Anthropologica

Vol. XLIV Nº 2, 2002

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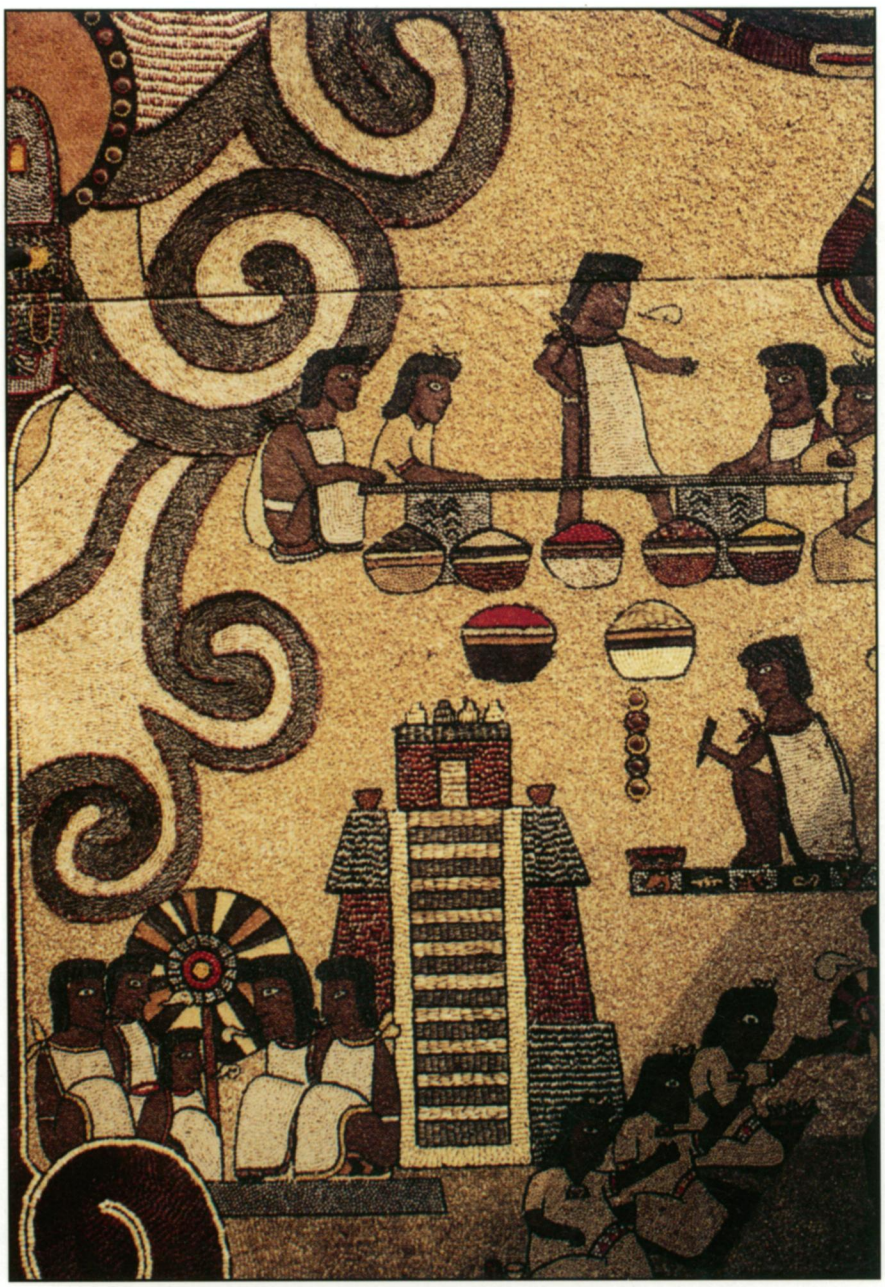

Grass-Roots Participation and Bureaucratic Interfaces: The Case of Mexico / Participation à la base et interfaces bureaucratiques : le cas du Mexique

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La revue *Anthropologica* publie en français et en anglais, des articles et comptes rendus produits par des chercheurs canadiens et étrangers oeuvrant dans les divers domaines de l'étude académique de l'anthropologie culturelle et sociale. Chaque manuscrit est soumis pour évaluation à deux lecteurs anonymes.

Anthropologica ISSN 0003-5459
Published at Wilfrid Laurier University Press, Waterloo, Ontario for the Canadian Anthropology Society.
Publiée par Wilfrid Laurier University Press, Waterloo, Ontario pour la Société Canadienne d'Anthropologie.
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Publications Mail Registration No. / Poste-publications enregistrement nº 09373. Agreement No. / Nº de la convention 40064165. Return postage guaranteed / Port de retour garanti.

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Grass-Roots Participation and Bureaucratic Interfaces: The Case of Mexico / Participation à la base et interfaces bureaucratiques : le cas du Mexique

Guest Editors / éditeurs invités : Gavin Smith and/et Marie France Labrecque

From Our Archives / De nos fonds d'archives

Book Reviews / Comptes rendus

Cover

Mural made of grains of maize, beans and squash, representing daily life in precolumbian times. Tepoztlan, Morelos, Mexico, October 3rd, 1999.

Murale faite de grains de maïs, de haricot et de courge représentant une scène de la vie quotidienne de l'époque précolombienne. Tepoztlán, Morelos, Mexique, le 3 octobre 1999.

Photo by/par Marie France Labrecque.

Grass-Roots Participation and Bureaucratic Interfaces: The Case of Mexico—Introduction

Gavin Smith *University of Toronto*

La version français de cette introduction commence à la page 165.

Today "modernity," "modernism" and "modernization" have come to mean vast and complex things, but in the initial stages of the era when development became a major concern in the West, "modernization" was associated with a powerfully ethnocentric crusade led by a phalanx of American economists (Rostow), psychologists (McClelland), political scientists (Banfield, Almond and Verba) and anthropologists (Geertz and Foster) who believed that the Third World could be saved if people would just adopt "modern" culture.[1] as practised of course in some imaginary place in middle America. What was most striking and most obviously objectionable about this language and the entire project that lay behind it was its patronizing, non-consultative stewardship—though in fact it was largely motivated by US coldwar fears of a communist epidemic among poor people the world over, it was dressed in the mantle of the white man's burden: *noblesse oblige*.

Today "participation" is almost as closely associated with issues of "development" as modernization once was. Just as modernization was obviously "a good thing" then, so participation is obviously "a good thing" now. Yet, despite the fact that we would all no doubt note that it is a term with many meanings, it is for all that a much more slippery notion than the easily dispensed with "modernization." Indeed the power relations obscured by its usage are rather like that lecture-hall question: "Can you hear at the back?" Like the lecturer, the people who are talking about participation are already participating; the people who are not, are the problem and they can't hear the question anyway—regrettably in much the same way as "the traditional sector" was a "problem" for those who wished to modernize: traditional today, modernized tomorrow; marginalized today, participating tomorrow. What has mostly changed is the organizational features of capitalist production and cir-

Keywords: participation, neo-liberalism, interfaces, governance, development, Mexico

culation and the regulatory mechanisms necessary for their reproduction.

Foucault's views of power are notoriously complex but it is useful here to propose that he made a distinction between *monarchical power* and *modern power*. The monarchy represented itself as a force which said "No," "power is taken above all as carrying the force of a prohibition" (1980: 119). With the coming of modern power this purely negative, zero-sum view of power—measured in terms of *my* ability to restrict *your* actions—was superseded. Power was no longer accepted because of the divine right of the monarch to govern; instead "what makes it accepted is simply that it doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse" (ibid). As we shift from being the subjects [*sic*] of monarchical power to becoming the citizens of modern power, we accept that because of the *productive* nature of power, a certain amount of collusion is to our benefit. Order (supposedly) benefits all (somewhat). This collusion becomes the essential lever of modern forms of governance. Norbert Elias, with a somewhat differing set of epochs, referred to this as the civilizing process, the shift from the gross control of behaviour to the self-control of conduct through the spread of courtly manners. Freedom as a citizen came with a poisoned gift: *self*-restraint.

Before continuing the story, let us shift to a different, yet as we shall see, connected, set of narratives, one to do with the changing nature of capitalist economics, the other to do with socialist politics. As we entered the last quarter of the last century the West's dominance of the capitalist production process faltered. Rust belts emerged. A leaner and meaner kind of capitalism didn't seem to be doing the trick, when an Italian social scientist began to write about a possible solution. Made famous to socialists by Gramsci, Italy was notoriously divided between a mass-production and prosperous "North" symbolized by Fiat and Turin, and an impoverished "South" symbolized by the wily peasant and the backwardness of Naples and Sicily. Now Bagnasco proposed that there was a "Third Italy"—one in which a *social* market operated. What made the Third Italy so successful, a possible new fix for an older and inflexible Western capitalism, was that the social world of kinship, neighbourhood and personality was not kept sharply distinct from the moral neutrality of the *market* and narrowly *economic* interest. Rather the contours of the social world in Emilia Romagna crucially shaped the way market relations worked. For a while narrowly tied to a region in Italy, the idea soon spread, especially with the notion of an "embedded economy" put forward by Granovetter.

We don't, of course, have to be soured and died-in-the-wool Marxists to take a rather cynical view of the way the market works to provide people with freedom. Weber's very idea of class relied on his view that people do not come to the market equally equipped to make free choices: advantage accrues when those with assets face those with no more than necessity. In this new kind of economy, however, we discover that people, otherwise rather low on supplies of what used to be called (apparently rather too narrowly) "capital" can bargain with the resources they bring with them from the *social* sector of their lives—their family connections, their regional cultural disposition to work and save and so on (what is termed their "social capital"). So this new, more expansive notion of the arena within which we barter and trade, appears to include as equal players people who hitherto had seemed to be playing with one hand tied behind their back. Where once the concern might have been to extend the access to very material kinds of capital, now the issue becomes one of creating conditions in which "excluded" people can expand their *social* capital: i.e., an increase in participation.

Thus the new capitalist economics. What about the changes to socialist politics? I will be brief. Central to the dispute between the Communists (of various persuasions) and the Anarchists during the Spanish civil war, was their differences in priorities. The former argued that the primary task was to smash capitalism, after which the state would wither away. The latter saw all evil residing in the state itself, indeed in the very notion of "politics" in the public sphere. Various brands of socialism have taken different views about the timescale and hence the politics of history—from revolution to compromises of various kinds—but all used to share the view that capitalism was *inherently* unjust and must eventually be done away with. This meant that, in the process of developing a hegemonic bloc to withstand the assaults of the capitalist market and the capitalist state, alliances needed to be made. The extent to which these new alliances—notably in the early years of the last century with nationalists, subsequently e.g., in Vietnam and Nicaragua, with ethnic groups—should colour the long term shape of the socialist project, was much debated. In the end though, Laclau is correct in saying that the era in which "socialists" should assume that they would be the vanguard of revolutionary social change has ended. A more genuinely inclusive and permanently open ended revindicative politics has taken its place, perhaps best symbolized by the Zapatistas and their insistence that "leadership" is less important than direct democracy, i.e.: an increase in participation.

So we can see here two, quite different, moments over the past 25 years, in which the relationship between a core and its surroundings has changed, in one case a core of the economic market place, in the other the core of a revolutionary vanguard. Let us turn back now, for a moment, to Foucault. We had left him with the important role in modern forms of governance of the citizenry's *self*-control. But we need to remember what the price of the ticket was: better overall "productivity" *for all.* What does "productivity" mean, at least to economists? It means the ability to use technology (the combination of skills and machinery) so as to increase the amount that can be produced by a fixed amount of human labour. A person with Monsanto "Roundup Ready" resistant seed, and the knowledge of how to cultivate it, will produce more corn for the same amount of labour-inputs as a person who cultivates with seed taken from her community's annual seed bank. That's productivity.

The point about liberal governance is that deprived, at least in principle, of monarchical forms of power ("a strong state") it must stretch beyond mere self-restraint as an aid in governing, to something a lot more directly useful to the economy—or at least those who most benefit from advances in the economy. Colin Gordon captures this point well. In the neo-liberal way of thinking,

> The abstract appearance of labour in society is not, as Marxism supposes, a real effect of the logic of capital, but rather a misperception caused by political economy's failure to produce *qualitative* analysis of labour.... "Work for the worker" means, according to the neo-liberals, the use of resources of skill, aptitude and competence which comprise the worker's human capital, to obtain earnings which constitute the revenue on that capital.... From this point-of-view, then, *the individual producer-consumer is in a novel sense not just an enterprise, but the entrepreneur of himself or herself.* (Gordon, 1991: 44 *Italics added*)

It is in *this* context that we need to try to come to grips with the way in which public discourses about "participation" are embedded on the one hand in forms of domination and governmentality and on the other in potential forms of subversion and resistance.

In a sense we might see this as a dispute over the meaning of "productivity" once it is no longer applied narrowly to the economy. What does it mean to talk of social or human capital or to "improving the quality of life" (as the latest EU call for social science research grant applications does), if we don't know what is meant by "capital" in this context, or "improvement?" If we add the idea of participation to these sound-bites, what we get is a notion that a better world results from all its members increasing their productivity—now of course vastly more broadly defined and (not mentioned) subject to immense amounts of debate and conflict. The reason why people like Stuart Hall and Ernesto Laclau have directed attention so far, far away from the way today's capitalism actually works could be that, like us, they don't really know. But that's not what they want us to believe. What they want us to believe is that we live in a moment of conjuncture where the struggle for hegemony is paramount and this, they say is a political and cultural matter. It is a struggle over the establishment of an hegemonic order in which the *entrepreneurial producer-consumer subject* appears as "natural" against some other kind of hegemonic order in the post-Gorbachev era, of which it can be said that, as yet, "nobody knows its name."

It is true that the papers gathered in this Special Issue are by people whose work has brought them into contact with the Mexican reality, but it is also true that those of us (like myself) not directly concerned with Mexico can learn much from the specificities of that case. It is after all a site in which these two hegemonies—neo-liberal governance and new forms of direct democracy and local autonomy—are much in dispute. What works so strongly against finding clear lines that would help us to grasp the political opportunities of this conjuncture is the pervasiveness of the notion of the free-choosing, self-constituting subject—an ideal pursued by both sides of the struggle: the world of the entrepreneurial subject whose "social capital" must be enhanced on the one side, and the world of the new social movements seeking the fulfilment of "empowerment" for participants on the other.

The fuzziness of the line comes out in many of these articles, perhaps most clearly in Hilary Cunningham's examination of the intertwined discourses of the US state as it makes manifest its policies on the Mexican border, and those of the Borderlinks activists. In this case the talk is not so much of "participation" but certainly involves activists in trying to think out the extent of their agency versus the extent of their potential cooptation. And on the other side of that border, in Mexico, cooptation is, unsurprisingly given the long history of pervasive corporatist politics, an issue that arises time and again in these papers. Marie-France Labrecque gives us a clear picture of the political setting that makes participation especially a tool of what Manon Boulianne calls vertical (as opposed to horizontal) relations of power. Originally stimulated by the priorities set by the international aid community, programs geared to economic "participation" in rural areas in and

around Yucatan's *maquiladoras* have been modified as a result of their interface with a delocalized bureaucracy controlled by the corporatist political regime. In the article that follows, Manon Boulianne pursues a highly sensitive path which goes a long way to helping us discover the lines we need, to navigate through this political minefield. She notes not just that different participant-activists (in Communal Base Organizations) or participant-recipients (of Non-Governmental Organizations) likely hold (usually unvoiced) quite different notions of what is meant by "participation"; she notes too that in doing so they might well be drawing on what I would call different "discursive conjunctures." One such discourse, for example might have to do with a more welfare-type paternalist state in which much of the discourse of participants revolves around a revindicative language directed toward the state as the source of good. Another, newer discourse, "Abandoning revindications seeking collective services for all citizens, participates now in the offer of locally structured services subsidized by international financial institutions..." which are geared toward participation in micro-enterprises. As a result the actual goal of "participating" itself can become very confused: is it, *qua* the new social movement hegemonic alternative, to engender a newly constituted, empowered and self-conscious social subject *tout court*? Or is it to increase individual and collective worker productivity, so as to generate a surplus? In which case how would such a surplus best be used to "improve the quality of life?"

Ivonne Vizcarra Bordi's paper helps us to see this shift in regimes in especially stark terms—from a broader kind of corporate welfare regime to selective "compensatory programs." We see the way in which the combination of *participation* with aid *targeted* at selected recipients (upon criteria set out by the political fashion in the West at the time) becomes an especially effective form of liberal governance—much more than an especially effective project to help the targeted recipients: "When social demands generated by poverty are formulated by external agents in an atmosphere of emergency and reduced alternatives, the target population resigns itself to the imposed restrictions and conditions, hoping to get at least some 'benefit'." Vizcarra suggests that such programs deliberately sidestep the issue of addressing poverty through *real* economic measures such as "the recuperation of real salaries."

All the papers in this collection emphasize the danger of taking any particular experience, either of participatory projects or of power interfaces, out of their very specific contexts. Monique Nuijten's paper allows us to see that this is precisely what many advocates of "participation" frequently do—not just government bureaucrats whose hearts may not be entirely in the venture, but staunch advocates of "real" participation too. As I read her article I found myself asking how often, even in articles that most avidly advocate sensitivity to local settings, does one actually learn very much about what Nuijten terms "local organizing practices." Her paper makes very clear how deep such practices may be and hence how taken-for-granted they seem to ordinary actors. The result is that such practices are not sufficiently formalized to be easily named by local people and are either not seen or understood by outsiders or are seen, but as forms of mismanagement or participatory deficit.

The hidden dimensions of local organizing practices are given an historical dimension in the article by Maria Dolores Palomo Infante, which explores the historical roots of *cofradías* in Chiapas. Though, as she notes, the fields of force in the colonial Mexico with which she deals are quite different from today, there are some provocative parallels, not least the way in which the cofradías appear to have come from Europe and been imposed on local populations by an evangelizing church, but subsequently became the channels for alternative forms of local organization. The fact that the cofradías emerged in a space between projects of the church and the not-always identical projects of the state, offers a provocative insight into Hilary Cunningham's discussion of the particular way in which the separation of church and state is played out in the politics of activists on the Mexican-US border: provocative precisely because of the very different kinds of state and church in each case and the very different historical periods.

Indeed Palomo and Cunningham's papers refer especially to the other element dealt with in this special issue: the question of *interfaces* between different organizational, cultural and institutional settings. These interfaces are the concern of Torres-Lima and Burns in their paper, in which they seek to deconstruct a social category rarely recognized by social science and hence rarely addressed properly in policy: urban agriculturalists. They see the culture and identity that comes with rural livelihoods being set against the rather different dispositions of city-dwelling as giving rise to a kind of social subject that will be of increasing significance in urban situations in Mexico.

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Note

1 In fact, like Daniel Bell's "ideology" and Fukuyama's "history" the US was thought to have gone beyond culture to a world of pure, cultureless reason.

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Participation à la base et interfaces bureaucratiques : le cas du Mexique – introduction

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Traduction de Marie France Labrecque *Université Laval*

Mots-clés : participation, néolibéralism, interfaces, gouvernance, développement, Mexique

Modernité», «modernisme» et «modernisation» en sont venus à correspondre aujourd'hui à un très grand nombre de choses d'une grande complexité. Cependant, alors que le développement devenait une préoccupation importante en occident, la «modernisation» était associée à une croisade fortement ethnocentrique menée par une phalange d'économistes américains (Rostow), de psychologues (McClelland), de politologues (Banfield, Almond et Verba) et d'anthropologues (Geertz and Foster) qui croyaient que le Tiers monde pouvait être sauvé si seulement les gens pouvaient adopter la culture[1] «moderne» telle qu'elle se présentait, bien sûr, dans quelque lieu imaginaire de l'Amérique moyenne. Ce qui était le plus frappant et le plus manifestement choquant dans ce langage et dans tout le projet qui le sous-tendait, c'était sa gestion condescendante et unilatérale – alors qu'en fait il était largement motivé par la peur qu'avaient les Américains à l'époque de la guerre froide d'une épidémie communiste chez les populations pauvres du monde, il s'est présenté sous les habits du fardeau de l'homme blanc : *noblesse oblige*.

Aujourd'hui, la «participation» est presque aussi étroitement associée aux débats du développement que ne le fut la modernisation à l'époque. La participation est manifestement «une bonne chose» maintenant tout autant que la modernisation était manifestement «une bonne chose» à l'époque. Pourtant, même si l'on est tous en mesure de les remarquer, ce sont justement les multiples significations de la participation qui en font une notion insaisissable dont il est pas mal plus difficile de disposer que celle de «modernisation». En effet, les rapports de pouvoir masqués par son utilisation sont plutôt comme cette question d'amphithéâtre : «Pouvez-vous m'entendre à l'arrière?» Tout comme le conférencier, les personnes qui parlent de la participation participent déjà ; le problème, ce sont les personnes qui n'en parlent pas et, de toute façon, elles ne peuvent pas entendre la question – plus ou moins de la même façon, hélas, que le «secteur traditionnel» était le «problème» pour ceux qui

souhaitaient moderniser : aujourd'hui traditionnel, moderne demain ; marginalisé aujourd'hui ; participant demain. Ce qui a surtout changé, ce sont les caractéristiques organisationnelles de la production et de la circulation capitalistes de même que les mécanismes régulateurs nécessaires à leur reproduction.

La façon dont Foucault envisage le pouvoir est notoirement complexe mais il est utile ici de proposer la distinction qu'il fait entre le *pouvoir monarchique* et le *pouvoir moderne*. La monarchie se présente elle-même comme une force qui dit «Non», «[le pouvoir] aurait surtout la puissance de l'interdit» (1994 : 148). Avec l'émergence du pouvoir moderne, cette vision purement négative, qui annule, du pouvoir – tel que mesuré selon *mon* habileté à restreindre *vos* actions – a été supplantée. Le pouvoir n'est plus accepté en vertu du droit divin du monarque à gouverner ; à la place, «[c]e qui fait que le pouvoir tient, qu'on l'accepte (...) c'est tout simplement qu'il ne pèse pas seulement comme une puissance qui dit non, mais qu'en fait il traverse, il produit les choses, il induit du plaisir, il forme du savoir, il produit du discours» (1994 : 149-149). Alors que nous passons de sujets [sic] du pouvoir monarchique à citoyens du pouvoir moderne, nous acceptons qu'une certaine part de complicité soit à notre avantage, en raison de la nature *productive* du pouvoir. L'ordre profite (supposément) à tous (un tant soit peu). Cette complicité devient le levier indispensable des formes modernes de gouvernement. Norbert Elias, pour des époques sensiblement différentes, y a fait référence en parlant de processus civilisateur, soit le passage d'un contrôle brutal du comportement à la maîtrise de soi-même grâce à la généralisation des règles de politesse. La liberté du citoyen s'est accompagnée d'un cadeau empoisonné : l'intériorisation de la norme.

Avant de continuer l'histoire, tournons-nous vers un ensemble de récits différents quoique, comme nous le verrons, reliés entre eux, l'un ayant à voir avec la nature changeante de l'économie capitaliste, l'autre avec la politique socialiste. Au moment où nous sommes entrés dans le dernier quart du siècle dernier, la domination occidentale de la production capitaliste a chancelé. Des taches de rouille se sont étendues. Un capitalisme moins triomphant ne faisait vraisemblablement pas l'affaire alors qu'un scientifique social italien commençait à écrire à propos d'une possible solution. Portée à l'attention des socialistes par Gramsci, l'Italie était divisée de façon notoire entre un «Nord» prospère de production de masse, symbolisé par Fiat et Turin, et un «Sud» appauvri, symbolisé par le paysan rusé et par le retard de Naples et de la Sicile. Puis, Bagnasco a proposé qu'il y avait une «troisième Italie» – celle où le marché *social* était à l'œuvre. Le secret du succès de cette troisième Italie, un nouveau traitement potentiel pour un capitaliste occidental désuet et inflexible, c'était que le monde social de la parenté, du voisinage et de la personnalité n'était pas tenu radicalement en dehors de la neutralité morale du *marché* et de l'intérêt *économique* proprement dit. Ainsi, à Emilia Romagna, le profil du monde social donnait une configuration décisive à la façon dont les rapports marchands fonctionnaient. Pour un moment étroitement associée à une région d'Italie, l'idée s'est bientôt répandue, particulièrement avec la notion d'«économie enchâssée» mise de l'avant par Granovetter.

Il n'est bien sûr pas nécessaire d'être des marxistes invétérés et aigris pour porter un regard plutôt cynique sur la façon dont le marché dote les gens de liberté. L'idée même de classe chez Weber reposait sur l'opinion selon laquelle, lorsqu'ils se présentent sur le marché, les gens ne sont pas également pourvus pour poser des choix librement : les détenteurs de biens l'emportent sur ceux qui n'ont autre chose que des besoins. Dans cette nouvelle sorte d'économie, cependant, nous découvrons que les gens, autrement plutôt dépourvus de ce qu'on appelait habituellement (apparemment trop étroitement) le «capital», sont en mesure de négocier grâce aux ressources qu'ils drainent du secteur *social* de leur vie – les contacts familiaux, leur disposition régionale et culturelle au travail et à l'épargne, et le reste. Ainsi, cette nouvelle notion plus élargie d'arène, au sein de laquelle nous troquons et échangeons, semble désormais inclure comme partenaires égaux des gens qui jusque là avaient l'air de jouer le jeu les doigts dans le nez. Alors qu'on était auparavant soucieux d'élargir l'accès à du capital matériel uniquement, maintenant il s'agit de créer les conditions dans lesquelles les «exclus» peuvent faire fructifier leur capital *social* : i.e. une augmentation de la participation.

De là la nouvelle économie capitaliste. Qu'en est-il des changements dans la politique socialiste? Je serai bref. Ce qui était au centre des querelles entre les Communistes (d'allégeances diverses) et les Anarchistes durant la guerre civile espagnole, c'était la différence de priorités. Les premiers soutenaient que la tâche principale était d'en finir avec le capitalisme, ce qui entraînerait le dépérissement de l'État. Les seconds considéraient que l'État, à vrai dire la notion même du «politique» dans la sphère publique, était la source de tous les maux. Plusieurs sortes de socialisme ont fait circuler différentes idées sur la périodisation et par conséquent sur la politique de l'histoire – de la révolution aux compromis de différentes sortes – mais tous s'entendaient habituellement pour considérer que le capitalisme était *fondamentalement* injuste et qu'on devait éventuellement s'en débarrasser.

Cela voulait dire que, dans le processus de développement du bloc hégémonique érigé pour résister aux assauts du marché capitaliste et de l'État capitaliste, des alliances devaient être nouées. À quel point ces nouvelles alliances – particulièrement avec les nationalistes dans les premières années du siècle dernier, puis ensuite avec les groupes ethniques, par exemple au Vietnam et au Nicaragua – devraient à long terme imprimer leur marque sur le projet socialiste, c'était là l'objet de nombreux débats. Finalement cependant, Laclau a raison de dire que l'époque où les «socialistes» assumaient qu'ils seraient l'avant-garde du changement social révolutionnaire est finie. À la place, on a des politiques de revendications plus authentiquement englobantes, ouvertes et permanentes, peut-être le mieux symbolisées par les Zapatistes et leur insistance sur le fait que le «leadership» est moins important que la démocratie directe, i.e. : une augmentation de la participation.

Ainsi, on peut voir ici deux moments assez différents durant les vingt-cinq dernières années alors que la relation entre un noyau et ce qui l'entoure a changé, dans un cas, le noyau de la place du marché économique, et dans l'autre, le noyau de l'avant-garde révolutionnaire. Revenons un moment à Foucault. On l'a laissé sur le rôle si important des formes modernes de gouvernance de l'intériorisation de la norme par les citoyens. Mais nous devons nous rappeler quel était l'enjeux : améliorer la «productivité» *pour tous.* Qu'est-ce que la «productivité» veut dire, du moins pour les économistes? Cela signifie la capacité d'utiliser la technologie (la combinaison de l'adresse et de la machine) de façon à augmenter la quantité de ce qui peut être produit par une quantité déterminée de travail humain. Une personne munie d'une graine résistante Monsanto «Roundup Ready», et détentrice des connaissances qu'il faut pour la cultiver, va produire plus de maïs avec le même investissement en travail qu'une personne qui cultive avec une graine tirée de son fonds communautaire annuel de remplacement. Ça c'est la productivité.

Ce qu'il y a avec le gouvernement libéral, c'est qu'en l'absence, du moins en principe, des formes monarchiques du pouvoir («un État fort»), il doit déborder la simple intériorisation de l'interdiction comme appui à l'exercice du pouvoir pour en arriver à quelque chose de pas mal plus directement utile à l'économie – ou du moins à ceux qui profitent le plus des progrès de l'économie. Colin Gordon a très bien saisi cette idée. Dans la pensée néo-libérale :

> L'aspect abstrait du travail dans la société n'est pas, comme le prétend le marxisme, un effet réel de la logique du capital, mais plutôt une illusion venant de l'incapacité de l'économie politique à produire une analyse «qualitative» du travail... «Le travail pour le travailleur» signifie, selon le néo-libéralisme, l'utilisation des ressources d'adresse, d'aptitudes et de compétence qui constituent le capital humain du travailleur afin d'obtenir les profits qui sont la rémunération de ce capital...De ce point de vue alors, *dans un sens renouvelé, le producteur-consommateur individuel n'est pas seulement une entreprise, il est aussi l'entrepreneur de lui-même ou d'elle-même.* (Gordon, 1991 : 44. Les italiques sont ajoutés)

C'est dans *ce* contexte que nous devons essayer d'envisager les façons dont les discours publics sur la «participation» sont enchâssés d'une part dans les formes de domination et de gouvernementalité, et de l'autre, dans les formes potentielles de subversion et de résistance.

Dans un sens, on pourrait y voir une controverse sur la signification de la «productivité» une fois qu'elle n'est plus appliquée étroitement à l'économie. Que signifie parler du capital social ou humain ou «améliorer la qualité de vie» (comme le fait le plus récent appel pour les demandes de subvention de recherche en sciences sociales à l'Union européenne), si nous ne savons pas ce que veulent dire «capital» ou «amélioration» dans ce contexte? Si nous ajoutons l'idée de participation à ces propos décontextualisés, nous avons l'impression qu'un monde meilleur sera le résultat de l'augmentation de la productivité de tous ses membres – maintenant, bien sûr, plus largement définie et (ce n'est pas mentionné) sujette à d'innombrables et immenses débats et conflits. La raison pour laquelle des gens comme Stuart Hall et Esnesto Laclau ont jusqu'ici détourné l'attention du fonctionnement réel du capitalisme d'aujourd'hui pourrait être que, tout comme nous, ils ne savent vraiment pas ce qu'il en est. Mais ce n'est pas ce qu'ils veulent nous faire croire. Ce qu'ils veulent nous faire croire, c'est que nous vivons dans une conjoncture où la lutte pour l'hégémonie est d'une importance capitale et cela, soutiennent-ils, est une question politique et culturelle. C'est une lutte pour l'établissement d'un ordre hégémonique dans lequel le *sujet entrepreneur producteur-consommateur* se présente comme «naturel» par rapport à quelqu'autre sorte d'ordre hégémonique de l'ère post-Gorbachev, duquel on peut dire jusqu'ici que «nul ne connaît son nom».

Certes, les articles rassemblés dans ce numéro spécial ont été écrits par des personnes dont le travail les a mis en contact avec la réalité mexicaine, mais ceux d'entre nous (comme moi-même) qui ne sont pas directement touchés par le Mexique peuvent apprendre beaucoup des spécificités de ce cas. C'est après tout un

endroit où ces deux hégémonies – la gouvernance néolibérale et les nouvelles formes de démocratie directe et d'autonomie locale – s'affrontent. Ce qui nous empêche le plus de découvrir des balises claires qui nous aideraient à saisir le potentiel politique de cette conjoncture c'est le caractère envahissant de la notion de libre-arbitre, de sujet qui-se-fait-lui-même – un idéal que poursuivent les deux camps dans cette lutte : le monde du sujet entrepreneur dont le «capital social» doit être mis en valeur d'un côté, et le monde des nouveaux mouvements sociaux cherchant le renforcement du pouvoir des participants, de l'autre côté.

Le caractère flou des balises ressort de plusieurs de ces articles, peut-être le plus clairement dans l'examen que Hilary Cunningham fait des discours enchevêtrés de l'État américain, tels qu'ils s'expriment dans les politiques concernant la frontière mexicaine, et de ceux des activistes du Borderlinks. Dans ce cas, le propos n'est pas tant sur la «participation» que sur la nécessité que les activistes réfléchissent aux possibilités de leur agencéité devant celles de leur cooptation potentielle. Et de l'autre côté de cette frontière, au Mexique, la cooptation est, comme on doit s'y attendre étant donné le long contexte historique d'une politique corporatiste envahissante, une question récurrente dans ces articles. Marie France Labrecque brosse un tableau clair du cadre politique qui fait de la participation un instrument de ce que Manon Boulianne appelle les rapports verticaux (opposés à horizontaux) de pouvoir. D'abord stimulés par les priorités de la communauté de l'aide internationale, les programmes alignés sur la «participation» économique dans les zones rurales du Yucatan où se trouvent les *maquiladoras* se sont modifiés à la faveur de leur interface avec une bureaucratie délocalisée, contrôlée par un régime politique corporatiste. Dans l'article qui suit, Manon Boulianne emprunte un sentier très délicat et nous guide minutieusement dans la découverte des balises dont nous avons besoin pour naviguer à travers ce champ de mines politiques. Elle ne remarque pas seulement que les différents participants-activistes (dans les organisations communautaires de base) ou les participants-récipiendaires (dans les organisations non- gouvernementales) ont des conceptions (habituellement inexprimées) plutôt différentes de ce que «participation» veut dire ; elle remarque aussi que ce faisant, ils pourraient tout aussi bien s'appuyer sur ce que j'appellerais des «conjonctures discursives» différentes. Un de ces discours, par exemple, pourrait avoir à faire avec un État-providence de type plus paternaliste dans lequel la plupart des discours des participants tournent autour d'un langage revendicatif qui s'adresse à l'État comme source de biens. Un autre discours, plus nouveau, «[d]élaissant ses revendications pour des services collectifs accessibles pour tous les citoyens et toutes les citoyennes, ... participe maintenant d'une offre de services structurée localement et subsidiée par les institutions financières internationales ...» qui promeuvent la participation dans le cadre de micro-entreprises. Comme résultat, l'objectif actuel même de la «participation» peut devenir très confus : est-ce, en tant qu'alternative hégémonique du nouveau mouvement social, d'engendrer ni plus ni moins un sujet social *tout court* nouvellement constitué, dont le pouvoir est renforcé, un sujet conscient de lui-même? Ou s'agit-il d'augmenter la productivité individuelle et collective du travailleur de façon à produire un surplus? Dans ce cas, comment ce surplus pourrait-il être mieux utilisé pour «améliorer la qualité de vie»?

Dans des termes plutôt vigoureux, l'article d'Ivonne Vizcarra Bordi nous aide à voir ce changement de régime – d'un régime corporatif étendu de bien-être à des «programmes compensatoires» sélectifs. On voit la façon dont la combinaison de la *participation* et de l'aide *ciblée* vers des récipiendaires sélectionnés (à partir de critères correspondant à la mode politique occidentale du moment) devient une forme particulièrement efficace de gouvernance libérale – beaucoup plus qu'un projet particulièrement efficace pour aider les récipiendaires visés : «Quand les demandes sociales occasionnées par la pauvreté sont formulées par des agents externes dans une ambiance d'urgence et de voies alternatives réduites, la population-cible se résigne elle-même aux restrictions et aux conditions imposées, espérant recevoir au moins quelques "avantages"». Vizcarra suggère que de tels programmes évitent délibérément d'aborder la pauvreté par des mesures économiques *réelles* telle la «récupération des salaires réels».

Tous les articles de ce numéro mettent l'accent sur le danger de considérer quelqu'expérience que ce soit, soit des projets participatifs soit des interfaces de pouvoir, en dehors de leur contexte spécifique. L'article de Monique Nuijten nous permet de voir que c'est précisément ce que plusieurs partisans de la «participation» font souvent – pas seulement les bureaucrates du gouvernement qui ne seraient pas entièrement convaincus de l'affaire, mais aussi les ardents partisans de la participation «réelle». À la lecture de son article, je me suis demandé à quel point, même dans les articles qui en appellent instamment à la prise en compte des cadres locaux, on arrive à en savoir beaucoup plus long sur ce que Nuitjen appelle «les pratiques organisationnelles locales». Son article fait ressortir très clairement à quel

point de telles pratiques sont profondément enracinées et par conséquent considérées comme allant de soi par les acteurs ordinaires. Les résultats de telles pratiques ne sont pas suffisamment évidents pour être facilement identifiés par les gens concernés et soit passent inaperçus soit ne sont pas compris par les gens de l'extérieur, ou encore sont attribués à de la mauvaise gestion ou à un déficit de participation.

Les dimensions cachées des pratiques organisationnelles locales prennent une dimension historique dans l'article de Maria Dolores Palomo Infante qui explore les racines historiques des *confradias* au Chiapas. Même si, comme elle le remarque, les champs de force du Mexique colonial qu'elle étudie sont fort différents de ce qu'ils sont aujourd'hui, il y a des parallèles fort inspirants, l'un de ceux-là étant la façon dont les confradias ont d'abord été importées d'Europe et imposées aux populations locales par l'Église évangélisatrice, mais qui sont par la suite devenus des canaux pour des formes alternatives d'organisation locale. Le fait que les cofradías aient émergé dans un espace entre des projets de l'Église et des projets pas toujours semblables de l'État apporte des éléments de réflexion stimulants à la discussion de Hilary Cunningham sur la façon particulière dont se joue la séparation de l'Église et de l'État dans les politiques des activistes à la frontière entre le Mexique et les États-Unis : stimulants précisément en raison des sortes très différentes d'État et d'Église dans chacun des cas et à des périodes historiques très différentes.

En effet, les articles de Palomo et de Cunningham font référence de façon spéciale à l'autre élément que ce numéro spécial présente avec la question des *interfaces* entre différents cadres organisationnel, culturel et institutionnel. Dans leur article, Torres Lima et Burns abordent ces interfaces dans la mesure où ils cherchent à déconstruire une catégorie sociale qui n'est pas souvent reconnue par les sciences sociales et dont, par conséquent, on ne tient pas souvent compte dans la politique : les agriculteurs urbains. Ils estiment que la confrontation de la culture et de l'identité rattachées aux modes de vie ruraux avec les dispositions passablement différentes de la vie en ville donne lieu à l'émergence d'un sujet social qui prendra de plus en plus de sens en situation urbaine au Mexique.

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Note

1 En fait, tout comme l' «idéologie» de Daniel Bell et l' «histoire» de Fukuyama, on considérait que les États-Unis avaient dépassé la culture pour se retrouver dans un monde de raison pure, une raison qui ne serait pas affectée par la culture.

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Développement, lutte à la pauvreté et participation au Mexique : le cas du Yucatan rural

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Résumé : L'état du Yucatan est l'un des plus pauvres du Mexique. Aussi constitue-t-il un terrain privilégié pour les programmes gouvernementaux d'éradication de la pauvreté. Lorsque l'on examine ces programmes dans un contexte plus large, on constate que le Mexique reprend en gros les consignes internationales émises par les organisations multilatérales L'une de ces consignes est la participation des populations. Dans cet article, l'auteure examine d'abord les expressions globales de cette consigne pour se tourner ensuite vers quelques unes de ses interprétations locales au Yucatan, plus particulièrement dans la région du henequen (sisal). Au moment où des maquiladoras (usines d'assemblage de capital international) s'installent dans cette région et changent peu à peu la face de la paysannerie qui trouve à s'y employer, il est intéressant de voir comment une consigne telle que la participation peut être contributoire au processus de modernisation et au renouvellement de l' «ordre de développement».

Mots-clés : développement, pauvreté, ONG, participation, Mexique, Yucatan

Abstract: The state of Yucatan is one of the poorest of Mexico. That is why it is a privileged setting for governmental programs designed for the eradication of poverty. The examination of these programs in a larger context shows that Mexico follows the international instructions given out by the multilateral organizations. One of these instructions concerns the participation of the populations. In this article, the author first examines the global expressions of this instruction to then turn toward some of its local interpretations in Yucatan, more especially in the henequen (sisal) region. At times when the maquiladoras (assembly factories of international capital) get settled in this region and change little by little the face of peasantry that gradually is transformed in industrial labour, it is interesting to see how an instruction such as the participation of the populations can contribute to the process of modernization and to the renewal of the "order of development."

Keywords: development, poverty, NGO, participation, Mexico, Yucatan

Les études sur le développement au Mexique abondent. Cependant, il y en a encore très peu qui sont faites dans cette perspective anthropologique qui privilégie l'étude de la *relation* de développement (Escobar 1995, 1997; Labrecque 2000; Sabelli 1993). C'est la perspective que je propose dans le présent article alors que je considérerai le développement comme «l'ensemble des processus sociaux induits par des opérations volontaristes de transformation d'un milieu social, entreprises par le biais d'institutions ou d'acteurs extérieurs à ce milieu mais cherchant à mobiliser ce milieu et reposant sur une tentative de greffe de ressources et/ou techniques et/ou savoirs» (Olivier de Sardan, 1997 : 7). Dans le contexte du développement néolibéral du Mexique, ce sont la pauvreté et les inégalités qui constituent l'objet même des «opérations volontaristes de transformation». Ces opérations sont menées par l'État international, l'État mexicain et les Organisations non gouvernementales (ONG). La relation que j'examinerai est donc celle qui existe entre ces trois entités et celle entre ces dernières et une population rurale au sud du Mexique. À l'instar de Connell (1996), je considérerai que l'État international est constitué par le regroupement des agences internationales. Aussi désigné comme des organisations supranationales (OSN) par Korzeniewicz et Smith (2000), ces agences incluent bien entendu la Banque Mondiale, le Fonds monétaire international, l'Organisation mondiale du commerce, et aussi toutes les agences des Nations Unies. Dans cet article, les agences qui m'intéresseront davantage sont le Programme des Nations Unies pour le Développement (PNUD), l'Organisation pour l'agriculture et l'alimentation (FAO), et le Fonds des Nations Unies pour les femmes (UNIFEM). L'État national mexicain comprend à la fois l'État fédéral et les États provinciaux (*estatales*). Enfin, le contour des ONG est plus difficile à cerner de façon concise, aussi préciserai-je plus loin de quel type d'ONG au juste il s'agira. Je m'intéresserai à la façon dont ces agences, institutions et organisations se déploient (ou prétendent le

faire) dans la lutte contre la pauvreté[1] au Mexique en général et particulièrement dans le Yucatan rural.

Le contexte de mon analyse est la mondialisation. En m'inspirant de Norman Long (1996), je peux dire qu'il s'agit d'un processus qui entraîne une décentralisation de l'État et une dispersion de son pouvoir. Dans le domaine du développement, cette dispersion provoque ce que Gilbert Rist a appelé un «déficit d'État» (Rist, 1997) au profit des agences internationales desquelles désormais l'État mexicain notamment tire une nouvelle légitimité. Or l'influence de ces agences internationales se fait sentir à travers l'appareil d'État par son plan de développement et les programmes qui en découlent. Dans une moindre mesure, cette influence s'exerce aussi à travers les ONG qui ont essaimé au Mexique ces dernières années. Actuellement, la participation semble constituer un élément essentiel du discours par lequel l'État mexicain prétend se lier aux citoyens. J'examinerai à quel point le discours sur la participation des populations, et plus particulièrement de la population rurale, accompagne la lutte à la pauvreté. Les données qui me permettront d'aborder le cas du Yucatan ont été recueillies en 1999[2]. Cependant, entre le moment où je me suis livrée à leur analyse et celui où paraît cet article, il y a eu un événement important, soit celui de l'élection d'un président *panista*[3] à la tête du gouvernement mexicain. La mise en contexte de cet événement permettra d'introduire mon propos, de le réactualiser et de cerner les principaux concepts.

