in the plazas. While there is much here to commend—perhaps most notably the effectiveness of the mapping strategies—it is hard not to notice that in spite of an apparent attention to power, there is no in-depth analysis of the obvious gender inequities that result in a predominantly masculine space and that inform much of the prostitution that occurs in the vicinity of these plazas. Similarly, the unproblematized integration of data collected over a 10-year period, as if it were all happening simultaneously, denies the importance of time. A more careful theorizing of time and space would have undoubtedly enhanced this analysis further.

The last section in the book, "Part IV: Conversations" offers a series of literary and interview-based recollections and accounts of plaza life in Costa Rica. These excerpts anecdotally support and enrich the ethnographic and historical material presented earlier, and readers are sure to be engaged by the often nostalgic and touching passages. However, the lack of any explicit analyses of these conversations or integrated reflection on their potential meaning is ultimately quite frustrating.

Overall, this book is a strong work that contributes to our ethnographic knowledge of San José, public space, historical anthropology and methodology. It would be well suited for upper-year undergraduate curricula and is sure to appeal to a wide variety of readers.

Erik Cohen, *The Commericalized Crafts of Thailand: Hill Tribes and Lowland Villages,* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000, xiii + 316 pages.
Penny Van Esterik, *Materializing Thailand,* New York: Berg (Oxford), 2000, xi + 274 pages.

Reviewer: *Tony Fisher*
University of Alberta

These books are quite dissimilar. *Commercialized Crafts* is focussed on the contemporary marketing and production of crafts in Thailand. It is a collection of previously published articles and chapters from anthologies. There is an introductory chapter and two sections, one with chapters on "Hill Tribes Crafts" and the other on "Lowland Village Crafts." The first section focusses on Hmong arts, the second on villages in northern Thailand.

The chapters or articles are tightly focussed on their individual subject matter and not easily interconnected. For example, "International Politics and the Transformation of Folk Crafts; the Hmong of Thailand and Laos" (pp. 27-49), discusses the role of various Hmong subdivisions in the Second Indochina War and how their treatment by Thai, Pathet Lao, and Vietnamese military (not to mention the CIA) altered the circumstances of Hmong groups and the craftspersons in those groups. It concludes with a discussion of how craft production was influenced by international NGOs in Hmong villages and refugee camps.

The section on lowland villages begins with, "Touristic Craft Ribbon Development in Thailand" (pp. 165-184). This is a discussion of "ribbons" of craft retail shops along major roads outside Chiang Mai in northern Thailand. The ribbons of workshops, stalls and retail venues along major routes came about during the expansion of Thailand's road network, because the new, hard surfaced roads allowed tourists ease of access to the "hinterlands" surrounding Thai cities. These "ribbons" offer consumers a different experience from the ubiquitous city market venues. They are an enjoyable alternative to the markets, or "night bazaar" forms of retailing. Having recently visited one of these "ribbons" leading out from

Chiang Mai I found the descriptions very interesting. Indeed, there are ribbon-like shopping areas along highways and out of villages in many northern Thailand locations. This clustering of like vendors and similar selections of goods is intriguing.

Materializing Thailand is quite different from the above. It is about the big picture, representation or palimpsest (pp. 41-43) of Thailand (or "Amazing Thailand"). The author, Van Esterik, has been deeply influenced by her lengthy Thai involvement and her recurring analyses of this Thai experience. It is a fine book, but sometimes hard to come to grips with.

This comment is not a criticism of the author or her writing/organizing abilities. Rather it relates to her subject, Thailand. Thailand and its people are different and a subject which likely escapes the anthropological discipline's conventional tools, in part because Thailand has taken pains to become a popular tourist destination and by doing so has hidden many aspects of Thai life.

In her chapter, "Representing Thai Culture" she talks about " . . . the new temples of prosperity, shopping malls," and contrasts them with the " . . . unpredictable and undignified bargaining in hot, dark, noisy markets for locally made goods" (p. 123). Both malls and markets have quantities of goods which cannot be "authenticated," but tourists happily "buy into" the business of instant antiques and fake Rolex watches. These commercial ventures are right next to "The Grand Palace" or restored ruins of historic palaces at Sukhothai or Ayutthaya. These and, "the Grand Mall" through which one exits Bangkok International Airport and Thailand are difficult to categorize. The analysis of this prominent aspect of Thai culture surely requires a new set of anthropological tools.

Van Esterik's work is rewarding to the diligent reader. Her attempt to look at Thai culture and Thai studies from a more feminist perspective is successful in bringing out interesting insights into Buddhism, into the AIDS epidemic, and "kalatesa."

Thais believe that "kalatesa," the wedding of context and activity with manners and speech, makes for a better life for all. And, it excuses the excesses of foreigners—both tourists and anthros one suspects (pp. 38, 39, 40). One also suspects that this is one reason that Thai culture and behaviour and its description are hard to come to grips with. It makes everyday Thai Buddhism hard to grasp, and it makes it hard to understand Thai prostitution, globalization, and the AIDS/HIV problem. "Kalatesa" plays a major part in hiding issues of poverty, class, and women by making them inappropriate to discuss in most contexts. "Materializing Thailand" gives you the chance to think about all this, however.