Le contexte actuel au Mexique : développement, lutte à la pauvreté et participation

Développement, lutte à la pauvreté et participation semblent être des concepts-clés dans le discours du nouveau président du Mexique. Ils ne sont certes pas nouveaux mais depuis l'accession de Vicente Fox au pouvoir, on note une réactivation sensible des discours antérieurs. Ainsi, en janvier 2001 en Suisse, dans un exposé intitulé «Un nouveau modèle pour le développement du Mexique», le président Fox tenait les propos suivants aux investisseurs potentiels : «Deux croisades vont caractériser le Mexique du XXIe siècle : l'une contre la pauvreté, la corruption, l'analphabétisme et le désespoir ; l'autre en faveur du libre marché, l'emploi, la protection de l'environnement, l'éducation et l'espoir»[4]. La veille, au Mexique, donc presque dans le même souffle, il avait affirmé que le secteur rural devait cesser d'être un «quémandeur» pour se convertir en un secteur participatif[5]. Le modèle de développement proposé se situe clairement en continuité avec ce qui prévalait antérieurement et qui pavait la voie à l'insertion du Mexique dans l'économie nord-américaine. Il s'agit bien de la réforme néolibérale que des auteurs comme Otero (1999), Fox et Aranda (1996), et Cartón de Grammont (1996) ont commenté abondamment avec force études de cas.

Sous Vicente Fox, le processus de privatisation entamé en 1982 ne sera nullement remis en question et l'installation des maquiladoras (usines d'assemblage fonctionnant avec des capitaux étrangers, mixtes ou mexicains) continuera d'être favorisée, bien qu'elles seront invitées à se déployer encore davantage au sud du pays; de plus, on fournira des appuis non équivoques à la micro-entreprise dont le produit devrait d'ailleurs approvisionner la maquiladora d'exportation[6]. Ces appuis seront notamment fournis par la Banque interaméricaine de développement (BID) qui vient d'annoncer un financement dans le secteur[7]. Déjà des critiques s'élèvent contre cette approche qualifiée de politique économique de la «petite boutique» (política económica del changarro)[8]. Bien que l'arrivée de Fox au pouvoir central mette fin à l'hégémonie du PRI[9], il y a fort à parier que le discours néolibéral ne soit pas remis en question et qu'au contraire il prenne une vigueur inégalée. Et pour cause, ce discours n'est nullement propre au Mexique. Il est plutôt le fait de l'État international et échappe à tout changement de régime politique régional. Depuis quelques années, on remarque que le discours néolibéral qui constitue le fondement même de cet État est assorti de ceux de la lutte contre la pauvreté et de la participation.

Il semble que ce soit les pressions combinées d'un vaste ensemble d'organisations non gouvernementales locales et internationales, d'agences internationales, comme notamment l'UNICEF et le PNUD, et de réseaux de solidarité en faveur des droits humains qui aient contribué à remettre la lutte contre la pauvreté à l'ordre du jour de la Banque Mondiale vers la fin des années 1980. Au Mexique, ce qui allait devenir une consigne internationale majeure, se concrétisera par le Programme national de solidarité (PRONASOL). Émis en 1988 par le président Carlos Salinas de Gortari, ce programme se proposait de remédier à l'aggravation de l'appauvrissement et de l'exclusion de larges couches de la population suite à la crise financière de 1982, telle que combinée aux mesures d'ajustement structurel et de libéralisation des marchés (Gordon 1997). Si le programme a connu quelques succès, ceux-ci furent bientôt annulés par la dévaluation du peso à la toute fin de 1994[10]. Le prochain président, Ernesto Zedillo, le remplacera par un autre programme, le PROGRESA, ce qui n'a pas empêché la pauvreté de progresser. Au moment

d'écrire ces lignes et à l'heure où la caravane zapatiste se trouve précisément dans la ville de Mexico (11 mars 2001), le président Fox est sur le point de dévoiler de nouveaux programmes dont l'un, le Plan Puebla-Panama, se concentrera sur le sud du Mexique dans une perspective centraméricaine. Il semble que PROGRESA sera préservé par le nouveau gouvernement – qui s'efforcera de le débarrasser de ses connotations partisanes étroitement associées au PRI[11] –, de même que la détermination de régions cibles pour son application. Ainsi, un haut fonctionnaire du Ministère du développement social estime que le Yucatan devrait être l'un des dix états ciblés par les principaux programme de son ministère[12].

Les chiffres les plus récents sur la pauvreté au Mexique viennent tout juste d'être dévoilés par l'INEGI[13] et les journaux en ont fait largement état. La situation est telle qu'on ne parle plus seulement de pauvreté mais bien de pauvreté extrême ou d'indigence. Ainsi, dans les deux dernières années, soit entre 1998 et 2000, la population «indigente» serait passée de 17,6 à 18 millions, une augmentation de 4,5%[14]. Les commentaires sont à l'effet qu'il faudrait 30 ans pour éradiquer la pauvreté extrême et ce, à condition que le Mexique connaisse un taux de croissance de 4% chaque année[15]. D'autres font remarquer qu'au Mexique, il y a quatre fois plus de pauvreté que dans des pays ayant des revenus similaires[16].

La Banque Mondiale est l'un des principaux acteurs de la lutte contre la pauvreté au Mexique. Lorsque l'on examine la nature de sa présence dans ce pays depuis 1949, on peut se demander si elle n'a pas aussi été une des principales causes de la généralisation de cette pauvreté. En effet, entre 1949 et l'an 2000, la Banque Mondiale a fait 173 prêts au Mexique totalisant 31,5 milliards de dollars US. Entre 1999 et aujourd'hui, la Banque a prêté 5,1 milliards de dollars US spécifiquement destinés à «améliorer les conditions des pauvres, à renforcer la stabilité économique, et à renforcer les réformes liées à la gouvernance publique (décentralisation)»[17]. Plus précisément, durant la période 1999-2001, la Banque Mondiale, en partenariat avec le gouvernement mexicain, se propose de : 1) protéger les pauvres des conséquences négatives autant des ajustements macro-économiques que des chocs externes, incluant les désastres naturels; 2) impliquer les pauvres dans l'effort contre la pauvreté; et 3) fournir des conseil sur les politiques et les projets favorisant la croissance durable[18]. L'outil par lequel le gouvernement mexicain peut exprimer la façon dont il prétend s'adonner à la réalisation de ces proposition est son plan quinquennal. Fox vient d'émettre le Plan Nacional de Gobierno 2001-2006 dans lequel précisément il met la microentreprise de l'avant. Chaque état, comme nous le verrons plus loin dans le cas du Yucatan, a son propre Plan de développement dans lequel sont énoncées notamment les politiques sociales.

Alors que la Banque Mondiale suggère au Mexique de s'attaquer à la pauvreté avec agressivité[19], le président Fox signale que son gouvernement ne peut vraisemblablement pas s'attaquer seul et directement au problème[20]. C'est dans le scénario imaginé par ce nouveau gouvernement, sans nul doute en étroite collaboration avec l'État international, que continueront d'agir les organisations de la société civile et les ONG, et de s'exercer la rhétorique de la participation.

Pour rendre justice au concept de participation, il faudrait en faire la genèse historique et remonter au moins jusqu'à Paulo Freire et son célèbre ouvrage *Pédagogie des opprimés* (1974) et faire ressortir tout son potentiel révolutionnaire. Mais cette dimension du concept, sans qu'elle ne soit complètement disparue, a fait long feu dans les cercles internationaux et c'est la dimension pragmatique qui a été retenue par les agences. La définition qu'en donne aujourd'hui la Banque Mondiale est : «Un processus par lequel les participants influencent et partagent le contrôle des initiatives de développement de même que les décisions et les ressources qui les affectent»[21]. L'émergence de ce concept aseptisé[22] de la participation a accompagné le retour de la préoccupation pour l'éradication de la pauvreté dans les années 1990 et ce, dans le contexte du désengagement des États nationaux. Selon la Banque Mondiale, en effet, la participation inadéquate des populations aurait été une des raisons principales du mauvais fonctionnement des projets contre la pauvreté. Désormais les projets seront assortis de stratégies participatives et de propositions d'empowerment des populations, sans toutefois remettre en question les structures de pouvoir proprement dites et fondamentales des sociétés visées.

En fait, toujours dans le contexte du désengagement des États nationaux, les ONG ont été conviées à jouer les intermédiaires entre les populations, les organisations à la base, l'État et les organisations internationales. Dans le domaine de l'environnement notamment, cette invitation a été lancée à l'occasion du Sommet de la terre à Rio au début des années 1990. En 1993, la participation des populations et leur empowerment sont devenus les consignes centrales du Rapport sur le développement humain émis par le PNUD (O'Brien, 1995 : 10-14). On verra plus loin que l'invitation a été réitérée dans le domaine des approches de la condition des

femmes lors du Sommet de Béjing en 1995. Or il se trouve que la rhétorique de la participation et du partenariat nécessaire entre l'État et les citoyens a été centrale au PRONASOL (Hernandez et Fox, 1995 : 206) et qu'elle continuera sans doute à l'être dans les programmes qui lui succéderont à cette nuance près que, sous le président Fox, le rôle des ONG sera encore plus visible et officiel. En effet, il s'apprête à présenter un projet de loi qui les associerait plus étroitement aux projets de l'État en matière sociale[23] afin de «tirer le maximum de la grande énergie de la société civile et de la grande solidarité du peuple mexicain»[24]. Tous ces nouveaux projets s'insèrent dans la démarche amorcée sous les mandats présidentiels antérieurs et qui ont trait à la décentralisation de l'administration publique et au renforcement de la démocratie participative que l'on désigne également sous le terme de «bon gouvernement» – *good governance*. Dans les lignes qui suivent, j'examinerai le cas du Yucatan tel qu'il se présentait juste à la veille du nouveau mandat présidentiel. En confrontant ce cas et les tendances qui se dessinent actuellement, on pourra réfléchir sur le sens même des changements en cours au Mexique.

La spécificité de la région henequenera du Yucatan

Le Yucatan connaît une reconfiguration accélérée de son économie dont l'aspect le plus spectaculaire est sans doute le déploiement des maquiladoras à la campagne. D'autres aspects font cependant partie de ces changements comme celui de la diversification agricole amorcée au milieu des années 1980 et qui se concrétise maintenant par la culture de produits agricoles destinés à l'exportation. Dans une très large mesure, cette dynamique a été amorcée par l'État qui continue, malgré les modifications que connaît le monde agricole au Mexique et malgré ce qu'on dit aujourd'hui en général sur le désengagement des États nationaux dans le contexte de la mondialisation, à encadrer très étroitement la population rurale.

De tous les états que compte le Mexique, le Yucatan est probablement celui qui est le plus excentrique. Sa situation géographique est exceptionnelle, son histoire également. Sa population indigène est l'une des plus importantes numériquement de la République. Cet état continue de se distinguer dans la mesure où, en quelques années seulement, il a réussi à se hisser au deuxième rang des états de l'intérieur, après Jalisco, et ce devant la région métropolitaine de Mexico, sur le plan des emplois générés par le secteur industriel (Gouëset, 1997 : 27)[25]. Ce phénomène est directement lié à l'installation des maquiladoras dans les différents parcs industriels de Mérida, la capitale. Rien ne laissait présager cet état de choses il y a seulement une quinzaine d'années alors que j'étudiais les dynamiques paysannes de la région du sisal (ou henequen). Au milieu des années 1980, le paysage du nord du Yucatan était fortement marqué par les plantations de henequen et les usines de décortication des feuilles. Le désengagement de l'État en ce qui concerne le henequen a commencé en 1982, alors que la crise économique battait son plein au niveau national et que l'État cessait de verser ses subsides à l'industrie (Baños Ramirez, 1995). En quelques années seulement, on a assisté à une baisse draconienne des superficies cultivées et des quantités récoltées et transformées.

Les modifications apportées à la Loi agraire en 1991 ont également contribué à changer les dynamiques rurales. Les travailleurs du henequen qui se retrouvent dans 61 municipes de l'état, sont passés de 45 721 personnes en 1988 à 27 000 en 1990, et à environ 10 000 en 1999. Alors qu'ils produisaient encore quelque 43 300 tonnes de fibre en 1990, ils n'en ont généré que 27 000 ces dernières années y compris en 1999 (SDR, 1999 : 45). Ces travailleurs, dont la majorité est âgée de plus de 50 ans (SDR, 1999 : 47), se replient, lorsqu'ils le peuvent, sur la culture de leur milpa[26] mais si l'on en croit les documents officiels en marge du Plan de développement de l'état, leur sort est relativement scellé. En effet : «La zone henequenera traditionnelle se transforme rapidement en raison de l'influence de l'aire métropolitaine et industrielle. En ce sens, sa principale caractéristique est le transfert de main d'œuvre de la campagne vers l'industrie et les services (...).Quant au secteur de l'agriculture et de l'élevage, la tendance en est une de production intensive et d'agroindustrie» (SDR, 1999 : 9). Cette remarque fait directement référence à l'installation de quelque 80 serres dans cette région. Il s'y produit des légumes destinés autant au marché national qu'international. L'État yucatèque voit d'ailleurs en l'ALÉNA une occasion d'écouler les produits des serres au Canada et aux États-Unis (SDR, 1999 : 39).

Les difficultés que la population rurale affronte sur les plans de la détérioration de l'environnement, de la densité démographique et sur celui des coûts relatifs à l'exploitation de la milpa laissent présager qu'ils abandonneront cette activité agricole dans un futur rapproché. Selon le représentant du PNUD au Mexique, ces paysans henequeneros, que l'on considère pratiquement comme en voie d'extinction, font partie d'un ensemble plus large dans lequel, effectivement, la milpa constitue encore et toujours la forme principale d'organisation technique mais aussi sociale et culturelle de la mise en

valeur de la terre. La péninsule du Yucatan compte 2 869 658 personnes; de ce nombre 894 000 sont Mayas et 612 348 pratiquent encore le système milpa; dans la région henequenera proprement dite, le nombre de personnes pratiquant ou susceptibles de pratiquer la milpa est d'environ 185 516 (Murguía, 1998 : 14-15). Cependant, il semble que ceux qui s'y adonnent encore incitent eux-mêmes leurs fils et leurs filles à émigrer vers la ville ou à se tourner vers les maquiladoras qui s'installent à la périphérie des villages.

La déstructuration de la société rurale qui s'est accélérée depuis le milieu des années 1980 avec la fin des subsides à l'industrie du henequen et avec l'émigration des jeunes gens vers Cancun et vers Mérida a été accompagnée d'une dévalorisation des activités agricoles. Les problèmes sociaux à la campagne (tels que l'alcoolisme, la violence intra et interfamiliale) sont légion. Un des fonctionnaires du Ministère du développement social (SEDESOL), interviewé en août 1999, considérait qu'en dépit des nombreux programmes destinés à la population rurale (et peut-être à cause de certains d'entre eux), l'identité maya était menacée. Il affirmait que si elle s'était maintenue jusqu'ici, comme en témoigne le fait que – selon lui – plus de 50% de la population yucatèque parle le maya, c'est seulement parce que le paysan pouvait subvenir aux besoins de sa famille. Avec la mondialisation et avec les changements dans les schémas de consommation, le paysan se convainc que ses connaissances non seulement ne fonctionnent plus mais qu'elles sont anti-écologiques comme on le lui suggère en lui recommandant de changer ses méthodes[27]. Il en vient à développer un sentiment d'échec et d'inutilité, et finit par envoyer lui-même ses enfants à la ville[28].

Le sort des milperos, en tous cas ceux de la région henequenera, semble aussi relativement scellé pour les agences gouvernementales. Le programme qui est dirigé spécifiquement à la culture du maïs au Mexique est le PROCAMPO. Émis en 1993, ce programme sert d'appui au secteur agricole et de l'élevage et il continuera de s'appliquer sous Fox, en fait pendant les huit prochaines années, avec quelques modifications pour «en finir avec son utilisation électoraliste...»[29]. Ainsi, au Yucatan, ce programme est censé toucher 60 000 producteurs travaillant sur 120 000 hectares[30]. L'objectif global de PROCAMPO, autant dans son «ancienne» version (avant Fox) que dans la nouvelle, vise à favoriser l'autosubsistance en maïs mais aussi l'augmentation de la productivité. On veut ainsi faire face à la compétition du grain en provenance de l'étranger qui entre sur le marché national dans le contexte des accords de libre-échange[31]. Les moyens d'y arriver seraient le transfert et l'assistance technologiques. Cependant, lorsqu'on lit attentivement l'interprétation que la SDR fait de ce programme en ce qui concerne les milperos du Yucatan, on constate que davantage qu'une amélioration dans les pratiques traditionnelles d'agriculture en vue d'augmenter la productivité, on tend vers la réorientation des surfaces disponibles vers les cultures d'agroexportation ayant recours à des technologies intermédiaires ou même vers le reboisement avec des espèces commercialisables (SDR, 1999 : 16).

De la multiplicité de programmes de développement rural au Mexique qui ont leurs ramifications dans chacun des états, *Alianza para el campo* est celui qui est le plus explicitement orienté vers l'agroexportation, du moins au Yucatan. Dans cet état, ce programme dispose d'un budget de 223 millions de pesos fournis à la fois par les gouvernements fédéral et local[32] et il a été mis sur pied en 1995 avec comme objectif d'élever le niveau de vie de la population rurale en misant sur l'augmentation de la productivité des activités d'agriculture et d'élevage. La participation est au centre de ce programme. «Avec *Alianza para el campo*, le pays se dote d'un programme de développement agricole dans lequel les producteurs sont les principaux responsables des actions productives sous une approche participative (*bajo un esquema participativo*) dans laquelle chaque microrégion et l'État déterminent librement les outils, l'orientation et la forme de production, permettant ainsi la revalorisation du potentiel productif des différentes régions, dans le but de favoriser une nouvelle culture productive» (SDR, 1999 : 73)[33].

Une perspective historique sur le développement au nord du Yucatan montre que les dynamiques rurales aujourd'hui en cours sont directement liées à la façon dont l'industrie du henequen était gérée. En effet, depuis la chute des grands hacendados après la Révolution et avec la réforme agraire, la culture du henequen a toujours été encadrée et gérée par l'État. Ainsi, lorsque l'État fédéral a décidé de ne plus soutenir les prix de la fibre et des produits du henequen, l'industrie s'est ni plus ni moins effondrée. La pauvreté, on l'a vu, est reconnue comme un problème endémique. Les statistiques nationales sont d'ailleurs accablantes. En effet, une étude de *l'Instituto Mexicano de Desarrollo* indiquait qu'à la fin de 1998, le salaire moyen au Yucatan était un des plus bas de tout le pays dépassant à peine ceux du Chiapas, du Nayarit, du Zacatecas et du Durango[34]. Alors que le salaire moyen national quotidien était de 111 pesos, celui du Yucatan n'était que de 76,7 pesos[35].

Le type de gestion déployée par l'État a rendu la population rurale yucatèque très dépendante des pro-

grammes gouvernementaux. On peut même faire remonter cette dynamique aux premières années qui ont suivi la Révolution, dès que fut fondée la *Comisión reguladora del mercado del henequen* en 1912. Les décennies suivantes ont vu s'accroître considérablement le rôle de l'État (Topik, 1991 : 444-445) de sorte qu'étant donné les modalités de financement de l'exploitation des plantations, les éjidos[36] voués à la culture du henequen ont fini par se trouver sous sa tutelle, ne pouvant plus rembourser le crédit accordé par ce dernier à travers, successivement, le Banco Ejidal, le Banco agrario et Banrural. Malgré les principes démocratiques qui la régissaient, l'Assemblée des éjidatarios était devenue ni plus ni moins une agence d'exécution des desiderata de l'État, qu'il soit fédéral ou provincial selon les époques. Ainsi, c'est la Banrural qui organisait et supervisait les travaux à réaliser dans les éjidos.

Selon Lazos Chavero et Villers Ruiz (1989 : 149) qui commentent cette époque : «La banque s'est transformée petit à petit en une grande entreprise d'État et, sans être formellement propriétaire des parcelles, elle agit comme si elle l'était. Elle exerce un fort pouvoir sur les agriculteurs grâce à son droit de contrôle sur la qualité du travail et à la possibilité qu'elle a d'imposer des sanctions économiques. Ainsi il apparaît clairement que les *ejidatarios* vivent dans une situation de salariés et non pas de "bénéficiaires" du crédit. La frontière entre le crédit et le salaire n'est que virtuelle». Les éjidatarios se considéraient dans ces circonstances comme des salariés de l'État (Labrecque, 1982). Les analyses qui ont été ultérieurement faites de leur situation suggèrent qu'en fait, une institution comme Banrural, surtout une fois que les politiques de diversification agricole eurent été émises en 1984, avait une fonction davantage sociale qu'économique[37]. La productivité du henequen, de même que sa production, n'avaient cessé de décroître depuis plusieurs décennies et les crédits accordés à cette production ne servaient sommes toutes qu'à atténuer les contradictions les plus flagrantes à la campagne.

Dans les années 1980, des programmes productifs ayant pour objectif la génération de revenus se sont progressivement transformés en programme d'assistance sociale. Les analyses qui ont été faites sur les UAIM (Unité agricole et industrielle pour la femme) au Yucatan au milieu des années 1980 et au début des années 1990 l'ont montré (Labrecque, 1998). De plus, les femmes tendaient à reproduire les seuls modèles de gestion qu'elles connaissaient, soit ceux de l'éjido, des modèles autoritaires. Aujourd'hui, les ONG qui se déploient à la campagne sont d'ailleurs encore aux prises avec de tels modèles. Une responsable d'ONG pour les femmes attribue la pérennité de ces modèles au fait que «les pratiques [de développement] en ont été d'assistance, elles ont été verticales...Il y a aussi la tendance au *liderazgo* (leadership, mais au sens péjoratif) au sein des groupes, un *liderazgo* autoritaire, vertical...Cela conditionne beaucoup la participation des populations...»[38].

Les programmes multilatéraux et les ONG au Yucatan

Lorsque l'on parle de développement au Mexique, on ne peut certes pas ignorer les conditions particulières de ce pays, grand débiteur du Fonds monétaire international et de la Banque Mondiale. Plusieurs observateurs pensaient que la fin du mandat du président Zedillo en décembre 2000 était susceptible de provoquer une autre crise de même nature que celle qui a marqué la fin du mandat de Salinas de Gortari. Mais la Banque Mondiale veillait au grain et affirmait peu avant que : «Une gestion adéquate de la dette publique extérieure ces deux dernières années est venu assurer la stabilité continue des marchés financiers»[39].

Même si le Mexique est un grand débiteur de l'État international, il s'agit tout de même d'un pays politiquement souverain. Ses représentants, quel que soit l'échelon occupé, affirmeront travailler dans les limites des paramètres définis dans le plan national de développement. Une agente de programmation d'UNIFEM dira : «Les organisations internationales doivent s'ajuster au programme de développement du pays...Avec nos programmes, on peut essayer d'influencer les politiques publiques mais il n'est pas question de le faire directement...En fait, c'est plutôt de collaboration dont il faut parler»[40]. Une autre informatrice, cette fois de la CEPAL à Mexico, affirmera: «Ce n'est pas si facile que ça pour les organismes internationaux d'influencer un pays comme le Mexique...C'est une question d'autonomie et de prise de décisions propres»[41]. Le ton est encore plus ferme au BIT (bureau international du travail) à Mexico : «Le BIT n'a pas de rôle de policier pour ainsi dire. Le BIT travaille sur la base de plaintes qui seraient déposées par des organisations syndicales, ou des organisations de travailleurs à l'encontre du gouvernement...Mais le BIT ne décide pas de sa propre initiative d'aller vérifier si le pays remplit certaines normes»[42].

La présence plus affirmée des institutions multilatérales au Mexique, tout comme celle des ONG d'ailleurs, est relativement récente. Elle s'est concrétisée à partir de 1988 alors que l'Article 89 de la constitution mexicaine a reconnu que la coopération internationale serait désormais un des axes de la politique extérieure du

pays. À partir de ce moment-là, le Mexique, qui avait toujours répugné à la coopération internationale pour des raisons qui ont probablement fort à voir avec l'intégrité de sa souveraineté et son nationalisme (Hernandez et Fox, 1995 : 204), s'est ouvert aux coopérations bilatérales dans les domaines techniques et scientifiques, éducatifs et culturels. Le Mexique entretient ce type de relations avec les pays industrialisés mais aussi avec les pays en «voie de développement». Dans le cadre de la coopération bilatérale avec les pays industrialisés, il recevait en 1999 quelques 98 millions de dollars pour 231 projets. La même année, le Mexique recevait 38 millions de dollars pour 137 projets de coopération multilatérale[43]. Il faut mentionner ici que le Mexique, faisant partie des pays de l'OCDE, n'est pas un destinataire prioritaire de l'aide internationale au développement[44].

Outre la Banque Mondiale et le Fonds monétaire international, les agences et mécanismes les plus importants du groupe des Nations Unies (le multilatéral) sont présents au Mexique[45]. On y retrouve notamment l'UNESCO, l'OIT et l'OMS mais les plus importants en ce qui concerne la population rurale sont sans aucun doute le PNUD, et la FAO. La FAO fournit d'ailleurs un appui technique à *Alianza para el campo* et coordonne actuellement le processus d'évaluation de certains des programmes (ou sous-programmes) qui en font partie[46]. Selon les documents officiels, la FAO est présente dans divers comités notamment ceux qui ont trait à la pêche, aux forêts, à la sécurité alimentaire[47]. En plus du PNUD et de la FAO, dans la région henequenera au Yucatan, on retrouve UNIFEM. Tous trois semblent s'y déployer de façon relativement coordonnée. Cette coordination s'effectue aussi avec des ONG locales.

Le représentant national du PNUD a d'ailleurs pignon sur rue dans la capitale de cet état. Le programme principal actuellement en cours est celui des *Pequeños Subsidios a Organizaciones no Gubernamentales del Fondo para el Medio Ambiente Mundial* (Programme de petits fonds pour les ONG du Fonds Mondial pour l'Environnement). Il s'agit d'un vaste programme dont l'objectif consiste à financer des activités communautaires menées par des ONG ou des groupes communautaires qui se consacrent à la solution de problèmes environnementaux et au maintien des capacités productives dans le respect de la diversité biologique (Murguía, 1998 : 18-19). Le financement du programme sur un plan global est de 40,3 millions de dollars et est assuré par le Fonds mondial pour l'environnement, l'Agence pour le Développement international (USAID) et la fondation MacArthur. Le programme est actuellement en cours dans 46 pays.

Au Mexique, le programme a commencé en 1994 dans la péninsule du Yucatan. En 1999, quelque 500 000 dollars étaient destinés à 73 projets productifs répartis entre 43 organisations dispensant de l'assistance technique aux communautés indigènes. Selon le responsable du programme, on doit voir le déploiement de ce programme au Yucatan comme une «régionalisation» de l'intervention de l'ONU dans un milieu caractérisé par la pauvreté et la marginalisation «mais avec d'importantes ressources naturelles». De plus, les trois stratégies de ce programme sont : 1) l'appui aux travail en réseau; 2) la promotion de l'épargne communautaire pour le financement de projets locaux; et 3) l'appui à la commercialisation des productions communautaires[48].

Les projets sont éligibles pourvu qu'ils soient présentés par des organisations dûment et légalement constituées et pourvu qu'elles ne soient pas financées à plus de 30% par le gouvernement. Les projets financés appartiennent à quatre catégories: la première consiste en actions ponctuelles de conservation et de recherche. Ces projets ne se traduisent pas par des emplois et ne contribuent pas directement à l'amélioration de la qualité de vie mais servent à protéger un secteur particulièrement critique pour la conservation naturelle ou à produire le savoir nécessaire pour sa conservation. Un autre type de projets est celui destiné à promouvoir des formes d'utilisation des ressources naturelles qui soient à la fois respectueuses de l'environnement et qui puissent aussi générer des revenus. Un troisième type consiste strictement en activités génératrices de revenus et le financement s'effectue si ces activités sont respectueuses de l'environnement. Enfin, le quatrième type de projets consiste simplement à donner des crédits à des activités de production qui soient "justes" sur le plan social et du point de vue environnemental[49].

Au Mexique, UNIFEM s'est impliquée dans les actions prioritaires définies par le Programme national de la femme (Programa Nacional de la Mujer 1995-2000 émis par décret par la Secretaría de Gobernación) de concert avec le bureau de la femme à la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores. Ainsi, UNIFEM participe à des campagnes nationales comme celles contre la violence et pour les droits humains. Selon une agente de programmation du bureau de Mexico, UNIFEM a déployé des activités autant à Mexico, qu'à Oaxaca, qu'au Chiapas ou encore à Ciudad Juárez[50]. L'organisation fait aussi des recherches et des études, de même que des séminaires, sur la condition des femmes et en collaboration avec la Comisión Nacional de la Mujer (Commission nationale de la femme) et bien entendu avec d'autres agences des Nations Unies présentes au Mexique. Plus particulière-

ment au Yucatan, UNIFEM a fonctionné de façon coordonnée avec le programme des *pequeños subsidios* du PNUD qui vient d'être décrit[51]. En fait, cette collaboration est présentée comme «un excellent exemple d'institutionalisation de l'approche de genre (gender mainstreaming) et de collaboration interagence» par l'institution elle-même, donc comme un moyen de rendre l'approche de genre plus présente dans le programme des *pequeños subsidios*. Les projets touchant spécifiquement les femmes se situent dans quatre domaines : la médecine traditionnelle, l'agriculture écologique, la transformation des aliments et l'artisanat[52]. Quant au travail déployé par UNIFEM au Yucatan, l'agente de programmation affirme : «Les deux axes principaux du travail d'UNIFEM c'est l'empowerment économique et l'empowerment politique – ils vont ensemble n'est-ce pas? Ainsi, les projets que nous avons au Yucatan ont d'abord comme objectif d'améliorer la production mais en même temps on vise le renforcement des organisations, l'aspect organisationnel»[53]. À cet effet d'ailleurs, UNIFEM, en collaboration avec le PNUD et le programme des pequeños subsidios, a organisé en 1997 le premier congrès des femmes mayas à Mérida. Le congrès visait à mettre en valeur les travaux d'artisanat et autres que les femmes produisent dans le cadre de leurs activités génératrices de revenus au sein des projets à cette fin. Un des objectifs des ateliers organisés dans ce cadre était d'analyser les raisons pour lesquelles ces femmes ne participaient suffisamment au programme des *pequeños subsidios*[54].

La préoccupation pour les aspects de renforcement institutionnel et organisationnel – donc pour la participation – est aussi présente, bien entendu, à la FAO. La formation des fonctionnaires du Ministère de l'agriculture et de l'élevage est à l'ordre du jour[55]. Quant à la présence de la FAO au Yucatan, elle s'est traduite aussi par de l'assistance technique à de tout petits projets[56]. Le cas le plus connu au Yucatan est celui du village de Sinanché, un village de la région henequenera, où les femmes d'un projet appuyé par la FAO se sont méritées un prix lors d'une *feria* (exposition) nationale. Bien entendu, la FAO travaille de concert avec le Ministère de l'agriculture (SAGAR), et plus précisément dans ce cas avec le Programme «femmes rurales» au sein de ce ministère.

Selon les informations reçues au bureau de la FAO à Mexico, ces projets sont menés grâce à des ressources de TeleFood. Il s'agit d'une émission de télévision (un genre de marathon) initiée par la FAO et qui a pour but, sur un plan international, de conscientiser le monde au problème de la sécurité alimentaire et à la nécessité de lui accorder davantage d'attention. L'argent recueilli grâce à TeleFood sert à mettre sur pied de petits projets productifs de légumes, de fruits, ou encore du petit élevage de porcs ou de poulets, grâce auxquels les familles amélioreraient leur alimentation. On veut explicitement se détourner des projets d'assistance pour encourager les projets productifs. Là aussi, la méthodologie se veut participative. Notre informatrice affirme : ... «nous faisons un travail de participation avant de mettre sur pied ce type de projets. Comment procédons-nous? On le fait en collaboration avec le gouvernement; alors, on commence à travailler avec le groupe de femmes et ici ce qui se fait, ce sont des réunions au Ministère de l'agriculture. On fait des réunions avec les groupes de femmes visées et on leur explique quelles sont les ressources qu'on peut fournir pour les aider. Elles commencent ensuite à ébaucher le projet et c'est après qu'elles peuvent nous le présenter. Alors quand la FAO arrive avec les ressources, les gens sont conscientisés. Elles savent désormais qu'elles sont le moteur du projet (...). Il s'agit de les motiver un peu, qu'elles sentent qu'il ne s'agit pas d'un projet FAO ou du Ministère de l'agriculture mais bien de leur projet»[57].

Comme on l'a vu dans la section précédente, le PNUD au Yucatan travaille essentiellement avec des ONG. C'est la raison pour laquelle il n'est pas toujours facile de bien distinguer l'action des ONG de celles de certaines organisations multilatérales. Selon le *Directorio Regional de ONG* – Annuaire des ONG (1998), il existait quelque 72 ONG au Yucatan en 1998[58]. Ces organisations, qui tendent à se considérer d'abord et avant tout comme des associations civiles, sont extrêmement hétéroclites. On y retrouve autant l'Association des scouts du Mexique que le *Centro Mexicano pro-derechos humanos en el Sureste*, une ONG de droits humains, que le *Movimiento Juvenil Parroquial*, une ONG de jeunes. Il n'y a pas d'études spécifiques sur les ONG au Yucatan et la seule qui existe, encore inédite, n'a réussi à rejoindre que 18 organisations et, hélas, elle n'aborde pas la question de la participation.

Interrogée directement sur l'influence et la portée des consignes internationales de développement sur les ONG, la coordonnatrice d'une ONG mexicaine féministe a immédiatement fait référence au Sommet de la terre à Rio (en 1992) et surtout au Sommet du Caire (1994). Elle confirme que c'est depuis ce sommet que l'on insiste davantage sur la nécessité pour les ONG de collaborer avec les gouvernements. Elle ajoute : «Les agendas internationaux sont faits d'abord et avant tout pour les gouvernements, ils orientent les gouvernements, mais ils sont aussi les cadres de référence dans lesquels, nous les ONG, on se situe et on s'articule aux politiques. Depuis le

sommet de Béjing, il y aussi une discussion au sein du mouvement féministe : il y en a qui disent que notre discours a été coopté par des gouvernements aux approches patriarcales; d'autres disent que c'est un progrès, au moins sur le plan du discours, sur le plan conceptuel, un progrès parce que ce qu'auparavant on réclamait dans l'ombre, maintenant ce sont les gouvernements qui doivent le promouvoir, avec les accords (...). Une des stratégies qui nous lie au gouvernement c'est de superviser l'application des accords de Béjing...»[59].

Selon ce témoignage, le travail des ONG de développement au Mexique s'effectue donc en tenant compte des programmes gouvernementaux. Au Yucatan, ce travail, tout comme celui des organisations multilatérales probablement, prend un relief particulier étant donné la tradition de bipartisme propre à cet état. Ce que l'on appelle bipartisme au Yucatan, (du moins jusqu'à l'élection de Fox à la présidence de la fédération), c'est en fait la vigueur du PAN qui, dans cet état, «a une base ancienne et bien établie» (Martin, 1998 : 561) par rapport au PRI. En d'autres termes, le PRI a toujours dû travailler plus fort qu'ailleurs pour garder son électorat, ce qui s'est traduit par davantage de paternalisme et de projets d'assistance. Les ONG de développement, désireuses de promouvoir des projets productifs sont confrontées à une population de bénéficiaires des largesses (relatives) du gouvernement, ce qui bien entendu, conditionne énormément la participation des populations. L'informatrice affirme : «L'espace est limité»[60]. La solution pour son ONG a été de travailler le plus possible de façon autonome, d'éviter de développer des partenariats avec le gouvernement, du moins en ce qui concerne son implication dans les projets productifs et elle y a réussi dans la mesure où son financement vient de l'extérieur. Elle ajoute : «Nous mettons beaucoup l'accent sur une proposition de développement qui s'appuie sur des pratiques plus démocratiques dans l'exercice du pouvoir, nous proposons d'autres contenus...»[61]. La participation est donc toujours en question.

Pour conclure

Il est évident que les propos tenus par les informateurs et informatrices sur la participation au Mexique, de même que le contenu de la documentation consultée, doivent être situés dans le contexte du discours en faveur de la réforme démocratique des institutions dans ce pays, de la «bonne gouvernance», qui se traduit par des mesures de décentralisation.

Malgré les différentes «opérations volontaristes» (pour reprendre l'expression d'Olivier de Sardan) qui sont proposées à la population rurale dans la lutte contre la pauvreté, malgré toutes les nuances que l'on pourrait apporter selon qu'on ait affaire à des opérations entreprises par le gouvernement, par une organisation multilatérale ou par une ONG, il demeure que l'incitation à la participation est susceptible d'en faire davantage une cible qu'un partenaire. Dans certains cas même, le caciquisme qui marque la société rurale mexicaine ressort avec force. Ainsi, être responsable d'un projet de développement peut constituer un moyen d'ascension sociale et même un tremplin politique dans la communauté et ce, malgré le fait que, dans les projets du PNUD notamment... «on s'efforce que l'édifice soit le plus horizontal possible...»[62]. Il peut être difficile de se dégager des tendances lourdes de la société mexicaine et malgré les efforts des organisations internationales pour éviter que les responsables de projet cultivent des ambitions personnelles, le phénomène s'exprime de différentes façons dont la plus extrême est la disparition des responsables et ... des fonds. Dans ces quatre dernières années, sept responsables de projets (sur les 63 que comptait le programme) ont disparu avec l'argent du projet[63].

Que veut donc dire la participation dans un contexte comme celui du Yucatan en ce début du XXI^{e} siècle? À la lumière des propos tenus précédemment, on peut au moins dire que la définition de la participation dans cet état a été réduite à ses dimensions techniques, pratiques et opérationnelles à travers une panoplie de programmes et de projets destinés à la population rurale et dans lesquels elle doit, selon la terminologie en usage, s'impliquer et se responsabiliser. Désormais, par exemple, les agences gouvernementales se désengagent en ne fournissant plus d'assistance technique. La population rurale doit payer des firmes de consultants pour la recevoir. Or, qui travaille dans ces firmes de consultants? Ce sont justement les fonctionnaires mis à pied ces dernières années par le gouvernement dans le cadre des mesures d'ajustement structurel[64].

Dans la région henequenera plus particulièrement, les rapports sociaux, qu'ils soient d'ordre domestique (les rapports entre les hommes et les femmes), d'ordre générationel (entre les adultes tournés vers la terre et les jeunes tournés vers la ville), ou d'ordre ethnique (entre les autochtones et les non-autochtones), sont marqués par un paternalisme qui a bien «servi» le pouvoir jusqu'à présent. Actuellement, par exemple, l'installation des maquiladoras est utilisée comme un puissant levier électoral par le PRI local qui s'attribue le mérite de la création d'emplois dans l'état. Au moment où ces lignes sont écrites, le gouverneur *priista*[65] de l'état du Yucatan, Victor Cervera Pacheco, dont le mandat vient à échéance à l'été 2001, insiste sur la souveraineté de

l'état en niant la légitimité du Tribunal électoral du pouvoir judiciaire de la Fédération (TRIFE)[66]. Comme on l'a vu plus haut, le Yucatan est une région économiquement très défavorisée où l'arrivée des maquiladoras est accueillie comme un bienfait, est vécue comme une idylle industrielle et où la résistance reste encore à l'état larvé. Il y a même des cas où des travailleuses dédient des poèmes à leur maquiladora et des travailleurs qui changent le nom de leur équipe de baseball pour celui de leur maquiladora[67]. Dans le contexte d'un état périphérique marqué par une histoire de tensions avec l'assise nationale du pouvoir, le paternalisme des relations traditionnelles (Cervera Pacheco faisant figure de bienfaiteur sur le plan de l'emploi et donc de héro dans la lutte contre la pauvreté) combinée aux politiques de décentralisation (Cervera Pacheco se portant à la défense de la souveraineté de l'état du Yucatan contre ce qu'il considère comme l'autoritarisme du fédéral) risque fort de renforcer l'autoritarisme tout court et de dénaturer encore davantage les bases même de la participation citoyenne. Finalement, l'analyse des substrats de la rhétorique de la participation au Yucatan nous permet de voir comment les approches du développement international s'institutionnalisent et se modélisent selon le contexte local. Tout cela tend à confirmer les affirmations d'Otero lorsqu'il commente l'ouvrage de Fox et Aranda (1996) : «...si la décentralisation est combinée avec la persistance de l'autoritarisme, alors le résultat ne sera pas la responsabilisation mais bien un renforcement de l'autoritarisme» (Otero, 1999 : 200).

De façon plus large, il y a lieu de faire un parallèle entre ce que Connell écrivait en 1996 au sujet des agences internationales comme véhicules de modernisation de l'ordre de genre dans différents États du monde. Modernisation ne veut pas dire renversement de l'ordre de genre mais bien un aménagement qui le rende plus acceptable dans une perspective libérale. Si l'on transpose les propos de Connell sur le terrain de la participation, on peut dire que ce que le Mexique, en collaboration avec les agences internationales, tente de faire c'est de moderniser l'ordre de la participation afin de mieux répondre aux exigences de la démocratie néolibérale. Le caractère central du concept de participation dans le discours des différentes instances de l'État mexicain ne serait finalement que le reflet d'un processus plus large de modernisation et de mondialisation qui s'exprimerait par une domination de plus en plus sensible de l'État international ou des organisations supranationales. En effet, la Banque Mondiale ne se contente pas d'effectuer des prêts et de forcer les gouvernements à faire des ajustements structurels. Elle définit désormais et de plus en plus les paramètres des mesures sociales et les problèmes à solutionner (Gélinas, 2000). On peut finalement se demander si la rhétorique de la participation des populations ne sert pas après tout qu'à masquer l'emprise de plus en plus grande de l' «ordre de développement» sur l'ensemble du Mexique et particulièrement sur les régions promises à un développement industriel contributoire à la mondialisation des rapports économiques et ce, indépendamment du parti au pouvoir.

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Notes

1 Les débats sur les définitions de la pauvreté pourraient à eux seuls faire l'objet de tout un article. C'est d'ailleurs ce qu'a fait Boltvinik (1996) qui a montré, dans le cas des études faites par la CEPAL, la Banque Mondiale et le PNUD, les limites des définitions utilisées par ces institutions. Ce qui est important de retenir dans le cadre du présent article, c'est que les définitions institutionnelles de la pauvreté – malgré leurs limites et leurs incongruités – constituent bien le fondement des programmes pour son éradication.

2 Les données pour cet article ont été recueillies dans le cadre d'une recherche financée par le CRSH intitulée «Perspectives sur le changement social au Yucatan (Mexique) au temps des maquiladoras» (1999-2002). Plus précisément, la démarche a consisté dans un premier temps à rencontrer des fonctionnaires du Ministère du développement social (SEDESOL) (fédéral) à Mérida et du Ministère du développement rural (provincial). Dans un deuxième temps, j'ai pu m'entretenir avec des représentants d'ONG à Mérida et à Mexico, et enfin, dans un troisième temps, avec des représentants à Mexico d'agences internationales comme la CEPAL, la FAO, UNIFEM, OIT. Les entrevues ont été faites entre avril et octobre 1999. L'article repose également sur des sources secondaires tels des articles de journaux et des documents électroniques. Je remercie d'ailleurs une de mes auxiliaires de recherche, Ana Elisa Castro Sánchez, qui m'a aidée à dépouiller les journaux plus récents.

3 Le terme *panista* vient du nom du parti auquel appartient le nouveau président, soit le PAN, Partido de Acción Nacional.