James Carrier (ed.), *Meanings of the Market: The Free Market in Western Culture,* Oxford and New York: Berg, 1997, xvii + 276 pages

Reviewer: *Anne Vallely*
Concordia University

On July 4th of this year, Adbusters magazine unveiled a new American flag. In place of the familiar white stars were corporate logos such as those of Nike, McDonald's, Shell, IBM and Coca-Cola. The intention, of course, was to highlight the power that big corporations now have over the political process, but its resonance attested to something closer to home: increasingly, the very meaning of "America"—what it stands for in the popular imagination—is being truncated and reduced to little more than that of "economy." Alternately put, the economy is increasingly the discourse through which Americans define their culture and themselves. Whether this is understood as a flattening and narrowing of social life to fit the dictates of instrumental rationality, or a re-definition of social life in terms of the language of the market, it essentially amounts to the same thing: the idea of the "free market" is now a central organizing principle in American culture.

Meanings of the Market is a collection of essays that explore the complex and often contradictory meanings of the market in Western culture. The reified free market model is pulled out of the skies and down to a level of empirical analysis, to reveal its historical, cultural, and ideological underpinnings. It is an impressive collection of six original essays and a wonderful introduction by James Carrier which weaves the chapters into a coherent theoretical whole. Carrier persuades us to see the free market model as a type of discourse through which we talk about ourselves and others; a lingua franca that imposes a particular type of order and meaning of experience, and through which we understand ourselves. Central to the model is the idea that the world is comprised of detached individuals, free of cultural and social constraints, rationally calculating the costs and benefits of their economic transactions. Carrier reveals this model to be more artifact than fact—one that concerns our idealized selves, and our beliefs about the way things "should" work, far more than it reflects the actual workings of the economy.

So, in spite of the Asian financial crisis, Russia's faltering economy, the dot.com disasters and growing absolute poverty for the vast majority of humankind, we continue to be told by the high priests of capitalism that "the fundamentals of the world economy are sound." To the faithful, the free market model is impervious to criticism: successes are all its own, failures are attributed to deviations from the model, and alternative non-market successes are "anomalies." The model has all the makings of a cultural myth: its meanings are multiple, condensed, and its boundaries are hard to delimit. Within its scope are such strongly held cultural values as anti-authoritarianism, equality, self-reliance, individual responsibility, freedom from constraint, and private property—it is a deep well whose riches can never be used up.

Carrier is careful not to underestimate the power of myth, and is critical of efforts in anthropology that separate culture from society. Treating the market solely as an idealized representation, removed from any connection to reality, would be to ignore its immense and frequently injurious impact on the lives of ordinary people, and on the natural environment. The increasing privatization of social services in the name of "efficiency," the accelerating monetization of social life through "cost-benefit analysis," and the reorganization of local economies to meet global demands in the name of ever "freer trade," are all examples of how free market ideology is anything but illusory.

The book's focus is on the market model as it is understood in America, where it has indubitably the strongest ties to cultural identity and the most forceful rhetorical appeal. The idea of the "free market" has been associated with such deeply held ideals as liberty, equality and the "innate rights of man" since the birth of American political democracy. These ideals, however, have increasingly been de-politicized and appropriated by the language of the market, reduced to the consumer's "right" to choose.

Meanings of the Market serves as an important corrective to anthropology's neglect of Western economies in favour of precapitalist or non-market systems. By bracketing out the capitalist West from its social analysis, mainstream anthropology has implicitly accepted free market rhetoric which claims that it alone is "free" of social context. William Roseberry, in a brief but noteworthy Afterword, praises the collection for rejecting this "historical divide between a socially and culturally embedded non-market economy and a non-social, transaction-based market economy"(p. 259). He situates it within that same tradition of Western cultural critique as that of Marx, Weber and Polanyi.

Indeed, revealing the social and cultural embedded-ness of the market model is especially pertinent in this climate of free market triumphalism. Since the demise of Communism, there has been a rather abrupt shift away from the language of "capitalism" to that of the "free market," giving us the sense that we have moved from the ideological (capitalism vs. communism) to the merely descriptive (a non-ideological depiction of empirical reality).

Joel Kahn's essay provides a much needed historical context to the emergence of the modern ideology of the free market. He denounces—as an affront to genuine cultural difference—the classical anthropological project which makes the non-Western Other the voice of Western cultural criticism. He instead focusses on voices of dissent indigenous to Western culture, and traces the expressivist or romantic intellectual movement that emerged alongside modernity itself. He argues that this critical anti-market discourse is an important subtext to the dominant ideology and, along with it, informs our contemporary understanding of the market.