4 Diario de Yucatán 26 janvier 2001.

5 Diario de Yucatán 25 janvier 2001.

6 Diario de Yucatán 5 mars 2001.

7 Diario de Yucatán 28 janvier 2001.

8 Diario de Yucatán 25 février 2001. Le contexte dans lequel cette expression a été utilisée donne à penser qu'en français québécois, elle pourrait être traduite de façon plus éloquente par la politique économique de la «binnerie».

9 Le PRI est le Partido revolucionario institucional.

10 Site de la Banque Mondiale, consulté le 11 février 2001.

11 Diario de Yucatán 28 février 2001.

12 Il s'agit de SEDESOL – Secretaría de desarrollo social. Le haut fonctionnaire est Octavio Aguilar Valenzuela. Diario de Yucatán 3 mars 2001.
13 INEGI : Instituto nacional de estadísticas, geografía e informática (institut national de statistiques, géographie et informatique).
14 Diario de Yucatán 31 janvier 2001, d'après INEGI et CEPAL.
15 La Jornada, 12 février 2001 (d'après la BID – Banque interaméricaine de développement).
16 La Jornada 28 janvier 2001 (d'après la BID – Banque interaméricaine de développement).
17 Site de la Banque Mondiale consulté le 11 février 2001 et le 6 mars 2001.
18 Site de la Banque Mondiale, mis à jour en janvier 2000, consulté le 14 avril 2000.
19 Diario de Yucatán 27 février 2001.
20 La Jornada 14 janvier 2001.
21 Site de la Banque Mondiale consulté le 1er mars 2001.
22 D'autres auteurs comme O'Brien diraient que le concept de participation utilisé dans les agences internationales est désormais «technologiquement et néolibéralement contrôlé» (1995 :11).
23 La Jornada 1er mars 2001.
24 Citation de Carlos Flores Alcocer, responsable de la transition dans le domaine social, rapportée dans *La Jornada* 14 janvier 2001.
25 Les données sont de 1995.
26 Parcelle sur laquelle la paysannerie indienne cultive du maïs, des courges et des haricots. Il s'agit d'une culture profondément ritualisée qui contribue à la définition de l'indianité.
27 Effectivement, on incite actuellement les paysans à abandonner le système traditionnel de *roza-tumba-quema* (écobuage). La Secretaría de Desarrollo Rural signale que le processus de parcellisation en cours ne permet plus aux producteurs d' «ouvrir» une nouvelle parcelle lorsque la leur est épuisée, soit à tous les trois ans. Ils occupent par conséquent plus longtemps une même parcelle, ou ne la laissent pas se regénérer assez longtemps. Il en résulte une diminution des rendements (SDR, 1999 : 13).
28 Entrevue avec un fonctionnaire de la SEDESOL, 23 août 1999.
29 Diario de Yucatán 30 janvier 2001.
30 Diario de Yucatán, 25 juillet 1999. Ce chiffre était de 70 000 selon la Secretaría de Desarrollo Rural au même moment (SDR, 1999 : 13).
31 Diario de Yucatán 1er février 2001.
32 Diario de Yucatán 22 avril 1999.
33 Dans cet article, on ne parlera pas en tant que tel de PROGRESA qui, dans certains municipes, vient appuyer les autres programmes. Au Yucatan, le programme touche 63 612 familles de 665 localités réparties dans 99 municipes – c'est-à-dire la presque totalité du l'état qui compte 106 municipalités (site internet de SEDESOL visité le 14 avril 2000).
34 Diario de Yucatán 12 septembre 1999.
35 Diario de Yucatán, 11 septembre 1999.
36 L'éjido est un mode collectif de tenure de la terre qui évoque une sorte de coopérative. Les membres, les éjidatarios, sont des ayant-droit qui ne disposent que du droit d'usage de la terre.
37 Diario de Yucatán, 25 juillet 1999.
38 Entrevue avec une dirigeante d'ONG au Yucatan, le 10 septembre 1999.
39 Site internet de la Banque Mondiale, mis à jour en janvier 2000, consulté le 14 avril 2000.
40 Informatrice du bureau d'UNIFEM à Mexico, le 4 octobre 1999.
41 Entrevue avec une fonctionnaire de la Unidad Mujer y Desarrollo de la CEPAL (Commission économique pour l'Amérique latine) à Mexico, le 4 octobre 1999.
42 Fonctionnaire du bureau de zone de l'OIT à Mexico, le 5 octobre 1999.
43 Site internet de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, consulté le 14 avril 2000.
44 Informatrice du bureau de zone de l'OIT à Mexico (organisation international du travail) le 5 octobre 1999.
45 Site internet de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, consulté le 14 avril 2000.
46 Entrevue avec une représentante de la FAO à Mexico, le 6 octobre 1999.
47 Site internet de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, consulté le 14 avril 2000.
48 Propos de Raúl Murguía rapportés par le Diario de Yucatán, le 13 septembre 1999.
49 Ral Murgua, entrevue 20 avril 1999.
50 Le cas de Ciudad Juárez a été amplement discuté dans la presse nationale et étrangère. Depuis 1993, on a retrouvé près de 200 cadavres surtout de femmes qui ont de toute évidence été assassinées, souvent torturées et mutilées. Plusieurs auteurs et commentateurs, journalistes et photographes de presse, interpelés par la découverte de ces cadavres dans des décharges publiques ont publié des articles ou même des livres à ce sujet. Le plus troublant de ces livres est certainement Juárez : the Laboratory of our Future (auteur Charles Bowden, publié en 1998). Dans presque tous les cas, on fait un lien avec le narcotrafic mais aussi avec la présence massive des maquiladoras dans cette ville. En effet plusieurs victimes travaillaient dans ces usines. Certaines, semble-t-il, avaient encore leur uniforme aux couleurs de la maquiladora où elles travaillaient. Dans un des articles de presse consultés, une femme responsable d'un centre d'accueil pour les femmes en crise et les femmes violées attribue ces assassinats à l'atmosphère de violence en général et contre les femmes en particulier et surtout d'impunité dont jouissent les hommes qui tuent des femmes. Elle affirme : «Je pense qu'il doit y avoir ici 200 à 300 hommes qui ont tué des femmes...il n'y a pas de lois qui protègent les femmes» (*Globe and Mail*, 9 décembre 1999).
51 Entrevue avec une agente de programmes d'UNIFEM à Mexico, le 4 octobre 1999.
52 Site internet d'UNIFEM consulté le 24 avril 2000.
53 Agente de programmation du bureau d'UNIFEM à Mexico, le 4 octobre 1999.
54 Site du Premier congrès des femmes mayas consulté le 3 mars 2001.
55 On n'a qu'à consulter le site du bureau régional de la FAO pour l'Amérique latine et la Caraïbe pour s'en convaincre.

Les projets qui y sont décrits ont tous comme objectif ce renforcement des capacités institutionnelles.

56 L'informatrice a insité sur le fait que la FAO ne fournit pas de ressources financières en tant que tel.

57 Entrevue avec une représentante de la FAO à Mexico, le 6 octobre 1999.

58 Les chiffres varient selon les sources. Une coordonnatrice d'ONG avec laquelle j'ai fait une entrevue en septembre 1999 affirme qu'il y a 110 ONG au Yucatan.

59 Entrevue avec une coordonnatrice d'ONG, le 10 septembre 1999.

60 Entrevue avec une coordonnatrice d'ONG, le 10 septembre 1999.

61 Entrevue avec une coordonnatrice d'ONG, le 10 septembre 1999.

62 Entrevue avec Ral Murgua, le 20 avril 1999.

63 Entrevue avec Ral Murgua, le 20 avril 1999.

64 Entrevue avec une anciennce fonctionnaire du Ministère de la réforme agraire, le 28 septembre 1999.

65 Le terme priista vient de PRI – le parti révolutionnaire institutionnel, parti dominant au Mexique pendant plus de 70 ans.

66 On trouvera un dossier sur cette «affaire» dans le Diario de Yucatán 9 mars 2001.

67 Communication personnelle de Beatriz Castilla, chercheuse au Centro de Estudios Regionales de la Universidad Autonoma de Yucatán, avril 1999.

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Transnational Social Movements and Sovereignties in Transition: Charting New Interfaces of Power at the U.S.-Mexico Border

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Abstract: This paper explores how nation-states, rather than simply withering away as many theorists of globalization claim, remain complex and important players in the production of transnational political activism. Using ethnographic research with a group of U.S. political activists at the U.S-Mexico border, the author argues that anthropologists are uniquely poised to shift discussions about global social movements onto ethnographic terrain. Developing the notion of modalities of sovereignty, the author suggests that transnational politics be examined as culturally and historically constituted interfaces between social movements actors and states.

Keywords: Social movements, transnationalism, undocumented migration, American Southwest

Résumé : Cet article explore les modalités selon lesquelles les États-nations , au lieu de simplement dépérir comme plusieurs théoriciens de la gobalisation le prétendent, demeurent des joueurs complexes et importants dans l'apparition de l'activisme politique transnational. En se basant sur une recherche ethnographique sur un groupe d'activistes politiques aux frontières du Mexique et des États-Unis, l'auteure soutient que les anthropologues sont dans une position unique pour transposer les analyses des mouvements sociaux globaux dans des situations ethnographiques. Élaborant la notion de modalités de souveraineté, l'auteure propose d'examiner la politique transnationale comme un ensemble d'interactions, constituées culturellement et historiquement, entre les acteurs des mouvements sociaux et les États.

Mots-clés : mouvements sociaux, transnationalisme, migration clandestine, sud-ouest américain

Introduction: The Nation-State, Its "Withering Away" and the Study of Social Movements

> [W]hat is the role of the state in all of this? Modern states developed in a strategic dialogue with social movements, ceding to them the autonomy and opportunity to organize when they had to and reclaiming that territory whenever these movements faded or became too dangerous. Why would states be any more supine today when faced by transnational diffusion, exchange, advocacy networks, or even social movements than they were against domestic movements in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century?
>
> —Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement*; 1998: 194.

One of the central debates characterizing discussions of globalization has been the future and fate of the nation-state. Some proponents of globalization have predicted the increasing irrelevance of state boundaries, particularly in light of the unprecedented crossborder flows of goods, ideas and persons in a globalizing world (Albrow, 1996; Appadurai, 1996). Others have underscored the declining powers of the nation state owing to the transnationalization of production and trade, as well as the increasing role of international financial and legal regimes (Ohmae 1990, 1995; Strange, 1996). As a result, in a growing literature, globalization has often been framed in terms of state attenuation.[1]

Although such perspectives have generated provocative discussions about globalization, they also reflect a tendency to bypass the state in their analyses and in some cases, to treat the nation-state as an already moribund entity. Another literature on globalization, however, eschews such an assumption and in stead explores states as transitioning actors vis-a-vis a globalizing world—as *transforming* rather than declining institutions in the context of transnational processes (Castells, 1996; Giddens, 1990, Held, 1991; Mann, 1996; Rosenau, 1997; Scholte, 1993; Tilly, 1992; Verdery, 1996). This second

position handily avoids forcing a choice between a strong and weak state (Sassen, 2000), but perhaps more importantly, reintroduces states into contemporary discussions about power and its exercise in a global context.[2]

The notion of a transforming rather than declining state is a relevant one for scholars of contemporary social movements—a field in which the nation-state is also frequently treated as passe. Part of this treatment is perhaps owing to a recent theoretical dis-privleging of the state as a focus for study of collective action—something that has developed largely vis-a-vis the popularity of new social movements (NSM) scholarship and its decided turn away from class as foundational to social movement formation (Magnusson, 1992, 1997). This dis-privleging has reflected a broader shift to a more postmodern understanding of power as decentralized, or web-like, and hence incapable of being localized in an institution such as the nation-state (Foucault, 1980; Rose and Miller, 1992). For social movement scholars adopting a post-Marxist political framework, then, the reduced role of the state has been linked to a critique of first, models which posit "class" as a privileged site for an understanding how social power works (Alvarez et. al., 1998; Laclau and Mouffe, 1985; Warren, 1998), and second, models which have assumed states as fixed referents of power.

The neglect of the nation state as a significant actor in social movement literature, however, is also linked to a growing interest in transnational social movements which often seem, by definition, to exclude states as central players in contemporary relations of protest. Both scholars and activists alike often claim that transnational movements, coalitions and networks are those which transcend the traditional contours of the nation-state and, in so doing, represent a distinctive form of transnational politics.[3]

In some respects, such descriptions of transnational social movements capture shifting patterns in the institutional and structural capabilities of the nation-state (Keck and Sikkink, 1999; Wapner, 1995), and reflect the tremendous impact that electronic politics have had on the formation of transnational political networks and genres of activism (Cleaver, 1998; Ribiero, 1997). But they also point to an inclination to ignore or overlook states and their roles in the construction and containment of social protest. Yet clearly scholars of social movements need to address states as transitioning actors, as occupying new locations in evolving structures of power and as re-inventing themselves as players in the production of political conflict.

Anthropologists studying social movements have much to bring to the discussion of globalization, states and protest movements. In particular, I am thinking here of the well-developed literature which has critiqued studies of the state as a monolithic entity and instead have suggested that states be treated as diffuse institutions, structurally coherent and yet flexible; capable of tremendous co-ordination among its different bodies but also, historically, reflecting considerable internal discord, unevenness and in some cases, even subversion among its member constituents (see Gupta, 1995). If states are transitioning in contemporary global conditions, then they are not doing so in a uniform way. The different roles being adopted by states and state-parts in the context of global processes reflect a transitioning state as well as new interfaces of power between states and social movement constituencies.

These new roles and interfaces of state power have interested a growing number of scholars wishing to develop more ethnographically informed studies of social movements in global contexts—studies which do not assume an elevated role for states but do not preemptively ignore the role that states may play in the production of protest. Currently, for example, a small but growing number of ethnographers have documented how states remain intricately involved in transnational political communities, (Mahler, 1998; Smith, 1998) and how states may foster some forms of the transnational and yet discourage others (Edelman, 1999). Complicating this picture further is the fact that states themselves are also transnationalizing organizations (Cunningham, 2001; Glick Shiller, 1999; Guarnizo and Smith, 1998) and as such, deeply impact political protest since state boundaries themselves are being redrawn and instantiated in new ways across the global landscape (Cunningham, 2001; Rouse, 1995).

In this paper, I join company with many others hesitant to assume that the nation-state, in current conditions of globalization, is a withering entity. But I do this with an eye, not simply to join forces with an already distinguished crowd of scholars, but with an eye to how this problematic can be applied to the study of social movements. Here, I explore the historical relationship (over a 10-year period) between social movement and state actors with an emphasis on how state-social movement relations have changed, under what conditions and with what implications for how "protest" can be mounted. Here, I argue that shifts in the political-economic and cultural reality of the U.S.-Mexico border in southern Arizona—the context for the social movement studied here— have created new interfaces of power (and consequently protest) between state and social movement actors. Although these interfaces are at the

moment open-ended, they do indicate that the roles of states and activists are changing in the context of shifting forms of sovereignty and protest. Social movement actors and state representatives therefore are engaged in distinctive processes of "reading" the contours of these new interfaces as they negotiate the meaning and mounting of "protest."

Sanctuary and State Relations 1980-1993: Oppositional Church-State Interfaces

Over a decade ago, I began to conduct fieldwork among a group of U.S. activists who were deeply involved in the U.S. Sanctuary Movement—a network of religious communities who, 1980-93, decided to offer safe-haven to Central American refugees fleeing violent civil wars in their own nations. The movement was sparked on July 7, 1980 when 26 Central American fugitives were discovered in the Sonoran desert in Arizona. Half of the group succumbed to dehydration, while the other half lived to tell horror stories of a brutal civil war waging in El Salvador. When church groups began to advocate refugee status for the 13 survivors, they were astonished when the group simply disappeared—deported peremptorily by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) back to El Salvador.

Many other Central American fugitives began to appear in the southern United States in the early 1980s and owing to foreign policies of the Reagan-Bush administration (1980-88), were also summarily deported back to their homelands. In the process of being deported, many asylum applicants were denied "due process" and more disturbingly, many faced imprisonment, torture and possible death when returned to their own countries. Such a state of affairs did not sit well with many religious communities who felt that the deportation of individuals who were legitimately refugees was unethical and motivated by foreign policy considerations.

The declaration of sanctuary in 1982 by several U.S. churches (deemed illegal by the U.S. government) sparked a nationwide movement whose network of safe-houses eventually stretched south into Mexico and Guatemala, and extended north into central Canada. Participation in the Sanctuary network, of course, had its risks for U.S. participants, namely arrest and imprisonment for felonies related to illegal entry and assisting undocumented aliens. In 1986, 11 Sanctuary activists in southern Arizona were put on trial by the U.S. government after evidence had been secretly gathered against them by undercover INS agents posing as Sanctuary volunteers.[4]

My fieldwork in this community focussed on activists who conducted Sanctuary's "underground railroad"—an operation that was not unlike the underground established during the pre-Civil War period which had conducted slaves to "free" states. The underground terminus located in Tucson was an important and high-traffic node on the Sanctuary network. At the time of my work, Tucson's underground, referred to as *trsg* (the tucson refugee support group), held weekly meetings, was involved in regular (usually weekly) transportations of refugees, and had a representative based in Mexico City with whom it maintained regular contact. Refugees using the underground had to make contact with the movement through a variety of channels: through contacts in the refugee's country of origin, through links to the Sanctuary network in Mexico City, or through refugee families already living in Tucson or in a Sanctuary community elsewhere in the United States. These individuals would then become "cases" sent to *trsg,* and would be discussed and reviewed carefully by members of the underground. If a positive decision was rendered by *trsg,* then the group would create a strategy for "moving up" the refugee(s).

Sanctuary activism in Tucson did not start out as a coherent, ideologically motivated movement which, through its critique of U.S. foreign policy in Central America, developed a strong aversion for the U.S. state as an imperialist power. The movement, in fact, mounted several powerful frames for their contestation of state authority (see Cunningham, 1995). Among the most salient of these were:

- the utilization of a separation between church and state (which justified offering sanctuary on the grounds of religious practice);
- a corollary claim to a first amendment right of freedom of religion (which justified offering sanctuary on the basis of constitutional freedoms);
- an appropriation of liberation theology which critiqued the first world (in this case U.S.) domination and exploitation of third-world countries; and
- a claim that national and international laws protecting refugees justified the offer of sanctuary.

Each of these frameworks established a series of relationships between protestors and state representatives (including legal, political and theological relationships). Yet, although aspects of these frameworks pervaded the discourse of Sanctuary activists, cultural attitudes toward and relations with the U.S. state developed locally in relation to specific interactions, or what might be called interfaces, with representatives of the government—namely INS officers and Border Patrol agents. Below, I offer a

closer look at some of these practices, with an eye to how these established dominant interactive frameworks for Sanctuary activists and state representatives.

Local Interactions with the State during Sanctuary: Conducting a "Border Run"

For both U.S. and Mexican Sanctuary underground members, moving refugees successfully to sanctuary meant assisting Central American fugitives safely across the U.S.-Mexico border and into the United States without being apprehended by either the Mexican immigration police (*la migra*) or the U.S. Border Patrol. These "evasion practices," as they were termed, were developed within the geographic and cultural context of the U.S.-Mexico border in southern Arizona and northern Sonora and in relation to the various kinds of border towns located within short drive from Tucson, Arizona.

Sanctuary activists called their underground operations conducting "border runs"—a set of carefully thought-out strategies for contacting and picking-up refugees in Mexico, taking them to a location along the U.S.-Mexico border, assisting them across the international fence, and then driving them to a safehouse in the United States. Usually refugees traveled in small groups, but on occasion there were families of five to six who had to be safely conducted into sanctuary. Because refugee groups involved different kinds of people—sometimes very young children, or high risk individuals such as guerilla leaders—the underground developed two kinds of runs, city-crossings and canyon-crossings. Here, owing to space constraints, I discuss only one kind of crossing.

City-crossings[5] entailed a 10-hour drive into Mexico, and the pick-up of refugees from a Mexican sanctuary community (usually a church). After being picked up, the party would be driven to a border town where members of the underground would "counsel" the refugees—i.e., give refugees clothing to make them look Mexican, and tell them to say they were Mexican if picked up by the U.S. Border Patrol. (The rationale behind was that if picked up and perceived as Mexican, Central Americans would simply be deported to Mexico.) This counselling was also ostensibly a time when refugees could also ask questions and check out Sanctuary workers. Refugees would then be guided, usually at night or at dawn, to an opening or hole in the U.S.-Mexico boundary and directed on how to cross through the fence without being detected by the U.S. Border Patrol.

Although the kinds of illegal border crossings utilized by local Mexican migrants took on a variety of forms in these border towns (usually fence-jumping and crawling through holes in the international fence), such crossings were uniquely dangerous for Central American refugees since, if apprehended, they would not be simply deported back to Mexico but back to a port of entry in Guatemala where they would often be handed over to government officials. For this reason, Sanctuary activists took great pains to make sure Central Americans looked (particularly in their dress) like northern Mexicans. Shoes therefore were replaced, clothing was thoroughly examined for any telltale labels, in some cases hairstyles were reconfigured—in an effort to create a disguise that would "fool" the state.

Once across the border, refugees could then find sanctuary in a church located several yards from the international fence. For this juncture of a run, refugees were usually instructed to sit in a specific pew and wait until contacted (by code word). Once contact had been made, the refugees and U.S. Sanctuary workers would then drive back to Tucson. This driven return to Tucson was always a "tricky" part of a run because in addition to having regular check points along the route, Border Patrol vehicles would park in the highway median and check the "profiles" of cars passing by. If they saw something "suspicious" they could (and still do) pull on to the highway and force a car to pull over for inspection. For this reason, Sanctuary workers very carefully planned their car profile (what the left side of the car looked like to a Border Patrol vehicle parked in the median). Jim Corbett, one of the founders of the Sanctuary underground, for example, gave the following advice to *trsg* activists regarding a profile:

> The trick is to work out a profile that lets you slip through. Use a local car (economy models are best) with clear windows.[6] Move no more than three refugees at a time, always during daylight, accompanied by several passengers who are readily recognizable as Anglos. Blonde is better than brunette; female is better than male, old is better than young. (Corbett, 1991: 150)

A successful run, then, consisted of strategies which reflected considerable local knowledge about how individuals and groups of individuals were "read" by the U.S. Border Patrol. Evading arrest and detection meant that Sanctuary workers developed a distinctive literacy regarding first, the routines of U.S. immigration officials[7] and, second, the various kinds of state apparatuses (sensors, helicopters, cameras, etc.) involved in state surveillance of the border. In both Mexico and the United States, Sanctuary workers developed a thorough knowledge of car routes (particularly off-the-beaten-trail roadways where the likelihood of encountering

police vehicles or patrols cars was slim). In cases when hiking through the desert was involved, Sanctuary activists had to obtain cartographic maps of remote desert locations and learn how to establish landmarks and master various other survival skills for arduous hikes over mountains, through passes and across the desert to avoid detection by Border Patrol helicopters and car patrols.

The practices of the underground obviously defied the state's sacrosanct right to monitor and administer passage across one of its borders. The fact that the underground existed and functioned successfully enervated the local INS and Border Patrol (see Crittenden, 1989) and indeed, Sanctuary activists along with the media, liked to play up the fact that the movement, made up of "everyday" church people, was able (so to speak) tweak the whiskers of an (inept) lion at the border and safely evade capture in spite of the state's far superior resources. As one newspaper article summed it up from the Sanctuary perspective:

> "They're really not very smart," she [the Sanctuary worker] says of the border Patrol and INS.
>
> "They're so predictable."
>
> Like clockwork. Everyday at two o'clock, the Border Patrol plane flies a sweep of the border between Nogales and Douglas. Every one of these days the Sanctuary workers happen to be bringing refugees across the line they simply check their watches, sit under preselected trees at the appointed hour and eat their lunch as they watch the plane fly by.[8]

For Sanctuary advocates, the image of the cat and mouse at the U.S.-Mexico border was extremely effective not only as a media strategy, but also as a structure of protest since it lent itself to the oppositional church-state culture powerfully framing the act of offering sanctuary itself. Unwilling and reluctant to enter churches as sacred places to arrest fugitives because of this separation, the INS and Border Patrol agents found themselves confronting a movement which powerfully utilized the American values respecting the separation between religion and politics. The cat and mouse image was therefore linked to a further series of images which constructed the state as "the enemy" or "intruder." These included images which underscored the U.S. government as (1) a bullying but inept agency (particularly the INS); (2) "brutes" lacking in "brains" (i.e., the U.S. Border Patrol); and (3) as a government agency transcending the boundaries of its own secular jurisdiction. What was also interesting about these images, however, was that they gave the state a signal role in the movement's articulation of protest—Sanctuary was mounted across an oppositional interface rooted in a long-standing religio-political tradition that prohibited the *excessive* intrusion of the state into religious life. While the whole movement was, in many respects, a struggle over the legitimacy of this claim, this oppositional church-state interface was very much at the heart of both protest and police strategies. During this period, then, 1980-1993, activists were able to strategically play-out an imagery and set of protest relations with a state that they identified across a church-state oppositional interface that was central to their dynamic of protest (Cunningham, 1998). After NAFTA in 1994, however, this relationship was substantially transformed as a basis of protest.

Post-Sanctuary Activism: New Alignments with the U.S. State

In the summer of 1993, Sanctuary underground activities ceased. Political transitions both in the United States and in Central America meant that Central American refugees and human rights organizations were no longer contacting the Sanctuary underground for assistance. Consequently, as the underground began to wind down, efforts in the movement shifted to focussing on refugees already in the United States and helping them to get asylum applications processed through the INS.

Although the Sanctuary underground became dormant after 1993, the majority of Sanctuary participants continued to be involved in a variety of political causes. Research from the immediate post-sanctuary period showed that there were some continuities in the political practices of now post-Sanctuary activists, particularly in terms of political causes which lent themselves to an oppositional church-state framework. But there were also significant shifts in the activist constituency as membership changed and secular networks intersected with the more church-based communities. In light of these last shifts, research also documented significant variations in the political discourse of post-Sanctuary activists, particularly in terms of their appropriation and utilization of global activist rhetoric and their efforts to include themselves in what was emerging as "global civil society."[9]

One of the political groups which became central to the continuation of Sanctuary-linked politics was a organization called Borderlinks—a non-profit, church-based group which had had been extremely active in the Sanctuary underground. Borderlinks grew out of a partnership between a series of churches in Philadelphia,

Wilmington, Pennsylvania and Southside Presbyterian Church in Tucson. In 1987, Borderlinks began a series of educational programs at the border designed to give visiting groups the opportunity to experience "the reality" of the U.S.-Mexico borderlands. During these programs, Borderlinks usually hosted small groups (usually of English-speaking Anglos) who would spend a week together in one of its programs.

From the beginning, the organization built its program on immersion pedagogy or experiential learning. Instead of simply being given information from academic or other experts, participants were exposed to different kinds of people and organizations at the U.S.-Mexico border and encouraged to reflect on these experiences within the context of a group. Typically, Borderlinks participants would come to Tucson and were taken to meet a variety of people and "talk" to them about what they did, what it was like to live in the borderlands, etc. Because Borderlinks was rooted in Sanctuary, however, these meetings usually involved individuals and groups who were directly linked to Sanctuary in some way (i.e., refugees, church people on both the U.S. and Mexican sides of the border, refugee lawyers, and occasionally INS and Border Patrol officials,). Borderlinks, then, didn't provide just any kind of immersion but one which resonated with Sanctuary's political critique of the U.S. foreign policy.

In the post-Sanctuary phase, however, Borderlinks shifted their attention away from U.S. foreign policy in Central America to a concentration on first, the exploitative maquiladora industry and U.S. complicity in it; and second, the detrimental effects of the NAFTA accords (economic, environmental and political) on border communities. These interests had developed largely owing to the kinds of contacts that Sanctuary activists had made with sympathetic Mexicans (clerics, nuns, social workers, lawyers, etc.) during the underground's operation. After the railroad stopped, Borderlinks activists continued to stay in touch with many Mexican activists, and developed new political agendas and strategies for action just as many communities on the Mexican side of the border began to organize around labour issues. Although labour issues had plagued the area since the adoption of the maquiladora (or assembly plant) program initiated in the 1970s, labour unrest in the northern state of Sonora, Mexico had become particularly troublesome over the 1980s and after the 1994-95 peso devaluation when many Mexican firms were forced to shut down and thousands of workers were laid off.[10] In a post-NAFTA climate, foreign firms were drawn to the region's low labour costs and by 1995, three new large maquiladora factories were constructed in Nogales, Mexico and 5 000 new workers were hired.[11]

The adoption of maquiladora labour and the effects of NAFTA on border communities, then, connected Borderlinks to a larger network of activists who were advocating on similar issues. But such contact also exposed Borderlinks members to a different kind of political discourse—a language about globalization and neoliberal capitalism that, although developing within the organization, was also imported into the group through an expanding social network. Of particular importance was Borderlink's connection to the human rights organizations monitoring the border and an emergent international network of activists supporting the Zapatista uprisings and its distinctive critique of neoliberalism and traditional forms of nationalism.[12]

The shift to the "global" as a context for political action and the role of the anti free-trade networks generated pressure for groups such as Borderlinks to critically evaluate their own political contexts in terms of traditional nationalistic categories. Recently, this has meant that Borderlinks has taken on the role of addressing (1) racism toward illegal immigration from Mexico as it has been expressed in U.S. anti-immigration laws; (2) immigration amnesty and guest worker programs for migrants; and (3) the very controversial possibility of an "open" border between the United States and Mexico. In contrast, during the Sanctuary days, many of the same activists were wary of taking on Mexican migration as a political cause and of advocating an *open border* politics. The underground, for example, took great pains to avoid assisting Central Americans who couldn't document some kind of political persecution and who seemed to want to come to the U.S. solely for economic reasons.[13] In this sense, although challenging the U.S. government's policies on refugees, the Sanctuary underground was clearly in line with the state's policy on immigration from Mexico. Post-NAFTA, however, Borderlinks found itself connected to a different genre of activism: informed by a more globally-styled politics, they began to question the role of states themselves in establishing frameworks for cross-border political-economic relationships.

Current Activist-State Relations: The "New Co-operation"

After Sanctuary, Borderlinks continued to conduct educational, immersion seminars along the U.S.-Mexico border. Unlike the days of the underground, however, when their encounters with the U.S. state were framed largely in terms of "evasions" and "oppositions" in the post-Sanctu-

ary period, Borderlinks developed a more "co-operative" relationship with the INS and U.S. Border patrol.

During the 1980s and early 1990s, the willingness of the local Border Patrol and INS to participate in the Borderlinks immersion programs was uneven—particularly given that it was common knowledge that many Borderlinks organizers were involved in the underground. Sometimes public relations officials agreed to meet groups and take questions, and at other times they cancelled appointments abruptly claiming that they were too busy. Oftentimes when Borderlinks visitors were taken through INS facilities, they were ushered into a room and shown a video on drug trafficking, and agents in charge of the tour, untrained in public relations, were clearly ill at ease with the group of visitors. After 1994, however, when the underground ceased operating, relations between Borderlinks and the Tucson sector Border Patrol began to shift. By the end of 1998, the Border Patrol was participating more regularly in Borderlinks immersion programs, providing tours of the newly refurbished port of entry at Nogales as well as their new facilities (this time by public-relations trained staff). In these tours, INS or BP agents (usually female) tended to stress the dangers of drug trafficking, talked openly about the stresses of their work and emphasized that they did not set border policies but merely enforced them.

These relations, more cordial in tone, were somewhat formalized in July 2000 when the Nogales Border Patrol created two new community outreach positions. Following this development, two officers were hired to take charge of "community outreach" and run a series of programs designed to "give the Border Patrol a place in the community." The officers not only gave talks at elementary and high schools, but also regularly attended meetings held by the chamber of commerce, local public health groups (especially those focussed on domestic violence and drug rehab), and sundry other community-related organizations. The Nogales branch of the Border Patrol also began to hold meetings with church groups, Borderlinks staff and other community constituencies on border issues, including illegal immigration.

Interviews conducted in February 2001 with Border Patrol officials revealed a new direction in the agency's public relations campaign. Agency representatives expressed their wish to see the Border Patrol as "fostering and participating in a dialogue" across a "spectrum of voices"—and not simply locking horns with those factions ("church groups") which disagreed with its policies. Public relations documents and statements began to reflect an approach which claimed that the Border Patrol was "accountable to all its constituents" and not just "special interests groups" which did or did not disagree with government policies. The agency itself was described as adopting a new spirit of co-operation and leadership in the community.

In the same period, however, while the Border Patrol was developing a "new co-operation" and generating "outreach" into the community, the international fence and its enforcement underwent some dramatic changes. Following a congressional initiative legislated in 1994 (the year NAFTA was implemented), the Nogales port of entry was selected as a key location for a new "forward-deployment" border enforcement strategy directed at deterring illegal entries at high traffic points. Under this initiative, the INS was legislated to hire "no less than" 1 000 new Border Patrol agents each year and to redirect 6 300 Border Patrol agents to nine areas along the southern border. As result, since 1996, the Tucson sector has acquired more than 500 additional Border Patrol agents and the international fence at both Nogales and Douglas was strikingly reconfigured. Unlike their former dilapidated and perpetually defaced status during the Sanctuary days, these barriers are now made of reinforced steel and have been extended out farther into the desert. Powerful lights (on the U.S. side) have been installed along the fence at border towns, and are switched on at dusk to assist Border Patrol apprehensions. As result, in the borderlands which Borderlinks participants frequently traverse, there is an intensification of a state presence compared to that of the Sanctuary days.[14]

Two Modalities of Sovereignty

Although border enforcement has been a principal role for the U.S. border Patrol and customs agents in southern Arizona, the agencies themselves have recently been caught between two seemingly contradictory roles. Particularly after NAFTA, both agencies have been under unprecedented pressure to keep the border open—in a certain way and in relation to specific kinds of cargo.

To some extent , the increased police surveillance at the border is at variance with new global economic production patterns, namely the "just-in-time" delivery systems which now characterize several industries. This is a system in which a company orders parts from a factory, usually in another country, and expects them to be delivered in a specified, usually very brief, period of time. Such a system can save companies huge warehousing costs but, if border delays are chronic and extensive, can force them to shut down their assembly lines and cost them millions of dollars. As a result, U.S.

(as well as several Canadian) Border Patrol and customs agents are under pressure to *facilitate* the passage of shipments at the border and avoid unnecessarily delaying deliveries to corporate customers. At the same time, however, border state agencies are under extreme pressure to prevent *unwanted* flows from crossing the border—flows such as drugs and illegal migrants. As a result, the local enforcement staff in the Tucson sector is deeply involved in not only the forward-deployment strategy, but also the management of these, other kinds of flows dictated by newer production regimes.

Consequently, both INS and Border Patrol officials have been caught up in a peculiarly and seemingly contradictory discourse about their roles in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands. On the one hand, they have been staunch advocates of the forward-deployment strategy (Operation Hold-the–Line) and the increased security of the border. On the other hand, they have also advocated the construction of an increase in the number of lanes and bays to speed up truck inspections and therefore lessen the impact of customs surveillance at the border.[15] Indeed, the strains on the inspection facilities in this (and other high traffic ports of entry) between Canada, the United States and Mexico have sparked a discussion about outsourcing state inspections—to private companies located in a truck's host countries which would do the inspections prior to a border crossings. This proposal is considered somewhat controversial by some INS and Border Patrol staff since it, in effect, represents a kind of privatization of U.S. state sovereignty. Nevertheless, the INS has considered developing E-Z pass lanes (such as those characterizing many toll stations in the United States) which would allow trucks to flash a pass-card (or swipe a magnetic card through a computer terminal) to bypass time-consuming inspections.[16]

In the current global economy, then, the "police" at the U.S.-Mexico borders seem to be caught between two modalities of sovereignty, both of which, under the influences of free-market global capitalism, have not only made the issue of opening and closing the gate more difficult, but also the identify of the Border Patrol and INS as law enforcement agencies much more complex.

Humane Borders: On the Cusp of New Relations of Protest

Although as an interdiction strategy, the forward-deployment plan seems to have been effective,[17] the increased surveillance of the border in key areas also generated new patterns of illegal migration—namely, the new border strategy has forced migrants to cross farther out into the desert. Currently, many illegal-entrants and smugglers are choosing to trek through remote parts of the desert to avoid the checkpoints. As a result, local ranchers are not only encountering more illegal migrants on their properties but also, sadly, their bodies.

On May 23, 2001, 14 undocumented Mexican migrants were found dead in the Arizona desert. Eerily echoing the deaths of the 13 migrants over two decades earlier, the incident, once again, sparked considerable discussion over border enforcement and migration from Mexico. At the forefront of the discussion are a number of church groups (including Borderlinks) who are deeply concerned about how first, to respond to the growing number of desert deaths and second, mount protest against the new border enforcement strategies.

Needless to say, orchestrating a response and initiating protest has been complicated by the fact that although the U.S. state (largely as the Border Patrol) has somewhat contradictory presence at the border vis-à-vis different constituencies, they have also generated a new interface of control over social relations in the region. No longer simply the "cat," the state has sought to construct itself as a participant in the community, a willing listener to community concerns, and as an umpire of dialogue—all roles which ultimately obscure rather than underscore its role as the armed arbiter of the border.

But a platform for protest has indeed been mounted. Concerned by how enforcement policies are pressing Mexican migrants to make dangerous treks into isolated desert areas, Borderlinks and a series of other church and citizens groups in Tucson formed a coalition called Humane Borders. The coalition has focussed primarily on the plight of Mexican migrants and has been an outspoken critic of the U.S. Border Patrol's enforcement policies, particularly its forward deployment strategy.

One of Humane Border's first concerns has been to develop strategic, life-saving responses to illegal migrants as they cross through dangerous desert terrain. In January 2001, prior to the catastrophes events of May, the coalition began the construction of water stations at various points along the U.S.-Mexico border. Each station consists of a 3x4' flag atop a 30' pole so that migrants can see the water signal at a distance.[18] The legal status of the water towers is dubious to say the least—it is possible that providing water to Mexican migrants could be considered by the state as a form of aiding and abetting undocumented aliens.[19]

One of the most interesting aspects of these water towers, however, is that the local Border Patrol has given a quiet, perhaps temporary acquiescence to the project—to date they have not threatened to arrest coalition members for aiding and abetting illegal

migrants. Although in informal conversations, Border patrol officials have expressed frustration at "church groups" for stirring up trouble, their official statements to the local media have underscored concern about the increasing number of migrant deaths in the desert. Interestingly, Humane Borders activists have also played upon the "new co-operation" in their statements to the media:[20]

> The water stations will go up, and U.S. agents will not try to stop them. "We are not in an adversarial relationship with the U.S. Border Patrol," [said] Robin Hoover, president of Humane Borders... "They [the Border Patrol] don't want to pick up dead bodies any more than we do." Indeed, as David Aguilar, chief patrol agent for the Tucson Sector, noted, the Border Patrol has greatly stepped up its search-and-rescue efforts, and is working with Mexican officials to warn migrants away from dangerous crossings. "We have a responsibility to enforce our laws, but concurrent with that, we have a responsibility to protect and save lives," he said.

Mounting Protest through "Co-operative" Relations: A New Interface of Power

Negotiating this "new" state has become a complicated task for Borderlinks and other activists involved in the Humane Borders coalition. Given the increased enforcement presence of the Border Patrol, should activists play up the cat-mouse images that were so successful during the Sanctuary period? Evasions and confrontations, however, no longer play the signal role that they once did in framing activist-state relations. For example, Mexican and U.S. Borderlinks members have to cross the U.S.-Mexico border regularly to hold meetings, run their projects, and co-ordinate financing and planning, but despite the increased "police presence" at the border, the kinds of border crossings that Borderlinks activists experience involve relatively little tension with the state.[21] What is the likelihood that a cat and mouse strategy would fly vis-à-vis the new set of state-community relations now characterizing the area? To date, state officials have gone out of their way to diffuse Humane Borders' construction of the watertowers by arguing that they too do not wish to retrieve dead bodies from the desert.

Clearly both the Humane Borders coalition and immigration officials are discovering and playing out new interfaces of conflict vis-à-vis a state that is hardly withering. Rather, it seems to be a state extending aspects of an older mode of territorial sovereignty and yet developing new, domain-based ones.

To what extent, then, will the *new co-operation*, embedded in a strategy of community outreach, shape the strategic choices and meanings of these social movement actors at the border? Such questions are, at the time of this writing, open-ended. But what this brief history of activist-state relations over a 10-year period attempts to convey is a sensitivity to the shifting roles and interfaces of conflict that globalizing processes have generated for both social movement actors and state representatives. What is perhaps intriguing about this specific case is that it points to the complex roles states (as well as activists) must play as they occupy specific localizations of global relations (i.e., the state's roles vis-à-vis a free trade but immigration-enforced U.S.-Mexico border). In the above scenario, the state is at once a more powerful player as the guardian of a border now defined by NAFTA and yet has been forced to develop a dispersed set of identities around conflicting claims (a community of voices).

In light of this, it seems doubtful that a cat and mouse relationship will suffice for the future. But one never knows. In the same article quoted above (*New York Times*, June 10, 2001) the journalist left readers with a hint that that the old interface between states and protesters in Arizona's punishing desert has not yet been erased. The article concludes:

> But the Border Patrol's tolerance may soon face a test. Some members of Humane Borders are talking about bolder measures, including posting volunteers in the desert at night to look out for and rescue migrants in distress.
>
> The penalty for transporting an illegal immigrant can be up to 10 years in prison and more than $250,000 in fines. The Border Patrol has instructed the volunteers to summon a patrol agent who would take the migrant to a hospital, where they would be treated before being deported.
>
> But Mr. Fife, the minister convicted for his sanctuary work, said that he recently told the Border Patrol chief in Tucson: "You know I'm not going to turn over anyone I find to Border Patrol for deportation. He told me, 'If I find you reverting to your old ways, I'm going to put the cuffs on you myself.'"

The quote from John Fife—one of the founders of the U.S. Sanctuary Movement and one of those convicted for aiding and abetting undocumented aliens in the 1985-86 Sanctuary trial—is an interesting one, particularly as it conjures up an old interface, that of an INS officer (the state) arresting a Presbyterian minister (the church). It may be that Humane Borders activists, Rev. Fife among them, are reluctant to cede the old, politi-

cally-potent interface positing an opposition between church and state. But it also equally unclear whether, in the current climate of the "new co-operation," this old interface will work in the face of a transitioning state.

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Notes

1 See Basok, 1996; Held et. al., 1999; Mooers and Sears, 1992; and Steinmetz, 1999 for summaries of this literature.

2 Although there is a voluminous literature on this topic, I feel that some of the best conceptual and analytical work in this area has been done, for example, by Aihwa Ong especially her notion of "graduated sovereignty" (1999); Saskia Sassen's concept of state "encasements" and new geographies of power (1995, 1999) and Robert Latham's understanding of sovereignty as domain-based rather than territorial (1998).

3 See Cerny, 1995; Ghils, 1992; Rudolph, 1997; J. Smith et al., 1997; and Webber, 1994.

4 Eight were convicted and sentenced in 1987, including Rev. John Fife, the pastor of the first U.S. church to declare Sanctuary and who is quoted in the New Times article excerpted at the end of this paper.

5 Refugees were usually responsible for making their way across the Mexico-Guatemala border and to a Sanctuary contact in Mexico City, but in some cases (particularly in the early years of the underground) Sanctuary activists from the United States would go to either Guatemala, El Salvador or southern Mexico and "accompany" refugees into the underground (see Corbett, 1991).

6 Tinted windows are now fairly common in southern Arizona, but in the early to mid-1980s they were symbolically linked to drug runners.

7 Sanctuary activists also worked to avoid Mexican police at the border, but in the few instances were they stopped by Mexican police, they were able to buy their way out of difficult situations. As a result, when underground members conducted runs into Mexico, the "budget" for the trip included not only food and fuel, but usually $20-40 U.S. for a *mordida* or bribe. During my research with the underground 1990-93, activists were stopped only twice by Mexican immigration police. Needless to say, the evasion strategies for undergrounds operating out of southern Texas and California may well have included a different set of practices and encounters with Mexican state officials depending on how local border surveillance was done on each side.

8 J. Smith February 26, 1986, *New Times*: 8.

9 See Cunningham, 1999 for a more detailed account of this period of activism.

10 Between 1980 and the mid-1990s, the population of Nogales, Mexico swelled from roughly 12 000 to 350 000 owing mostly to migrant labour in search of jobs in the maquiladoras. During the 1980s, the number of maquiladoras in Nogales went from 23 to just under 70 (Davidson, 2000: 35). See also Kopinak 1996.

11 Historically, Nogales, Mexico (roughly a one-hour drive from Tucson) has had one of the least organized labour forces on the border. Nor in the past have its maquiladora workers been effectively represented by Mexico's main official union, the Confederación de Trabajadores de México (CTM) which signed a worker-unfriendly contract with 14 factories in Nogales in 1981 without consulting factory employees. The contract allowed the companies control over hiring and firing employees, the ability to change work hours and holidays at will, as well as the right to set the speed of the machinery (Davidson, 2000: 33). In addition, throughout the region, union organizers and labour activists have been arrested, tortured and murdered for their activities.

12 One consequence of exposure to and involvement in the anti-NAFTA and antiglobalization network resulted in Borderlinks's desire to reconstitute the organization as binational entity—i.e., to formalize (and politicize) the connections established between Mexican and U.S. communities from the Sanctuary period or to create, in the words of one organizer, "a crossborder community of people of faith and action." For the Borderlinks participants, this has meant having U.S. and Mexican citizens on their board of directors, hiring Mexican as well as U.S. staff, and establishing projects which bring together U.S. and Mexican activists.

13 In addition, Central Americans who were living in Mexico (at the time of their request for Sanctuary assistance) who could not establish that they were in danger while living there would also tend not be assisted through the underground.

14 Interestingly enough the U.S. Border patrol has also formalized aspects of its binational co-ordination of border surveillance. In this sector, there are now two Mexico liaison officers, one located in Nogales and the other in Naco.

15 Several border patrol agents are currently involved in a special task force called the "Development Council"—a group consisting of municipal civil servants, law enforcement officers, elected officials and local business people. The task force had recently identified four priorities for the region, two of which focussed on border traffic issues. The other two: waste water treatment plant/sewage coming from Mexico problem for U.S. side and new training center for future job training and education. Internal BP memo, February 18, 2001.

16 One can only assume that such a proposal has been tabled in the current climate of "trucking disputes between the United States and Mexico. On August 2, 2001, Mexican President Vicente Fox stated that he would bar all U.S. trucks from Mexico until Mexican truckers are allowed in U.S. highways. The statement followed a U.S. Senate vote to impose restrictions on the entry of large trucking rigs from Mexico. Mexico has refused to allow any U.S. trucks to enter Mexico since February 2001 when a NAFTA panel ruled that the United States was in violation of the treaty which was to supposed to open up the country to unrestricted truck traffic.

17 Between October 1, 1999 and February 29, 2000 Tucson Sector Border Patrol agents apprehended 232 448 illegal entrants, an amount that was roughly 70 000 more than recorded in the same period the year before.

18 In May 2001, the Mexican government announced that it had been issuing survival kits to aid safe passage to Mexican citizens attempting to enter the United States.

19 The penalty for transporting an illegal immigrant can be 2-10 years in prison and $5 000-$25 000 in fines.

20 The INS reported 369 deaths for 2000, up from 231 in 1999.

21 Interviews conducted in 1999-2000, for example, showed that there has been nominal difficulty for either Mexican or U.S. Borderlinks participants in crossing the border to attend meetings (which are held alternately in Mexico and the United States), and that cross-border cards (identity cards that allow Mexicans to cross into the United States for specific purpose) have been "no problem" to obtain. U.S.-based activists also indicated that other than the fact that car insurance and the cost of transit visas have gone up for U.S. citizens going into Mexico, it was relatively "easy" for them to cross this newly fortified border. While activists noted and lamented the increased presence of Border Patrol and Mexican judicial police at the border, unlike the crossings on the Sanctuary period, their own transnational crossings seem largely unaffected by these developments.

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La participation, dans quel sens? L'exemple des organisations communautaires et de l'agriculture urbaine dans les villes de Mexico et de Cuernavaca

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Résumé : S'inspirant d'une approche des mouvements sociaux qui accorde une importance centrale aux dimensions symboliques de l'action collective, l'auteure de cet article suggère que le sens même de ce que participer signifie devient un enjeu pour les organisations communautaires qui s'engagent dans des programmes de développement axés sur l'entrepreneuriat populaire. Resitué dans l'évolution générale des mouvements urbains populaires mexicains, l'exemple de deux organisations ayant récemment investi le terrain de l'économie sociale en agriculture urbaine permet d'illustrer comment les effets structurants des activités de production marchande entraînent, chez les personnes et les groupes concernés, une renégociation du sens accordé à la participation.

Mot-clés: participation, agriculture urbaine, développement, anthropologie de l'économie, économie sociale, Mexique

Abstract: In accordance with a theory of social movements which puts emphasis on the symbolical dimensions of collective action, this article suggests that what participation means is at stake as community organizations are integrating in increasing numbers financial schemes directed at the development of popular entrepreneurship. In the context of the transformation of the urban popular movement in Mexico, the case of two community organizations which have recently developed urban agriculture activities directed at the market illustrates that this new situation induces, both for persons and the organizations they belong to, a renegotiation of the meaning of participation.

Keywords: participation, urban agriculture, development, anthropology of economy, social economy, Mexico

> «Participez, participez, participez, vous dis-je!» On entend dans le monde entier la même injonction. Elle ne s'adresse évidemment qu'aux habitants pauvres. —Pierre Calame (1999 : 3)

Introduction

La vertu de la «participation» semble, depuis quelques années, donner lieu à un consensus sans précédent entre les agences intergouvernementales, telles l'ONU et les institutions qui composent son système, les agences internationales d'aide au développement, les gouvernements nationaux et locaux, les ONGs et les organisations populaires. Cette apparente convergence peut masquer le fait que la notion de participation est loin d'être univoque (Johnson et Wilson, 2000 : 1891; Toranzo Roca, 1999 : XIII) et que le «sens» accordé à la notion de participation est l'expression de rapports sociaux et de projets politiques spécifiques portés par des acteurs qui occupent des places distinctes dans les structures internationales, nationales et locales du pouvoir[1]. Le «sens» de la participation s'inscrit également dans des trajectoires nationales particulières. Dans les pays qui ont connu la dictature ou des régimes politiques autoritaires, la participation peut se poser comme l'antithèse de l'autoritarisme. Selon Costa (1994), elle renvoie à des rapports politiques qui s'établissent dans le «sens» horizontal tandis que l'autoritarisme repose sur des rapports qui se jouent à la verticale (domination/subordination). Pourtant, les termes de ce rapport ne sont pas mutuellement exclusifs. Aussi la participation peut-elle s'inscrire dans des rapports autoritaires lorsque, par exemple, elle devient obligatoire ou conditionne, pour certains groupes, le respect de droits sociaux ou la prestation de services publics. L'application du programme PROGRESA par l'administration d'Ernesto Zedillo en région mazahua en constitue un exemple.

Cet article repose donc sur l'idée que la participation s'inscrit dans des rapports plus ou moins horizon-

taux ou verticaux. Dans cette optique, je suggère que des luttes se jouent au quotidien autour du sens même de la participation, c'est-à-dire de la signification qu'on lui prête et du type de projet social qui s'y trouve lié. Escobar et Alvarez (1992), Melucci (1996), Benford et Snow (2000) suggèrent que les mouvements sociaux contemporains ne sont pas constitués uniquement autour de la défense d'intérêts matériels de la part de groupes sociaux objectivement définis par la place qu'ils occupent dans l'organisation sociale et du travail mais, aussi, autour de la défense de différentes interprétations du monde qui s'affrontent dans une arène conflictuelle. Dans cette arène, les idées, les symboles, les concepts et les paradigmes structurant la pensée sont en jeu. L'issue de la lutte est l'hégémonie d'une structure d'interprétation du monde. Si les autres ne disparaissent pas devant elle, elles y sont subordonnées et se présentent comme autant d'«alternatives» que leurs défenseurs peuvent tenter de hisser au sommet. Ces luttes collectives se jouent au plan des significations, mais elles ont des retombées réelles. À l'inverse, les interprétations en lutte sont issues de l'expérience. Dans cette perspective, la relation entre expérience et idéologie est dialogique.

Dans cet article[2], je m'attarde plus spécifiquement, à partir d'exemples en agriculture urbaine, aux organisations communautaires qui mettent sur pied des entreprises de l'économie sociale. La participation constitue un élément définitoire de l'économie sociale et l'autodétermination a été au cœur des luttes menées depuis presque quarante ans par le mouvement urbain populaire mexicain. Lors d'un séjour au Mexique en 1998, j'ai toutefois été à même de constater que la capacité de ces organisations communautaires à définir leurs objectifs de manière autonome risque de se voir compromise avec leur insertion croissante dans des programmes de développement qui favorisent une participation plus économique que politique.

Après la présentation de quelques éléments conceptuels relativement aux organisations communautaires de base (OCBs), aux organisations non gouvernementales (ONGs) et à l'économie sociale, j'expose, en prenant appui sur des données de terrain, comment se sont transformées les pratiques de deux organisations communautaires ayant récemment investi le terrain de l'économie sociale. Situant ces transformations dans l'évolution du mouvement urbain populaire au Mexique, je montre que leurs effets structurants provoquent, chez les personnes et les organisations, une renégociation du sens accordé à la participation.

OCBs, ONGs, économie sociale et participation : quelques éléments conceptuels

De l'avis de Lewis (1999 : 74), l'anthropologie peut jouer un rôle actif au sein des études du Tiers secteur en «révélant, élargissant et approfondissant» (ma traduction) davantage ce champ de recherche. Il considère que les pratiques et les logiques qui sous-tendent l'action des petites associations locales demeurent trop peu étudiées, ce qui empêche de voir comment leur action, façonnée par les politiques de développement, contribue aussi à façonner ces dernière. Ses propos rejoignent ceux d'Escobar (1997 : 556), qui suggère pour sa part que l'ethnographie peut contribuer à renouveler les études anthropologiques de la mondialisation et du développement. À son avis, celle-ci permet de mettre à jour les processus de reconstruction constante des identités collectives et des pratiques économiques locales. Autrement dit, ces deux auteurs suggèrent d'examiner comment les dynamiques micro-sociales, telles qu'elles se présentent dans les trajectoires de groupes particuliers, s'insèrent dans et contribuent tout à la fois à la transformation des paradigmes sociétaux, dont celui du développement (Fisher, 1997 : 449). Mes travaux sur l'agriculture urbaine, entrepris en 1998, s'inscrivent dans cette visée. Ils se situent à la croisée des études sur les organisations communautaires de base (OCBs) et des études sur les organisations non gouvernementales (ONGs), que je distingue des premières. À l'instar de Mitlin (1998 : 91), je définis les ONGs comme des «(...) organisations intermédiaires, professionnelles, sans adhérents et à but non lucratif, indépendantes par rapport à l'État, qui entreprennent diverses activités aux fins de favoriser le développement». Quant aux OCBs, elles sont des

> (...) organisations populaires, également indépendantes de l'État. Les risques, les coûts et les bénéfices sont partagés entre les membres, et les dirigeants ou les gestionnaires sont responsables devant les adhérents. La plupart sont à but non lucratif, mais certaines fonctionnent en tant qu'entreprises commerciales coopératives. (Mitlin, 1998 : 91)

La différence que j'établis entre OCBs et ONGs tient donc au fait que les activités des premières visent à bénéficier à leurs membres et, qu'en général, elles ne comptent pas d'employés, tandis que les ONGs travaillent pour des tiers et emploient des professionnels rémunérés.

Dans sa dimension conceptuelle, la notion d'économie sociale[3] rejoint la perspective substantiviste de l'économie proposée par Polanyi (1967). Dans sa dimen-

sion empirique, elle désigne un ensemble de pratiques économiques assez diverses mais qui peuvent être fédérées sur la base de principes partagés :

1. finalité de service aux membres ou à la collectivité plutôt que de profit;
2. autonomie de gestion;
3. processus de décision démocratique;
4. primauté des personnes et du travail sur le capital dans la répartition des revenus. (Defourny et Develtere, 1999 : 38)

Les coopératives, les mutuelles et certaines associations productrices de biens ou de services destinés à leurs membres et /ou à des tiers appartiennent à ce grand ensemble. Les coopératives et les mutuelles ont une histoire qui date de plus de 150 ans. Quant aux associations, elles ont initié leurs incursions dans l'économie sociale dans les années 1970. Elles se sont multipliées au cours des années 1980 et, surtout, de la dernière décennie. On considère généralement que l'émergence d'entreprises de l'économie sociale se veut une réponse à des demandes sociales qui ne se trouvent comblées ni par le secteur public, ni par le secteur privé. Elles émaneraient donc d'une condition de nécessité[4] (Defourny et Develtere, 1999 : 44-45). Par ailleurs, ces initiatives se développement dans le sillage de mouvements sociaux revendicateurs d'une plus grande implication des usagers et des usagères (ou des consommateurs et des consommatrices) dans la définition et l'offre de services, dans des secteurs comme l'éducation (pour la garde des jeunes enfants, notamment), la santé (par exemple, des groupes offrant des services alternatifs pour les femmes ou en santé mentale), le logement (coopératives d'habitation) ou l'alimentation (coopératives de consommateurs, jardins d'insertion, agriculture soutenue par la communauté, etc.). La présence grandissante de l'économie sociale correspond aussi à la remise en cause de l'État-providence, à la crise de l'emploi, au déploiement de politiques économiques néolibérales et, au Mexique comme dans d'autres pays du Tiers monde, aux mesures d'ajustement structurel imposées par les institutions financières internationales comme la Banque mondiale ou le Fonds monétaire international, qui ont eu entre autres conséquences de renvoyer aux personnes et aux groupes sociaux des responsabilités qui étaient, depuis plusieurs décennies, attribuées à l'État (Verduzco, List et Salomon, 1999).

Le démarrage d'une entreprise de l'économie sociale de la part d'une OCB exige généralement un investissement qui n'est possible que grâce à un financement externe, sous forme de subvention ou de prêt. Ce financement passe souvent par une ONG nationale ou extra-nationale, surtout si l'OCB en question ne possède pas de statut juridique, donc pas d'existence légale. Dans ce cas, l'ONG joue un rôle d'intermédiaire entre la «base», représentée par l'OCB, et les bailleurs de fonds.

Si, comme le fait remarquer Aguilar Villanueva, aujourd'hui encore, de nombreuses organisations civiles mexicaines évitent d'établir des rapports formels avec le gouvernement, de peur d'y perdre leur autonomie et leur identité (1997 : 96), la question se pose également en lien avec les bailleurs de fonds auxquels ces organisations font appel dans le but d'ajouter un volet entrepreneurial à leurs activités. Les organisations communautaires de base qui intègrent le domaine économique en s'associant à des programmes de développement axés sur l'entrepreneurship comme axe du développement social peuvent-elles arriver à conserver le contrôle de leurs activités et de leur identité collective? Que signifie participer dans ce contexte?

Agriculture urbaine et participation : de l'éducation populaire à l'entrepreneuriat social

Prenons d'abord le cas du Centre Communautaire d'Éducation et d'Action Environnementale (CECEAMI), au sein duquel s'activaient en 1998, lorsque j'ai mené ma recherche sur le terrain, une dizaine d'hommes et de femmes du quartier Miravalle, situé dans la délégation d'Iztapalapa, au sud-est de la zone métropolitaine de la ville de Mexico. Les membres du CECEAMI réalisaient alors des activités d'éducation environnementale, de production organique de plantes comestibles et médicinales, de lombriculture et de fabrication de compost. Le CECEAMI n'a pas d'existence légale mais, avec deux autres organisations communautaires du quartier, actives dans les domaines de l'éducation et de la santé communautaire, il constitue une composante de la COCOMI (*Coordinadora Comunitaria Miravalle*) qui est, elle, une association civile dont le statut est juridiquement reconnu. En tant qu'association civile, la COCOMI peut obtenir et gérer elle-même les ressources financières nécessaires au maintien et au développement de ses activités et de celles de chacune de ses composantes.

Dès les premières années d'existence du quartier Miravalle, au milieu des années 1980, une organisation de citoyens appelée J'tekilaltik (un mot emprunté au maya tojolabal, qui signifie «paradis») fut mise sur pieds par des frères maristes venus s'y installer dans le but de fonder une école primaire. Cette organisation «indépendante»[5], qui s'est impliquée principalement dans des revendications visant l'installation d'infrastructures urbaines et l'introduction de services publics dans le

quartier, s'est plus tard scindée pour donner lieu à l'émergence de différents groupes, dont trois forment aujourd'hui la COCOMI.

Le CECEAMI dispose d'un terrain où l'on trouvait en 1998 des parcelles dédiées à l'horticulture, un centre de compostage, une serre, une salle de réunion et deux réservoirs d'eau. Le terrain, d'une superficie de 2 500 mètres carrés, est situé aux limites du quartier. Il jouxte une zone de conservation écologique. Ce terrain devait servir à l'établissement de l'école secondaire des frères maristes mais, en 1993, à la suite de son expropriation par le gouvernement de la ville de Mexico dans le but de créer la réserve écologique de la Sierra de Santa Catarina, toute nouvelle construction se voyait bannie de ce périmètre. C'est alors que surgit l'idée d'y établir un Centre communautaire dédié à l'amélioration de l'environnement. Comme il s'agissait d'une activité compatible avec le nouveau zonage, la municipalité donna son autorisation et accepta de prêter le terrain à cette fin.

Outre l'exploitation de l'espace collectif en parcelles individuelles d'environ 500 mètres carrés, sur lesquelles ils sèment des haricots, des radis, des carottes, des laitues, de la coriandre et des figues de Barbarie, les membres du CECEAMI réalisent des activités de compostage. La matière première est constituée principalement de déchets verts récupérés des éventaires de légumes du quartier. Préalablement déchiquetés, il sont ensuite déposés dans des bacs en blocs de ciment d'environ un mètre carré, qui reposent directement sur le sol. On y ajoute des vers composteurs qui se chargent d'accélérer le processus naturel de transformation des déchets en humus.

En 1998, la vente du compost ne permettait pas encore de rétribuer les membres du groupe. En attendant, ils avaient décidé de créer un fonds mutuel où ils pourraient emprunter en cas de besoin (maladie, décès dans la famille, etc.). Mais on comptait bien pouvoir développer une véritable entreprise d'économie sociale. C'est d'ailleurs dans l'espoir d'en tirer un revenu stable que Don Martin[6], âgé de 50 ans, sans emploi depuis plusieurs années et dont la seule source de revenus était la revente de ballons de soccer détériorés dont il faisait la réparation, a joint le groupe. Pour le leader informel du groupe, un jeune agronome féru d'horticulture biologique, l'implication des membres dans une activité qui les transformerait personnellement et qui aurait des répercussions sur la dynamique socio-politique du quartier importait cependant davantage que le volume de production des parcelles ou du centre de compostage. Les motifs de Margarita, une autre membre du collectif, étaient un peu différents. Si elle prenait part aux activités du CECEAMI, c'était d'abord pour faire des apprentissages et échapper à l'enfermement domestique. Malgré les réprimandes de sa belle-famille, qui considérait qu'elle perdait son temps à s'investir dans des activités communautaires, elle affirmait que pour rien au monde elle n'y renoncerait :

> J'aime travailler, j'aime participer, j'aime sortir dans le quartier, dans la communauté. Ils peuvent me frapper s'ils le veulent, je ne vais pas arrêter...Je ne participe pas par intérêt, mais parce que j'aime travailler, participer, apprendre... Avant, je ne savais pas parler correctement, j'étais gênée de parler à des gens qui n'étaient pas de ma famille. Ce n'est plus le cas... je me suis développée comme personne, j'ai appris des choses dont je ne soupçonnais même pas l'existence.

Comme on peut le constates, la participation prend des significations différentes pour les membres du CECEAMI.

L'organisation du travail est réglée au CECEAMI par les consensus établis au sein du groupe, une réunion ayant lieu chaque quinzaine pour faire le point. Au départ, on avait formé des comités (éducation et diffusion, jardin communautaire, déchets, gestion et administration) afin que chacun et chacune ait des responsabilités particulières. Ensuite, comme le groupe conservait une taille restreinte, ses membres ont jugé que les comités n'étaient plus nécessaires. En réalisant mon enquête sur le terrain, j'ai pu constater que les membres du groupe remplissaient différentes tâches à tour de rôle: brassage, tamisage, mise en sac du compost et surveillance du terrain car, une fois les légumes en croissance sur les parcelles cultivées, les vols étaient fréquents: rappelons que les quartiers avoisinants, comme celui de Miravalle, sont peuplés de ménages pauvres. Régulièrement, des corvées avaient lieu la fin de semaine pour travailler collectivement à l'aménagement du terrain, et les résidants du quartier étaient invités à y prendre part.

Jusqu'à l'été 1998, le CECEAMI avait compté sur du financement à fonds perdus provenant de l'Ambassade du Canada et d'une fondation privée mexicaine, DEMOS (*Iniciativa Social para el Desarrollo),* vouée à l'aide au développement communautaire. Cet argent avait permis l'acquisition d'équipement et la tenue d'activités d'éducation populaire au sein du groupe et auprès des habitants du quartier. Alors que je me trouvais sur place, la COCOMI étaient en train de réaliser un exercice de planification stratégique. Conseillés par des spécialistes du développement organisationnel rattachés à une ONG régionale, les représentants et représentantes

de ses différentes constituantes rédigeaient ensemble une mission, des objectifs et des stratégies à privilégier par l'association. Le tout devait mener à l'élaboration d'un document guide qui servirait à adresser des demandes de financement à des bailleurs de fonds potentiels.

A l'automne 1998, la COCOMI recevait une subvention de l'Institut du Développement Social du Mexique dans le cadre d'un nouveau programme d'investissement social[7]. Cette somme devait permettre à ses constituantes d'élargir leurs activités productives et de créer des emplois grâce à la mise en marché de leurs produits. Puis, au printemps 1999, à la suite de la présentation d'un projet axé sur l'implantation d'un fonds de crédit rotatif pour le démarrage de micro-entreprises, la voie entrepreneuriale recevait un stimuli supplémentaire avec l'obtention d'une importante subvention de la Fondation interaméricaine, dont les versements allaient s'échelonner sur trois ans. Pour le CECEAMI, cela signifiait que l'on pourrait hausser la productivité. Mais encore fallait-il trouver des débouchés pour les produits du collectif, c'est-à-dire le compost mais, aussi, comme le projet présenté à la Fondation interaméricaine le prévoyait, des cosmétiques et des produits médicinaux à base de plantes organiques. De nouvelles activités durent alors être entreprises: démarches auprès des autorités compétentes pour recevoir les permis nécessaires à la mise en marché (conditions d'hygiène pendant la transformation, qualité et nature organique des matières premières utilisées, emballage adéquat, étiquetage, etc.), amélioration de l'infrastructure, recherche de marchés solvables (Cerda García, 2000). Survivant pour la plupart grâce à des activités économiques informelles, les habitants du quartier ne représentent certainement pas un marché pour ce genre de produits et, en général, la demande pour les produits naturels manufacturés demeure peu développée au Mexique. Il fallait donc se tourner vers l'extérieur et penser à l'exportation.

L'orientation première du CECEAMI et de la COCOMI, voués à l'éducation populaire, à la transformation des rapports de genre et à l'amélioration de l'environnement et des services d'intérêt général dans le quartier, a donc été prise à partie. Cela n'a pas été sans provoquer de débats en leur sein. Aux dires d'un informateur directement impliqué dans l'organisation, les tensions, présentes depuis le début entre deux courants de pensée à l'intérieur de l'organisation, se sont trouvées poussées à leurs limites. Dans son ensemble, l'association se sentait parvenue à la croisée des chemins : ou bien elle s'investissait dans le démarrage de micro-entreprises génératrices de revenus, reléguant à un second plan l'éducation populaire et l'organisation communautaire qui avaient jusque là constitué le cœur de sa mission, ou bien elle réaffirmait la primauté de la rentabilité sociale, par contraste avec la rentabilité économique, de ses activités (Barroso Arias et al., 2000 : 5).

À partir de la présentation de ce cas, trois commentaires peuvent déjà être formulés en lien avec la question de la participation : 1) participer ne veut pas dire la même chose, au plan des motivations personnelles et des objectifs collectifs, pour tous les membres d'une organisation communautaire de base; 2) le développement d'activités de production visant le marché semble mettre ces différences en évidence; 3) l'adjonction d'objectifs marchands à des activités relevant auparavant d'une autre logique entraîne une restructuration des activités qui déplace la participation d'un pôle politique vers un pôle productiviste.

Un deuxième cas semble confirmer ces premières observations. Cette fois, il s'agit d'un groupe formé d'une quinzaine de femmes, résidantes du quartier Otilio Montaño de la ville de Cuernavaca, qui ont mis sur pied un centre de compostage avec l'aide de l'ONG CIDHAL (*Comunicación, Intercambio y Desarrollo Humano en América Latina*)[8] à laquelle l'organisation communautaire Ixtelloatl a fait appel à cette fin. Les données concernant l'évolution du projet de centre de compostage proviennent d'une entrevue menée auprès d'une intervenante de CIDHAL.

Le quartier Otilio Montaño est adjacent à une importante zone industrielle, appelée CIVAC (*Ciudad Industrial del Valle de Cuernavaca*), dont le périmètre se situe en partie dans la municipalité de Cuernavaca, en partie dans celle de Jiutepec. Créée en 1963, elle abrite aujourd'hui plus de 3 000 entreprises de taille variée, dont les plus grandes dans le secteur de l'industrie chimique, pharmaceutique, automobile et textile. L'organisation écologiste Ixtelloatl, à laquelle participent des résidants et des résidantes d'une vingtaine de quartiers situés autour de la zone industrielle, a pris forme à la suite de la tenue, en 1987, d'un atelier d'analyse de la problématique environnementale provoquée par la croissance de la CIVAC. Cet atelier avait été organisé par un regroupement de communautés ecclésiales de base de Jiutepec (Fundación Don Sergio Méndez Arceo[9], 1997 : 29). S'inspirant de la théologie de la libération, ces communautés ecclésiales, qui ont une forte présence dans les quartiers populaires à Cuernavaca, favorisent l'analyse politique et la participation des secteurs populaires aux mouvements sociaux progressistes. Les OCBs et les ONGs actives dans la protection de l'environnement ont une présence notable dans l'État de Morelos. Elles représentent

actuellement près du quart des «organisations non gouvernementales» répertoriées par le gouvernement de l'état[10] (Gouvernement de l'état de Morelos, 2001). C'est dire que la participation n'est pas une expérience nouvelle pour les femmes impliquées dans la création du centre de compostage du quartier Otilio Montaño. Plusieurs sont actives depuis plusieurs années au sein de communautés ecclésiales de base, de leur association de quartier, d'Ixtelloatl, etc. Sans doute, ces différentes organisations, qui poursuivent des objectifs spécifiques distincts, ont-elles des pratiques participatives variées. Mais revenons au centre de fabrication de compost.

D'après mon informatrice, une professionnelle du CIDHAL, le projet, qui a débuté en 1996, comportait trois volets : éducation environnementale, transformation des rapports de genre et entrepreneuriat collectif. Au cours des deux premières années, les participantes ont pris part à différentes activités de formation en lien avec ces trois volets. Elles ont également eu l'occasion de faire partager les techniques de récupération des déchets domestiques qu'elles y ont acquises auprès des jeunes et des adultes de leur quartier. Le centre de compostage a débuté ses activités en 1998, sur un lot urbain d'environ 150 mètres carrés, prêté par le conjoint de l'une des membres du collectif. Une contribution du ministère du Développement Social du Mexique, obtenue par CIDHAL, permit de se procurer l'équipement nécessaire à son aménagement. N'étant pas légalement constitué, le groupe de femmes n'aurait pas pu avoir accès au programme gouvernemental. L'intermédiation d'une ONG s'avérait essentielle à l'obtention de ces ressources financières.

Tout comme au centre de compostage de Miravalle, l'organisation du travail est demeurée assez informelle et les processus de prise de décision, consensuels. N'ayant pas réalisé d'observations sur place, il m'est impossible de décrire avec précision les rapports qui se sont vraiment établis entre les femmes. Toutefois, les propos de mon informatrice ne laissent pas de doute à l'effet qu'une structuration minimale du travail y prévalait. Par exemple, même si les membres du groupe s'étaient alloué des responsabilités et des tâches particulières au sein de l'entreprise, leur réalisation s'est faite de manière plutôt anarchique et les horaires de travail étaient très fluctuants. Par ailleurs, le volume de production du compost est demeuré faible et peu d'efforts ont été investis dans sa commercialisation. Des ventes n'ont été réalisées qu'à petite échelle et les sommes obtenues ont été réinvesties dans l'entreprise. Ainsi, au moment de mon passage à Cuernavaca, plusieurs mois après le démarrage du centre, aucune rémunération n'avait encore été versée aux membres du groupe. Toujours selon mon informatrice, cet état de choses ne représentait pas un problème pour la plupart des femmes impliquées, qui s'intéressaient moins à la viabilité de l'entreprise qu'au succès de leurs activités d'éducation environnementale auprès des habitants du quartier. D'autant plus que leur participation aux différentes activités collectives de formation et d'enseignement issues du projet semblait avoir provoqué rapidement, aux dires des femmes elles-mêmes, une valorisation accrue auprès de leurs conjoints et de leurs enfants. Cet apparent détachement par rapport aux objectifs entrepreneuriaux du projet peut cacher un déni des difficultés rencontrées. Par exemple, étant donnée la faible superficie du terrain dont elles disposaient, il n'était pas réaliste d'obtenir un rendement assez important pour assurer la rentabilité de l'entreprise et créer des emplois viables pour l'ensemble des femmes impliquées. Mais ce détachement peut aussi révéler une résistance de la part des femmes, dont une majorité semblait concevoir davantage leur groupe et leur centre de compostage comme un espace de sociabilité et de socialisation politique, pour reprendre une expression de Massolo (1997), que comme une entreprise. D'après mon informatrice, plusieurs rejetaient l'idée d'avoir à s'auto - imposer des horaires stricts de travail, à tenir un contrôle serré du volume de production, bref à standardiser les procédures et à se fixer des objectifs en termes de productivité. Elles n'étaient pas là pour cela.

En bout de ligne, plusieurs questions se sont tout de même posées. Par exemple, dans l'éventualité de la génération de surplus, comment déterminer la part devant revenir à chacune des «travailleuses» du collectif de production? Devrait-on mesurer le temps passé au travail? Les responsabilités assumées? Et comment déterminer le moment où la rentabilité est atteinte? Il faut tenir des comptes, déterminer le volume de production, faire des projections de vente, chercher des acheteurs, etc. Ainsi, de commenter mon informatrice, des activités de formation en administration ont-elles été prévues pour la troisième année du projet afin de doter les participantes des outils de gestion et des attitudes indispensables à la bonne santé financière de l'entreprise ainsi qu'au maintien de bonnes relations au sein du collectif.

À partir de ces deux exemples, il est possible d'identifier quelques éléments d'analyse quant aux transformations auxquelles se voit soumise la notion de participation dans des organisations communautaires qui s'activent dans le cadre de projets de développement où la composante économique devient centrale et qui impliquent la vente de produits sur le marché.

De la revendication à la prise en charge

Resituer ces expériences dans l'évolution générale des mouvements urbains populaires au Mexique permet de constater qu'elles en représentent les tendances les plus récentes. Ainsi, au plan des rapports entre les organisations communautaires de base et les politiques sociales qui émanent des gouvernements nationaux ou des organisations internationales, les cas présentés illustrent le passage d'une approche revendicatrice, parfois radicale, qui remettait en cause un système politique et économique basé sur des rapports sociaux asymétriques, à l'adhésion au moins partielle à un paradigme sociétal ancré dans le libéralisme économique lequel, au lieu de resituer les inégalités sociales dans leur réalité historique et structurelle, fait des individus et des collectivités locales les seuls responsables de leur destin économique. Le mouvement urbain populaire du Mexique, articulé autour des organisations communautaires de base, n'est plus celui qui a pris forme dans les années 1950. Il ne prend plus l'État social pour principal interlocuteur. Délaissant ses revendications pour des services collectifs accessibles pour tous les citoyens et toutes les citoyennes, il participe maintenant d'une offre de services structurée localement et subsidiée par les institutions financières internationales ou les agences d'aide au développement.

Rappelons qu'avec une urbanisation accélérée à partir des années 1950, des mouvements urbains revendiquant pour les masses l'accès au sol, à l'habitat, aux équipements et aux services collectifs (santé, éducation) ont pris naissance dans différentes villes du pays. Ces mouvements ont, pour la plupart, été cooptés et ont joint, comme les mouvements ouvriers et paysans, une structure verticale d'intégration sous contrôle étatique. La Confédération Nationale des Organisations Populaires (CNOP), créée en 1943 et constituée au départ de professionnels et d'entrepreneurs, a constitué à côté de la Confédération des Travailleurs Mexicains (CTM) et de la Confédération Nationale Paysanne (CNC) un des trois piliers de cette structure. À partir de la fin des années 1960, appuyés par des étudiants et des professionnels de gauche et profitant d'une ouverture du président Echeverría envers les mouvements indépendants (Bennett, 1992 : 247), plusieurs organisations se sont engagées dans des processus de conscientisation, de mobilisation des pauvres urbains et de revendication démocratiques inspirés, pour la plupart, d'une volonté de changement social radical, dont la première étape a culminé en 1980 avec la création de la CONAMUP, la Coordination Nationale du Mouvement Urbain Populaire. Les militants des organisations populaires indépendantes de l'époque se gardaient de tout rapprochement avec le parti hégémonique ou les agences gouvernementales, de crainte d'être absorbés par les mécanismes de contrôle corporatif qui, pendant des décennies, ont contenu la société civile mexicaine (Hiernaux-Nicolas, 1995; Reilly, 1995). Jusqu'à la fin des années 1980, et malgré une certaine ouverture au sein du parti officiel, bon nombre de ces organisations ont refusé toute intervention des «institutions économiques et politiques dominantes» qui serait venue contaminer le travail effectué et créer de nouvelles dépendances (Sanyal, 1999 : 184).

Au cours des années 1980, la conjoncture économique défavorable favorisant l'entrée de l'aide au développement au pays, les ONGs mexicaines se sont multipliées. Une partie d'entre elles sont directement issues d'organisations communautaires de base ayant pris leur distance de l'Église catholique ou des organisations politiques de gauche qui en avaient été le plus souvent à l'origine[11] (Aguilar, 1997 : 295-297). Dépendantes des bailleurs de fonds internationaux, dont elles constituent des intermédiaires face aux organisations communautaires de base, les ONGs ont développé une expertise dans les thématiques considérées les plus pertinentes au plan international : rapports de genre, environnement et, plus récemment, production et création d'emplois pour lutter contre la pauvreté.

Pour Rodriguez et Winchester (1996 : 69), les ONGs et les OCBs ont en quelque sorte pris le relais de l'État national pour l'application de programmes de développement social. Il faut dire que la crise économique des années 1980 et la mise en place de mesures d'ajustement structurel ont contribué à la transformation des relations entre l'État et la société civile au Mexique. Aujourd'hui, l'État n'est plus considéré comme le principal moteur du développement économique et social. Son rôle est de maintenir les conditions qui permettent la reproduction du capital dans la nouvelle économie globale. Avec le déploiement du modèle néolibéral, le marché devient le principe régulateur central de la société et on mise sur l'initiative individuelle pour parer aux ratés du système (Sánchez, 1994 : 314). La population est renvoyée à elle-même pour la production des biens et des services qui relevaient du domaine public là où le secteur privé n'y voit pas d'intérêt ou lorsque la demande n'est pas solvable. Les organisations communautaires de base ont un important rôle à jouer dans ce modèle.

Ainsi, à l'instar du reste de l'Amérique latine, les organisations communautaires mexicaines délaissent depuis le milieu des années 1980 la position contestataire qui les caractérisait pour adopter une approche

axée davantage sur la concertation et le partenariat avec des acteurs politiques et économiques nationaux ou internationaux (Fox et Hernandez, 1995 : 181; Oakley et Flores, 1994 : 296; Regalado Santillan, 1997). Les cas présentés dans cet article illustrent cette évolution. Nous avons vu qu'à Cuernavaca et à Mexico, des associations de quartier, actives au sein d'un mouvement revendicateur pendant les années 1980, ont donné naissance à des organisations s'intéressant à des problématiques plus larges et jugées prioritaires dans le domaine du développement international, comme les transformations des rapports de genre et l'environnement. Depuis 1995, alors que l'éradication de la pauvreté et la création d'emplois en sont devenus les mots d'ordre, ces organisations ont réorienté leurs visées ce qui a contribué, notamment, au démarrage d'entreprises de l'économie sociale. La viabilité de ces entreprises leur permettrait de maintenir leurs préoccupations pour le développement social et le changement social à long terme, tout en contribuant à l'amélioration immédiate, dans le court terme et par le biais de la génération de revenus, des conditions de vie de leurs membres.

Mais alors que les organisations présentées dans cet article sont entrées dans une dynamique partenariale, à côté de l'État et du marché (Favreau, 1999 : 252), ces derniers n'y imposeront-ils pas leur vision de la participation et du développement, du fait qu'ils détiennent les cordons de la bourse? S'ils déterminent les thématiques et les approches à privilégier, on peut se demander si l'adhésion des organisations communautaires aux programmes axés sur le démarrage d'entreprises n'est pas en train de s'établir sur un mode de participation qui relèverait, en partie, de l'autoritarisme.

Conclusion : les sens multiples de la participation

Nous avons pu constater que, chez les personnes impliquées dans les organisations communautaires présentées dans cet article, la participation peut prendre des sens distincts, qui renvoient à des situations et à des aspirations personnelles, dont certaines sont modulées par le genre (Margarita veut s'activer dans une activité valorisante en-dehors de l'espace domestique; Don Martín veut un emploi pour faire vivre sa famille). Comme l'exemple du centre de compostage de Cuernavaca l'a montré, certains aspects des initiatives lancées par les organisations communautaires elles-mêmes donnent lieu à une résistance passive lorsque la notion de participation n'y correspond plus aux attentes initiales des membres ou à ce qu'ils et elles ont identifié, jusque là, comme étant les principaux bénéfices de leur participation.

Ainsi, aux sens multiples auxquels renvoie la notion de participation sur le registre individuel, vient se jouxter une signification portée par les organisations. Celle-ci, constitutive de leur identité collective, est en constante renégociation et elle évolue avec le temps. Dans le cas de la COCOMI, la remise en question est importante. Une scission en dérivera peut-être. Arrivée à un tel point de rupture, la situation des OCBs devient paradoxale, comme celle des ONGs en général puisque, comme le signale Gordon, leur capacité à se maintenir comme organisations autonomes et autogérées passe par le financement de la part d'agences diverses qui ont leurs propres priorités (1997 : 62).

Depuis que Rahnema (1992) concluait dans son analyse critique de la notion de participation à la récupération d'un concept originellement porté par la gauche par les concepteurs d'un développement «par le haut», celle-ci est devenue suspecte pour les anthropologues s'intéressant aux mouvements sociaux et au développement. Plusieurs travaux ethnographiques, comme celui de Gezon (2000) par exemple, ont contribué à montrer que malgré la rhétorique employée, la plupart des projets n'attribuent en réalité que très peu de pouvoir décisionnel aux groupes concernés directement par les interventions menées au nom du développement. Selon Woost (1997), malgré sa connotation « alternative », le discours de la participation en vogue dans le domaine du développement donne lieu à des pratiques qui contribuent à une intégration accrue des bénéficiaires au modèle social et économique dominant, qui a pour fondement une approche libérale du développement orientée vers l'expansion de l'économie capitaliste. Adnan (1992, d'après Gardner et Lewis, 1996 : 111) considère pour sa part que la seule vraie forme de participation est celle des acteurs locaux qui mettent sur pied leurs propres initiatives, ce qui correspondrait au paradigme du développement «par le bas». Toutefois, comme les initiatives d'agriculture urbaine présentées dans cet article en font foi, on ne saurait prétendre que ces acteurs locaux agissent en vase clos et qu'ils ont toute la latitude voulue pour décider de quoi leur participation sera faite.

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Notes

1 Comme c'est le cas pour d'autres notions d'usage généralisé qui s'insèrent dans un discours hégémonique (Centre Tricontinental, 1998), le sens donné au concept de participation est fonction de la position occupée au sein des

structures du pouvoir mondiales, nationales, régionales et locales. Pour les uns, la participation (sous-entendu, de la société civile) est devenue une condition préalable et nécessaire à l'établissement ou au maintien de la paix dans le monde (Boutros-Ghali, 1996). Pour les autres, une véritable démocratisation des sociétés ne saurait advenir sans cette participation (Mitlin, 1998). Pour d'autres encore, seule la participation est garante d'un développement à visage humain (Helmich et Lemmers, 1998 : 15). Pour les organisations populaires, elle renvoie d'abord à la possibilité d'influencer les dispositifs et de transformer les règles qui contribuent au maintien des inégalités sociales. De plus, tandis que, pour les agences de développement et les gouvernements, la participation représente d'abord un moyen pour atteindre des fins (maintien de la paix, satisfaction des besoins essentiels, développement humain durable, sécurité alimentaire, éradication de la pauvreté, etc.), chez les acteurs populaires, la participation à des mécanismes de la démocratie représentative ou à la démocratie directe (Barber, 1997) est souvent une fin en soi puisqu'elle représente des gains dans l'autodétermination (Toranzo Roca, 1999).

2 Le présent article est une version remaniée de la communication présentée le 13 mai 1999 lors du 25ème Congrès de la Société Canadienne d'Anthropologie dans le cadre du symposium «Participation à la base et interfaces bureaucratiques : le cas du Mexique». La recherche a été effectuée grâce à une bourse post-doctorale du Centre de recherches pour le développement international (CRDI). Je remercie les personnes qui ont évalué une première version de l'article.

3 Dans la littérature anglo-saxonne on utilise peu la notion d'économie sociale. Les travaux menés par le Centre de recherche sur la société civile de l'université John Hopkins, sous la direction de Lester M. Salamon, en constituent la référence la plus connue. On y utilise la notion de secteur sans but lucratif pour faire référence au Tiers secteur et à l'économie sociale. À la différence de la notion d'économie sociale, cependant, celle de secteur sans but lucratif exclut les coopératives, qui peuvent réaliser des profits, même s'ils sont redistribués aux membres sous forme de ristournes.

4 Pour une analyse anthropologique de la notion de nécessité telle qu'elle est véhiculée dans un quartier populaire du Mexique, voir Díaz Barriga (1996).

5 Ce qui signifie qu'elle n'était pas affiliée à la CNOP (Confédération Nationale des Organisations Populaires).

6 Il s'agit d'un pseudonyme.

7 L'Institut national de la Solidarité, qui relève du Ministère du Développement Social, SEDESOL, dispose depuis 1998 d'un fonds d'investissement social offrant des contributions qui peuvent aller jusqu'à 50% du budget total de projets visant la création d'emplois et devant être présentés par des ONGs de développement (SEDESOL, 1999b). Ces projets peuvent mener, notamment, à la mise sur pied d'entreprises sociales. Depuis 1995 (Noya et Lecamp, 1999), ce même Ministère gère également un Fonds spécialement destiné au démarrage d'entreprises de l'économie sociale, le FONAES (*Fondo de Apoyo a las Empresas de Solidaridad*), qui cible principalement les paysans, les indiens et les groupes populaires en milieu urbain (SEDESOL, 1999a).