Susan Love Brown introduces us to the anarcho-capitalist variant of the free market model. It emerged as part of the radical anti-authoritarism of the 1960s, but has its roots in classical liberal thought of the nineteenth century. Brown argues that, just like the anti-market discourse from which it distances itself, it emerged from the Puritan anti-authoritarian ethos and ideology of individualism. Through its candid claims to minimizing coercion and maximizing individual liberty, we gain an understanding of the moral appeal of voluntarism that runs through all free market discourse. We also observe its inherent contradictions: anarcho-capitalism's unwillingness to grant that the establishment of individual rights depends on collective action, or that law is necessary for the existence of markets and society, makes its claims spurious and fanciful. As Brown put it, "without mutual consent, not even anarchy is possible" (p. 116).

James Carrier examines alternate visions of the free market through his description of the American media personage Paul Hawken, who has become fabulously successful by consciously subverting the classicial economic principle of instrumental rationality, and emphasizing "non-economic" factors. The question over the degree to which financial success can be linked with the Smithian Free Market Model is also raised in Alan Smart's chapter. He describes how the "economic miracles" of East Asia have been based on very different, even contradictory versions of the market, leading to the conclusion that the free market model may only be "a parochial Western version of the utilization of market integration, and that other alternative market models may exist and may be more effective in certain circumstances" (p. 167). Carol MacLennan's chapter on cost-benefit analysis makes good on Carrier's assertion that the free market model is not "merely" cultural artifact; it has profound political and social ramifications. She describes how the language and philosophy of market rationality and efficiency has entered into the democratic process and transformed it. Cost-benefit analyses are becoming increasingly prevalent market tools in the service of the corporate world, limiting government involvement in public heath and environmental protection. Buckley and Chapman introduce us to the world of transaction cost theorists whose job it is to determine whether the inputs necessary for one's business should be purchased (on the market) or should be subsumed within one's business (by becoming a "firm"). Transaction cost theorizing assumes that a clear conceptual distinction can be made between the market (conceived of as selfish optimism) and the firm (the domain of cooperation, loyalty and trust). But Buckley and Chapman demonstrate that these dichotomies are idealized typologies with little connection to empirical reality. Overlap in orientations etween the market and firm is far more common than clear cut distinctions, with the effect that transaction cost analyzing ends up being based more on subjective feelings than on objective criterion.

Meanings of the Market firmly establishes the free market model as an ideological construct central to an understanding of Western culture. It is an excellent and timely contribution to the anthropological study of engender further ethnographic work in this neglected field.

Werner Zips, *Black Rebels. African Caribbean Freedom Fighters in Jamaica,* Princeton: Markus Wiener, Kingston: Ian Randle, 1999 ISBN 1-55876-213-2. Translated from German by Shelley L. Frisch, Foreword by Franklin W. Knight, xii + 292 pages (paper).

Reviewer: *Robbyn Seller*
McGill University

Black Rebels is a treatise on Jamaica's Maroon populations, descendents of African slaves who defied colonial rule and refused to espouse slavery, choosing instead to create settlements high in the mountainous interior and to resist capture at all costs. Zips traces the development of Maroon society from the time of slavery, through wars with British military and the signing of peace treaties that ensured Maroon autonomy, the abolition of slavery, up to the current period. The book presents the Maroons as vibrant and conscious agents of their own fate, emphasizing their resistance to colonial forces and highlighting the continued efforts of original Maroons and their descendents to forge and uphold Maroon society and its cultural and political identity. Throughout, the author stresses the interdependency of the different facets of Jamaican society all through Jamaican colonial history. He also reflects on recent Jamaican resistance and its expressions—from Marcus Garvey to Rastafarianism—and their link to Black resistance movements worldwide.

Zips' discussion of Maroons begins with an historical overview of the colonial Caribbean and the conditions of slavery. The author underscores the systematic and cruel nature of the suppression of all elements of African culture by European colonists, introducing a polemic with the historical literature on the Caribbean, especially with respect to resistance. In doing so, Zips glosses over important ideological, political, legal, historical and other divergences that developed among the Spanish, British, French, Dutch and Danish colonies, so finely documented in the historical works he cites. The author is perhaps a little too enthusiastic in rallying to the cause of the unwitting victims of European expansion and to legitimize their resistance that he draws on particular histories as though they applied to the whole of the Caribbean region.

Even so, while this approach minimizes specific references to Jamaica as well as to differences in time periods, especially in the first section, Zips goes on to develop a comparative and critical reading of existing historical works with respect to their depictions of resistance. Here he draws on similar cases, notably that of the Saramaka, researched by Richard Price (especially 1983), in conjunction with his interviews with present-day Jamaican Maroons. While Zips eschews any in-depth theoretical discussion of resistance, he contends that the simple division of resistance into passive and active forms is inadequate to describe the multiple modes and strategies employed by slaves to challenge colonial domination. The use of poison by house slaves against their masters; the covert development and maintenance of distinct cultural forms, especially obeah (a form of witchcraft); abortion and infanticide; the deliberate re-opening of wounds to inhibit work; and open revolt and rebellion are cited to illustrate the complexity of slave resistance. In this way, Zips contends that there is no ethical distinction to be made between the resistance strategies of slaves who remained on plantations and those who fled, arguing against those who saw slave behaviour as submissive rather than subversive. At the same time, this perspective of all forms of resistance as being on equal footing allows Zips to justify the Maroon signing of the peace treaties, often seen in a negative light and portrayed as a "sell-out"—the ultimate in betrayal of those Africans and their descendants who remained on the plantations.