8 Établie à Cuernavaca depuis 1969, CIDHAL se consacre à l'amélioration de la situation des femmes. Elle a été une des premières ONG féministes à se constituer en Amérique latine. CIDHAL intervient notamment dans le domaine de la santé reproductive, en offrant des consultations médicales à prix modique. L'organisation possède un centre de documentation, organise des activités de formation et parraine des projets spécifiques. Depuis quelques années, elle a également développé une expertise dans le domaine de l'environnement (Suarez et Van Remmen, 1996).

9 Cette organisation, active dans le mouvement pour le respect des droits humains au Mexique, a pris le nom d'un défunt évêque de Cuernavaca qui a milité activement contre la torture et autres formes de violations des droits humains au cours des années 1970 et 1980.

10 Le répertoire inclut des fondations privées, dédiées à la philanthropie, des associations de citoyens, des ONGs environnementalistes, des groupes communautaires offrant des services d'aide aux personnes âgées ou encore des coopératives de production. Bref, on y trouve, dans les termes du présent article, des OCBs aussi bien que des ONGs.

11 Dans son article, Aguilar relate les tensions qui ont marqué la distanciation des ONGs de développement d'avec les mouvements sociaux au Mexique. Pour ma part, je considère que les ONGs sont partie prenante des mouvements sociaux et que c'est plutôt des organisations communautaires de base, surtout celles qui formaient partie du mouvement urbain populaire, qu'elles se sont distinguées au cours des trente dernières années. La différence entre OCBs et ONGs demeure parfois ténue et au sein même des organisations, donne parfois lieu à des mésententes.

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Social Welfare in the 1990s in Mexico: The Case of "Marginal" Families in the Mazahua Region

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Abstract: In Mexico, the official discourse associates social welfare with development opportunities that so- called marginal families are expected to take advantage of. In the Mazahua region, these families commonly are headed by women. To fulfill the official discourse and related bureaucratic demands, the women must fit into organizations and take on new social responsibilities. In this paper, I will examine an initiative from the public sector (PROGRESA) and show that such programs change the household dynamics of families, generating feelings of resentment due to the inclusion/exclusion dynamics involved. Another of the paper's objectives is to assess how the program's execution creates new mechanisms of social control.

Keywords: social welfare, PROGRESA, social control, poverty, Mazahua, women

Résumé : Au Mexique, le discours officiel associe le bien-être social à des opportunités de développement dont les familles dites marginales se doivent de profiter. Dans la région mazahua, ces familles sont souvent dirigées par des femmes. Pour satisfaire à ce discours et aux exigences bureaucratiques qui l'accompagnent, ces dernières sont désormais tenues de s'intégrer à des organisations et d'endosser de nouvelles responsabilités sociales. Dans cette communication, nous examinerons une initiative du secteur public (PROGRESA) et montrerons que ce n'est pas le niveau de vie qui change avec un tel programme mais bien la dynamique domestique des familles, en produisant des ressentiments chez les familles, dites aussi pauvres, exclues du programme. Finalement, j'essaie de mettre en question les nouveaux mécanismes de contrôle social a partir de la mise en œuvre du programme.

Mots-clés : bien-être social, PROGRESA, contrôle social, Pauvreté, Mazahua, femmes

"poverty, as beauty, is in the eyes of the beholder"

"la pobreza, como la belleza, está en los ojos de quien la percibe" —Mollier Orshansky[1]

Introduction

The increase of the proportion of households in extreme poverty in Mexico, which are located mainly in rural and indigenous areas, reflects the social impact of the structural adjustment policies carried out in the 1980s, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), counter-reforms to constitutional Article 27 (the agrarian reform law), and, in general, Mexican neo-liberal policies of the last decade. In order to address this situation, President Ernesto Zedillo's government has turned to the welfare state model—despite the general orientation of a diminished state role in social policies—by implementing a social emergency program aimed at improving the "opportunities for the personal development and productive agency of the members of poor families, so that the use of these opportunities enhances their standard of living and their general social integration" (PROGRESA, 1997: 1).

The purpose of this paper is to assess, on one hand, to what extent the procedures set forth in the Program of Education, Health and Nutrition (PROGRESA), which respond to a social well-being policy, try to "benefit" the "marginal families" without knowing either their reality, or the logic of those strategies of subsistence. Also, on the other hand, to assess how that Program becomes a mechanism of social control to promote the development of human capital for the growth of a liberal economy.

My ethnographic fieldwork in the Mazahua community of San Miguel de la Labor, within the municipality of San Felipe del Progreso in the State of Mexico, allowed me to observe several changes in the domestic dynamics and in the individual and collective behaviour of those who where selected and became beneficiaries of PROGRESA during the program's first stage.

The article is divided in three parts: in the first part, I discuss theoretically the role of the "benefactor State" and the adaptation of social policies oriented towards the assistance of "marginal" societies within the contexts of economic liberalization, policies which also correspond to the design of the external mechanisms of social control. This section supports my analysis of the instrumentalization of PROGRESA in the second part of the article, underlining above all the internal mechanisms of the program's fulfilment. Finally, in the third part, I describe the program's social outcome.

Official Discourses: State, Poverty and Social Welfare

More than any other factor, the crises of the 20th century, characterized by an atmosphere of generalized social and economic instability, have led to the consolidation of a benefactor or welfare State. According to Heclo (1981: 35), the associated perception of instability, vulnerability, and risk ensures that the objectives of the welfare state (security, invulnerability and freedom) seem adequate for regulating the functioning of both society and the economy. Following Shalev (1983) this apparent "complicity" has a well-defined role: to protect capital through a perception of social security. Shalev holds that the welfare state appears, rapidly grows and is structured to develop labour to increase capital accumulation, even under regimes that subscribe to social-democratic ideals (1983: 11). Therefore, social policies aimed at protecting the interests of labour, such as education, health and nutrition, even if they are not the only policies of the welfare state, are at the heart of public interest. In other words, social policies are those that furnish social security or establish programs that favour target populations (Meny and Thoeing, 1989: 374).

In the 1990s, the crisis of the state—a term that has been extensively used in the last 20 years to explain situations of inequality, marginality and social change—seems to threaten the bases of a social protection system considered by the population as a guarantee of economic prosperity. The welfare state itself is seen as a partial cause of its own crisis, due to the combination of two factors (Heclo, 1981: 374). The first factor is that target populations are the evidence that the welfare state could amplify the different situations of insecurity, inequality, marginality and exclusion of minorities (gender, race, ethnicity and class) that justified, in fact, its social policies. The second is that the ideological conflict of the welfare state obliges the state to reconcile itself with a refurbished ideology: "democracy." Both phenomena lead to a conjunctural adjustment to the role of the welfare state, but the latter's policies continue to have an "objective" public role. (Meny and Thoeing, 1989). In this regard, do public policies constitute the politics of the modern state? Or do politics instrumentals policy? To answer these questions is not the purpose of this paper, however, reflecting upon the first question will lead us to illustrate the role of social policies in Mexican politics.

Currently, even in times of economic readjustments and commercial liberalization when the market acquires the highest rank among social regulation agencies (Hayek, 1983), social welfare still is at the core of the continuity of the welfare state, through three discursive practices that underlie the role of the state: proselytism, moralist paternalism and a convincing discourse.

In the first place, the welfare state continues to be supported by classical political science, regarding elections and political parties. This explains why elections in Mexico are preceded or followed by social emergency programs that counter the direction of economic cycles: their implicit rationale is to pander to the electorate. Hence, the party in power, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), creates programs of social assistance on the eve of the elections, aimed at enhancing or consolidating its credibility. Moreover, it uses its party emblems to identify these programs with the party, in order to consolidate future electoral campaigns.[2] Most of these programs are transitory; they either disappear once their political mission is achieved or are replaced by similar ones but under a different bureaucratic structure. Consequently, workers, peasants, indigenous people, and women become the focus of emergency social assistance policies, as they are simultaneously the target populations of social assistance programs and the electoral base that keeps the party in power. It would be naive to regard PROGRESA as the exception to the rule because of its permanent character - despite the official social welfare discourse. The latter holds that the income transfer toward marginal families (*familias marginadas*) should not be temporary or occasional; instead, its continuity will help to break the vicious circle that links poverty to malnutrition, low productivity and poor school performance. The seriousness of the problem represented by the growth of the proportion of families suffering from extreme poverty leads to the fast implementation of programs, in order to have positive short term results. It is customarily assumed that political benefit, which translates into votes for the party in power, is implicit in public investment. Not even its redefined form, given the continuous participation of the target population and the basic capability of the individual to profit from opportunities, excludes proselytize discursive practices.

Secondly, assuming that the discourse is an exercise of power and social control, and that this can only be exerted through practice,[3] the official discourse of social welfare is supplemented, to great extent, by ideological and cultural discursive practices that have prevailed through Mexico's history. Among these practices, the paternalism of the welfare state is the one that partially explains the strategic practices of social policy. For example, the Catholic Church in Mexico has always stressed that charity is a obligation of the state towards poor communities and the dispossessed. In the same connection, to charge the welfare state with the well-being of the poor does not involve just a populist and paternalist ideology; it is also based on a moralist discursive practice, according to which someone (the state, in this case), must do something to alleviate poverty, as a social compensation of sorts.

Thirdly, it includes, ideologically speaking, both aspects, as it deals with the discourses on the fight against extreme poverty, which are set within a global concern with the world order. Yet, it should be asked: (a) who are the people who are suffering from extreme poverty? and (b) why is the fight against poverty a concern for countries with low levels of poverty? Above all, "extreme poverty" is a social category used and defined within discursive practices of development, and it is perceived as a world problem. On the one hand, the UN defines extreme poverty (namely, individuals who lack the means for living in dignity) on the basis of qualitative indicators such as life expectancy, literacy, access to sanitary services, drinking water and nutrition (PNUD, 1990, 1997). On the other hand, the World Bank uses a quantitative indicator to differentiate "moderate" from "extreme" poverty: anyone with a daily income lower than $1US is considered as experiencing extreme poverty (World Bank, 1999). Combining both types of indicators, extreme poverty can be defined as the predicament of population sectors who have been left behind in the process of economic growth (hence the category of marginal families) and who, therefore, cannot participate in the market without the help of social programs aimed at developing human capital (PNUD, 1990).[4] By identifying extreme poverty and promoting universal values of equality of opportunities and freedom, the UN, the World Bank and the IMF have agreed upon a general strategy to fight against it—or at least to reduce its impact. This strategy has been synthesized by Mestrum (2000) in the following three points:

- Economic growth achieved through structural adjustment, trade liberalization and the use of the labour force potential of the poor;
- Basic social services (education and health);
- Focussed social programs for the poor who are not able to participate in the market, social assistance programs that enable the poor to absorb conjunctural impact.

This strategy betrays the economic emphasis of the fight against poverty (Mestrum, 2000), reducing social policy to social intervention in the interest of the world's economic powers.

The discourses that prevail in national and international contexts assert the responsibility of all actors to eradicate poverty; international organizations depict themselves as defenders of the common interest at the world level (Escobar, 1995). However, institutions are increasingly concerned solely with the economic dimension of poverty, as financial institutions seek, above all, to create conditions of social security in order to acquire and to expand their markets. Mestrum (2000) points out that poverty is discursively constructed as a danger against the world order. On the one hand, poverty constitutes the axis of all the interdependencies that threaten peace and social, political and economic stability, not only among countries with high incidences of extreme poverty, but worldwide, as the demographic growth of the poor has the potential to increase migratory flows from the countryside to the cities and from poor countries to rich ones. On the other hand, these discourses assume that migratory flows are caused by environmental "degradation," human "pressure" on resources and the lack of opportunities for living with dignity in the local communities. But these discourses, revealing a worldwide concern, stress that demographic controls are not enough to eradicate poverty, as *productive participation* is what holds the key to generalized growth and political and social stability. However, the politics implemented by international organizations to eradicate poverty do not include economic policies fostering re-distributive justice or real wage increases; they set their goals within the parameters of "compensation" and "assistance." It is a well-known fact that the population experiencing poverty has grown in parallel to the increase of inequality in terms of income distribution in Mexico since the implementation of structural adjustment and NAFTA (1984-96) (Raygoza and de la Torre, 2000). In such a context—in which the state, moreover, is forced to reduce its social expenses by eliminating high-cost programs and programs that provide "limited direct benefits" to the target populations—assistance programs are left as the only available tool of social policy for addressing the economic, social and political dimensions of poverty.

On this dimension, the public actions of PROGRESA must be considered as determined by the means and not by the goals to eradicate poverty. These determinations will legitimate the consequences of government intervention. In other words, the social change that is expected from PROGRESA is implicit in its objectives, and the program's implementation and the execution of its actions will attest its truthfulness. In fact, the results that are expected from PROGRESA are manifested in the declarations of public officials, who repeatedly express how PROGRESA must help to fulfil the basic needs of "familias marginadas." Most official declarations stress the quantitative reach of a social program, rather than identifying the social changes that it will cause; even less important is to question the efficiency of its means and actions. Apparently, the evaluation of the program is only based on the indicators of the number of families covered, probably due to the customary graft funds that characterize Mexico's social development and assistance programs. Hence calculating the number of clients per allocated social expenses becomes another discursive practice of truthfulness and transparency. A case in point is the recent assessment, undertaken by PROGRESA, of the program's results (PROGRESA, 1999). This assessment stressed—naturally —not only a wider coverage of communities and homesteads, but the improvement of its indicators (conditions prevailing before and after the program's introduction); that is, a higher number of boys and girls attending school (access to scholarships and purchase of school materials); increase in the number of consultations at the local health centres; and increase in the consumption of basic foodstuffs (baby food supplements). This preliminary assessment stresses, as well, the efficiency in the direct allocation of resources to the clientele through money transfers or in cash (86.4% of the total social expenses allocated to the Program) and the Programs' low operation and implementation costs (13.6% of the total budget) (Scott, 1998: 54). These results depict, not an institution devoted to fostering social changes based on equity and social justice, but, rather, that the program is held to be successful as long as it implements strategies based on: integrity (respect), de-centralization, inter-institutional co-ordination, social participation and according priority to backward regions. These strategic guidelines are not separated from the discursive practices of the fight against poverty; to the contrary, they are precisely the ones that create a field of power and social control. So, new mechanisms of social control are deployed through the institutional management of human capital (PROGRESA).

Monitoring the social indicators is, clearly, a control instruments, used not only to define a given situation in order to set a policy, but also as an instrument of social classification, and this is how social indicators establish, to a large extent, the normative framework of social policies. The problem with indicators is that they are abstract tools; interpreting them in concrete terms poses problems to the evaluation of social change, and their normative nature is subject to a partial or total invalidation of the program (Cazes, 1970). With regard to the categorization of the people who should benefit from the program, it should be pointed out that the target population is not a passive entity, nor an inert subject created by the discourse; on the contrary, social practices allow the subjects to modify the discourses which emanate from those practices (Morales, 1998). From an anthropological perspective of social change, this means that the public problem (extreme poverty) should be considered as a social construction, which, besides its social adequacy, involves a shared responsibility with regard to its goals.

As a matter of fact, the implementation of PROGRESA requires a set of individual and organizational activities on the part of the target population, these activities modify their behavior within a prescribed normative framework, established by the public authorities, which are responsible for carrying out the program. These mechanisms of execution open up a field of intervention and social control. This is the topic of the following section.

Objectives of PROGRESA

In the period following the structural adjustment program of the 1980s, in Mexico as well as in other countries that followed this program, the budget allocated to both peasant production and to fostering social and economic development among the less privileged groups diminished. However, the budget allocated to social programs aimed at alleviating and improving poverty increased.

Were the budgetary and public expense adjustments the root of the social problem, generating public intervention? Drawing on Becker (1964), a social demand is not originated by the objective needs of a given society, but by the subjective perception of what is labeled as a social problem. Social demands and the needs that these are supposed to satisfy or to mediate are constructed within a public sphere without the possibility of an actual transfer. Even if social demands are held as real through discursive practices, the direct link between the social and the political is not clear. This means that needs are not defined or enunciated in a totally transparent way; rather, this is a selective process. Given that

the concept of need is very delicate and even dangerous when it refers to a demand of a given population, social needs are generally defined by experts, analysts and politicians.

Every social policy or social assistance program must justify its intervention from the very start, therefore, social needs are defined within a normative framework. Hence, the diverse scenarios that justify an intervention are carefully enunciated, in an effort to sensitize public opinion, which provides the final validation for the intervention. The arguments, namely the general view of the social problem and the associated demands are formulated by other social actors who are not involved in the social problem. This often leads to presenting causes as effects, eschewing the social causation of the problem.

Providing social protection to the poor is a discursive practice that works as a targeting strategy that not only causes the stigmatization of the so-called marginal population; it is also presented as the only alternative in times of reduced budgets. Clearly, a lower family income has an impact on the nutrition, health and educational levels of the household, making household members more vulnerable to global economic changes.

The context in which the population living in extreme poverty has increased in Mexico is constituted by the following phenomena: (a) the gradual withdrawal of the state from production[5]; (b) privatization; (c) the disintegration of CONASUPO[6]; (d) the reforms to Article 27 of the Constitution (which eliminated the ejido[7] as a juridical social identity); (e) the liberalization of tortilla prices, (f) the price increase of foodstuffs and basic goods; (g) low world oil prices; (h) slowed economic growth; (i) a lower budget allocated to the eradication of poverty (despite the fact that it has increased, from 0.10 to 0.18 of Mexico's GDP).[8] These have contributed to child malnutrition, illiteracy, school absenteeism, marginality and exclusion of women. This situation is viewed by PROGRESA as lack of opportunities for improving the standard of living of the population living in poverty.

The idea of equality of opportunities has been widely debated in "liberal" societies. Scott (1998) argues that, in this framework, *formal* (legislative) opportunities should be distinguished from *actual* opportunities.[9] In this regard, the equality of access to health, education and food is under the constraint of the social capacity of resource use; in a wider perspective, this stems from the customary asymmetry of the country's income distribution, as well as the gap between developed and "underdeveloped" nations. In other words, Mexico's post-revolutionary politics has expressed its allegiance to the promotion of equality of opportunities, however, this has not been based on effective measures to foster an equitable distribution of income (Cordera, 1998; Lomelí, 1998). In this regard, Scott (1998) argues that the idea of equality of opportunities, even if it implies "eliminating, as much as possible, the conditions that limit the access of the population to equitable conditions...would mean, in Mexico, the achievement of basic opportunities ensuring universal access to a minimal bundle of productive human capital" (47).

The lack of opportunities—or their improvement—is established, on the one hand, in the rationale for the existence of PROGRESA. Because of its focus-oriented nature in local contexts, this program becomes a medium for deriving benefit from opportunities. Despite the fact that the program does not guarantee introducing changes for future generations, it is one of the few organisms that presents an "alternative" that alleviates poverty in the present time. According to Nora Lusting, director of the Interamerican Development Bank's Department of Assessment of Poverty and Inequality, as she expressed it at the "Seminar on the analysis of PROGRESA, Mexican strategy to fight poverty" (*La Jornada* newspaper, December 11, 1998): "Turning our attention to the problem of poverty, it is generally accepted that marginality problems are structural, conjunctural and budgetary, hence the renewal of Mexican social policy is presented as a coercive strategy called fight against poverty policy." To this end, PROGRESA combines the three essential components of social welfare: education, health and nutrition. No government would put into question the urgency of a public intervention in these domains.

The three basic components which constitute the general objectives of the program are socially accepted. They are:

- To foster, in the communities in which the Program operates (or the neighbouring communities whose population is reached by the Program), the development of adequate basic educational services, and the improvement of the quality of these services through teacher training; to stimulate school attendance through scholarships, as well as providing school supplies to the low-income families benefiting from the Program.
- To consolidate the provision of medical services and to improve their quality in the communities where the Program operates (or the neighbouring communities whose population is reached by the Program), through access to equipment and formation to the health workers; to detect and to address nutritional deficiencies among children and pregnant and breast-feeding women suffering from poverty.

- To foster the improvement of the nutritional intake of participant families through cash grants (PROGRESA, 1997: 1).

Theoretically, this type of intervention should offer access to opportunities. But in rural Mexico, the peasant "marginal" families' access to food resources in their daily life is reduced or absent. This is even more the case for the indigenous families. Limitation or lack of access to food resources forces them to take part in strategic games which somehow will allow them to subsist (Hewitt de Alcántara, 1994; De Teresa y Cortéz, 1996).

To illustrate this situation I refer to the interview I held during the summer of 1998, with a member of a Mazahua family, Justina. Justina, 29 years old, mother of six children under 14, and resident of San Miguel de la Labor, had to stop sending two of her daughters to school. On the family's half-an-acre common land, corn is cultivated depending on the rain. Since their harvest only lasts for six months, to complement their yearly food requirements, the entire family relies on the income generated from activities other than growing corn, especially the husband's wages. Justina's husband is 32 years old. He works as an assistant to a travelling salesman, spending most of his time outside of the community. It is he, however, who decides who will and who will not go to school when there is not enough money for daily expenses. Justina thinks that it would not be fair to send her daughters to school without a "taco" in their bellies, and, given that it is easier to send them to work where they can help in daily tasks such as doing domestic chores for better-off families, and where they would thus earn their lunch, it is her sons who end up going to school and eat the spare "taco":

> I would like my children to work, to try hard, to get a little house, to work their land. Well, I don't want my son to turn into a bad young man, or into somebody who doesn't know how to think. I don't like that. I don't. I want them to work the land; or that they know...for example, that if they study, that if they finish a career...even if it is short, that they would know how to work; that they use what they learned, because I see youngsters that don't know how to take advantage of what one is doing to help. They can help their Dad. I studied but only for 3 years. I became an orphan. I failed while studying in grade school. My mother got very upset, and I not sent anymore to school. And now, my youngster is the smartest! He is good in school and he also likes to work. But my girls, Hermelinda and Rocio, they are not studying right now. There is need for them to work. I sent them to Mexico to work as housemaids. But when there is money, then they stay here to finish their schooling. (Justina)

The PROGRESA program accords a privileged place to girls—la *mujeres progresa*—in order to facilitate their incorporation to human development capital so that they eventually become agents of change (Nahmad, Carrasco, Sarmiento, 1998: 92, 93). However, the subsistence of peasant and indigenous households is still based, to a large extent, on the labour force of young girls, who, because of their low educational level and the asymmetric wage relations obtaining among genders, tend to accept badly remunerated jobs (Mestrum, 2000). It can then be inferred that within the official discourse of the Program, which is supposedly "uncoupled from the labor market structure" there is a stubborn resistance represented by the social practices of the benefit holders, at least regarding the incorporation of young girls in the assistance component of the program.

Despite the fact that not all the cases of school dropout or absenteeism are similar to the case mentioned above, and that it is not always girls who end up without an education, most of the time it is closely related to the conditions of access to the resources and not to lack of opportunities, as PROGRESA claims. However, for Justina to reject the "offer" of a scholarship for her children, which entails some help in food, would amount to losing the opportunity to pay a debt, to purchase some corn, a chicken or another animal, to collaborate for a religious celebration, or simply to help someone in need. Accepting the scholarship, however, implies the duplication of her domestic work, as her daughters' school attendance (with or without a taco in their bellies), reduces the amount of time they will help her around the home.

Like Justina, many other women and most men know that education is one way to access the labour market, and even if PROGRESA underestimates this factor, it still considers it among its objectives. A similar situation exists in the fields of health and nutrition, as the lack of information limits the nutritional potential of the resources. But Justina, like the rest of the population, is aware that to have an elementary education is not enough to procure well-balanced "tacos" (meals) every day, and that a visit to the doctor will not prevent them from the diseases associated with the lack of water in the community. In San Miguel de La Labor, *a source of employment is what is needed, as well as improved local wages, not to mention a source of clean drinking water.*

The following programs will be replaced by PROGRESA:

- Milk Distribution Social Program (LICONSA),
- Subsidy for the Consumption of Tortilla (FIDELIST),
- Ministry of Education scholarships
- Scholarships and food warehouses of the National Indigenist Institute (INI)
- Food warehouses of the Program of Family Social Assistance (PASAF) of the National System for Integral Family Development (DIF)

The last three programs listed above operated in the community of San Miguel de la Labor. PROGRESA is the only social welfare alternative left, as its objective is not to create opportunities, but to combine health, education and nutrition actions so that opportunities can be improved. From this perspective, opportunities are reduced to the ones that exist in the community. For San Miguel de la Labor, this would mean using the three elementary schools, two kindergartens and a technical high school. Besides the health center, there is also an indigenous shelter that assists the poorest children so that they can attend school; its future is also in jeopardy.

As a final objective, PROGRESA aims at improving women's condition, recognizing and supporting the decisive role that they play fostering family and community development. They will be provided with information and knowledge that will foster their personal development and the fulfillment of their capacities. It is regrettable that, in addition to the inequality that implies living in poverty, generally women undergo harder conditions of marginality and exclusion, which they experience from an early age (PROGRESA, 1997: 2).

The inclusion of an objective aimed at improving the well being of poor women can be interpreted in two ways. The first interpretation would regard it as a result of the pressure of international organizations toward the recognition of the role of women in the families' social well being; this recommendation is accompanied by a vigorous pressure for birth control. In fact, the World Bank (1993) and other financial agencies stress the condition of including an efficient birth control program, aiming at reducing the birth rate - and also, at potential migration of the poor to other countries (Morales, 1998; Vizcarra, 1997).

The second interpretation, which does not exclude the first one, is based on the recognition that the equations "woman-nutrition," "woman-health," "woman-nature" and "women-children" are the result of social constructions and that a gender perspective raises the visibility of women in scientific discourse producing scientific knowledge about women as subjects. This suggests the existence of different interpretations of social life within social policies (Couillard, 1996). Scientific knowledge is used then by government institutions to comply with external social regulation (birth control) or to elaborate strategies of action aimed at modifying or producing social change in the living conditions of women living in extreme poverty. These actions turn into social control and power manifestations. CEPAL's studies on poverty in Latin America (1997 in Mestrum, 2000) for example, are based on a gender perspective *(gendering poverty)*. Its researchers denounce the extreme vulnerability of women experiencing poverty to the impact of recent crises, stressing that, "most measures to eradicate feminine poverty" have been merely of the assistance type, and that projects have not been "set within development policies, or have not been linked to the market nor provided with enough capital to allow them to survive" (15). On the other hand, the presence of women experiencing poverty in CEPAL's discourse does not include them in the lowest categories (the poorest of the poor) in two key aspects: as mothers (reproductive role) and participants in the labour market (productive role); instead, it links women's poverty to social equity and economic development, providing them with spaces of resistance and a considerable capacity for reaction.

Through these discursive practices, scientific knowledge about women in poverty not only stresses their vulnerability to the crises and values their responsibility as mothers, homemakers and environmental guardians, but also acknowledges their potential for social mobility. When women stop being on the receiving end of social policies, they become subjects who are capable of sharing responsibilities, organizing themselves and participating in the social policies that will benefit them and their families. These would be the real women participating in PROGRESA (*mujeres progresa).*

Choosing a Community and a Target Population

The method for choosing a community and the participant families constitutes a strategy of social control and validates public intervention in the so-called "marginal" communities. To PROGRESA, all Mexican families living in conditions of extreme poverty are considered the target population (14 million people in 1998). The implementation of the program was to proceed by stages and gradually incorporate families suffering from poverty. In its initial stages, PROGRESA was oriented to marginal regions and communities in rural areas (PROGRESA, 1997: 3). The selection of marginal communities was based the existence of the minimum infrastructure requirements to make possible the program's coordination, such as a community health centre

and an elementary school. The selection of marginal communities and families suffering from extreme poverty followed objective criteria and rigorous procedures to ensure an overall comparative base at the national level.

San Miguel de la Labor is one of the communities that form the Mazahua ethnic group. Antrophologists and historians have not shown much interest in the Mazahua group—because their prehispanic ancestors did not build large ceremonial centres and because they were often subordinated by the neighboring *otomies* (Cortez, 1988)—the Mazahua region, predominantly in the municipalities of San Felipe del Progreso and Villa Victoria del Estado has been of great political interest for social assistance and integration policies.

The few existing studies of this region consider the Mazahua culture to be heterogeneous and fragmented; it is viewed as a culture that has experienced severe proletarization due to increasing migration of its population to the country's capital, and to its integration in the wage-earning market (Arizpe, 1980; Cabrera, 1979; Chavez, 1979; Cortez, 1988; Margolies, 1975; Romeau, 1979). Nevertheless, their language, their subsistence strategies based on the corn monoculture and the supplementary wages as agricultural day laborers, and their affiliations and ethnic customs, but above all their marginality, have translated their persistence into becoming a subject of interest for new ethnographies (Vizcarra, 1997, 2001; Korbacek et al., 1999), for agricultural studies (Arriaga et al., 1990; Woodgate, 1994), and for the state and federal government.

Criteria Followed by PROGRESA in Choosing San Miguel de la Labor

CONPROGRESA, or the co-ordination of the program, chose in its initial stages, the Community of San Miguel de la Labor under two criteria: its marginality and its institutional infrastructure.

1. San Miguel de la Labor is a community with a high rate of marginality, according to the index of marginality defined by CONPROGRESA:
   - High mortality rate (12/1000 per year, the national average being 4/1000).
   - High demographic pressure on the resources (4300 inhabitants live in 536 households: 8 inhabitants per household, of which only 26 households have access to running water and 7 with sewage drains to a creek; 392 have access to electricity. The community has 650 hectares of rain-fed agricultural land, specially in corn monoculture).
   - High rate of child malnutrition (4.5 out of every 10 children present some degree of malnutrition; of these, 1 out every 10 is a serious case).
   - High rate of absenteeism, school desertion and illiteracy. 1127 people above age 6 do not read or write.
2. San Miguel de la Labor is 1 of the 27 communities, of the 193 in the municipality of San Felipe del Progreso, which has a public health service and 3 basic education schools. This was a key requisite for the community's selection.

It should be stressed that the second criteria is the most decisive for the selection of the community, as a high level of marginality does not ensure selection; the community must have a public health service or have one in its vicinity. Some families from neighboring communities that were selected (Guadalupe Cote and San Nicolás Romero) were also selected as participants in PROGRESA. It is understandable that a bureaucratic infrastructure already in place is needed for carrying out the program. However, these measures are more exclusionary than inclusive, as they cause resentment among the communities that are not chosen to participate in the program.

Criteria Followed by PROGRESA to Choose the Program's Beneficiary Families

As for the participant families, these were identified according to the following "impartial, rigorous and objective" criteria: a survey on the Socioeconomic Household Characteristics (ENCASEH) was coordinated and carried out by CONPROGRESA, along with the state governments and the municipal authorities, in which 105 issues are investigated. The information is analyzed according to an econometric model, namely a point system "that tries to ensure comparative equality in the determination of families suffering from extreme poverty," a score is accorded and correlated with a predetermined value (standard deviation), equivalent to a "line of extreme poverty" (very high marginality). The families included in the survey are selected if they have a lower score. All the families identified as suffering from extreme poverty are to be included in the "Participants."

Register of PROGRESA.

- The participant families of PROGRESA will have an exclusive identification, which will be used for the control of resource allocation and to supervising the action of the officials.
- In each of the participant families, a person will be identified for receiving the benefits. This will be preferably the mother of the family or, in her default,

the person in charge of preparing food and taking care of children (PROGRESA, 1997: 3, 4).

At San Miguel de la Labor 387 families were chosen, along with the community of Guadalupe Cote and Nicolás Romero, 536 families were selected from more than 1300 in these communities. They are headed totally or partially by women, or, at least, a mother, grandmother or adult woman who is responsible for taking care of the children under 12 years of age who live in the household.

Changes in the Individual, Domestic and Collective Behaviours

During my fieldwork in San Miguel la Labor, I had the opportunity to interview over 40 families: 35 of the program's chosen families and seven families that were not chosen. Individual and collective behaviours related to their situation were identified.

According to Pedro Juan (35-year-old peasant from the community of San Miguel de la Labor) observed:

> In the last few months many surveys have been taken, and people are tired of responding to them, the people from INEGI (Institute of Statistics, Geography and Computer Science), PROCEDE people (Program of Certification of Ejido Rights and Titles of Urban Lots), the DIF people (Program of Integral Development of the Family), people from the PRI, etc. When the ENCASH was applied, the information they were looking for was what mostly women know; some people got confused.

The program provides families who were not accepted in the first selection the opportunity to reapply, but they will not be considered before the end of the first year. As for the families that were not surveyed, women will have to apply in writing for their case to be considered. As an immediate response, twenty women asked to be included in the register the same day that the participant families received their benefits and the list of selected families was published.

Social discontent was immediately felt, precisely from those families that were not selected. Women attribute this to various reasons: they were away the day of the survey, or they did not know it would take place. But mainly they say that they did not know how to answer the survey. However, another reason for this resentment or feeling of injustice is that they perceive themselves as being poorer than the ones who were selected, or that some families were selected despite not having children of school age. Another resentment is based on the fact that the amount of scholarships and food assistance given is calculated according to the school level that children attend and the number of children in the family between 6 and 12 years old. The more children in that age group, the bigger the benefits. Conversely, the more children below that age group, the smaller the proportion of benefits. Such resentment is not customary, as, in Juan's words, "whenever money or food are given away, women forget about injustice and irregularities. Nothing can be claimed then."

The method for selecting and identifying the community and the target population may not be so efficient in that they generate resentment, but once the participants receive their first installment, they become tied to the determination of public action, as: "It's better than nothing; welcome" (Dominga, participant mother).

Participant families will have access to benefits for a maximum of three years after which they may reapply. The renewal of their benefits is then contingent upon the extent to which they have complied with the tasks they were assigned during the initial period.

On September 15, 1998, the first benefits were awarded to the women who signed their PROGRESA identification cards in San Miguel de la Labor. Benefits consisted of a check for a basic value of 210 pesos. This amount was to be used to buy food. Although it would allow women to purchase 70 kilograms of corn, they would first need to deduct the cost of transportation from these isolated communities to a bank. Calculating a daily consumption of two kilograms of corn for a family of five, benefits would cover 35 days. (In theory the cheques were meant to be received every two months, but in fact they consistently reached their recipients three months later.

Evidently, this kind of benefits are not introducing social changes regarding the nutrition of children, pregnant or breastfeeding women. They must be accompanied by other social development programs, against the neo-liberal tendencies of social polarization, otherwise their impact on extreme poverty will be negligible. Given the permanent nature of the problem, it is expected that more and more families will continue applying for benefits. However, it will be difficult for them to comply with the "voluntary" requirements of participation in PROGRESA.

It is the women must comply with the commitments, because it is they who sign and agree to receive the benefits in exchange for registering their children at school, taking their families to medical consultations and attending 25 workshops on disease, pregnancy, birth control and nutrition, as well as using the benefits for improving their families nutrition and for preventing

their children's school absenteeism. As in the case of all public policies, the goals of PROGRESA are not only achieved through the distribution of benefits or the transfer of income, in the hope that indicators will eventually change. Some regulatory and monitoring mechanisms for the desired social changes are needed. In this regard, CONPROGRESA stipulates the means of control and surveillance and penalizes women with suspension from the program for the following reasons:

Women will be temporarily suspended if their:

- children fail to attend school
- or if the women fail to attend periodic health service workshops.

Repeated non-compliance can lead to definitive suspension.

Definitive suspension can also occur if women:

- provide false information about the socioeconomic conditions of the family, or about the attendance at school and health workshops
- do not comply with the assigned tasks
- misuse the identification card of the benefit holder
- permanently migrate from the community.

Families may reapply for benefits in communities where PROGRESA operates. As could be expected, not many women complied with their responsibilities. Sometimes they did not attend workshops; they sent their daughters instead so they could claim attendance. However, these attitudes are not due to disobedience, but for many private and social reasons women were not available to attend the workshops at the health center for the whole 20 weeks. Despite their absenteeism, most women made an effort to organize their schedules to attend Wednesday talks and medical consultation. (Just imagine 536 women with their children lasting through the long days of outdoor medical consultation and talks). Hortensia, who tries to attend all the time, says:

> I haven't been able to attend for three Wednesdays in a row. I have to stay at the shop and tend to the mill. My children can not help me, as three of them are going to school and the other two are little ones; next Wednesday I'm definitely going, otherwise I will get suspended from PROGRESA.

Against PROGRESA's goals of improving women's conditions, this new responsibility stresses them out, as they worry constantly about unattendance, have to get up earlier to make tortillas or otherwise stop cooking on Wednesdays. It should be added that most of the women did not use the benefits to purchase food; it was used instead to pay debts, particularly food and doctor's bills, school uniforms and materials. Some of them used their money to buy "urgent things" (as, for example, construction materials for adding a room to their houses) and for things that are not so urgent but which are still important (beer, which is a part of social and religious festivities). Despite the fact that it is difficult to monitor where economic support is going, an indicator of improved nutrition is to keep records of height and weight among children who are under five years old. But, in any event, twp kilograms of tortillas for a family of five during 35 days is not likely to have a great impact on nutrition.

CONPROGRESA was not as severe in this case, as it would have suspended temporarily most of the participants. They were penalized economically instead. This means that they had to wait until April of 1999 for their second check, for school materials and scholarships taking into consideration school attendance, women's attendance to the first 18 talks, and women's and children's individual vaccination record. Checks were issued for different amounts according to each case. This caused resentment, confusion and a sense of injustice. The health center officials, however, who monitor attendance and compliance to a large extent, explained the reasons for the penalties and generated a feeling of guilt among the population. Their explanation had the effect of encouraging compliance as well as conferring a sense of authority to the doctors and nurses in charge of the health center. The monitoring and penalizing procedures acquired social acceptance as well.

Conclusion

When social demands generated by poverty are formulated by external agents in an atmosphere of emergency and reduced alternatives, the target population resigns itself to the imposed restrictions and conditions, hoping to get at least some "benefit" from the same state that they hold responsible for their situation in the 1990s. It is the state's responsibility to eradicate extreme poverty; however, its strategy is conceived within the framework of world concern and fundamental universal values promoted by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. This framework emphasizes, above all, values such as "equality of opportunities" and "freedom." Following the international bodies' guidelines, the Mexican state has oriented its social policies toward: a) distributing cash handouts; b) forcing the target populations to attend school; and c) fostering the use of health centres. Such assistance policies should, in theory, eliminate the obstacles that prevent the poor who are below the threshold of moderate poverty from entering the "game" that would improve their conditions. In practical terms,

however, this deliberately eschews the possibility of challenging poverty through economic policy measures, such as a policy of recuperation of real salaries, on the one hand, and a strong reactivation program for the peasant economy, on the other (Boltvink, 2000).

The role of the state, now reduced to implementing assistance policies through compensatory programs such as PROGRESA, is, in general terms, in agreement with two large-scale strategies of neo-liberal capitalism which are key features of its globalization phase. The first strategy aims at encouraging people who are experiencing extreme poverty to participate in the market, as the low wages they are willing to work for become a magnet for both local and foreign capital. The second strategy is intended to create basic conditions that guarantee access to a minimum stock of productive human capital (education, food and reproductive health), so that only the required labor force migrates towards the national and international production centers. The rest of their families are supposed to stay in their communities, thus complying with the directives of the social assistance programs such as school attendance for their children and use of health services.

Aside from the fact that the state presents itself as a co-participant which encourages the active participation of the population, the implementation of "top-down" policies reduces the range of agents of social change. We can only perceive two extremes (policies and the family), losing sight of intermediate agents that can influence social change (widely considered) and domestic change (in a private space). Current methods of analysis of welfare and social change policies are generally divorced from a changing reality. On the one hand we have the analysis of the official discourse and the role of the state in the field of social assistance policy, on the other, I stress the effects of policies on families or households; however, the gap between them can be bridged through the analysis of the regulation process of social policies (actions) and the responses from the subjects of such policies (reactions).

In this regard, this paper elucidates how the study of the mechanisms of execution should not limit itself to the role of analytical link, but that it become instead a wider study of strategies of power and social control. It could be hypothesized then, that Mexican social policies of the 1990s, in the case of PROGRESA, are the consequence of other public neo-liberal policies that exert control on the subject's behaviour and on their environment, actions that don't produce social change towards the families' well being. In our case, Mazahua women and mothers, because of their condition of "extreme poverty" and because they are classified as "marginal" along with their families, are subject to power relations exerted by PROGRESA's administrators. Hence, these women are not only provided with money but entrusted with spending it wisely; if they don't, they are seen as undermining their families' well-being for not taking advantage of the "human development opportunities" PROGRESA claims to offer.

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Notes

1 Cited by Nahmad, Carrasco and Sarmiento (1998: 72).

2 This was the case of the National Solidarity Program (PRONASOL), implemented on the eve of the 1994 elections.

3 In this regard, Foucault conceptualizes discourse as "a set of enunciates insofar as they stem from the same discursive formation; not forming a rhetorical or formal unity undefinitely repeatable and which use in history could be pointed out (and to be eventually explained); it is constituted by a limited amount of enunciates for which a given set of conditions of existence can be defined" (Foucault, 1996: 198).

4 The amount of population living under the threshold of moderate poverty are estimated to represent 24% of the world's population, most of it concentrated in rural regions of the "underdeveloped" countries (World Bank, 1999).

5 It should be mentioned that PROCAMPO, the Federal program of Support to the Countryside, started in 1992, keeps offering credit to the peasants, particularly allowing them purchase corn fertilizer. In San Miguel de la Labor, PROCAMPO affiliates received $650 per Ha. in 1998. There is another program, Programa de Crédito a la Palabra, co-ordinated by the Ministery of Social Development, which operates through credit for agricultural investment. This credit is reimbursed without interest the following year; lack of payment is penalized with suspension from the program.

6 CONASUPO was the nationwide government agency which had the role of intermediary of basic foodstuffs distribution, mostly corn, milk and beans. Its policies, involving subsidized supply of basic foodstuffs such as corn and milk for the poor, practically disappeared towards the end of 1999.

7 The Ejido form of the land tenure was established as a result of the Mexican revolution (1910-20) in which ladles peasants demanded "land and liberty "from the state. The Ejido is a social land tenure.

8 See Raygoza and de la Torre (2000), who analyze the average amounts allocated to poor families between 1988 and 1994. These authors stress the differences of spending

among different regions: the poorest and most densely populated ones receive less social expense.

9 Roemer (1998) and Sen (1982) deal adequately with this debate.

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Organizing the Peasants: Participation, Organization and the Politics of Development in a Mexican Government Program[1]

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Abstract: This article discusses some problems with participatory approaches in development thinking. It is argued that external interventions are always embedded within wider fields of power (force fields) and that discourses of "participation" and "grassroots initiatives" cannot change these established power relations. A study is presented of a Mexican government program that used a "bottom-up participatory approach" in order to stimulate *ejidos* to formulate their own internal *ejido* rules. It is shown that this program—in which "local organizing capacities" were said to be central elements—did not change the existing force field and only created more room for officials and intermediaries in their negotiations with peasants.

Keywords: Mexico, participation, organization, development, *ejido*, agrarian law

Résumé : Cet article traite des problèmes rencontrés par l'approche participative dans la planification du développement. L'auteure soutient que les interventions exogènes sont toujours encastrées dans des champs de pouvoir plus englobants (des champs de force) et que les discours de «participation» et d'«initiatives populaires» ne peuvent changer les relations de pouvoir en place. On présente l'étude d'un programme du gouvernement mexicain qui a utilisé «l'approche participative de bas en haut» dans le but de stimuler les *ejidos* à formuler leurs propres règles. On démontre que ce programme – dans lequel les «capacités organisationnelles locales» étaient censées être les éléments principaux – n'ont pas changé le champ de force existant et n'ont fait que créer plus d'espace pour les agents officiels et intermédiaires dans leurs négociations avec les paysans.