Zips calls his comparative approach to existing historical works speculative, contending that a history of the Maroons based on written documents alone lends too much credence to their colonial bias, leaving him with a choice between silence and speculation—he says he chooses the latter. He finds the existence of "historical, comparative data and well-known comparative socio-cultural structures and cultural-ecological facts make a particular 'free' interpretation of a set of evidence or course of an event more plausible than one based solely on the written sources" (p. 71). Here, however, one may wonder whether this statement stands simply as a justification for his reliance on the research of others, rather than on his own, to make inferences about the case of the Maroons of Accompong.

Nevertheless, Zips skilfully elaborates a sympathetic and detailed portrayal of Maroon efforts to create a viable society. He depicts how the physical environment, Maroon African cultural heritage, as well as social and political circumstances combined to allow Maroons to survive attacks from the British and to form durable communities. Driven as fugitives into the high mountainous rainforest, he explains, the Maroons were forced to learn to thrive in less than favourable conditions. The forest afforded them means of both subsistence and resistance, as they engaged it for their food, cover, security, and as their ally in the war against the British. This continued for 85 years until the signing of the peace treaties in 1738-39, which, he argues, were, and still are, pivotal to the continuing survival of Maroon society.

The peace treaties originally provided Maroons the assurance of political autonomy and freedom from slavery in exchange for service to the British crown. For Zips, the ratification of the treaties as an act of self-preservation (and thus resistance to slavery) was warranted by the sociocultural constraints on the settlements, especially the burden that continuous fighting placed on women for the economic maintenance of the communities. The peace treaties, Zips contends, are now not only legal documents that ensure Maroon freedom, relative political autonomy, and access to communal lands, they are also "sacrosanct" (p. 240). They stand as founding documents that tie them to a common history, to ancestors, and from which their existence today as a group derives.

In this regard, Zips underscores the importance of the past to contemporary Maroons in the maintenance of their cultural identity and social and political unity. Drawing on interviews

with Maroons in Accompong, on the leeward side of the island, and Barrett's (1979) work with the Windward Maroons, he describes how links to ancestors are maintained through spiritual practices in which mediums become possessed by original Maroons. The ancestors are a vital part of today's Maroon society, and are consulted before any decision is made or knowledge transmitted. Zips, following Barrett, links these politico-religious practices of the Maroons to their African heritage, possibly Akan-speaking peoples such as the Ashanti, and shows similarities between the two groups of Maroons. For the Accompong Maroons, the original Maroon ancestors were a brother and sister who split up and founded different settlements. Kojo is the founding ancestor of Accompong, and his sister, Nanny, of the Windward Maroons. Both, Zips points out, while once considered the worst rebels of colonial Jamaica, are now revered as national heroes and symbols of freedom.

Despite the autonomy conferred upon them, Zips acknowledges that the Maroons' economic situation has always been highly dependent on the changing political climate in Jamaica. Prior to the ratification of the treaties, Maroons supplemented their subsistence economy with the spoils of raids on plantations; afterwards, with compensation from the British for military service and the sale of produce. With the abolition of slavery, these two sources of income dwindled, and freed slaves successfully competed with them in a free market. Today's Maroons are marginalized, and find themselves in a difficult economic position, notwithstanding their symbolic importance to Jamaican national identity. While they are able to exercise a form of self-government and hold their land communally since the ratification of the treaties, conversely, their access to government funds and representation in government is difficult. This, combined with their remote location, has resulted in lagging development of infrastructure and subsequently difficult and costly access to markets to sell their produce. The cultivation of marijuana, Zips maintains, has been a lucrative alternative for some Maroons, but this only reinforces their opposition to the state as they resist attempts by police to enter their territory.

In his final chapter, Zips shifts his discussion to that of Black resistance in the 20th century, tying it to the colonial era and the Maroons, beginning with Marcus Garvey. He situates Garvey as the link between colonial history, the Maroons and the struggle of Blacks all over the world. Garvey, of Maroon descent, is presented as a pioneer of the Black Power movement and Rastafari philosophy. Garvey founded the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in 1914 in Kingston, and in New York in 1917, with the mandate of creating worldwide black unity. While the UNIA eventually died out, Zips argues that the roots of resistance movements such as Black Power in the United States headed by Malcolm X are to be found in the UNIA, Garvey, and his Maroon background.

Zips' openly partisan approach in *Black Rebels* depicts the Maroons of Jamaica as the emblem par excellence of Black resistance because their very existence as a society, now as in the past, rests upon their continuing drive to maintain their autonomy against all odds. Even though much of the book is devoted to revisiting existing historical works, either to present the colonial background or to discuss resistance, Zips succeeds in crafting a multifaceted and well-contextualized rendition of Maroon struggles and the development and maintenance of their political and cultural identity. This book certainly engages the reader with its descriptive and interpretive rather than theoretical approach, and will interest both the informed and the novice reader in the field of Caribbean studies. Just the same, I would have enjoyed reading more original case-specific historical and ethnographic material woven into the comparative framework of the book.