Mots-clés : Mexique, participation, organisation, développement, *ejido*, lois agraires

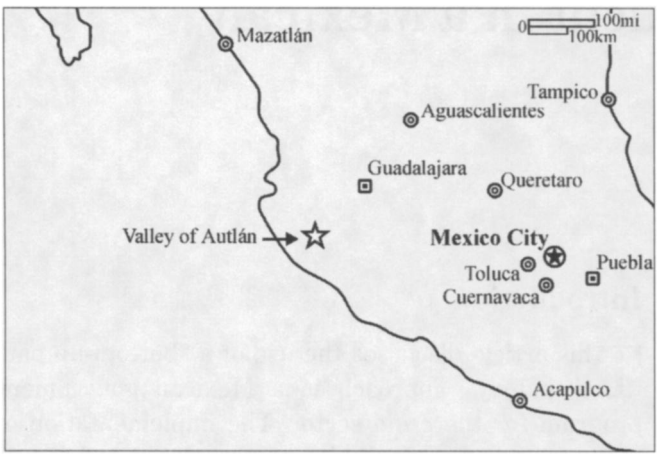
Introduction

This article discusses the use of a "bottom-up participatory" approach in a Mexican government program for the *ejido* sector. The implementation of this program—in which ejidos were stimulated to formulate their own internal *ejido* rules—shows what may happen when "local organizing capacities" are made central to government programs "imposed from above." Much development literature gives a central role to local organization for improving the situation of the poor. In these works, participatory approaches and grassroots initiatives have become very popular. However, these approaches tend to ignore the ways in which forms of organizing and external interventions are always embedded within wider fields of power. This explains why many so-called "participatory bottom-up" projects often turn into top-down impositions bearing little relation to the organizing priorities of the "target groups."

The implementation of the Mexican government program of the Internal Ejido Rules (EIR) is followed in detail in the period between 1993 and 1994 in the region of Autlán, Western Mexico. This program aimed to improve the organization of the ejido at the local level by introducing legalistic and formalistic organization models. It is shown how the implementation of the program was influenced by the strained relationship between ejidatarios and the Mexican state and how it was appropriated in different and unexpected ways by various people.

In this article, first a short overview is presented of the role of organization and participation in the development debate. Then, an analysis is presented of local organization in the Mexican ejido based on a case study of the ejido La Canoa in the valley of Autlán. It is demonstrated that much so-called informal organizing at the local level has, over time, turned into firmly established practices with their own logic. In this context, an

analysis is made of the Internal Ejido Rules program. Finally, some remarks are made about the possible role of the anthropologist in the debate about local organization and development.



Map 1: The valley of Autlán in Mexico

Organization and Participation in the Development Literature

In the development debate, organizations and institutions are attributed central roles in the empowerment of the poor, the increase of economic productivity and the effective and equitable management of resources (Berkes, 1995; Curtis, 1991; Esman and Uphoff, 1984; FAO/UNDP, 1998; Ghai D. and Vivian J., 1992).[2] It is argued that development workers should help the poor to develop better forms of organization. This emphasis on organization is accompanied by a stress on education, participation and consciousness raising (Pretty and Chambers, 1993; Pretty et al., 1995; World Bank, 1996). Yet, despite substantial academic advances in this field, naïve ideas about community development and idealistic notions about the degree of co-operation possible in community ventures still prevail in much of the discussion (Shepherd, 1998: 13).

Several conceptual problems seriously hamper the debate on organization- and institution-building for development. First, in most concepts of organizations and institutions alike, reference is made to collective actions and goals. For example, Uphoff argues that institutions are complexes of norms and behaviours that persist over time by serving collectively valued purposes (1986: 9). Yet, this view seems more an ideology than a reality. Although it is true that in formal terms most organizations are defined in terms of collective goals, in reality the different members of an organization may all have different goals and interests. Obviously, these may change over time. Furthermore, organizations and institutions are often used as instruments of domination that further the interests of elites at the expense of others (Morgan, 1986: 275).

The second serious flaw in the existing discussion is the focus on formalized organizations. This implies that little attention is paid to the fact that people often prefer to work in loose personal networks instead of collective projects, or that villagers may work in continuously changing constellations instead of in more enduring groups. In many situations this can be explained by the fact that the leaders or representatives of organizations tend to establish personal relations with the state bureaucracy and in this way local elites may easily regroup and become re-empowered (Singh, 1988: 44). So, although many development theories stress the importance of "building self-reliant village organizations," there are many situations in which it can be important for the poor to remain outside more formalized forms of organizing, whether these are governmental, non-governmental, local or community based.

A third weakness in the debate on organization for development concerns the unrealistic views on the relation between organizing and power. The multidimensional differentiations among the poor or rural people themselves based on economic differences, gender, age and ethnic identities is often ignored (see critique by Brohman, 1996; Leach et al., 1997: 11). This naïve view with respect to power relations within local communities is also reflected in the role that is attributed to the law and regulations. In fact, the idea that new forms of organizing can make a dramatic difference to the lives of the poor is based on the notion of social and legal engineering—the belief that by changing rules one can change society. But, as Stiefel and Wolfe point out "processes of legal and institutional reform by themselves probably have little chance to sustain a democratic process and prevent new authoritarian structures from emerging" (1994: 200). Although rules and formal structures may influence established practices, they can never control or transform them in pre-established ways.

A very popular and widely used method in development work that well illustrates some central problems with "participatory" and "bottom-up" approaches is the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA). The PRA fits well the concern of development agencies for quick methodologies, which can assess situations in relation to planned intervention in a short period of time.[3] PRAs and related methodologies are community oriented and focus very much on group processes. Within this perspective there is an impressive body of literature on adult education and experimental learning processes in

development.[4] PRA approaches also stress the importance of being participatory.

Although PRA approaches stress their participatory character, Mosse (1994, 1997) presents a good analysis of the limitations of—what I would call—the "imposition of participation from above." Mosse argues that although the effectiveness of PRA methods are considered to be based on a relationship of trust, agreement and cooperation generated in informal contexts, the reality of PRAs is that they often construct highly formal contexts influenced by power relations. PRAs concern group activities, which involve important and influential outsiders (even foreigners), that take place in public places (schools, temples) and where information is discussed publicly. Such activities are far from informal, everyday life. In addition, the equipment of PRA research—paper, charts, coloured powders, etc.—may generate a great sense of mystification. According to Mosse, in the way PRAs are organized they become public, social events in which knowledge is constructed for the purpose of development projects. In addition, the fact that PRA meetings often work towards consensus and the taking of collective decisions, means that the PRA can even become a mechanism through which people in authority can turn their private interests into official community interests by projecting their own private interests as public community interests (Mosse, 1994: 497-505). Although this critique concerns PRAs, it points to more general problems with "participatory" and "bottom-up" approaches. By focussing on collective projects these approaches ignore the importance of existing power relations and the non-collective ways in which many rural families organize their daily lives. By this emphasis on the group and on techniques to guide group processes, participatory approaches tend to de-politicize the "development setting" and to replace the analysis of power relations and political processes with methodological preoccupations.

By way of conclusion, we should be careful with the uncritical use of notions like "community based organizations" and "bottom-up and participatory approaches." These are not unproblematic. There are no easy "organizational" answers to complex sociopolitical problems or to the complicated dilemmas related to the management of natural resources. A more sophisticated approach of organizing processes in relation to wider power constellations is necessary. Within this perspective development intervention itself should also be object of study.

Organizing Practices within Different Force Fields

Surprisingly, greatly improved academic understanding on organization and organizing processes is not reflected in the development debate. In fact, most writing on "organization for development" uses a social systems perspective on organizations in which organizations are seen as "social units directed to the achievement of collective goals or the fulfillment of institutional needs for the wider society or environment of which they are a constituent part" (Reed, 1992: 75, 76). However, some anthropologists working on development issues have developed ideas on organizing processes that take a distance from the systems perspective and that pay more attention to the reality of rural livelihoods. They have argued that that there are many ways in which rural people organize activities in their daily life. In most of these instances, no organizations are set up but networks are mobilized which provide crucial information, financial support and practical help (see Long, 1988). The ways in which rural people manage to circumvent the law or resist forms of oppression is a clear indication that there is no lack of organizing skills and inventiveness. Following the same line of thought, Wolf argues that we should get away from viewing organization as a product or outcome, and move to an understanding of organization as a process. He suggests that we could make a start by following the "flow of action," to ask what is going on, why it is going on, who engages in it, with whom, when and how often. At the same time we should study the forces that drive these organizing processes (Wolf, 1990: 591).

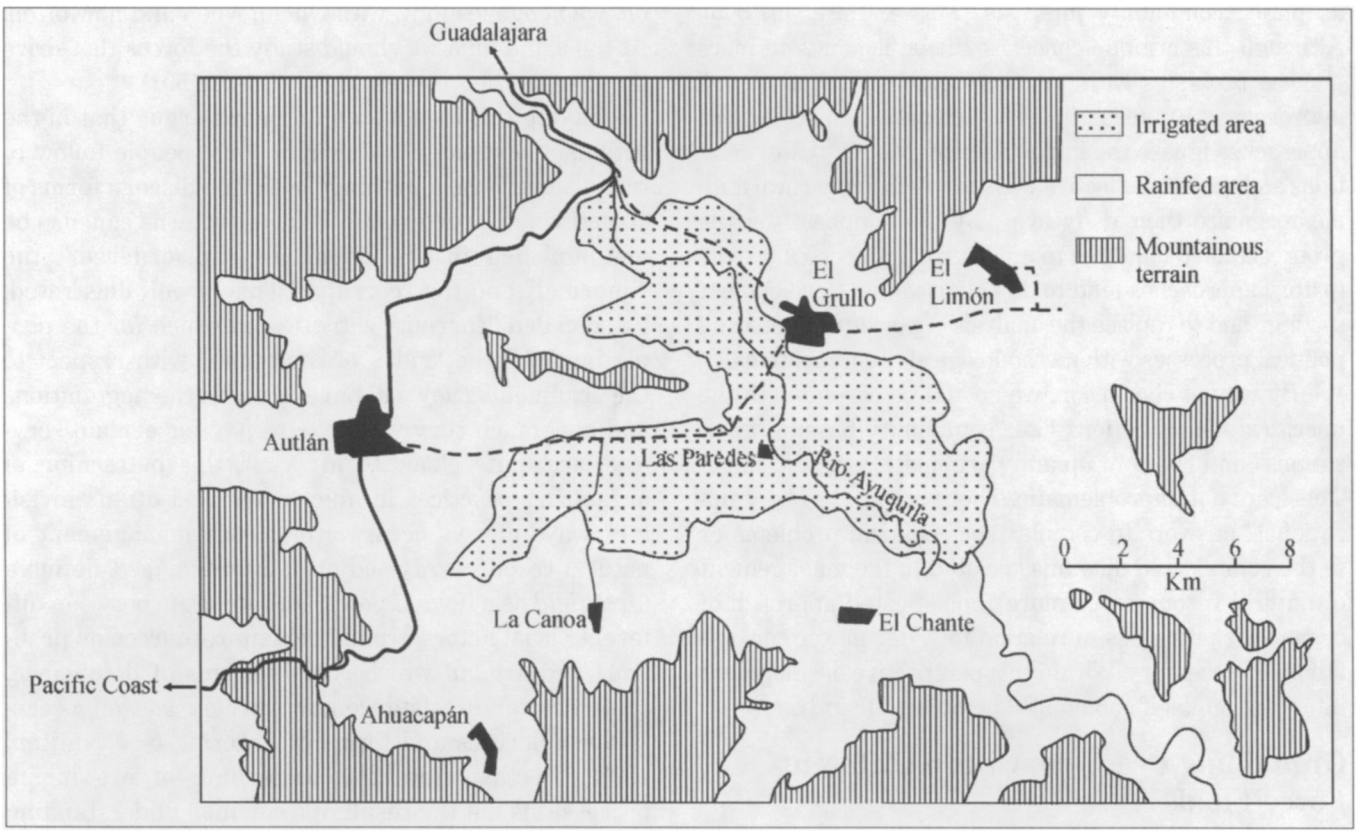
Taking this idea a step further, I argue that in the actions and strategies that individual people follow to try to achieve certain things, we often discern forms of structuring or patterning. Hence, patterns can also be distinguished in the apparently "disordered," the "informal" and the "corrupt." This is well illustrated, by so-called "corrupt" activities, in which for the people involved the "rules of the game" with respect to the arguments they will have to use in the negotiations and how much they will have to pay for certain services, are quite clear. In my view, this patterning of organizing practices in unexpected and often "invisible" ways always occurs around the management of natural resources. Based on the foregoing, I define a *force field* as a field of power and struggle between different social actors around certain resources or problems and around which certain forms of dominance, contention and resistance may develop, as well as certain regularities and forms of ordering (see Nuijten, 1998). In this view, the patterning of organizing processes is not the result of a common understanding or normative agreement, but of the forces at play within the field. Most of the time, this patterning of

organizing practices is of a decentred nature, which means that there is no single centre of control and that there is no single organizational body which controls the organizing process. This notion of force field resembles Bourdieu's notion of a field (1992: 94-115). According to Bourdieu, the field is the locus of relations of force and not only of meaning. The coherence that may be observed in a given state of the field is born of conflict and competition and not of some kind of immanent self-development of the structure. Every field has its own logic, rules and regularities which are not explicit and which make it resemble the playing of games. These struggles and activities in the field always produce differences.

Yet, in contrast to Bourdieu, my notion of force field leaves more room for indeterminateness, fragmentation and, most importantly, human consciousness. Continuous critical reflections by human agents, their theorizing on politics and power in society and their storytelling are considered to be central elements of the organizing practices that develop in certain force fields. In other words, organizing practices, however structured they may be, are the subject of constant critical reflection. These reflections also express forms of struggle, contention and resistance in relation to existing relations of power (cf. Tsing, 1993). In this way, an organizing practice approach favours a focus on struggles, areas of conflicts and differences in interests. This is in contrast to most studies of organizations that tend to focus on collective goals and interests and see the existence of conflicts and differences (for example, the famous "free-riders problem") as problematic and deviations from the normal situation.

Organization in the Mexican Ejido: La Canoa

Before discussing the implementation of a Mexican government program of peasant organization in which local initiatives and participation from the ground were central elements, the context in which this program was introduced will be explained. A short background of the history of the Mexican ejido will be presented, as well as a description of the local organizing practices in the ejido that the government program intended to improve. The ethnographic material is based on research conducted in the ejido La Canoa, in the valley of Autlán in Western Mexico.[5]



Map 2: La Canoa in the valley of Autlán.

The town of Autlán is 180 kilometres from the state capital Guadalajara and is an important regional centre and a gateway to the sparsely populated coastal zone of Jalisco. The Autlán valley is a predominantly agrarian region. A great change was brought to the area in the beginning of the 1960s when an irrigation system constructed by the Mexican government came into operation. Since then almost half of the arable land in the valley has been irrigated and production and economic activities have greatly increased. A sugarcane refinery was established near the town of El Grullo and sugarcane has become the dominant crop on the irrigated lands.

La Canoa is one of the many small hamlets in the valley. In 1938, La Canoa received lands to establish its own ejido. In total the ejido received approximately 450 hectares arable land and 1 800 hectares lands in the mountains. The arable land they received was immediately divided into individual plots, while the mountainous land became common lands used for the herding of cattle. Since the 1960s, half of the arable ejido land of La Canoa falls within the irrigation district. However, over the years, the number of households has increased substantially and today most households in the village have no access to land. La Canoa has 837 inhabitants[6] while the ejido La Canoa has 97 members (ejidatarios). Many villagers, ejidatarios as well as non-ejidatarios, combine their life in the village with migration to the United States.

The ejido form of land tenure was established at the beginning of this century when large landholdings were expropriated and the confiscated lands were handed over to the landless rural population. In most ejidos the arable land was immediately divided into individual plots. Although officially they only received usufructuary rights, the ejidatarios could till their own plot and were allowed to leave it to the inheritor of their choice. However, the use of an ejido plot was tied to many rules.[7] For example, the agrarian law prohibited the selling of ejido plots, renting them out or leaving them unused. Yet, despite the strict agrarian law, these became common practices in ejidos throughout Mexico (see Bartra et al., 1975; Gordillo, 1988; Warman, 1976). As in most ejidos, in La Canoa the possession of an ejido plot turned into a form of private property with considerable security in tenure for the people involved. Locally, people know very well which plot belongs to whom and, they follow strict local rules in land transactions (see Nuijten, 1997 for an analysis of this development).

At the local level, the executive committee is responsible for the daily administration of ejido affairs. The executive committee has to render accounts of their activities to the general ejido assembly, which is the highest authority at the local level. Ejido meetings should be held every month and decisions have to be taken by a majority of votes of the ejido assembly. However, with respect to the daily management of the ejido, things also worked out differently. It became a common phenomenon in ejidos that no decisions were arrived at at the monthly meetings but that the head of the ejido, the commissioner, took decisions on his own or in small groups, which were not accountable to the ejido assembly. Furthermore, in many ejidos the monthly meetings were not held or, if they were held, few ejidatarios attended (Reyes et al., 1974; Zaragoza and Macías, 1980). In La Canoa similar practices developed over time.

As the official rules concerning the use of the land and the administration of the ejido are seldom followed, and the ejidatarios themselves show little interest in formal procedures, the ejido system is often labelled by government officials as "disorganized." Officials tend to complain that ejidatarios do not know the rules nor do they seem to be very interested in them. The lack of attendance at the meetings, the lack of public accountability, and the lack of transparency are described as "backwards." So, it is common to hear officials argue that the ejidatarios of La Canoa should be better educated in their tasks as community members and must be made conscious of their tasks as a group with collective resources and interests. It is also claimed that ejidatarios lack certain skills and should be helped to organize themselves better. As we shall see, this was precisely the language that was used in the government program for the improvement of local ejido management and the formulation of new internal ejido rules.

Although from the modernist systems perspective used by government officials one can easily argue that the management of the ejido at the local level is "disorganized," we find strong forms of ordering when we study the ejido from a perspective of organizing practices. As was explained above, the concept of organizing practices refers to regularities and forms of ordering that develop in organizing activities as a result of the forces at play within a wider field of power. These regularities are reflected in the manifold implicit "rules of the game" in everyday life. More often than not, these organizing practices are of an informal, decentred nature, which means that there is no single centre of control and that there is no single organizational body which controls the organizing process.

More in specifically, when we study the ejido La Canoa from an organizing practice approach, we find considerable ordering with respect to the ways in which access to land is organized and with respect to control

over local ejido leaders. Although these forms of ordering do not follow the official laws concerning access to land, we saw that over the years ejido land possession has become a form of private property with considerable legal security. This also means that although the ejido commissioner takes many decisions on his own he has very little room to operate in. His decisions may concern to whom he sells the pasture in the commons, or how many trips he makes to Mexico City, but he cannot decide to evict somebody from an individual ejido plot or to take land back from somebody in the commons. So, paradoxically, while the ejido commissioner has a high degree of autonomy in his decisions, his room for manoeuvre is limited. Little scope exists for abrupt changes of established routines by individual ejidatarios or commissioners.

Within the little room he has to maneouver, he has, the ejido commissioner organizes ejido matters in small, changing groups in private spheres. This explains why ejido meetings have little to do with public presentation of information, decision-making and rendering of accounts by the executive committee. Yet, in La Canoa very effective means of accountability exist outside the formal structures. People find out what is going on in the streets, the bar and in other places. Commissioners can be criticized by fellow ejidatarios and called to account for the spending of the ejido money in many other settings. So, although meetings are often not held and although the general assembly is not the decision-making body in the ejido, there are other ways in which the ejidatarios check on what is going on and keep control over the executive committee. Effective ways of controlling the commissioner and stopping him in the case of abuse of power include, for example, the use of regional political networks, gossip and the exclusion of his relatives from other village activities. The politics of honour also plays an important role in the room commissioners create for themselves and in the way they are judged by others. Summarizing, we do not find a "lack of organization" at the local level but a situation in which the management of resources depends on a constellation of elements set within a wider force field without a centre of decision-making.[8]

Ejidatarios themselves often reflect on the organizational characteristics of their ejido. This shows that they are in a critical, reflective dialogue with the world in which they live, with themselves and with development workers (see Pigg, 1996 for a similar argument). Officials always say to the ejidatarios that they should accept their responsibilities, follow the formal rules and organize themselves better. This places the ejidatarios in a dialogue between their "practical knowledge" and a "modernist organization discourse." For example, many ejidatarios say that they know that it is their duty to attend the ejido meetings but at the same time they can explain to you why they often prefer not to go. They argue that important decisions are not taken at the meetings but at other places and that the meetings have become unpleasant events of bickering and accusations.

In conflictive situations we see that ejidatarios tend to stress the necessity of following the formal procedures. Then they also express their frustration with the lack of accountability and central control. However, most of the time the ejidatarios do not mind the lack of management and control. Nor do they mind the fact that in the view of outsiders their ejido is "disorganized." The fact that the ejido does not function according to the official model gives them a lot of freedom in their operations and means that nobody interferes with their illegal land transactions. Furthermore, they have considerable security of land tenure. So, most of the time there is no reason for the ejidatarios to want the ejido administration to work differently and in a so-called modern, democratic way.

A New Style of Government Intervention and the Program of the Internal Ejido Rules (IER)

In 1992 article 27 of the Mexican Constitution and the Agrarian Law was changed. The most important elements of the new Agrarian Law in comparison with the old Federal Agrarian Reform Law are the following. Firstly, the Mexican agrarian reform has come to its end, no longer will land be expropriated in order to establish or enlarge ejidos. Secondly, the ejido form of land tenure will continue to exist, but in a "modern" form. In this new form, ejidatarios will be allowed to sell, buy, rent or lease their land, activities that were all forbidden under the old Agrarian Reform Law. Thirdly, the law opens the possibility for ejidatarios to work in association with private enterprises (stockholding companies) and individual investors.

In addition, a new government program was introduced, PROCEDE, aimed at measuring the ejido borders and all the individual ejido plots.[9] Once this process was completed, ejidatarios could decide to change from the ejido regime to private land ownership.[10] In the government propaganda accompanying the changes it was claimed that all these transformations would bring more legal security in land tenure for ejidatarios. Furthermore, ejidatarios would from now on be able to mortgage their land, obtain credit at commercial banks and become

"dynamic entrepreneurs." All these improvements would finally lead to an increase in agricultural productivity. It is not surprising that this argument carried weight at a time when Mexico was negotiating the free trade agreement NAFTA with Canada and the United States.

Together with this radical change of the Mexican ejido system, a new style of government intervention was introduced. In government publications the widespread corruption in the Ministry of Agrarian Reform (SRA) was presented as the main source of agrarian problems in the country and the cause of the continuing exploitation of the ejidatarios. It was declared that drastic changes were required and a new agrarian institute, the Procuraduría Agraria (PA) (Attorney General's Office for Agrarian Affairs) was established to bring justice to the Mexican countryside. The blaming of the SRA for the agrarian problems in Mexico was part of president Salinas' broader political discourse of change, modernization and democratization. Admitting past government corruption and failures, the Mexican president declared that all this was about to change. In order to show his good intentions, president Salinas appointed Arturo Warman, an internationally well-known academician who had published widely on state-peasant relations and agrarian reform in Mexico, head of the new PA. The SRA would remain responsible for the resolution of the numerous agrarian arrears. The PA would begin its new mission with the implementation of the PROCEDE program.

The PA introduced a new style of government intervention in which officials should no longer treat peasants in the usual paternalistic way but instead as capable individuals with their own valuable views. Much emphasis was put on the importance of local forms of organization and of initiatives from the ejidatarios themselves. According to the official PA propaganda the ejidatarios had to become "independent" and "self-reliant," after more than a half-century of state tutelage. This image of the "self-reliant peasant" formed part of the development of a new institutional identity of the PA that would distinguish it from the SRA. This new image became very clear in *Espacios*, the new magazine of the PA. Arturo Warman, expressed himself in this magazine in the following way:

> Our goal is to resolve issues....It is also to treat the campesinos with respect. We must play a key role in creating a new agrarian culture that rejects paternalism and puts campesinos in charge of their own lives. (*Espacios* No. 1 [March-April 1993]: 3, own translation)

One of the programs that was introduced with the new agrarian law, was the program of the Internal Ejido Rules (*Reglamento Interno*). The possibility of formulating Internal Ejido Rules (IER) already existed under the old agrarian reform law, but was given new prominence. In the IER each ejido could specify rules concerning the internal administration of the ejido at the local level. So, the IER was presented as the perfect way for the ejidos to show their self-determination. It was propagated that consciousness raising and local organization were central to progress in the ejidos and that each ejido should formulate its IER according to its particular local situation and the aspirations of the ejidatarios.

Although such a project sounds sympathetic, it becomes much less appealing when we take into account that ejido organizing practices have developed in a way that bears little relation to the official rules. As we saw, in La Canoa the ejido assembly only plays a limited role in the management of ejido affairs and no centre of decision-making exists. Taking this into consideration, the project of formulating internal rules becomes much less appealing. One might ask, what could be the use of formulating more rules. I will now describe in detail how the implementation of the IER program evolved in La Canoa and the region of Autlán.

Implementation of the IER Program in the Valley of Autlán

By the time the IER program started I had already been working for some time in La Canoa and the ejido commissioner and several other ejidatarios relied more and more on my information and advice. This has to be seen in the light of many bad experiences they have had with government programs and officials in the past. Ejidatarios are used to the fact that programs work out in a different way than officially is presented and that they often have to pay officials for their services. Especially the SRA has a bad reputation in that respect. So, several ejidatarios tried to put me in a sort of broker's role. This role had two sides. First of all, they liked me doing the information seeking with officials at different institutions. Secondly, they hoped that my presence in meetings and negotiations with officials would withhold them from asking bribes from the ejidatarios. So, on several occasions I felt like a "buffer" between the ejidatarios and officials.

Although at the start of the IER program in the region of Autlán several institutions participated, it was decided at higher bureaucratic levels that the SRA should take over and gradually the other institutions withdrew from further activities. Many ejidos were dis-

appointed that they had to work with the SRA again. On the basis of past experiences, they were convinced that the SRA officials would ask the ejido for money in exchange for assistance with the IER.

In June 1993 a meeting was held in La Canoa about the IER. Manuel, the head of the SRA office in Autlán, came to the meeting. He never used to visit the ejidos but he was under great pressure from the Guadalajara office to finish IERs. Manuel explained that a small committee had to be formed in La Canoa which could elaborate the IER. He said that he would personally give assistance to this committee. He stressed the importance of the IER for obtaining loans in the future. After various questions, a discussion started about who should be in the IER committee. Two young men were proposed, sons of ejidatarios who had received secondary education. Then I was proposed as a member of the committee. Finally, it was decided to have some older experienced ejidatarios as well. So two older men also became part of the committee. The five of us signed the papers of the IER committee. The meeting came to its end and it was decided that the IER committee would meet with Manuel the next day at his office.

At the meeting with the head of the SRA at his office the next day, Manuel made it clear that he did not have much time to work with the ejidatarios. He said that he had written down ten points to start the work. He read out the points which were formulated in a very legalist terminology and which the people from La Canoa clearly did not understand. The ten points he had written down came directly from the agrarian law and had nothing to do with the situation in La Canoa.

Some days after the meeting it became clear that the two older ejidatarios on the committee did not see the point of the IER and that they would not come to the meetings anymore. The whole project of the IER seemed a ridiculous endeavor. Framing this document was too big a challenge for the ejidatarios. The rules had to be based on the new agrarian law, as the law restricts what themes can be addressed. Therefore, the ejidatarios first had to know the law in detail in order to know where variation was possible: they could then formulate their own Internal Ejido Rules. Since many ejidatarios can barely read, this task of studying the agrarian law was all but impossible. However, more importantly, the new agrarian law appeared to be open to various interpretations and again education did not seem to be the only issue here. This became clear when a university-educated Mexican friend who was working in another region helped an ejido to formulate its IER. This IER was then rejected by the RAN (National Agrarian Registry) for including local rules, which went against the agrarian law. In this way, it seemed that the new laws were used to stifle local creativity and only strengthened the practice of legal reification.

Some entrepreneurial types soon grasped that the new program offered interesting possibilities and they went to the ejidos to offer their services in developing the IER, in exchange for substantial payment. For example, the SRA office in Autlán offered its services to several neighbouring ejidos, for 20 million pesos ($7.000). They had also told some ejidatarios that La Canoa would have to pay 20 million pesos for assistance with the IER if the committee did not succeed in doing the job on its own. In other ejidos, people from outside the region arrived to offer their assistance with the IER and charged large sums of money. However, some officials of the SARH (the former Ministry of Agriculture and Hydraulic Resources) office in El Grullo became aware of this and managed to convince the ejidatarios not to work with these people. A drawback for these entrepreneurial types was that in many ejidos the ejidatarios didn't see the value of developing the IER. So, these types threatened the ejidatarios that without an IER they wouldn't get credit from the banks anymore. Although this threat seemed to work in some cases, in most ejidos the people were not impressed, and the price for assistance with the IERs dropped (in the Autlán region, the price fell from 20 million pesos [$7.000] to between three and five million pesos [$1.000 and 1.700]). Officials of the PA office in Autlán were very well aware of what was going on. However, there had been many tensions between the PA and the SRA and the PA office was operating very carefully and trying to avoid conflict with the SRA office in Autlán. So, there was little support for the ejidatarios from that side.

When the two older ejidatarios on the IER committee of La Canoa withdrew from further activities, I was left on the committee with two young men who were not even ejidatarios. So, there seemed little reason to continue with the job. Furthermore, most ejidatarios did not show any interest in the project and I myself did not believe in the usefulness of more rules. However, the ejido commissioner Raúl urged us to go on. He was afraid that otherwise the officials of the SRA office in Autlán would take over and charge the ejido a large sum of money. So we continued the work and I was amazed by the zeal and enthusiasm of the two young men, who clearly hoped to become ejidatarios in the future. The work on the IER led to many interesting discussions in a small group of ejidatarios. Yet, the majority of ejidatarios showed no interest in this project of new ejido rules.

At the request of the ejido commissioner, Raúl, I had gathered together some IERs of other ejidos and on the basis of the agrarian law and these examples we formulated a framework in which the local rules could easily be integrated. After several discussions in small groups we elaborated a provisional IER in which the local ideas were "translated" into a formalist legal terminology. The idea was that this provisional IER would be discussed at the ejido assembly, which would take the final decisions about the different rules. When we visited Raúl to discuss this provisional document, Raúl did not react very much. After asking several times what he thought about it, he said that several things were unclear to him. On further questioning it became apparent that he had not understood anything of the formal language. As it seemed ridiculous to have an IER that not even the ejido commissioner was able to understand, we talked about the possibility of writing a short IER in everyday language for use in the ejido and a formal legalist IER in order to deal with institutions. The commissioner was very enthusiastic about that idea.

In conversations with officials at the headquarters of the PA in Mexico City in August 1993, I learned that they were well aware of what was going on in the field with respect to the IER program. Two young lawyers working for Arturo Warman realized that not only was the IER program failing to promote the new ideology of an independent ejidatario, it was creating new opportunities for people who wanted to exploit ejidatarios. Their boss Fabiola, who was an anthropologist and part of the head team of the PA, had just returned from a meeting with Warman and said:

> I just received orders to work further on an instruction booklet for the IER. We wanted to distance ourselves from former practices in which the SRA dictated everything. We wanted the ejidatarios to do it themselves. It now appears that it did not work that way. The regional assistance offices of the SRA jumped in and now ask for money from the ejidatarios: they sell IERs. For that reason we decided to make an instruction booklet after all.

So, the central office of the PA had finally decided to publish a booklet in which the project of the IER was explained and in which a sample of IERs was presented which the ejidatarios could copy, filling in sections where there was room for variation. Hence, the IER project had turned into an arena of conflict between different institutions of the agrarian bureaucracy (the SRA, the RAN, the PA), and in which some ejidos were the "victims." When I returned to La Canoa, I informed them about this latest development and they decided to wait for the new PA booklet before continuing with the IER.

One day when I was working in the local ejido archive of La Canoa, I was amazed when I suddenly found an IER of the ejido that had been elaborated two years before. I showed it to the ejido commissioner who was also surprised and said that he had not known of its existence. He asked me to read it and explain what it said to him. I talked about it with other ejidatarios but only some seemed to remember that a couple of years ago, some people talked about an IER. But nothing more was heard and it was never presented at a general assembly. The IER had been elaborated by an official of the SRA office in Autlán and was very extensive and well done. Many of the rules that the ejidatarios wanted to include in the new IER, such as fines for people who did not attend the meetings, were already in this IER. After having found this IER, I became even more convinced that the formulation of more new rules was a useless endeavor.

The PA booklet about the IER appeared in December 1993, almost a year after the IER project had begun in the Autlán region. As the PA published the booklet, most ejidatarios never learned of its existence; the IER projects in Autlán were in the hands of the SRA. We had some more meetings in La Canoa and, using the booklet, we made a provisional IER. At the SRA office in Guadalajara we heard that specialized assistants were soon going to be sent to the region to give free help with the IERs. The ejidatarios decided to wait for the assistance of this specialized SRA official from Guadalajara to do the final work. By now Manuel, the head of the SRA office in Autlán, had become very angry with our "laziness" and everybody tried to avoid him.

However, in March 1994 Manuel arrived at a meeting in the ejido together with a SRA official from Guadalajara. The young official presented himself and explained that he had been sent with the special task of helping ejidos with the IERs. He would be the person responsible for the IER in the region of Autlán. I was finishing my fieldwork period in the region and I could not participate in the meetings with this official. But the ejidatarios later told me that they had several good meetings with him and that he finally finished the IER. Afterwards, when I returned to La Canoa it was obvious that, despite new rules, nothing had changed in the management of the ejido. Most ejidatarios did not know the new rules, or even that new rules had been formulated.

Conclusion: Local Organization, Participation and the Role of the Anthropologist

Local organization is often presented as the solution to a wide range of developmental problems. In this same vein, development workers and government officials often label existing forms of organizing as chaotic and corrupt. However, it can be argued that both the labelling of existing organizing practices as "disorganized," and the widespread belief that "modern," "democratic" and "collective" forms of organization can improve the situation of poor peasants, form part of broader discourses of development (Apthorpe and Gasper, 1996; cf. Escobar, 1995; Grillo and Stirrat, 1997). In these discourses "development narratives" are created—"broad explanatory narratives that can be operationalized into standard approaches with widespread application" (Roe, 1991: 288) and that mobilize action. Examples include manuals for participatory learning approaches, training of focus groups and building of local organizations. In effect, these simplifying stories have the general characteristic of de-politicizing development issues and intervention itself.

The de-politicizing effects of discourses of participation and local organization became very clear in the case of the program of the Internal Ejido Rules in Mexico. In Mexico officials depict ejidatarios as uneducated, lacking initiative and uncooperative. This figure of the "distrustful and distant" ejidatario deeply informs the thinking of bureaucrats and is reinforced by their experiences with ejidatarios in their daily work. Ejidatarios often do not show much interest in new government programs or in the bureaucrats' explanation of them. Although this skeptical attitude is the outcome of ejidatarios' past experiences with government programs, officials interpret this wait-and-see stance as a sign that ejidatarios do not take any interest in their own development. Hence, officials stress the need to raise the consciousness of the ejidatarios about their own situation and the importance of high levels of participation in programs that personally concern them.

The Salinas' propaganda that ejidatarios should become independent and self-reliant linked up with the officials' image of ejidatarios as ignorant and in need of empowerment. The new programs for the ejido sector heavily drew on the discourses of consciousness raising, education and local organization. As we saw, this formed part of a broader institutional project in which a new agrarian institute, the PA, was created, alongside the SRA. The PA was presented as an institute that would introduce a new style of government intervention forging new types of relationships between people and the state. The IER program—in which ejidatarios had to show their own "organizing capacities"—was one of the programs within this new intervention package. However, the IER program overlooked the ways in which existing informal organizing practices in the ejidos became firmly established over the years. In addition, it obviously did not address the fact that the long history of state intervention in rural areas has shaped state-peasant relations in rather conflictive ways.

In La Canoa the IER project had the effect that ejidatarios tried to resist as long as possible the interference of possibly "corrupt" officials. They especially tried to keep the SRA at a distance when they noticed that some of these officials asked for money from other ejidos in the region in exchange for their assistance with the IER. In the end, this program only led to the reshuffling of money within the agrarian bureaucracy and to institutional fights between different state agencies. For the organizing practices in the ejido—which was the official aim of the IER project—it did not have any effect at all. The propaganda of a "new bureaucratic style" could not change established patterns of relations between ejidatarios and officials that had acquired a distinct logic over time. Although the law was changed and a new institute was established, situations soon returned to "normal" and the old stereotypes of the lazy ejidatarios and the unreliable officials were reinforced in the interactions between ejidatarios and officials.

For anthropologists moving between academic work and more applied development work the relation between anthropological theory and development practice can be a troublesome issue. Anthropologists can fulfil many different roles in the development scene. As we saw, in some situations the anthropologist may be enrolled as an information-broker or a buffer between peasants and government officials. In other instances, anthropologists are asked to help design development programs for government agencies, NGOs, or institutions such as the FAO and the World Bank. I always felt very uncomfortable when officials in Mexico asked me to suggest new government programs for the ejido sector. After so many years of study, they felt that I should at least be able to formulate ideas for new development projects. However, in my role as "detached observer" I had arrived at the conclusion that the problem was not a lack of good ideas but the political context in which programs were implemented and the way in which intervention was always appropriated in unintended ways within a political play of clientelistic and personalistic

relations. Although many could understand the point that I made, it obviously did not answer their request for new policy guidelines.

In my view, independently of the specific role he or she takes, an important task of the anthropologist is to keep a critical stance towards discourses and practices of development. As Pottier argues, "a commitment to participatory appraisal and research must not tempt anthropologists away from their conventional task and role. Especially, they must continue to contextualize research activities and events, reflect on how knowledge is produced and write it all down as reflexive ethnography" (1997: 203). With respect to the discussions on participation and organization, it means that one should not uncritically use these terms, but instead study the meanings they acquire in certain political and institutional projects and the role they play in intervention processes. In this sense, the distance that exists between academic anthropology and more applied work—and which is lamented by many—can be a necessary and healthy one.

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Notes

1 The study of the Internal Ejido Rules was part of a bigger PhD research project concerned with the way in which organizing practices with respect to access and distribution of lands had developed in the ejido La Canoa since its establishment in 1938. This project was conducted by long term ethnographic research in the ejido and several government agencies from 1991 to mid-1995. The research was financed by WOTRO (the Netherlands foundation for the advancement of tropical research). The study of participatory approaches was further developed when the author participated in a FAO pilot research project that studied the links between rural households income generating strategies and local institutions in three areas in India, Mozambique and Mexico. The continuing study of institutions and natural resource management has been made possible by a fellowship of the Royal Dutch Academy of Arts and Sciences.

2 In the literature the terms institution and organization are often used interchangeably. At the same time, subdisciplines, such as organization sociology, new institutional economics, economic sociology and economic anthropology use the concepts in very specific and different ways. The fact that these concepts form part of different theoretical frameworks can make discussions very confusing. Comparing the use of the concepts, one finds that most works that try to distinguish organizations from institutions stress the normative aspects of institutions while for organizations the structural part is stressed.

3 The PRA is above all based on qualitative methods and several of these find their origin in anthropological fieldwork, such as visits to and talks with community leaders and organization representatives, at random informal interviews with different people of the community, open interviews with "key-informants," semi-structured interviews with topic lists, informal group talks, directly observing local conditions.

4 This strong orientation towards the group and group learning processes is even stronger in the participating Learning and Action Approach (PLA) developed by Pretty, Guijt, Thompson and Scoones (1995) which is about training sessions and the creation of learning environments in workshops for development.

5 For the sake of anonymity, the name of the ejido as well as the names of all the persons appearing in the ethnography have been changed.

6 INEGI, 1991, XI Censo General de Población y Vivienda, 1990. Jalisco. Resultados definitivos. Datos por Localidad (Integracion Territorial).

7 The Mexican agrarian law has been changed several times this century. However, the main characteristics of the ejido regime were not changed between 1917 and 1992. The main institution that took care of agrarian affairs and the procuration of agrarian justice has been renamed and reorganized several times since 1915. In 1974 it became the Ministry of Agrarian Reform (Secretaría de la Reforma Agraria).

8 Fairhead and Leach also show that environmental management often depends less on community-level authorities and sociocultural organizations than on the sum of a much more diffuse set of relations: a constellation more than a structure (1995: 1027).

9 During the Mexican Land Reform not all ejidos received the final map that indicated the borders with their neighbours. The individual ejido plots had never been measured before.

10 When the majority of ejido plots has been measured, the ejido assembly can authorize the concerning ejidatarios to adopt full domain over their plots. If all ejido members decide to adopt full domain over their plots the ejido regime comes to an end. Only if 20% of the ejidatarios or 20 ejidatarios decide to continue, they can continue as ejido.

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Antécédents historiques des organisations : les confréries indigènes au Chiapas

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Résumé : À l'époque coloniale, les confréries ont eu une très grande importance pour les groupes indigènes du Chiapas, alors qu'elles ont transformé tout leur système culturel. Cette institution peut être considérée comme un mécanisme de résistance et d'adaptation de la population aux nouvelles circonstances sociolculturelles. J'analyserai donc le processus d'intégration de la confrérie dans le corpus culturel autochtone, les mécanismes intervenant dans cette incorporation, de même que le fait que cette institution est actuellement copiée par plusieurs organisations actuelles dans l'état du Chiapas.

Mots-clés : Mexique, organisations, confréries, histoire, participation, Chiapas

Abstract: I intend to analyse the importance the cofradias had for indigenous people in Chiapas during the colonial period. That relevance lead to the transformation of the whole cultural system of these groups. In this context, this institution acted as a means of resistance as well as a form of adaptation to the new socio-cultural circumstances. My interest is to bring out the processes which help to the incorporation of the cofradia to the original cultural corpus and the mechanisms which took part in that integration. I also focus on this institution as a model of organization which has been copied by many of present organizations in the state of Chiapas.

Keywords: Mexico, organizations, cofradias, history, participation, Chiapas

Dans cet article, je veux faire l'analyse des confréries en tant qu'organisations, en analysant la structure, le fonctionnement et la signification de cette institution pour les groupes indiens du Chiapas au cours de l'époque coloniale. Ce travail s'inscrit dans un projet plus large mené avec d'autres chercheurs et intitulé «Organisations et entreprises sociales au Chiapas : une vision culturelle», qui porte sur l'analyse des différentes dimensions des organisations contemporaines dans l'état du Chiapas. Une partie de la littérature sur ces organisations place la confrérie à l'origine, ou tout au moins comme modèle de référence de la constitution des premières d'entre elles (Degl'Innocenti, 1977; Digby, 1960). Je ne prétends pas faire ici une étude comparative des confréries et des organisations au Chiapas, mais plutôt fournir des éléments d'analyse afin que les chercheurs spécialisés sur le fonctionnement des organisations puissent en tirer des leçons, comparer, et trouver les points de convergence s'il y en a. L'information que j'ai utilisée pour faire ce travail provient des communes actuellement habitées par des Indiens de langue tzotzil et tzeltal.