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Gilbert Herdt, *Sambia Sexual Culture: Essays from the Field,* Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1999, xi + 327 pages.

Reviewer: *Andrew P. Lyons*
Wilfrid Laurier University

Twenty years have now passed since the publication of *Guardians of the Flutes* which was arguably the best ethnographic examination of sexuality since Malinowski's *Sexual Life of Savages*. Gilbert Herdt returned to New Guinea several times until 1993 when a nearly fatal bout of malaria led him to curtail his visits. This volume draws on those later field trips. Herdt re-examines and develops themes which he first discussed in *Guardians*. He also discusses the significance of his work not only for social anthropology but also for the Gay Liberation Movement. All of the nine essays in the volume originally appeared elsewhere and most readers will have read a few of them already. However, they fit very well together, and the author has contributed an excellent theoretical introduction. Readers unacquainted with Herdt's ethnography should note that it describes a population which prescribed homoerotic fellatio as a necessary part of male social development. There was no sexual play in the period prior to initiation. Prepubertal youths in the first stages of initiation were fellators; adolescents in the third stage of initiation were fellated by the younger boys. Marriage to females occurred at the end of the initiation cycle. These customs reflected a system of thought in which mature male sexuality was tenuously achieved and always threatened by feminine, specifically menstrual pollution. An adequate supply of sperm was stored in the growing boy as a result of fellation. The receipt of sperm in heterosexual intercourse enabled women to produce breast milk.

The notes on the book cover describe Herdt as a "renowned" anthropologist, a description which may provoke some jealousy but which does attest to his achievement. Until 1980 the anthropology of sexuality occupied a marginal place in our discipline. This was partly because sexuality was excluded by existing paradigms such as structural-functionalism and cultural ecology, and, more surprisingly, by later developments in psychological anthropology. In large measure this was because there was little middle ground between sociological approaches which regarded sexuality as too "natural," too universal (see p. 4) and too threatening to sociological method to be worthy of consideration, and behaviouristic or ethological approaches which are neglectful of social meanings Within anthropology the study of sexuality could only be subsumed under such headings as "kinship" and "gender."

Another cause of neglect was the degree of professional, political and humanitarian risk involved in such investigations. Esther Newton has complained that her work on drag-queens was not regarded as legitimate research (Newton, 2000: 223). Of course the homosexual student of sexuality faces additional barriers. Sometimes they reflect pure prejudice; on other occasions biases may be more subtle. Kath Weston (1998: 189-211) has complained that her own work on lesbian sexuality within the USA has led to a degree of professional marginalization (such research, argue critics is not "real" fieldwork).

Very often, the disclosure of information may be perceived as harmful to populations and individuals who are subject to the surveillance of outsiders as well as exploitation by sexual tourists. Such reports may also embarrass cultural insiders who wish to distance themselves from tribal traditions. It is for this reason that Herdt disguised the identity of the "Sambia" of the Eastern Highlands of Papua New Guinea. Last but not least the obtaining of information on matters sexual involves the establishing and affirming of a degree of trust which is most difficult to create as well as linguistic skills of a high order. There is no society without sexual taboos; there are few without rules of privacy or secrecy with respect to some matters. Herdt's understandable unwillingness to disclose the name of his informants and of the Sambia themselves has led to a confrontation with a group of modern Sambia "Clan Representatives" who claim that Herdt used pseudonyms because he had no real informants and the rituals he describes never existed (Dariawo et al., 1999).

The application of the comparative method to the study of "homosexuality" is conducive to the conclusion that the range of "natural" sexual behaviours is somewhat broader than that endorsed by Judaeo-Christian precepts. Westermarck reached that conclusion over 80 years ago, and a number of other scholars have done the same over the intervening years. In the first half of the century, ritual homoeroticism in Melanesia was discussed by Landtman, Williams and Layard. What distinguishes Herdt's work from that of most of his predecessors is his attention to cosmology, to shared sexual meanings and to narratives of individual experience. As Herdt also notes, sexology in the Kinsey tradition has paid little attention to cultural meaning.

In an important essay, (chap. 7), Herdt observes that the male life cycle among the Sambia is marked by radical discontinuities, e.g., from mother-presence to mother-absence, from asexuality to homoerotic fellatio to heterosexual marriage. He notes an observation by Ruth Benedict (1938) to the effect that cultures differed in degrees of continuity and discontinuity in the life cycle. It is the task of ritual to transcend such radical breaks, and this may be in all ways a painful process. Elsewhere the author (chap. 2) deals with the importance of flutes as ideal symbols of transition. In Sambia ritual, flutes may be symbolically male or female. They represent a female spirit and signify both the breast and the penis.

In a recent book Herdt has noted that his own identity as a homosexual perplexed some of his Sambia informants (Herdt, 1997: xiv). One or two individuals meet the description of homosexuals in our own culture inasmuch as they retain a same-sex orientation throughout adult life (chap. 5), but most do not. There is no such thing as homosexual identity among Sambia (p. 278). Most Sambia cease homoerotic contact after marriage. However, fellatio is more than impersonal friction. Herdt emphatically stresses that bonds which may be more than merely transient are created as a result of prescribed relationships between fellator and fellated. For all these reasons he prefers to use the adjective *homoerotic* rather than *homosexual* in the description of Sambia ritual relationships. Elsewhere (chap. 6) Herdt considers a Freudian canard which has perpetuated the pathologizing of homoerotic behaviour, to whit the claim that homosexuality is a result of the absence of the father at a critical stage in the boy's development. While he does observe that the father is "ambiguously present" in the early stages of the Sambia boy's life, he demonstrates that prescribed homoerotic behaviour is absent in New Guinea societies which are marked by more pronounced father-absence.

In a particularly fine essay (chap. 4) Herdt discusses ritual nose-bleeding, which is forcibly performed on early-stage initiates in public but voluntarily performed in private at later stages of the life cycle. The explanation he adduces has many facets, including the removal of female menstrual pollution, sexual separation and masculine growth. Sambia accounts do not seem to support Bettelheim's assertion that the ritual bleeding of males mimics menstruation and reflects universal sentiments of "womb-envy." One should note that indigenous explanations of ritual bleeding among some other Highlands and some insular groups do support Bettelheim's somewhat ambitious hypothesis.

Hermaphrodites born with 5-alpha-reductase deficiency are discussed in Chapter 8. Such hermaphrodites become somewhat more masculine in appearance when they reach puberty. Among the Sambia as well as in the Dominican Republic special terms are used. to indicate their anomalous status. The Sambia, for instance, employ a neo-Melanesian term, *turnim-man* and also an expression in Sambia with similar meaning. I am a little unsure of the cogency of Herdt's claim that such terms reflect the recognition of a "third sex"; they could be equally be said to describe a perceived anomaly

in the Douglasian sense. Herdt examines incidents where such hermaphrodites, initially raised as females, choose male gender roles after puberty. He questions the statistical analysis conducted by researchers such as Imperato-McGinley on cases in the Dominican Republic, and, to my mind, convincingly demonstrates that the final choice of gender role may be the product of gender inequality and machismo rather than unaided biology (a brain that is "male" before birth).

Last but not least, there is an excellent description of Sambia song-ropes (*SSC*, chap. 1) which identify individuals at different stages in their lives and place them spatiotemporally in terms both of genealogy and of details of geographical locale.

This remarkable book is accessible to good students as well as to professional anthropologists. It is a noteworthy fact that there is as yet no comparable, "thick" analysis of heterosexual sexual meanings or lesbian experience in a non-Western culture.

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Petra Rethmann, *Tundra Passages: History and Gender in the Russian Far East,* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001, 219 pages, ISBN 0-271-02068-X (paper).

Reviewer: *Regna Darnell*
University of Western Ontario

Koriak reindeer herders of the Kamchatka peninsula's northeastern shore have remained frozen in the anthropological canon since the early twentieth-century ethnography of Waldemar Jochelson for Boas's Jesup North Pacific Expedition. Petra Rethmann's portrait of contemporary Koriak in the aftermath of the disintegration of the Soviet state tacks elegantly between the often harsh realities of individual lives and the political economy which contextualizes their efforts at agency. For Canadian readers, the Koriak experience will evoke an all-too-familiar history of racism, discrimination, forced relocation, residential schools and dogged resistance to imposed assimilation alongside inevitable encroachment and loss of autonomy. The Koriak have been subjected to "the unmaking of their world" (p. 38). Despite their suffering, they have survived and seek a future under their own control. The Koriak are constructing "a historical self-critical consciousness ... about the purpose, function, and creation of tradition" (p. 157). Colonization has not precluded continuity; rather, the Koriak travel toward their future, drawing on traditions of the past.

Rethmann challenges the Soviet narrative of progress which systematically marginalized the Koriak, presenting their regional history in terms of diverse and contentious local standpoints. The meaning of this history is quite different for the state and for the people of the tundra, for women and for men, for elders and for the young. History is envisioned "as an exchange of alternating points of view, jostling with one another, answering back and forth" so that "for all players matters of history are matters of perspective" (p. 31). Such a history is necessarily storied and fragmented, depending on the positioning of the teller. Moveover, the stories themselves emerged in fragments, although assembled and edited by Rethmann with a view to their original flavour.

Although there is no single narrative of contemporary Koriak experience, the individuals who shared their stories with Rethmann were rarely at a loss for words: their "strategy ... involves transforming the rhetoric of primitiveness into the rhetoric of knowledge" (p. 112). That is, the capacity of the Koriak for articulate political debate itself belies their simplistic categorization as nomadic, wild, and primitive. Long-established devaluation of women intensifies these stereotypes, making their stories even more difficult to bring into the public domain. In fact, Rethmann retreats to the "writing" of women's culture (p. 140) through "skins of desire," using the tanning and sewing of furs "to perform and express poetic and alluring aspects of themselves on the surfaces of animal skin" (p. 133).