Dans l'étude des mouvements organisationnels, il est important de se tourner vers l'histoire pour comprendre comment, dans des contextes sociaux différents, les groupes humains ont créé des solidarités et ont développé des mécanismes d'aide réciproque pour atteindre un certain nombre d'objectifs. Sarah Keene (1995) décrit un mouvement revendicatif de pêcheurs de crustacées en Gallice, Espagne, dans lequel elle affirme: «Cette révolution n'a pas tant porté sur la technologie que sur la gestion et la commercialisation, suite au développement de l'infrastructure. La réponse de la communauté a été de ressusciter la confrérie comme une association locale de pêcheurs, créant ainsi une entité bureaucratique de cogestion avec le gouvernement de Gallice». Je pense que cet exemple qui n'a rien à voir avec le Chiapas permet tout de même d'ébaucher une définition du thème proposé.

Par cette analyse, je tente de situer la confrérie dans le cadre des relations sociales issues du contexte colo-

nial, déterminées par une logique de domination, de contrôle et d'explotation de certains groupes par d'autres. Dans une telle situation, les groupes dominés ont besoin de renforcer leurs liens sociaux primaires (Fromm, 1982) afin d'alléger l'état d'aliénation croissant découlant de ces rapports de forces. La confrérie joue alors le rôle d'un mécanisme de défense des groupes soumis à un tel régime.

Je traiterai également des processus culturels de changement et d'adaptation, la confrérie ayant activement contribué à orienter ces processus au sein de l'Alcaldía mayor (la mairie principale) du Chiapas.

L'analyse des confréries en Amérique a été traitée par l'anthropologie et l'histoire dans des régions particulières selon des critères théoriques et méthodologiques. Notons les travaux de Flavio Rojas Lima (1988) concernant San Pedro Jocopilas chez les Quichés ; ceux de Sandra Orellana (1975) dans la région du Lac Atitlan – les deux au Guatemala – ; Dagmar Bechtloff (1996) a travaillé au Michoacan, plus précisément sur les population du Lac de Patzcuaro; Danièle Dehouve (1990) s'est intéressée aux communautés nahuas, mixtécas et tlapanécas de la région de Tlapa dans l'état du Guerrero; Nancy Farriss (1992) sur les Mayas du Yucatan; Olinda Celestino et Albert Meyers (1981b) sur les confréries du Pérou. Au Chiapas, nous avons les recherches de Dolores Aramoni (1994; 1995) sur les confréries zoqués et celles de Murdo MacLeod (1983) – en général sur tous les groupes de l'Alcadia Mayor. Pratiquement, tous les travaux antérieurs portent sur l'importance du rôle de la confrérie pour les indigènes soumis à l'emprise coloniale et, bien que les interprétations sur son développement et fonctionnement varient selon chaque étude et l´époque, tous coïncident sur le fait qu'elles furent les institutions-clés parmi d'autres de la résistance indigène et l'instrument qui permit la cohésion sociale et la reconstruction de l'identité de chacun des groupes analysés.

Ces travaux servent de contexte théorique à l'étude que je présente. Cependant, il est nécessaire de signaler l'importance de la spécificité historique des processus et les conditions particulières où se déploient les institutions. Les résultats varient selon les régions et font ressortir les différences dans le fonctionnement de la confrérie.

En général, on peut considérer que la confrérie est une association volontaire se définissant comme «*un groupe organisé, constitué pour promouvoir les intérêts de ses membres, où l'adhésion est volontaire dans le sens qu'elle n'est ni obligatoire ni acquise de naissance et qui existe indépendamment des structures de l'État*» (Sills, 1968).

Depuis ses origines, cette institution a eu pour caractéristiques majeures la fraternité, la solidarité et l'aide réciproque entre les membres du groupe fondateur. La confrérie a acquis sa forme définitive dans le cadre des relations sociales de l'Europe médiévale, dominées par le servage. Jacques Heers (1984) affirme qu'elles sont les héritières de solidarités et d'associations de travailleurs des époques païennes et avant tout, d'associations religieuses principalement tournées vers les bonnes oeuvres.

Soit comme sociétés coopératives funéraires (MacLeod, 1983), soit aux côtés des corporations citadines (Heers, 1984), ou encore comme sociétés de crédit, elles ont, depuis leurs origines, revêtu un caractère religieux évident en lien avec les fêtes des saints patrons.

La naissance, l'expansion et la consolidation du capitalisme – colonialisme, domination, exploitation, etc., – ont graduellement provoqué des transformations profondes dans la société européenne au début de l'ère moderne. Dans ce nouveau contexte, la confrérie n'a pas disparu; elle a continué de se maintenir comme organisation avec ses caractéristiques originelles, même si les circonstances ont changé. C'est à ce moment-là que la confrérie bâtie sur le mode européen arrive en Amérique et au Chiapas par le biais des Espagnols.

Avec la colonisation, les groupes indigènes du Chiapas subissent plusieurs transformations dans leur forme de vie qui ont affecté autant les structures de pouvoir autochtone – par exemple à travers l'introduction du conseil municipal comme forme d'administration locale – que les formes d'organisation sociale préhispaniques – par la transformation des réductions et des congrégations en villages – et que la cosmogonie préhispanique. Dans ces transformations, l'évangélisation prit un rôle primordial (Palomo Infante, 2001).

L'histoire des confréries au Chiapas commence avec l'évangélisation. Tout au long de leur existence, elles eurent un caractère double et contradictoire puisqu'elles furent utilisées comme instrument autant par les colonisateurs – principalement dans le secteur ecclésiastique – que par les colonisés. Les premiers l'utilisèrent comme mécanisme de contrôle de la population dominée, de transformation du système culturel autochtone et d'ingérence dans les affaires propres au groupe indigène, raison pour laquelle ils en favorisèrent l'existence. Les seconds y ont eu recours pour «*maintenir une certaine identité culturelle, une consistance idéologique et une organisation, bien que précaire, afin de retarder, et si possible contrecarrer, les processus d'aliénation et de désorganisation sociales*» (Rojas Lima, 1988).

La confrérie a été introduite au Chiapas par les religieux dominicains, pour amener les indigènes à abandonner «leurs anciennes pratiques idolâtres», et implanter chez eux les croyances et les rituels propres à la «vie civilisée» (MacLeod, 1983). Étant un des principaux fronts de transformation culturelle des peuples autochtones, l'évangélisation s'est appuyée sur la confrérie pour assurer le processus de changement des modèles de comportement et de la vision du monde de l'indigène, réaffirmant sa position d'infériorité face aux colonisateurs. Ainsi, la confrérie signifie l'introduction d'une institution inexistante à l'époque pré-hispanique, l'imposition d'une contribution financière aux communautés, et l'introduction des Saints et de conceptions religieuses totalement étrangères à la «cosmogonie» indigène. Cependant, en peu de temps, les cultures indigènes se sont ré-approprié et ont ré-interprété le message. Cette institution s'est convertie en fer de lance de la résistance indigène face à la situation de domination et en un mécanisme qui facilitera la survivance culturelle de ces groupes (Rojas Lima, 1988).

Le plus grand nombre de fondations se produit à partir du dix-septième siècle, date à laquelle, selon Mac Leod, les religieux considèrent que la population indigène est suffisamment évangélisée pour qu'il n'y ait plus de risque à l'introduction de ce type d'institutions. De plus, affirme le même auteur, face à la diminution de la population qui s'est produite à la fin du siècle précédent, «les villages se sont dépeuplés et la prospérité économique a décliné. Ces revers sensibles ont obligé le clergé à trouver de nouvelles sources d'aide et de revenus ... L'expansion des confréries faisait partie de cette réorganisation ... on trouvait juste que les habitants indigènes des village, ... assument les frais liés au culte du saint patron de la localité» (MacLeod, 1983). C'est alors que nous avons le plus d'informations sur l'existence des confréries. A partir de cette date le nombre de fondations augmente jusqu'au dix-neuvième siècle.

Le rythme d'augmentation du nombre de confréries a varié pendant toute l' époque coloniale. Cette situation dépendait des processus politiques et des relations entre les différents groupes de pouvoir de l' *Alcaldía Mayor*, comme par exemple les conflits qui existaient entre les autorités civiles et ecclésiastiques pour le contrôle des ressources de la localité. L'augmentation ou la diminution du nombre de confréries dépendait aussi de l´enthousiasme des indigènes mêmes, puisque quelquefois ils fondaient des confréries sans autorisation. À partir de la deuxième moitié du dix-neuvième siècle, il semble que la confrérie disparaisse des communautés tzotziles et tzeltales : il n'y a en effet plus de documents qui témoignent de son existence. Il est possible que cette institution se soit transformée en ce que nous connaissons aujourd'hui sous le nom de systèmes de charges ou hiérarchies civico-religieuses (Cámara Barbachano, 1968; Cancian, 1989; Chance and Taylor, 1987; Moreno Navarro, 1981; Rus y Wasserstrom, 1980).

Sur le tableau 1, nous voyons le grand nombre de confréries dans quelques-uns des villages de notre région d'étude et qui ont eu une vie plus ou moins stable depuis la révolte tzeltale de 1712 jusqu'à la fin du XVIII[e] siècle. Il faut dire, pour pouvoir évaluer exactement ce que représente ce nombre, que la plupart de ces villages étaient peu peuplés. Par exemple, Pinola comptait cinq confréries à la fin du XVIII[e] siècle et sa population se composait de :

> *Ladinos (métis)*: deux mariés, une veuve, un célibataire, une célibataire et un petit;
>
> *Indigènes:* 240 mariés, 14 veufs, 45 veuves, 65 hommes célibataires, 63 femmes célibataires et 67 petits. (Archivo Historico Diocesano [hereafter AHD], Santa Vista del Curato de Soyatitan, 1804)

Les confréries eurent plusieurs fonctions au sein de la population indigène, ce qui expliqua leur succès. Au début, les fondations de confréries ont été réalisées par les religieux, comme nous l'avons mentionné plus haut. Cependant, quelques années après leur introduction, leur nombre s'est multiplié rapidement de telle sorte que le moindre village, la moindre paroisse ou annexe avait plusieurs fondations. À prime abord, on aurait pu penser que cette situation résultait de la pression exercée par les religieux. Or, de façon surprenante, des dispositions légales ont été prises afin de réduire le nombre de confréries dans les villages où elles s'étaient multipliées (Archivo General de Indias [hereafter AGI], Audiencia de Guatemala, 215). Pour justifier officiellement cette tentative de réduction, on évoquera l'excès de dépenses lors des fêtes des confréries et les désordres publics qui en résultaient et allaient à l'encontre de la morale chrétienne.

Pendant tout le XVIII[e] siècle, il y a eu une constante discussion pour fixer le nombre de confréries que les communautés pouvaient maintenir. Pour limiter ce nombre, les détracteurs de cette institution évoquaient les difficultés que les confrères encouraient en raison des dépenses excessives pour les fêtes (AGI, Ibid.).

En 1778, l' évêque de Chiapas disait:

> Que l'on fonde(la confrérie) avec un capital de cent cinquante pesos, répartis entre majordomes et officiers qui ont l'obligation de payer chaque année un

TABLEAU 1
Confréries de quelques villages *tzotziles y tzaltales du Chiapas. 1712-1800*

Ville	Confréries
Aguacatenango	Santísimo Sacramento San Sebastián Animas Benditas Santa Cruz
Amatenango	Satísimo Sacramento Santa Cruz San Pedro Mártir Nuestra Señora del Rosario
Chilón	San Sebastián Santo Domingo Santísimo Sacramento
Huistán	Nuestra Señora de la Luz
Ixtapa	Santa Cruz
Ocosingo	Santísimo Sacramento San Sebastián De las Animas Santa Cruz Nuestra Señora del Rosario
Pinola	Santísimo Sacramento[c] San Jacinto[c] Nuestra Señora del Rosario[c] Santa Veracruz[c] Benditas Animas[c]
San Felipe	Purísima Concepción
Sibacá	Santa Cruz
Soyatitán	Santísimo Sacramento[c] Nuestra Señora del Rosario[c] Santa Cruz[c] Santa Lucía[c] Benditas Animas[c] Nuestra Señora de la Pura y Limpia Concepción[c]
Teopisca	Santa Cruz San Sebastián De las Animas Nuestra Señora del Rosario
Tila	Santísimo Cristo de Tila
Yajalón	Santísimo Sacramento Santa Cruz Santo Niño Vera Cruz de Mayordomos San Sebastián Nuestra Señora del Rosario Jesús de Nazareno[a] Benditas Animas[b] Santísimo Sacramento
Zinacantan	Santa Cruz Nuestra Señora del Rosario Santo Domingo Benditas Animas del Purgatorio

Source: Robert Wasserstrom, *Clase y Sociedad en el Centro de Chiapas*, México, FCE, 1992, p. 111;
[a] AHD. *Libro de la cofradía de Jesús de Nazareno de Yajalón*;
[b] AHD. *Libro de la Cofradía de las Benditas Animas de Yajalón*;
[c] AHD. *Santa Visita del Curato de Soyatitan por el Ilustrísimo Señor Doctor don Ambrosio Llano, obispo de esta iglesia de Chiapa y Soconusco. 1804.*

> intérêt de cinq pour cent, remettre le capital et pratiquer des œuvres pieuses, car les Indiens sont généralement pauvres, dépensent le capital sans pouvoir le rembourser: les membres de la confrérie doivent s'engager à réaliser leurs fonctions jusqu'à la dissolution de la fondation. (AGI, Audiencia de Guatemala, 949)

Cependant, leur prolifération s'appuya également sur les centres du pouvoir et la sauvegarde de leurs avantages ; avec comme argument les importants avantages économiques et sociaux offerts aux indigènes et spécialement leur importance comme source de financement de l'évangélisation. Le vicaire général de la province dominicaine déclara :

> [par les confréries] les indigènes offrent a Sa Majesté le culte qu'ils doivent lui donner et par les célébrations des festivités de Maria Santísima et d'autres saints, ils s'appliquent à les vénérer, ce qui manquerait totalement sans elles ; si les confréries disparaissaient, ils cesseraient de se rendre à l'église et aux offices divins et ainsi l'enseignement des Mystères divins et la persévérance en notre Sainte foi catholique feraient défaut. (AGI, Audiencia de Guatemala, 370)

Les curés et les religieux maintinrent un strict contrôle sur le fonctionnement des confréries; les prétentions et les intérêts sur elles étaient très importants ; cependant, les indigènes réussirent à leur inculquer, au fil du temps, leur propre caractère et obtinrent dans la majorité des cas que leur fonctionnement les favorisent, parfois avec la complicité du curé local qui permettait une liberté relative à condition que les offrandes ne fussent pas affectées. Jusqu'alors, la confrérie reste une association à des fins religieuses et pieuses tout comme à son origine. Pourtant, les groupes indigènes commencent à l'utiliser à d'autres fins non explicites, comme d'assurer l'intégration, la cohésion sociale et la récupération d'un certain contrôle sur les affaires touchant le groupe (Celestino et Meyers, 1981a; MacLeod, 1983; Roja Lima, 1988), plutôt qu'à la promotion de la religion catholique et de la charité. Comme cela s'est produit en Europe, il s'est créé une certaine autonomie au bénéfice des fidèles indigènes face aux centres de pouvoir.

En théorie, pour qu'une confrérie puisse avoir une existence reconnue, elle devait avoir l'approbation canonique, c'est-à-dire que ses règles et statuts devaient être approuvés par l'évêque ou une autre autorité ecclésiastique majeure. Certes, l'approbation ne fut pas indispensable à leur existence ; dans certains cas, elles fonctionnaient sans son acceptation. Ceci paraît évident

lorsque, lors de visites ecclésiastiques, l'évêque donnait l'ordre à la confrérie si c'était le cas, de faire ses ordonnances et de les élever á la dignité ecclésiastique correspondant à son approbation canonique.

Les constitutions et ordonnances constituaient le règlement sur lequel le fonctionnement de toute association pieuse devait se baser. Elles exprimaient le motif de la fondation, précisaient les personnes qui pouvaient en faire partie, les obligations des confrères, les fonctions de la confrérie et les privilèges dont les membres bénéficiaient.

Quant au critère d'appartenance, nous pouvons penser qu'on utilisait le critère ethnique, puisque nous trouvons des confréries «d'espagnols» et de «natifs» dans le même village et souvent deux confréries différentes possédant la même appellation. La cohabitation dans la même confrérie de confrères de différents groupes ethniques non seulement ne fut pas fréquente – malgré certains cas contraires (AHD, Santo Rosario de ladinos de Ocosingo) – mais en certaines occasions, le résultat final fut la séparation en deux associations différentes (AHD, Santísimo Rosario de Yajalón). Cette information contribue à faire ressortir que chaque groupe considérait ses confréries comme son terrain propre, d'où il pouvait défendre ses propres intérêts.

Nous trouvons aussi le critère de territorialité, les «calpules» ou quartiers étant présents et différenciés dans la même confrérie (AHD, Santo Rosario de ladinos de Ocosingo). Nancy Farriss (1992) argumente pour le cas du Yucatan que, bien qu'il y ait différentes confréries dans chaque village, toutes s'intégraient essentiellement à une unique organisation qui correspondait à la communauté globale, liées aux autorités politiques indigènes. Sans diminuer la validité de cet argument, je crois qu'il est nécessaire de le nuancer en tenant compte, comme il a été mentionné auparavant, de la singularité des processus dans les différentes régions.

Au Chiapas, les congrégations avaient produit un grand changement dans l'organisation sociale préhispanique, en concentrant dans un seul village des membres de différentes lignages, ce qui affecta directement les solidarités communautaires. Ceci se reflète dans la conformation même des villages, chacun des quartiers, *calpules ou parcialidades* – ainsi mentionnés dans la documentation – acquérant ainsi une personnalité propre et se distinguant des autres. Ceci fut l'un des mécanismes de restructuration que la population indigène a créés pour s'adapter aux nouvelles circonstances. Les confréries, dans certains cas, se sont appuyées sur ces entités socio-territoriales et contribuèrent aux processus de restructuration, de concert avec d'autres organismes à caractère politique (Archivo General de Centro América [hereafter AGCA], A1.30.20). On ne doit toutefois pas se représenter les communautés coloniales comme un ensemble harmonieux et organique. C'est seulement au fil du temps que la vie commune et les faits partagés ont contribué à estomper les différences, et que la population a commencé à avoir une identité propre et commune.

Mais ce qui ressort le plus est que l'appartenance est basée sur la hiérarchie sociale au sein de la communauté; d'après les informations que nous donne la documentation, jusqu'à la fin du XVII^{ème} siècle, seuls les membres de la communauté au statut social élevé appartenaient aux confréries. En 1690, dans le village d'Ocosingo, les «principales» du village sont ceux qui à la fois gèrent les affaires des confréries et en sont les membres; tout un chacun contribue cependant à son maintien puisque tout le monde donne l'obole pour son fonctionnement (AGCA, Ibid.). Cette situation changea suivant l'évolution de la colonie et un processus de démocratisation socio-politique se produisit parmi la population indigène, processus qui se refléta également dans les confréries (Dehouve, 1990).

Du point de vue politique, nous pensons que la confrérie s'est transformée, grâce à son mode de répartition des charges, en un appareil d'influence et de décision dans la résolution des questions locales face aux groupes du pouvoir colonial, puisque ces charges sont assumées, en général, par des personnes au statut social élevé, par d'anciens dignitaires du «*calpul*», comme on l'a vu avec l'exemple antérieur. À ce propos, nous pensons que la confrérie reproduisait une société hiérarchisée comme elle l'avait été depuis l'époque préhispanique, et que ses officiers étaient des représentants de la volonté du groupe face aux autorités coloniales. Qui plus est, les personnes qui occupaient des charges dans les confréries avaient généralement occupé des «*oficios de república*» (AGCA, Ibid.), ce qui a contribuait à rapprocher considérablement cette institution du système socio-politique des villages. Le rôle de ces personnes était très important puisqu'elles étaient responsables d'organiser des rituels publiques et des manifestations de religiosité, bastion où se conservait et se renouvelait l'identité du groupe.

La confrérie avait une structure de gouvernement chargée de son fonctionnement. Elle se composait des frères et des officiers détenteurs ou responsables des charges, choisis parmi les premiers. Les officiers dirigaient l'administration de l'association, s'occupant des fonds, organisant les fonctions et les célébrations propres à chacune d'entre elles, et remplissant les obligations de la confrérie. Ils étaient choisis annuellement,

généralement le jour de la fête à laquelle elle était consacrée. Le nombre en était variable selon la confrérie ou l'époque. Cela pouvait varier au sein de la même confrérie d'une année à l'autre, en fonction également de la conjoncture économique.

Il peut s'agir d'hommes ou de femmes, mais dans ce dernier cas, il fallait l'approbation de leurs parents ou époux et c'était eux qui recevaient l'argent. Dans tous les cas, ils doivent être «des sujets de bonne réputation» et pouvant répondre des actes de la confrérie et de ses fonds. On suppose que seules les personnes ayant un poids politique et social occupaient ces charges.

Le choix se faisait au siège de la confrérie ou à l'église, les «frères» et les anciens officiers se réunissaient en présence du curé ou d'un officiant de la paroisse et de l'autorité civile[2]. Les électeurs étaient généralement des officiers sortants, qui choisissaient «d'un commun accord et à l'unanimité» ceux de l'année suivante. Après l'indépendance, lorsque les mairies autonomes commencèrent à fonctionner, sont apparus comme électeurs les régisseurs du conseil municipal qui étaient aussi les garants des officiers élus (AHD, Santísimo Rosario de Zapaluta, 1804).

Au moment de l'élection, les nouveaux officiers recevaient des anciens le pécule nécessaire à la célébration des festivités et on prenait en compte les dépenses et les recettes obtenues par les anciens. Avec ces fonds, les nouveaux officiers devaient remplir et financer les obligations propres à leur charge, bien qu'ils les utilisaient souvent à des fins différentes de celles prévues initialement; si la confrérie ne disposait pas des fonds nécessaires, le partage n'avait pas lieu et les élus devaient financer les cérémonies de leur poche.

La confrérie possédait une structure hiérarchisée avec à sa tête les majordomes chargés du bon ordre matériel. Ils étaient secondés par les «priostes», chargés des questions spirituelles et les majordomes des différentes fonctions (de l'autel, des cierges etc.). Parmi les personnes qui apparaissent fréquemment dans le contexte de la confrérie, on note le bedeau[3], chargé de l'ordre et de la réalisation des ordonnances, et le greffier ou le secrétaire qui rendait compte des actes et décisions prises lors des réunions.

Cette structure hiérarchique, comme mentionné auparavant, était en étroite relation avec la structure du pouvoir local – membres du conseil municipal et des «*principales*» – malgré le fait qu'elles se maintinrent comme deux institutions différentes, chacune avec ses fonctions spécifiques. Ce ne fut qu'à la fin du XIX^{ème} siècle, avec la disparition des confréries chargées de l'organisation des rituels religieux, que les deux s'unirent en une seule structure organique et hiérarchique, instituant ainsi le système de charges qui existait déjà dans de nombreux villages tzeltales. Les rituels religieux entrèrent donc en concurrence avec cette hiérarchie qui relie les charges civiques et religieuses des villages. La quantité de ces charges et, dans l'ensemble, ses fonctions, est héritée des anciennes confréries; mais il ne faut pas oublier que cette institution était une association, alors que l'exécution contemporaine de ces charges est caractérisée par l'individualité[4].

Les réunions des confréries étaient suspectes aux yeux des autorités espagnoles qui y voyaient une occasion de conspiration contre le pouvoir établi. Or les indigènes en profitaient précisément pour résoudre les problèmes et traiter des affaires concernant la communauté et le groupe, échappant ainsi au contrôle de l'autorité. Pour cette raison, on ordonnait fréquemment que les réunions des confréries ne se réalisent pas sans l'autorité compétente de celui qui les présidait (AHD, Pura y Limpia Concepción de Ocosingo).

Sur le plan économique, les fonds de la confrérie étaient souvent utilisés aussi bien par les religieux que par les autorités politiques espagnoles, comme partie intégrante de l'économie coloniale. Bien que dans notre aire d'étude quelques confréries issues d'autres groupes indigènes aient été extrêmement riches, il y avait des moments d'extrême précarité où l'on survivait grâce à de maigres apports en numéraire et parfois sans aucun apport du tout (AHD, Señora de la Luz Huistan; la Merced de Teopisca). Cependant, malgré un potentiel économique limité, ces institutions existaient et, dans certains villages, en nombre élevé, car les fonds collectés pouvaient servir à pallier un contexte ponctuellement défavorable pour la communauté, voire à consentir des prêts à des personnes qui en avaient besoin (AHD, Livres de confréries au Teopisca). Quelques auteurs ont signalé comme caractéristique importante de cette institution, son rôle de caisse d'épargne, qui permettait de financer différentes activités productives ou commerciales des Indiens (Carmagnani, 1988; Farriss, 1992; MacLeod, 1983; Viqueira, 1995).

En principe, l'organisation économique des confréries était contrôlée par les ordonnances, mais la pratique était surtout conditionnée par des éléments spécifiques de conjoncture. Lors de sa fondation, la confrérie recevait un fonds provenant de la cotisation des membres et parfois de dons effectués par quelques dévots. Ces dons pouvaient être constitués de numéraire, d'immeubles ou de terres. Dans le cas qui nous intéresse, cette dernière situation ne semble pas avoir été très fréquente, l'existence de biens immeubles n'étant pas signalée.

Le fonds se maintenait grâce aux aumônes des frères et du village. De cette manière tout le village participait à la confrérie. De plus, les officiers élus, principalement les majordomes, remettaient un tribut particulier lorsque s'achevait leur période de charges[5]. Parfois, lorsque la confrérie se retrouvait sans fonds, elle recevait un appui financier de l'évêque.

Mais la rubrique la plus importante de l'organisation économique de l'institution est constituée par ses dépenses. C'est pour cette raison que les religieux dominicains pensaient que la confrérie pouvait constituer un mécanisme idéal de financement de l'évangélisation, couvrant les dépenses des festivités et autres actes religieux[6] (Voir le tableau 2). Les dépenses les plus communes étaient:

1. Les messes mensuelles «pour les vivants et les morts, les frères et les officiers qui ont servi et qui servent les confréries» (AHD, Santa Cruz de Sivacá) pour lesquelles on payait une quantité fixe tous les mois, que recevait le curé pour la célébration.
2. Jour de la célébration du vocable de la confrérie.
3. Célébration des différentes fêtes tout au long de l'année auxquelles la confrérie est obligée de contribuer.
4. Dépenses dérivées des saintes visites ecclésiastiques.
5. Différentes aumônes réclamées pour des dépenses qui souvent n'avaient rien à voir avec le village ni avec la confrérie elle-même, mais se rapportant à diverses activités pieuses.

TABLEAU 2
Relation de fêtes et aumônes annuelles de la Confrérie de Nuestra Señora del Rosario de los Indios de Chilón. 1795

Fetes	Aumones	Concept
Santos y finados	6 *tostones*[a]	Célébration de la fête
Concepción	6 *tostones*	Dire messe
Purificación	6 *tostones*	Dire messe
Encarnación	6 *tostones*	Dire messe
Santos Oleos	1 *tostón*	Pour saints huiles
Corpus	1 *tostón*	Pour cire
Visitación	6 *tostones*	Célébration de la fête
Fiesta Titular	1 *tostón*	Pour cire
Asunción	6 *tostones*	Dire messe
Natividad	6 *tostones*	Dire messe
Rosario	27 *tostones*	Célébration de la fête
TOTAL	72 *tostones*	

Source: AHD. *Libro de la Hermandad de Nuestra Señora del Rosario de Indios de Chilón. 1795-1827.*
[a] Unité monétaire de l´époque coloni

La somme dépensée variait dans chaque région et d'une confrérie à l'autre. Il est curieux de constater qu'avec des dépenses qui se répétaient année après année, le capital de la confrérie était fluctuant. En fait, on peut penser que l'économie de la confrérie variait au diapason de celle du village[7]. À ce propos, Juan Pedro Viqueira (1995) démontre que la situation économique de la confrérie peut être un indicateur fiable des processus économiques historiques du Chiapas, en illustrant les conjonctures spécifiques auxquelles étaient soumis les groupes et populations indigènes.

Enfin, une analyse détaillée des cérémonies, fêtes et autres fonctions se déroulant au sein de la confrérie met en évidence certaines de ses fonctions et objectifs fondamentaux, en démontrant l'énorme importance qu'elles avaient pour le groupe.

Généralement, le rituel consistait en la célébration de la festivité en l'honneur du Saint, organisé par les officiers à qui revenait de déposer des fleurs, allumer les cierges, habiller le Saint, etc.. Un peu plus tard avaient lieu la célébration liturgique et la procession, et pour finir, la fête puis le banquet où les excès, les scandales et beuveries étaient considérés par les religieux comme «une preuve évidente de leur infidélité, actes païens et pratiques idolâtres» (AGI, Patronato, 183; 1-11). C'est d'ailleurs ce qui inquiétait tout spécialement les autorités qui comprenaient que lors de ces célébrations, les indigènes reformaient des espaces culturels qui leur étaient propres, manifestations de leur «ancienne» tradition qu'ils revivifiaient sous couvert de la confrérie.

Conclusion

Les réflexions sur les points de contact plus visibles entre la confrérie coloniale et les organisations actuelles au Chiapas peuvent se faire, à mon avis, des points de vue de la structure et du fonctionnement. Les deux sont des associations volontaires, qui mettent de l'avant les principes d'équité, de représentativité, d'aide mutuelle, de collectivité... Avec quelques variantes logiques étant donné le temps qui les sépare, les deux ont une structure administrative semblable, un système hiérarchisé de charges et un nombre déterminé de membres. Les charges ou les dirigeants ont, généralement, une position importante comme représentants ou leaders du groupe, pour ainsi dire. Ils sont élus périodiquement. Les deux ont un mécanisme de contrôle interne (conseil de vigilance dans le cas des coopératives, et fiscal dans le cas des confréries). Dans les deux cas, le fonctionnement repose sur des règles précises.

Du point de vue économique, elles représentent des façons de traiter, d´administrer, et d'optimiser les res-

sources économiques du groupe. Elles ont des ressources propres qui sont auto-administrées.

Malgré leurs caractéristiques générales, les confréries et les organisations sont influencées par des processus de localisation et de conjonctures spécifiques.

Enfin, quant à la signification qu'elles revêtent, les deux sont une solution alternative et/ou d'affrontement vis-à-vis l'appareil de pouvoir politique. Le groupe y trouve un espace de re-création propre et de réponse aux initiatives imposées par le pouvoir, soit par le refus ouvert, soit par la ré-interprétation et l'adaptation. Quelquefois, les confréries et les organisations sont créées par l'appareil politique même comme mécanisme de contrôle du groupe. Mais quoi qu'il en soit, elles sont toujours des intermédiaires entre ce dernier et le pouvoir politique.

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Notes

1 Boursière du Ministerio de Educación y Cultura de España; Bourse du «Perfeccionamiento de doctores en el extranjero».

2 Ce dernier cas commence à se produire à la fin de XVIII[e] siècle.

3 Ce personnage n'est pas en relation avec la confrérie proprement dite mais plutôt avec l'église. A l'origine, il servait d'auxiliaire au curé ou au religieux dans leur tâche d'évangélisation, veillant à ce que les indigènes assistent à la catéchèse, et dénonçant les déviations des «natifs» quant à la doctrine chrétienne.

4 L'exécution de ces charges est individuelle même si les familles, les amis et les «compadres» apportent leur aide.

5 La documentation ne spécifie pas si le tribut particulier provenait des majordomes mêmes ou des aumônes recueillies dans la communauté. Mais le bon exercice de la charge des majordomes dépendait de la capacité de recueillir des fonds pour la confrérie.

6 Bien que le «Real Patronato» fixait les mécanismes pour couvrir les dépenses pastorales, les nécessités et les ambitions des curés et des religieux dépassaient la quantité assignée.

7 Nous trouvons dans les documents correspondant aux époques de crise économique que les majordomes et autres officiers des confréries affirment qu'ils ne peuvent remettre les fonds à cause de «la pénurie de la terre» ou «des fléaux s'abattant sur l'agriculture et la détruisant».

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AGCA: Archivo General de Centroamérica, Cd. de Guatemala, Guatemala
AGI: Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, España
AHD: Archivo Histórico Diocesano, San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas, México

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Regional Culture and Urban Agriculturalists of Mexico City[1]

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Abstract: This article describes two agricultural regions of Mexico City where households reproduce forms of labour organization and technological inputs around agricultural production as the result of the cultural and social intersection with an urban and rural economy. Since the structure of the regional culture is based on organizational patterns within the multigenerational family, we discuss how urban agriculture is the consolidation of cultural networks among regional space and community.

We argue that the struggle to adapt to processes of change caused by urbanization has been carried out not only for technological or economic reasons pertaining to agricultural activities, but also because of the desire to defend a cultural space, a shared territory where relationships with nature and among social groups are consolidated.

The urban agriculturalists of southern Mexico City see themselves neither as farmers nor as urban inhabitants, but as the unity of both in one according to the internal cultural and social requirements of their geographical space.

Keywords: rural economy, urban economy, urbanization, Mexico, agriculture, technology, labour

Résumé : Cet article décrit deux régions agricoles de la ville de Mexico où les familles reproduisent des formes d'organisation du travail et d'utilisation de la technologie dans les occupations agricoles qui résultent de l'intersection socioculturelle entre l'économie urbaine et l'économie rurale. Puisque la culture régionale est basée sur une organisation familiale qui comprend plusieurs générations, nous montrons comment l'agriculture urbaine englobe les réseaux culturels reliés à l'espace régional et à la communauté.

Nous maintenons que la lutte pour s'adapter aux processus de changement causés par l'urbanisation a été livrée non seulement pour des raisons technologiques ou économiques relevant de l'agriculture, mais aussi pour protéger un espace culturel, un territoire commun où les relations avec la nature et entre les groupes sociaux sont maintenues.

Les agriculteurs urbains du sud de Mexico ne se voient ni comme des fermiers ni comme des citadins, mais comme une combinaison des deux identités en accord avec les exigences de leur culture et de leur occupation de l'espace.

Mots-clés : économie rurale, économie urbaine, Urbanisation, Mexique, agriculture, technologie, travail

Introduction

The need for innovative and coherent research centered on the relationship between human activity and environment has increased as ecological problems intensify worldwide. Particularly, the processes that occur dynamically in modern societies are testing the vulnerability of social groups to respond to economic, environmental and cultural changes. Anthropologists have used the spatial dimension of cultural processes in studying developmental transitions in societies. The construction of theoretical schemes for regional studies has been useful to elucidate relationships among cultural systems, economic changes and ecological processes (Altamirano and Hirabayashi, 1991; Halperin, 1989; Hilhorst, 1990; Orlove, 1980).

The theoretical and practical issues of regional studies may illuminate the economic and ecological variations which allow us to evaluate particular hypotheses concerning sociocultural change, space and time in local populations (Ellen, 1979; Van Young, 1992). An examination of cultural systems must include the overlapping of the infinite number of continually generating cultural systems and the constantly changing hierarchical relationships between them, which result from differential access to a wide variety of regional resources. Regional territory is the space of discourse that serves as a domain and an object of economic relationships, political practices and cultural systems, where the systems of interconnections are thought of as a hierarchy (Lomnitz-Adler, 1991). Thus, this interdependent system itself has been based on systems of unequal exchange of goods, labour, resources and capital.

It is common to think of Mexico City only as a macro urban settlement with monumental problems pushing its population toward major environmental and economic crisis. However, if one approaches this ancient city from the south, patches of rural landscapes can be seen within its urban hinterland. This is notable in the

vegetable and ornamental flower growing area of Xochimilco and the corn-cactus belt of Milpa Alta, which still convey a classic rural environment. The social reality of these regions is demonstrated in the interplay between the segments of rural society that are connected to both the family-based agrarian system and the urban wage economy.

Agricultural production in both Xochimilco and Milpa Alta face essentially the same problem in maintaining agronomic and economic strategies near or within urban concentrations. Today, urban agriculturalists can earn wages in factories, work for governmental institutions, sell agricultural products at urban markets or cultivate ancient agricultural land as typical peasants. Urban agriculturalists' understanding of the regional landscape, the dynamics of Mexico City, the state, national and international economics and politics, religion, community, family, friends and self is mediated by cultural systems, which are reproduced by agricultural practices and urban routines, knowledge, language and identities of a particular regional setting.

Urban agriculturalists of Mexico City are principally sojourners who traverse regional frontiers as easily as they traverse the conceptual boundaries fabricated by social scientists. The cultural orientation of these urban-rural scenarios and their social structure is ambiguous and contradictory from the perspective of most theoretical frameworks. To study the nature of the urban agriculture framework of Mexico City requires the depiction of distinctive types of social organization and cultural systems. This requires an elucidation of the regional realm more thoroughly than other studies of contemporary urban agriculture contexts (Mougeot, 2000; Smit et al., 1996), which have originated from either the perspective of urban studies or that of agricultural technology. Perhaps because conventional sociohistorical analysis depends on a clear demarcation of agrarian and industrial societies, few studies have been able to capture the dynamic interplay and complex characteristics of the urban agriculturalists' social life.

Rural labouring groups that populate the large states of Latin America, Asia and Africa have been the focus of some of the most compelling theoretical efforts to address the peasant-worker phenomenon. Peasant-workers often appear in the literature as cottage industrialists, part-time farmers, return migrants and transient day labourers, with little or no regard for the agrarian pursuits of workers and the wage-earning pursuits of peasants. (Carrasco, 1959; Mintz, 1959; Roseberry, 1976; Wolf, 1959).

Holmes (1986) defines the peasant-worker phenomenon as a consolidation of heterogeneous labouring groups that emphasize the diversity of wage involvements on the one hand and the unifying influence of rural households on the other. It has been estimated that 92% of the farm families in the United States have some type of non-farm income (Albrecht and Murdock, 1984). Both direct and indirect effects of environmental and technological factors, and sustenance diversity from both the farm and the non-farm sectors are seen as affecting the prevalence of part-time farming (Fuller, 1984). Part-time farmers, in their efforts to secure a livelihood, continually create agrarian and wage-earning activities.

The theoretical orientation in this article assumes that culture, (the creation of values, attitudes, beliefs, ideas, behaviours and practices), and resulting identity are primary determinants of change within the confines of the regional community. At the same time, regional culture, including its development, is an adaptation or response to social, economic, political or material changes in the wider environment. Thus, a regional culture includes the construction of frames of communication within and between the various identity groups sharing a temporal and spatial experience as well as a set of cultural understandings (Lomnitz-Adler, 1991). In Mexico City, the influence of urban agriculturalists extends beyond the contours of their livelihood into community cultural scenarios and through urban institutional frameworks. Integrated into both rural and urban labour conditions, these urban agriculturalists are able to configure a wider occupational profile than either fulltime peasants or urban workers. Since the complexity of rural identities is the result of a whole range of personal, spatial and temporal characteristics (Little, 1999), the examination of the cultural construction of identity should be based on its importance in individuals' understanding and experience of the "rural" (Cloke and Little, 1997).

Clearly, these communities display two separate regional identities. First, they express a regional culture, consolidated in territory and around which people maintain their ethnic identity. Second, they include a temporary-recurrent migration process in which people find urban employment and still sustain a strong potential for culture change. By studying the distinctive nature of urban-rural societies in Mexico City, this article portrays the rationale for urban agriculturalists' livelihood and their cultural systems. At the core of this article are three theoretical questions: (1) What is the cultural interplay of labour integration between rural and urban scenarios in the process of temporary-recurrent migration among urban agriculturalists? (2) Why do urban agricul-

turalists migrate while at the same time they intensify their agricultural production? (3) How do urban agriculturalists use and adjust their cultural systems?

Research Sites and Methodology

The sites for this research were the regions of Xochimilco and Milpa Alta, with populations of 271 151 and 63 654 inhabitants, respectively (INEGI, 1994a). The Milpa Alta region includes 0.8% of the total population of the Federal District and it consists of 12 rural-urban towns located at the south of this city. This area is situated at approximately 19 miles from downtown Mexico City, at an altitude of 2 420 m. The yearly average temperature is 16°C, and the annual precipitation is 746.0 mm, which allows the development of temperate farming systems. This region represents 19.18% of the total area of the Federal District (INEGI, 1994b). Meanwhile, the Xochimilco region is situated 14 miles from downtown Mexico City, at an altitude of 2 230 m, and includes 3.3% of the total population of the Federal District. In the Xochimilco area, the yearly average temperature is 15°C, the annual precipitation is 679.9 mm. and represents 7.95% of the total area of the Federal District (INEGI, 1994a). Currently, Xochimilco and Milpa Alta represent 15% and 35% of the total agricultural area of 27 847 hectares that were cultivated in 1993 in the Federal District of Mexico City (INEGI, 1994a; INEGI, 1994b).

The regional cultural system, as a single theoretical and methodological framework, allows the inclusion of heterogeneous labouring individuals with a high degree of diversity of job involvements and rural components. In terms of socio-economic and cultural choices of individuals to labour market constraints, this study used two units of analysis: the regional context that affects and promotes labour responses, and the household sphere where decision-making processes concerning temporary-recurrent migration strategies take place.

By using households as the basic units of observation we tried to understand differential processes of social and cultural change under intra-community and intra-regional diversity (Pelto and Oelto, 1975). Particularly, the dimensions of the structure and organization of households may reveal the nature of uneven regional development and its consequences, not only on particular households but also on particular individuals within households. However, it seems that regional cultural determinants will bring together these economic and technological relationships into historic patterns and associated probabilities of change and development.

By analyzing household structure and organization from a regional perspective, we observed how the specific functions fulfilled by individual household members directly affect the economic and social structure of rural-urban units. For example, in the Xochimilco area, the variation in the degree of household incorporation into regional spheres and community relations are based on a combination of on- and off-farm activities; the degree of family member versus hired labour participation on the farm; the technological levels to manage the natural resources; and levels of expenditures for farm and housing needs (Torres-Lima, 1994).

This article is based on intensive fieldwork that lasted from July until November, 1995. We surveyed a demographically stratified random sample (by age, sex and location) of 185 people in Xochimilco and 98 in Milpa Alta, with a 92 and 90% level of confidence, respectively, by using the agriculturally active population as a universe. The surveys consisted of 53 questions with 106 items aimed at documenting the movement of urban agriculturalists within the city of Mexico.

Employment Patterns

The territorial integration of modern Xochimilco and Milpa Alta within Mexico City began 30 years ago as Mexico City speeded up its rapid urban and industrial expansion. The proximity of these locations with urban centres and markets has been a principal factor in determining the exchange of labour, resources and products. However temporary-recurrent emigration and immigration flows in Milpa Alta and Xochimilco are seen by local people as external processes of leaving and entering the geographical territories and cultural spaces of the communities. In both towns, people identified migration as any displacement out of community boundaries, where Mexico City is considered an outside location.

The demarcation of a specific territory, the implementation of a group of cultural and socio-economic practices and the creation of relationships within the urban context are all part of a rural-urban identity. In this sense, daily life, language, agricultural practices, urban routines, economic formulas and social relations of the rural family have not been eradicated. The ethnic component in this rural-urban identity definition is, however, perceived differently in the two towns studied. For instance, in Milpa Alta 54% of the people surveyed consider themselves an ethnic group (Nahuatl) in contrast to 17% in Xochimilco.

In Mexico City, patterns of regional development, population growth and density and urbanization have led to substantial deterioration of the environment of the agricultural regions. Environmental impact caused by these processes ranges from chemical pollution of soil

and water to changes in regional climate due to an increase in atmospheric carbon dioxide. Urban expansion in Mexico City has led to the displacement of 42% of the agricultural land to urban uses during the last 30 years. Particularly in the Xochimilco region, the *chinampa* area under cultivation decreased from 1 285 ha to 440 ha between 1969 and 1989 (Torres-Lima et al., 1994). Chinampa fields are rectangular raised platforms (from 2.5 to 10 meters wide and up to 100 meters long) that were artificially constructed since the late Aztec period (1325-1521) for agricultural purposes.