The metaphors of Koriak experience draw on their traditional culture: travel for a people very recently nomadic and relationship to animals. Travel is not just from known place to known place but also the travel of the shaman, which Rethmann oddly characterizes as "metaphorical" (p. 64). Distant places provide interpretive perspective for the auguries of experience. Rethmann interprets her offer of a gendered spirit guardian to the departing anthropologist's penchant for crossing boundaries and building larger communities: "The choice of Koriak friends to entrust a spirit to my care, and, in turn, me to her care, directed attention to the emergence and building of new forms of sociality" which are not locally bounded (p. 173). Rethmann focuses on the secular adaptation of the shamanistic idiom to contemporary circumstances rather than on the spiritual dimensions of continuing shamanistic practice.

In addition to the reindeer on which their subsistence has primarily depended, contemporary Koriak continue to perform remembered rites of circumpolar bear ceremonialism. Out-

siders associate the Koriak themselves with the bear—primitive, wild, travelling widely, consuming omnivorously. From the Koriak point of view, however, people and bears are much alike. The collectivization of reindeer herding under the Soviet state was, for them, an issue of human-animal relations. The animals of the tundra became "related beings" as Rethmann learned "how to read the animals' sounds and movements socially" and make appropriate ritual offerings (p. 50). Particular animals have their individuality and hunting is far from metaphorical.

The women's stories are chosen to represent the diversity of standpoints within the contemporary community. Taken together, they lead the reader into everyday life broadly framed in terms of global political, economic and cultural forces that impinge upon local worlds. This book is both ethnography and ethnology; there is particular description and amplification of local voices but also interpretation of the ethno-nationalism and identity debates which replaced the Soviet preoccupation with class distinctions at the core of communist social engineering. Readers are invited to move between these standpoints with Rethmann, as she assures us the Koriak already do.

Paul Dresch, Wendy James and David Parkin (eds.), *Anthropologists in a Wider World: Essays on Field Research,* New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2000, xiv + 310 pages.

Reviewer: *Ian Cosh*
York University

As the editors of this volume remind us, times are tough for British anthropology, for reasons that will resonate with Canadians: neo-conservative budget priorities are making it hard to carry on the tradition of extended, open-ended fieldwork. From a certain "managerial" standpoint, anthropology's brand of research compares poorly with the "rapid field assessment" practices of other disciplines and corporations. In this context, it seems a token bit of money was granted to the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology at Oxford University for a workshop on methods (held in 1997). To their credit, the Oxford faculty used the occasion to defend anthropological fieldwork as a "patient engagement" with the "wider world." Since then, they have discussed, revised, and collected their papers into this volume, the seventh in a series on "Methodology and History in Anthropology" edited by David Parkin, Director of the Institute. The series abstract promises to offer timely reflections on the state of the discipline:

> Just as anthropology has had a significant influence on many other disciplines in recent years, so too has [*sic*] its methods been challenged by new intellectual and technological developments. This series is designed to offer a forum for debate . . . The intention is for critical essays to complement the intensive ethnolgraphic [*sic*] studies on which anthropology fundamentally depends.

The critical intent of the present volume is declared in the introduction by Paul Dresch and Wendy James. They argue that recent trends in anthropology have neglected "method" due to an excessive concern with the "personal experience" of the fieldworker. "Feminist arguments have been effective and powerful here," they observe (p. 3); but after this perfunctory bow (cf. Caplan, 1992:85) the volume speaks no more of feminism (until a parting nod on page 268), focusing instead on what the editors call a "complementary" mission: to "redress the balance" in favour of the realities of "an intransigent historical world." Searching for a method for apprehending that world, Dresch and James survey a time-honoured trail through the imperatives of listening for the "unsaid" and looking for patterns behind events, arriving finally at the sine qua non of long-term fieldwork. Many—perhaps most—anthropologists are charting new routes through this territory. The editors, however, seem determined to go it alone. For example, they discover, without the aid of a single citation of their many fellow travellers, the challenge of connecting local field experience to global processes. Undeterred, they offer this methodological conclusion: "One cannot see the whole, however. One can only be on guard against self-centredness, and a certain cross-cutting of experience with history deserves noting" (p. 18).

One certainly cannot argue with that. More on history and self-centredness comes in a separate essay by Wendy James. Her reflection on a long fieldwork career in North East Africa is quite interesting in its own right. The narrative supports her strong conviction that fieldwork, far from being a singular encounter, is embedded in a dynamic historical process. Most readers will surely be convinced, if they were not already. Having established this point, James turns her critical attention to Clifford and Marcus' *Writing Culture* (1986), observing that the book promotes an unhistorical approach to ethnography and a "simplistic notion of 'culture'" (p. 88). The source of both errors, she says, is an overemphasis on personal experience. She concludes by contrasting the "whimsies" of "postmodernism" (and this passage is helpfully indexed: "postmodernism: whimsies of, 89") to the "humble," "hard work" invested in "those analytical accounts of human life and experience which might outlast in their significance the emotional ups and downs of the author in producing them" (pp. 89-90). Her case against "postmodernism" rests exclusively on three references to Writing Culture, including a single quotation of two (consecutive) words. Given the gravity of her argument, James shows remarkable restraint in not pressing it forward. Mind you, if "postmodernism" is just a trifling emotion that is bound to be outlasted, then any in-depth critique would be worse than unnecessary; it would be immodest.

This prevailing island spirit is evident in many of the contributions. Notable exceptions are Roger Goodman's respectable effort to salvage the "culture-translation" model from Asad's critique (in *Writing Culture*); and Frank Pieke's intriguing call, in an endnote to his refreshing study of "serendipitous" events, for a poststructuralist adjustment of Manchester School methods. The book as a whole, however, is not greatly concerned with "critical" theory, i.e., the discordant polyphony of feminist, Marxist, and poststructuralist

voices that has stirred the discipline. As such, the book represents a provocative attempt to converse about method in the absence of those voices, and to revisit certain questions in more placid theoretical company.

Curiously, though, some of the essays actually corroborate major preconceptions of those absent critical perspectives; they labour in apparent isolation only to arrive at what is precisely the point of departure for much of contemporary theory. For example, Peter Rivière's essay is a controlled comparison of two fieldwork experiences in northern Brazil; under no acknowledged theoretical influence, he reaches the conclusion that "the nature of the ethnography produced is partly dictated by the nature of the society in question" (p.42)—a belief that is common to nearly all Marxists and poststructuralists, even if they do quarrel over the meaning of "partly." In her contribution, Louella Matsunaga recounts her experience of a miscarriage while living in Japan, and how it may shed light on Japanese concepts of kin relations and "foreigners." She tells this difficult story with great care and ethnographic precision. Indeed, the quality of her writing only underlines the exceptional modesty of her general question, which is: "Can personal experience illuminate anthropological analysis?" (p. 167). Her provisional answer is that reflections on "the personal" are inevitably partial and partisan, but nonetheless potentially revealing—a stance that is definitely in line with many "feminist arguments" although Matsunaga resolutely does without their support.

Other contributors perform unassuming tasks, solidly, with few surprises. Marcus Banks describes the making of his film about Jain migration, pointing to the dilemma of reconciling the "big picture" of history with the "close up" of personal experience. He does not aim to engage with other work on this ubiquitous issue, but simply drives home its continuing salience. Hélène La Rue reports on some innovative community projects that she organised as the music curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum, and challenges a few assumptions in ethnomusicology, such as the apparent bias against doing fieldwork "at home." David Parkin addresses the neglected topic of the aging fieldworker, and analyzes "fieldwork memory" through the concepts of "template" and "evocation." Robert Barnes looks back in painstaking detail on a lifetime of research in Indonesia. He contemplates the alarming possibility that fieldworkers in the same area might produce contradictory accounts, but calmly observes, "So far no reason has appeared to panic" (p. 242).

Two essays deal with greater matters of interpretation. Paul Dresch evokes qat-chewing sessions with Middle Eastern informants in order to play enigmatically with the dilemma that "listening for the unsaid" in every conversation can invite suspicion and result in "unsociable" breaches of tacit understandings. Michael O'Hanlon relates how "a single unsettling event" during his fieldwork in Papua New Guinea has "resisted domestication" into ethnographic knowledge. The event is a battle that he witnessed accidentally, with mixed feelings of guilt and exhilaration; he describes his repeatedly frustrated efforts to convert the "spectacle" into something "anthropologically informative." Both Dresch and O'Hanlon stumble unwittingly onto key motivations behind the critique of cultural hermeneutics. O'Hanlon's essay is a wonderfully honest study of interpretive uncertainty, and it would make an excellent prefatory reading for units on poststructuralism in undergraduate anthropology courses.

Nicholas Allen rounds out the volume with a vigorous argument that fieldwork should not define the discipline, as many "anthropological" questions simply do not demand it. The epilogue is provided by David Parkin, who takes a measured approach. In a preliminary paragraph, he mentions works by Clifford, Marcus, Fischer, Scholte and Asad, and makes the (questionable) discovery that they are mostly concerned with issues of power and representation, and not fieldwork per se. Conceding that territory in good humour, he moves on; there is one passing reference to the groundbreaking book by Gupta and Ferguson (1997), rightly recognized as a "focus on fieldwork as a concept" (p. 261), but Parkin's task is to delve into his own volume, not theirs. He does so thoroughly and judiciously, in a perceptive review of the individual essays.

One thing that Parkin might have elucidated is the claim, made in the introduction, that the volume is "complementary" to other trends in the discipline. As those other trends are only scantily (if at all) addressed in the subsequent essays, it is often hard to see the complement. More attention to this question would have underscored the series' very commendable service as a forum for debate. Research funding is a vital concern, but surely the continuation of anthropology is only meaningful if it sustains a lively conversation. The wider world might be intransigent, but our theoretical debates do not have to mirror it.

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