During the 1970s the labour force speeded up the process of combining agricultural production with urban employment. Despite the fact that the combination of employment and agricultural work has persisted for generations, some agricultural activities have been modified. For instance, Xochimilco producers started to simplify their cropping systems by cultivating only one kind of crop as a monoculture. Seasonal income fluctuations are mitigated by having part-time or full-time urban jobs. However, because of the frequent instability and low salaries of urban jobs, people started to converge toward farming as an economically viable strategy. These two trends have produced an ambiguous labour profile of urban agriculturalists.

Members of these liminal peasant-worker groups continually move back and forth across the threshold—the limen—that divides the world of the peasant and the world of the worker. In Milpa Alta and Xochimilco, this particular labour experience has been in fact a relatively unified and coherent cultural orientation, where occupational roles are typically important determinants of urban agriculturalists' livelihood, similar to the peasant-worker groups described by Holmes (1986).

Today, only 6% of the total population in Xochimilco is involved in farming activities compared to 22% of Milpa Alta. As is shown in Table 1, urban agriculturalists in Xochimilco represent only 16% of the total economically active population (EAP). This figure indicates that 84% of its labour force is involved strictly in urban activities. Meanwhile, in Milpa Alta urban-agriculturalists represent 75% of the total labour force (Table 1). The remaining 25% of the economically active population is integrated into the local and regional urban labour market. These differing results between the two towns may suggest different trends in rural-urban migration and regional economic articulation within the major urban centres.

In Milpa Alta, 42% of the urban-agricultural population tends to emigrate, and 78% of those go to Mexico City (Table 1). Fifty-six percent of these temporary-recurrent emigrants to Mexico City are involved in selling agricultural products in urban markets. The rest are employed in service and government jobs. Work in Mexico City is carried out by Milpa Alta's residents only during daytime hours. Of the total agricultural work force, only 32% is involved strictly in farming activities, whereas 68% combines agriculture with non-agricultural, urban employment.

In 1995, only 23% of urban agriculturalists from Milpa Alta emigrating to Mexico City had a permanent urban job. This means that one person of every seven migrants had permanent and regular non-agricultural urban employment and income. This group comprised only 10% of the total agricultural EAP (Table 2). Thus, agriculture is still an important source of income to help to cover the region's needs. Despite the fact that there is a high rate of temporary-recurrent migration (42%) and combination of agriculture with urban job employment (68%) among urban agriculturalists of Milpa Alta, the regional setting still provides 52% of the EAP with employment. Of this, 32% are solely engaged in farming activities.

In Xochimilco, 33% of the population sampled regularly migrates back and forth. Mexico City receives 85% of this migration. Fifty percent of the migrants to Mexico City have employment in government institutions, and the other 50% work in diverse services including agriculturally related jobs, such as plant sellers in urban markets. In 1995, 34% of all urban agriculturalists had previous experience in urban employment while 57% of those who migrate to Mexico City did (Table 2). This result suggests that again the labour structure in Xochimilco has been influenced by significant interactions with urban contexts. The continued supply of jobs in farming and urban activities provides employment for 67% of the sample. Of this total regional job market, 60% are involved in farming activities while local urban jobs consisted in only 7%.

These data show that Xochimilco is clearly a regional source of employment for urban agriculturalists. Based on informants' comments, rather than seeking protection and security through urban salaries, job benefits, collective action of political parties and urban worker organizations, urban agriculturalists have been committed to a household union sustained by bonds of family economic interdependence and a regional common social welfare. The simultaneous integration of urban agriculturalists in more than one cultural system involves knowledge of the job alternatives; and the actors are able to explain their reasoning. The range of possible temporary-recurrent migratory strategies in

TABLE 1
Distribution of Urban Agriculturalists, 1995

	Towns					
	Xochimilco			Milpa Alta		
	Population	Percentage	Relative Percentage	Population	Percentage	Relative Percentage
Economically AP	91,005	(34)	100	19,106	(30)	100
Agriculture EAP	14,967	(6)	16	14,296	(22)	75
Total Surveyed	185[a]	(100)		98[b]	(100)	
Total Outside Workers in Mexico City	61	(33)	100	41	(42)	100
	52	(28)	85	32	(33)	78
Total	271,151	(100)		64,654	(100)	

Sources: INEGI, 1994a and 1994b. Data are estimated from Canabal et al. (1992) and Torres-Lima (1991).
[a] With a 92 percent level of confidence
[b] With a 90 percent level of confidence

TABLE 2
Comparitive Labour Characteristics of Urban Agriculturalists, 1995

	Towns			
	Xochimilco		Milpa Alta	
Labour Characteristics	Total Population	Working in Mexico City	Total Population	Working in Mexico City
Regional Employment				
Agriculture only	60	---	32	---
Agriculture and urban job	40	59	68	53
Permanent regional urban job	20	73	10	23
Previous urban job experience	34	57	33	47

Xochimilco and Milpa Alta communities is influenced by individual needs, resources and decisions within regional forces. In choosing alternatives for temporary-recurrent migration, urban agriculturalists do not make complex calculations, but rather tend to use cultural and economic elements that simplify their decision-making.

Agricultural Profiles

In Xochimilco, ornamental plant and flower production, which is the most dynamic activity in terms of economic flows such as gross returns, variable costs and net returns, was the primary activity for 57% of the urban agriculturalists. Horticultural production (vegetables), which is a more traditional, low-input cropping system that includes the management of regional biotic resources, was the primary activity for 28%, corn production for 6% and multiple cropping for 9%. Of those who worked in urban jobs, 59% were engaged in ornamental plant production, 29% in vegetables and 11% in corn.

In Milpa Alta, of the urban agriculturalists strictly working in agriculture, 54% engaged in cactus production as a primary economic activity, 28% in corn, 2% in vegetables and 32% in multiple cropping systems and foraging. Of those who combine agriculture with urban employment, 77% are involved in cactus production and 23% grow corn. In general, these farming systems require a high application of skills and knowledge in managing the ecological cycles and interactions within the components of these regional agroecosystems. For example, soil fertility is increased regularly in cactus production by adding cow manure every two years. By combining different agricultural production systems and different crops in the same field, urban agriculturalists effectively enhance the agronomic performance of these agroecosystems.

This data suggests that there is a slight variation between urban agriculturalists in Xochimilco and Milpa Alta with regard to the predominant farming system, ornamental (57%) and cactus production (59%), respec-

tively. These variations are too small to explain temporary-recurrent migration trends. However, it is important to note that in both regions the majority of the population of urban agriculturalists are involved in cash rather than subsistence crops, such as ornamental plants in Xochimilco and cactus in Milpa Alta. The daily routines of agricultural operations have been impelled by a powerful urban market logic that most of the time clashes with the traditional sensibilities and rational needs of the rural population. Thus, this urban-rural engagement involves two very different visions of social order. One is embodied in urban market relations, and the other is expressed in the context of rurality.

At the moment of the survey, 84% of all Xochimilco respondents, and 66% of all Milpa Alta respondents reported the income provided by farming activities as their main economic resource. This proportion changed to 48% in Xochimilco and 21% in Milpa Alta for those who combine agriculture and regional urban jobs. These results indicate that the percentage of income generated from agriculture is reduced when urban agriculturalists have local urban jobs in either Milpa Alta or Xochimilco regions, relegating farming to a seasonal or part time source of income. This trend does not follow for those migrating to Mexico City. In this case, migrants to Mexico City from Xochimilco obtain 54% of their total income by farming activities in contrast with 45% from Milpa Alta (Table 3). These data agree with the evidence that urban agriculturalists migrating to Mexico City will not leave agricultural employment but instead combine their urban and agricultural economic strategies, since urban jobs are frequently an unstable source of income. Wages earned outside the regional homestead might permit the urban agriculturalists to accumulate modest savings and thereby accomplish an eventual repeasantization on their return to Xochimilco and Milpa Alta.

On the other hand, in both Xochimilco and Milpa Alta, most of the farmers (75% and 56%, respectively) have an income up to 50% of the total money invested as a profit. These economic figures may suggest the viability of urban agriculture in providing income to farmers. However, in both Xochimilco and Milpa Alta the cropping systems have adjusted to different socio-economic pressures. For instance, increased floriculture production, replacing horticulture, in Xochimilco represents an efficient use of external and family labour, and a more intensive use of inputs. This trend is highly correlated with expansion of the domestic urban market which offers more competitive advantages for ornamentals than for vegetables. Currently, modernization of regional cropping systems such as ornamental plant and cactus production include the following: a) intensification and diversification of cropping systems, b) agricultural production integrated into the market, c) adoption of external inputs rather than a number of technological changes in farming.

Therefore, a strictly traditional management of productive resources no longer enables the continuity of these cropping systems. The farmer must balance his traditional experience from an agroecological and cultural standpoint with considerations of economic viability. When these features are combined, economic success depends on two factors: a) farmers' priorities, cultural patterns and values expressed in their attitude towards conservation and management of natural resources, and b) technological efficiency of the agricultural production systems on a regional level. Lockeretz (1989) noted that any successful agricultural system depends on the economic co-ordination between these two factors.

The income obtained through agricultural production allows 33% of the urban agriculturalists in Xochimilco and 32% in Milpa Alta to hire outside labourers. Moreover, family labour is an important input in both regions. In Xochimilco, 65% of the farmers interviewed report that family members are involved substantially in agricultural work, while 53% of the farmers in Milpa Alta report the same. These figures show that regional agriculture in these towns in Mexico City also provides employment for outside farm labour and family members and represents an important source of income.

Since urban agriculturalists' wives and children participate in different phases of the agricultural cycle and in selling the products, the occupation of farming for family members is more than a job; it is a meaningful way of life that incorporates an agrarian ethic, a sense of integration, union and participation. Through farming the family recognizes itself, its cultural values, its standard of living, its community and its regional landscape. By cultivating crops, family members of urban agriculturalists obtain emotional attachments to the region and to nature, and a sense of responsibility and satisfaction from the financial rewards.

Regional Culture

The changing economic conditions of the urban structure of Mexico City have produced many different options for urban agriculturalists. Ornamental flower and cactus production can be seen as high-input cropping systems that are expanding the number of people who can live by farming in Xochimilco and Milpa Alta. The figures on farm income and expenses suggest that

these types of urban agriculture represent not only a path to support a more affluent regional standard of living but also a path to absorb low and unstable salaries through urban jobs in Mexico City. However, the risky nature of farming has allowed urban agriculturalists either to combine agriculture with urban jobs or migrate. Thus, agricultural production also may be successful by being aided by cash infusions from urban employment or savings.

rent transformation of livelihood and culture in Xochimilco and Milpa Alta. Despite the fact that new patterns of employment have strengthened an emphasis on individualism and material success with the intrusion of urban values, a shared cultural stance is still a predominant trend among urban agriculturalists. This cultural orientation rests on the primacy of connections between work, rural landscape and family that have characterized the agrarian status of this people.

TABLE 3
Percentage of Income Provided by Farming Activities among Urban Agriculturalists, 1995

	Towns					
	Xochimilco			Milpa Alta		
Source of Income	Agriculture only	Agriculture and regional urban job	Workers in Mexico City	Agriculture only	Agriculture and regional urban job	Workers in Mexico City
Agriculture	84	48	54	66	21	56
Other sources[a]	16	52	46	33	79	55

[a] Including urban job

Since having an urban job without abandoning agriculture has been a common pattern, less income may have resulted from farmers whose crop fields have suffered ecological deterioration or agronomic failures, and from farmers having the frequent instability and low salaries of urban jobs. Nevertheless, a solid diversified agriculture in these towns reflects a highly efficient use of labour. Agricultural development in these regions has represented an important employment option.

Although Xochimilco and Milpa Alta remain rural-urban regions that have adapted technological innovations of contemporary agriculture, the reproduction of these landscapes with their forms of social organization, lifestyles and cultural components require that agricultural production be profitable enough and that urban agriculturalists have urban employment alternatives as a probable source of income (Torres-Lima et al., 1994).

The income obtained through agricultural production allows 33% of the urban agriculturalists in Xochimilco and 32% in Milpa Alta to hire outside labourers, this outside farm-labour is involved primarily in farming work and the care of specific crops, especially ornamental plants and cactus, with the commitment to maintain their scale farm-operations and high yields. Despite the important percentage of hired seasonal labour, urban agriculture creates jobs even inside the urban agriculturalist's family. The rise of family participation in regional farming brings into focus the enduring and cur-

In the process of regional development, the restructuring of the agroecosystem to maximize food production and the intensification of production and consumption usually have been accompanied by urban pressures on water, land and ecological cycles in both towns. For instance, recent ecological deterioration in Xochimilco has caused different problems in horticulture and floriculture cropping systems, such as floods, land sinking and increasing soil nitrate levels. In this regard, by privileging short-term considerations of maximum economic profit over agroecological processes, gradual environmental degradation becomes an important concern for urban agriculturalists. Some recent agroecological disruptions in regional cropping systems have been related to the increase of agricultural pests and diseases.

Despite this trend of environmental deterioration, there is an innovation of agricultural practices and life styles, where tradition is integrated with modern techniques, and self-management of employment strategies are integrated with economic profit. Thus, there is a regional stewardship rooted in the environmental landscape and the cultural practices involved in farming and community relationships, which are also based on human values, economic profitability and agronomic productivity. This urban agriculturalists' stewardship implies the implementation of a series of projects and actions to reestablish agricultural production, income and social welfare levels that are meaningful to the people who live in Xochimilco and Milpa Alta.

Even though tradition is important to stewardship, the urban agriculturalists keep abreast of current technology in agriculture. The ability to maintain a particular ratio of objective economic indicators to culturally defined needs, values and aspirations may vary depending on urban employment alternatives and agricultural profitability. Regional stewardship has become the central factor in maintaining of farming as a means to achieve this particular ratio. However, behind these agrarian values there are rapid and articulated changes promoted by urban and consumer pressures. As a result of these pressures and the instability and insecurity of agricultural production, increasing involvements in urban jobs are now part of the basis for producing a livelihood.

Though these urban agriculturalists participate in various forms of the urban wage economy, their identities are tied to a combined cultural experience which entails: (1) a cultural stance rooted in a rural realm, and (2) an active disengagement from the complex, social and economic and political experiences that surround and define urban labour in Mexico City. These individuals interpret their experience in terms of intense community and household struggle facing regional inequalities, as opposed to personal struggle across urban structures.

The changing Mexico City and regional economies have brought with them a changing moral economy of the household implying individualistic choices and work autonomy, and personal aspirations. Temporary-recurrent migration is an important choice and opportunity for personal fulfillment. Thus, current cultural knowledge among urban agriculturalists on migration to Mexico City, may lead to specific individualistic behaviour, but also incorporate the technological and marketing changes brought by development. These changes relate migration knowledge to the ecological and socio-economic environments, and regional landscapes where urban agriculturalists make decisions. However, these changes adopted by urban agriculturalists are not unique to Xochimilco and Milpa Alta. The relationship between development and temporary-recurrent migration throughout Mexico is creating new demands and new alternatives encoded in different cultural systems.

Conclusions

This article has discussed the notion of regional cultural systems for a shared set of behaviours, meanings, identities and relationships that are both rural and urban. The elements of stewardship, as a cultural trend, include patterns of change by which every individual and every household manipulates and reformulates their social and economic circumstances. Thus, urban agriculturalists of Mexico City are able to face, for instance, the insecurities of urban wage employment and the instability of temporary-recurrent migration by maintaining farming activities. However, the current tendency of this urban-rural milieu includes transitional spheres where people percolate an urban identity.

The identities of the urban agriculturalists have been based on the exploitation of regional natural resources, cultural and social community bonds, social organization, family relations and personal values and aspirations. Particularly, the social and labour organization of Milpa Alta and Xochimilco has historically rested on an interplay of productive roles and sociocultural statuses. The reconstruction of their past and the contemporary urban internal make up of their present demonstrates how these urban agriculturalists maneuvre within the matrix of these statuses and how the regional contours of urban agriculturalist society are defined.

Urban agriculturalists continue to shape the present in their own terms even after the influence and effects of the macro-urbanization process in Mexico City has come to challenge all definitions of past, present and future for urban agriculture and for the city itself. The historic nature of these agricultural regions should be understood from two different and complementary aspects. First, appropriate technology has been developed to manage the natural resources and to control the landscape for agricultural production. Secondly, agricultural systems are the result of cultural practices, which are based on community and family ties that adapt to current urban conditions. As we have shown, this particular human-environment relationship in these agricultural regions has been developed not as method of survival as is proposed by Salles (1992), but as a regional social construction.

The permanency of this regional construction is associated with particular features of the natural environment, population, cultural production, technological heritage in farming, social and family organization and labour activities. These are precisely the elements of the complexity and diversification of cultural systems once the regional culture of urban agriculturalists has been conceptually demarcated.

The future of this type of society depends on the propensity for change and the capacity for adjustment of its cultural processes to integration with the hegemonic urban macro-region. Currently, the intensity and persistence of this integration have started to exceed the social resilience of the regional culture of urban agriculturalists. This social resilience indicates the capacity

of cultural systems to fluctuate with certain levels of recovering from the changes produced by the population's rural-urban articulation.

In Xochimilco and Milpa Alta, contemporary urban agriculturalists' behaviour shows that there is no uniform opposition to change, urbanization and modernization. Clearly, there are current intra-community and intra-regional variations in household composition, education, farming systems, sources of income and migration experiences. Today these farmers are under pressure to intensify production in the face of increasing land/person ratios and growing need for cash income to purchase urban goods, educational materials, medical services and so on.

This article supports the argument that in the territorial and functional integration of Mexico City, there are still important spatial processes connecting and articulating agricultural activities and urban-rural people into labour markets. Despite the fact that urbanization processes have played the role as promoters of spatial integration and economic development, as structural imperatives, the urban-rural agriculturalists' demands for job are socially defined no less than territorially. Thus, as Mexico City's societies become more complex in terms of territory, socio-economically and culturally, urban agriculturalists face new market pressures and demands. For instance, in agricultural production short-term considerations of maximum economic profit over agroecological and cultural factors are being privileged (Torres-Lima et al., 1994). The final result may be a displacement of traditional community and household actions and decisions by individualistic behaviour, which start to play an important role in labour allocation. Self-interest is part of the ideological orientation that economic success should be articulated with a mix of consumption patterns of urban external products and the desire to have a new way of life in urban environments. Thus, temporary-recurrent migration strategies are carried out as a part of an expected new quality of life.

The urban-rural livelihood of Xochimilco and Milpa Alta is part of a continuing effort to construct a regional identity by cultivating agricultural land and participating in daily life experiences in the urban context. By having simultaneous roles as agriculturalists and as urban workers, urban agriculturalists' status implies the integration of two systems of local knowledge. One is related to natural resources, landscapes and agroecological processes and the other to off-farm labour. Both of these require different economic values, different socialization strategies and different senses of time, space and culture.

In urban agricultural regions the intensity and persistence of urbanization processes have exceeded the economic and regional cultural capacity to fluctuate within certain levels for producing and delivering goods and services to the people. In each region, the cultural systems assess and negotiate the critical processes that will determine development. Linkages among urbanization, agriculture and regional development have challenged existing boundaries between urban and rural scenarios. In some cases, temporary-recurrent migration and labour reallocation processes have been the result of the co-existence of agricultural production and urban development.

Today, urban agriculture is reformulating the relationships among regional economic growth, environmental management policies, private enterprises, local communities, cultural production and household needs. The success of urban agriculture in Mexico City will be determined by its impact upon these relationships. Answers to food production, job creation and environmental management in urban settings are useless without reference to urban agriculture.

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Note

1 This research was made possible by a grant from the North-South Center of the University of Miami to Allan F. Burns and Pablo Torres-Lima, and with the financial support of Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Xochimilco to Pablo Torres-Lima, whose help is gratefully acknowledged.

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The Office Workplace: Communitas and Hierarchical Social Structures

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Abstract: Victor Turner's concept of communitas is being applied to an increasingly diverse number of social situations. Researchers often try to establish the absence of hierarchical or status base structure as a precondition for communitas. The existence of a situational "egalitarianism" is hard to maintain when all social relationships are political. This paper uses excerpts of interviews of civil servants from a small Regional Planning Office in Alberta, Canada. I show the possibility of integrating structural differentiation with the experience of communitas, building on Turner's and related research. This integration helps illustrate the ritual properties in everyday situations, while acknowledging the salience of inherent status and hierarchical distinctions.

Keywords: workplace, occupation, symbolism, ritual, communitas, Heirarchy

Résumé : Le concept de communauté tel qu'utilisé par Victor Turner est employé dans des situations sociales de plus en plus diverses. Les auteurs tentent souvent de s'assurer de l'absence de hiérarchie ou d'une structure basées sur le statut avant de parler de communauté. Une situation d'«égalitarisme» est difficile à maintenir quand toute les relations sociales sont politiques. Cet article analyse des extraits d'entrevue de fonctionnaires dans un petit bureau de planification régionale en Alberta, Canada. J'y démontre la possibilité d'intégrer une différentiation structurelle à l'expérience de communauté, à partir des recherches de Turner et d'autres du même type. Cette intégration contribue à montrer les caractéristiques rituelles dans les situations quotidiennes tout en reconnaissant la présence de statuts acquis et de distinctions hiérarchiques.

Mots-clés : travail, occupation, symbolisme, rituel, communauté, hiéracrchie

Introduction

In this case study I present interview-based narrative indicating experiences of communitas in a small civil service office in Alberta. This is not intended as a review of the ongoing theoretical discussions of Turner's concept, or as a comprehensive ethnographic description of an organization. However, while interviewing unemployed and still working members of a Regional Land Use Planning Office in Alberta, it became obvious that these people had lost much more than their positions and colleagues. Their narratives show a loss of occupational and social community so personalized as to constitute a bond they commonly refer to as one of "family." These responses imply a loss of communitas, as defined by Turner and a rich body of related theoretical and case study research, which I build upon here.

Victor Turner's (1977, 1974, 1969) concepts of spontaneous, normative and ideological communitas continue to be used to discuss intense feelings of "togetherness" in a wide variety of social groups and societal categories. Communitas means a sense of common purpose and communion (Turner, 1969: 95-97) similar to the collective human bond that is the thematic (or existential) basis of the ideal notion of "community." As succinctly interpreted by Newton (1988: 65) and Deflem (1991: 15), Turner conceived of spontaneous or existential communitas as an emotional bond arising from shared experiences that allow a sense of transcending the emphasis on sociostructural positioning. However, Turner (1982, 1974, 1969) thought of the experience as part of a process. As such, the collective feeling of transcendence becomes a framed theme of mutual purpose around which a normative social organization develops, (thus "normative communitas"), followed by an (logically structured) ideological base and further development of normative social structuring (or "ideological communitas"). Eventually, ideological communitas is assimilated and subsumed by the social structure and broader ideo-

logical foundations of the larger society (Turner, 1969: 132). As in ritual, (Kelly and Caplan, 1990: 126) this is both a liberating and conservative process, one of social change as well as maintenance of the social order (Schneider, 1998: 299).

It is unusual to assert the existence of communitas in workplace contexts. Most contemporary case studies illustrate communitas within a liminal "antistructure" as the absence, suspension or inversion of hierarchical structural and status distinctions that are viewed primarily as constraining (e.g. Bettis, 1996; Granzberg, 1989; Kemp, 1999; Kisiara, 1998; Woods, 1993). Consequently, communitas is generally defined in opposition to, and as liberation from hierarchical social structure (Deflem, 1991: 14). This approach emphasizes Turner's distinction between, rather than his equally compelling blending of social structure and processes of communitas. I emphasize the associative properties in this study, and although the workplace in which my respondents had or did work is certainly not representative, its significance lies in the demonstrable awareness of a communitas intertwined by clearly established hierarchical and status based distinctions.

It is inherently problematic to assert a situational absence of sociostructural (in the sense of hierarchical or status) distinctions. Such analyses connect communitas to social contexts in which "the roles and statuses connected with class and gender in the larger society are not operative" (Kemp, 1999: 81) or a "lack of social hierarchy" (Bettis, 1996: 116) or context that exists "outside the structure of roles, statuses and positions" (McLaren, 1986: 259). Such claims of situational egalitarianism inevitably require qualification. The common interpretation of a liminal communitas as "betwixt and between" mainstream social structure derives from Turner's analysis of very specific ritual contexts in which temporary suspension or inversion of hierarchical and status-based distinctions are properties of the ceremony. The salient aspect of Turner's structure-"antistructure" opposition is that in a functionalist sense "antistructure"/communitas was conducive to an existential "spark" that could ignite processes of social and ideological change. In trying to establish contexts lacking social structure, studies run the risk of highlighting structure over the process- and practice-related elements of Turner's concept of communitas and antistructure. As the latter are intended as properties of ritual, such analysis also tends to alienate the concept of ritual from mainstream social structure and organization, including those based on status and gender distinctions, and by extension from relevant historical processes and context. There is an irony here, in that many of these studies attempt to show the ritual properties of common, "everyday" situations.

As Turner observed (1969: 112-139) emotionally and ritually charged settings like rock concerts, church services, military operations or transition rituals may generate such a strong sense of shared experience, belief and purpose as to evoke a sense of equality among participants. Such events depend on the collective body for the experience itself and may temporarily subsume focus upon relative sociostructural positioning, while the latter can hardly be said to be absent. In this paper I follow Galt's (1994: 794) approach that, when contextually bounded, practice based on shared purpose and symbolism can "perform a transformation" and facilitate communitas by removing participants "from the strict hierarchy of everyday life, to a place so different from it that their everyday inequalities [lose] significance, at least formally." Bolin and College (1992: 380-381) describe communitas as a "rendering of the recognition of common humanity, [that is] antistructural in that it has the potential to subvert mainstream dichotomies like that of gender," or a "paradoxical position in which characteristics of disparate categories are blended." This follows Turner's (1974: 238) description of communitas as representing, not the erasure of structure, but "a passage from one position, constellation or domain of structure to another." I borrow on Fishbane's (1989: 68) realistic perspective that, even during liminal states, societal structure "provides a frame of reference" so that it is questionable "whether liminality necessarily entails an undifferentiated state of affairs."

In industrialized societies, individuals can find communitas among members of a specific occupation when it is a "signal mark of identity" (Turner, 1977: 48). Belonging to a collectively defined occupational category is embodied as a symbolic marker of identity by collective practice in the bounded workplace (Hecht, 1997: 489-490). As "an emotive identification with community, [communitas is] made more significant to the extent that the group is autonomous, or perceives itself as such, from the larger social structure" (Turner, 1969: 96). Bourdieu (1992: 105-106) shows that shared and distinct properties and base logic of occupational fields can serve to "insulate members" and provide such a degree of autonomy. Members of an occupationally specific workplace operate within a social, structural and symbolic context that may be highly differentiated from that of "normative" or mainstream society. In these cases, as corporate managers recognize, experiences of communitas do not rely upon liberation from status differentiat-

ing social structure. More relevant are identity-shaping occupational roles, understandings, specific logic and symbolism, interdependent practice along with congruous organization, social interaction and sense of purpose. That corporate culture can be conceptualized as culture necessitates that all of these aspects be present, and are influenced by those of mainstream society (Gherardi, 1994: 593).

As Galt (1994: 786) says, "it is useful to think of the concept [of reality] as including the multiplicity of aspects of social identity, including formal structures, symbol and ritual, and the ethos of 'hanging together' that Turner labelled 'communitas.'" The multiplicities of social identities Galt refers to show that it is too rigid and inevitably ambiguous to analyze complex social events like rituals (and by extension experiences of communitas) in terms of categorical oppositions (Eade, 1992: 31; Schneider, 1998: 298-299). The concept of communitas is better understood as one of many approaches or discourses *about* an experience, rather than constituting an empirical description *of* it (Eade, 1992: 21). I argue that workplace structuring may contribute to, rather than disallow the experience of communitas. This perspective adds to established discourse on work and workplace culture highlighting the complexities of interaction, interdependent practice and the self-realization inherent in a sense of purpose, in "everyday" domains. Such studies add balance to ones that emphasize workplaces as oppressive and/or exclusively goal oriented domains of linear progression.

Methodology

I interviewed 11 recently unemployed and four still working members of a small (40 person) Regional Land Use Planning Commission Office in Alberta, Canada. Provincial budget cuts in late 1993 included complete withdrawal of subsidization of the Regional Planning System. Without subsidization, some of the smaller municipalities had to withdraw from the system, so that in all the Commission's operating budgets were cut by over 80%. The precipitous cuts required Directors to implement a series of sudden lay-offs, (from about 40 to 12 remaining staff) not knowing whether any positions or the system itself would remain.

Interviews were loosely structured around various themes that respondents deemed of importance. As Marcus (1998: 2) points out, relatively unstructured interviews will illustrate individual processes of reconceptualizing circumstances. The fact that this workplace had just undergone a radical transformation further contributed to processes of reconceptualization in respondents' narratives. These recently unemployed people as well as the still working were trying to rationalize their situation, and gave a great deal of thought to their occupation and (former and present) positions. Examining processes of reconceptualization and ongoing rationalization requires lengthy, sometimes rather unfocussed interviewing. These processes would be much less apparent with highly structured interviews designed to accommodate a predetermined theoretical model (Kaufman, 1999: 232). The theoretical framework emerges largely from the data, indicating a methodology resembling "grounded theory" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

I chose to interview people who had long-term histories of occupying positions in a workplace revolving around a single occupation. This ensured established individual workplace positions and a collectively well-understood context. Fourteen of the 15 respondents had worked from eight to 27 years in this same workplace. Six are men and nine are women. They ranged in age from 23 to about 65, and none were members of a visible minority group. Eight of them were married and belonged to dual income households. Nine respondents had children between three and 25 years old. Most children were living with their parents or going to school and being subsidized by them. In a Land Use Planning Office, there is a large number of support staff due to the high amount of legal paperwork, clerical and library work, mapping, drafting, research and so forth. I included some of these people in the study, since they are also highly specialized in relation to the field of land use planning and strongly identify with it. I interviewed all respondents on two occasions, the first time about three months after the layoffs occurred, and again three months later. Interviews were between two and four hours long, taped by permission, and transcribed and entered into a computer text database program. Most respondents expressed themselves at great length, using analogies and contextual frameworks relevant to themselves.

Communitas and Structure in the Workplace

Researchers using the concept of communitas often concentrate on Turner's assertion that social structure appears to be a "social modality" that distinctly undermines or denies the existence of communitas. However, in many instances Turner makes it clear that he is referring to mainstream social hierarchy and status differentiation, and not all socially organizing frameworks. He states that even during the (often extremely "non-social") liminal period of a rite of passage, we could find a "rudimentarily structured and relatively undifferentiated communitas"

(Turner, 1969: 96). Further, in order to realize communitas, it is structure that is "regularly operative in a given society" (Turner, 1977: 201), or "mainstream" structure that must be in a rudimentary (or "altered") state.

A Degree of Autonomy

Clearly, Turner recognizes that social structure and communitas are not absolutely incompatible. In many instances, he made it clear that communitas is directly related to mainstream social structure, whether dialectically (1969: 129), in juxtaposition to or (more to the point here) in hybridization with (1969: 127). At a more symbolically meaningful level, rudimentary social structure can exist "in the form of 'autonomy, or a perception of autonomy' from mainstream social structure" (Turner, 1969: 96). Bourdieu observes that properties, (including organizational structure) of occupational fields are often very different from those of the larger society. As he states, when an occupational field is based on a system of logic distinct from that of the larger society, the field serves to conceptually insulate members from "external determinants" that go "through a restructuring that is all the more important the more autonomous the field" (Bourdieu, 1992: 105-106). This degree of autonomy may be symbolically, temporally and spatially captured in the specialized workplace. Socially, the contrast with surrounding society can include, and be symbolized by awareness of a mutual regard, and ideologically by "an ideal set of mutually accepted values revolving around idealized interpersonal behaviour" (Galt, 1994: 797). Many of my respondents described such idealized behaviour and collective values at the Planning Commission.

The idea of specific field related structure facilitating a strong sense of group membership that could constitute a felt autonomy is consistent with Turner's statement meant to clarify the intended nature of the concept of communitas.

> Yet communitas does not represent the erasure of structural norms from the consciousness of those participating in it; rather its own style, in a given community, might be said to depend upon the way in which it symbolizes the abrogation, negation, or inversion of the normative structure in which its participants are involved. (Turner, 1982: 47)

The conceptually bounded workplace symbolizes a negation of "normative" societal structure through introduction of more personalized and familiarized occupation- and workplace-related social structure. The absence of rank and status implying authority over others is not a precondition for communitas as even "relatively undifferentiated" tribal initiates had to "submit together to the general authority of the ritual elders" (Turner, 1969: 96). In this collective process, perceptions of family as well as workplace interaction were "idealized" by my respondents, creating a metaphor of strong mutual regard (Galt, 1994: 797) for the workplace that strongly contrasted it with more impersonal mainstream social interaction.

Normalization and Orchestration: The Harmonization of Workplace Members

Although the concept of communitas emphasizes the collectivity, several apparent paradoxes serve to show that individuality is also facilitated by communitas. As Turner noted, "the more spontaneously 'equal' people become, the more distinctively 'themselves' they become; the more the same they become socially, the less they find themselves to be individually" (Turner, 1982: 47). Intense familiarity with occupational parameters and interdependent practice creates what Foucault called the homogenizing "power of normalization" which also "individualizes by making it possible to measure gaps, to determine levels, to fix specialties and to render the differences useful by fitting them one to another" (Foucault, 1977: 184). Through interaction within understood parameters of occupation and workplace, individual identities are increasingly defined in relation to properties of the specific group. Normalization includes an "orchestration" of practice and experiences, producing an objective consensus of meanings, due in part to the "continuous reinforcement that [agents] receive from the expression of these experiences, whether in spontaneous or "programmed" situations" (Bourdieu, 1977: 80). As Conrad, the Director explained, goal oriented workplace organization incorporates a consensus of occupational philosophy, based around the workplace "team."

Like Foucault's concept of normalization, and Bourdieu's "orchestration of habitus" Fernandez describes communitas as a complex process, "elaborately achieved in an argument of images. In such an argument there is a productive tension between differentiated domains, on the one hand, and their collapse into wide classification, on the other" (Fernandez, 1986: 179). By delineating different individual domains that are defined in part by collective participation within the wider occupational classification, distinctions of rank can serve to organize or "orchestrate" these productive tensions. These parameters, along with the degree of acceptable latitude of each, are represented by job descriptions corresponding to hierarchical occupational structuring or positioning. Using Fernandez's orchestral metaphor, it is the overall

"basic melody," the collectively understood (structural) framework that facilitates "each adding the different properties, the complementary qualities of their domain of expression" (Fernandez, 1986: 176). This consensus, or orchestration around a framework of (here, occupationally specific) root metaphors and key symbols is the element of ritualization in overlapping sociocultural contexts. Sharing these core values and symbols is much like Turner's description of communitas as a time when the context of mainstream social structure is temporally replaced by that of a structure "of symbols and ideas, an instructional structure" (Turner, 1974: 240).

As the basis for organizing daily practices, this consensus can contribute to a degree of interpretive coherence in the workplace. This coherence serves to bound the workplace, and "within the limits of the group of agents possessing the schemes (of production and interpretation) implied in their production–causes practices and works to be immediately intelligible and foreseeable, and hence taken for granted" (Bourdieu, 1977: 80). Such intelligibility produces a normalization based on occupational and workplace ideology and parameters. Along with a strong sense of occupational purpose, this normalization means that workplace "codes of conduct" are not exclusively constraining. "In fact, most actions which are guided by rules of conduct are performed unthinkingly, the questioned actor saying he performs 'for no reason' or because he 'felt like doing so.' Only when his routines are blocked may he discover that his neutral little actions have all along been consonant with the proprieties of the group" (Goffman, 1967:49).

Hierarchical workplace organization can also contribute to an intense coherency of collective occupational and social practice, uniquely organized around a common goal, and taking on a specific style. Geertz (1973: 145) explains this kind of integration as "logico-meaningful integration, characteristic of culture, the sort of integration one finds in a Bach fugue, in Catholic dogma, or in the general theory of relativity; it is a unity of style, of logical implication, of meaning and value." This sense of orchestrated unity is made more possible to the degree that the occupational group (and distinct occupational logic) facilitates a sense of autonomy from the mainstream society (Bourdieu, 1992: 105-106; Turner, 1969: 96).

Properties of Land-Use Planning and Occupational Autonomy

Societal Ambiguity

Planning Commission offices occupy a distinctly ambiguous, somewhat interstitial position as brokers between business and community development and the guidelines of the planning act. Using liminal terminology, Gordon explained the position of the Regional Land Use Planning occupation.

> [The planning commissions] were caught in the middle always. The planning act said a certain thing. And the planners were usually even on the [conservative] side of the planning act. And then the municipalities were sometimes too liberal, they didn't care enough what happened, they wanted to please their constituents. But they tended to blame the planning commission for when they'd have to say no [to business development].

Gordon noted another way that the role of the planning commission placed them in a rather liminal situation in relation to the structure of established social categories.

"[The Planning Commissions] were sort of on their own, you see they were never 'government,' they were always 'quasi-government.' The municipalities supported them partially, the government gave funds...." The complete provincial withdrawal of subsidization of the Regional Planning System was a clear sign to Planners that their occupation was generally not appreciated. Respondents felt that Planning System, in part designed towards regulating business development, was perceived as an impediment, or "red tape." Ross said that planners could handle the criticism of their occupational role, until "the government withdrew their funds" symbolizing an institutionalized disdain for the occupation. Jim, a senior planner for 25 years, explained the personal difficulty in the realization that the occupation was not recognized as valuable in mainstream society.

> What we've done all through the years here, we've been committed to. And we have felt that it's important. It hasn't always been recognized. It's not obvious. You can't "measure" it sometimes. [The value of the field] is not recognized until it's gone. The cost of losing this system is not going to be seen for maybe 5, 10, 15 years. And that's what I've struggled with too.

Occupational Marginalization

A collective perception of marginalization can serve to bring the group together, and add solidarity (Barth, 1969; Bromley and Shupe, 1980), in this case directly related to occupational role and purpose. Marginalization can solidify group boundaries, contribute to feelings of shared difference among group members, and lead to a symbolic "consciousness of community" (Cohen, 1985: 13). Julie, a planner for 12 years, expressed common perceptions of marginalization.

> The only reason that it was done is that the [then municipal affairs] minister, Steve West, does not like planning, planners, or anything to do with land-use regulations. He made it a personal vendetta to basically get rid of planning commissions and so on—he just thought it was unnecessary red tape.

The people I interviewed frequently expressed a sense of workplace and occupational autonomy in the form of a strong "us and them" division. Conrad, the Director, said "I just wonder if it [provincial cutbacks] crossed the threshold of becoming a bit of a 'witch-hunt,' and is this a premeditated effort to just disband the whole regional planning ordinance." As Ross put it, "well, yeah well [Planners] were a target, we were a target and that's it short and simple." My respondents show how tightly knit workplace relations and field-specific logic can act to insulate co-workers from mainstream perceptions and status distinctions.

The Bounded Group: A Degree of Autonomy

Planning commission employees realized some autonomy as members of a group operating both symbolically, metaphorically and objectively "outside" development oriented mainstream social values that increasingly reflect an ideological rational of "municipal capitalism" seeking primarily to facilitate, not regulate economic growth and development (Hobbs, Lister, Hadfield, Winslow and Hall, 2000: 703). The distinctively structured Planning Commission office constituted a "zone of patterned liminality" that created the impression of being set aside and excluded from principle areas of normative, non-liminal social life (Turner, 1974: 232 in Hobbs et al, 2000: 711).

Their fundamental reasons for viewing their occupational roles as socially contributory often appeared to clash with a dominant mainstream ethos of "unfettered capitalism," further bounding the group. As Walter said, "The fly-by-night [corporations] are the ones who come in and rob a community and then leave. *We had some degree of a protective effect against that kind of thing.* If that's not there anymore, there's going to be too much influence towards the quick dollar." Respondents felt a sense of autonomy through ideological marginalization and distinct core values that were mainly reinforced in the workplace.

Cathy noted that the workplace environment was so different than mainstream social life, that people assumed "a whole different identity. I was a different person [in the workplace], than at home you know." At the same time, many people like Allison thought of the highly familiarized workplace as encapsulating their central social identity. As she said, "I guess my identity was in here socially more than I ever realized." Walter, a planner for 22 years, echoed these views, saying "oh definitely, most definitely, a lot of my identity was wrapped up in the workplace. Most people that I know identify me with that place and vice-versa, so you are where you work to a great extent."

Crossing the boundary between the larger world and the symbolically "encapsulated" workplace would reinforce the meaningfulness of the group, by emphasizing difference (see Barth, 1969: 1-30). The workplace becomes a space in which a redefinition of reality takes place, based on field specific logic (Bourdieu, 1992: 105-106). Respondents viewed their particular Planning Commission office as having a unique operating philosophy, differentiating it from that of other Planning Commissions. As the Director explains, "Our philosophy and approach here, was, is not the same. We've all been targeted with the same brush, and there's no way that all of the Planning Commissions did things in the same manner." Structured workplace organization is salient in meaningful workplace processes. Through organized workplace practice, occupational ideologies are "embodied, because at one level the physical organization of work and the technical practices...[derive] largely from institutional ideologies. 'Constituted,' because it was through those practices that workers were able to engage with, enact and give their own meaning to these ideologies" (Hecht, 1997: 489-490).

Community Ritual and Symbolism: The Role of Management

Managers generally realize that a sense of the workplace as partly autonomous from surrounding society is based on structure and organization around properties of the specific occupation. Part of the role of directors and managers has always been to create "symbols, ideologies, language, beliefs, ritual and myths" (Peters and Waterman, 1982: 104). An even more personalized sense of autonomy is a central advantage of organizing the workplace into "teams" (Hassard, 1993: 15; Scott, 1981: 22-23; Steele, 1986: 79-86; Weisbord, 1988: 37-38). Occupational and workplace related meanings are negotiated as "the values of group members appear to become increasingly aligned with the materials a group works with. Eventually, members may routinely construe (or even redefine) reality in terms of the special "stuff" with which they customarily work (Hackman, 1990: 488). This "redefinition" based on occupational content is analogous to the redefinition based on distinct occupational logic that Bourdieu (1992:

105-106) speaks of. Familiarized workplace practice contributes to a strong feeling of homogeneity, and a collective identification with occupational interest and purpose.

Conrad, the director of this workplace also used a team approach in creating a perception of more equal power relations. He followed the management edict that "team performance levels... require the *team* to be decisive, the *team* to be in control, and the *team* to be the hero" (Katzenbach and Smith, 1993: 132). In the Planning Commission there were usually two central teams, but as Conrad said, the "team" philosophy also applied to workplace as a whole, since "if it's a team approach, you say 'this is what I can contribute to your decision-making, this is what I can add,' and then they make their decisions after that. It can't be a [hierarchical] power trip."

The nature of the occupation meant that workplace members relied on each other to efficiently complete projects, regardless of rank or team membership. Social and occupational interaction, communication and coordination were extensively developed among all workplace members. As Cathy said, the interdependence led to a unique sense of solidarity, or lack of "personality tensions." Fiona added that even when positions were being cut rapidly, this solidarity was maintained, so "there was never any open competition, like 'I'll backstab this person so that my job will be secure for me.' I didn't see any of that."

Workplace members work as a sort of "umbrella team," sharing a large number of support staff, specialized professionals and material resources. Interdependent practice contributed to a collectively felt autonomy from the larger society. Also contributing to a feeling of homogeneity, hierarchical structure in this workplace was kept as informal as possible. Conrad said "[we] had to have some kind of structure, but our structure was always pretty loose anyway, so anybody always had access to the director, they always had access to the support staff. So it was all a pretty loose structuring." The sense of autonomy is a naturally developing property of small interdependent working groups (Hackman, 1990: 448) as well as one encouraged by management. Similarly, solidarity and experiences of communitas are possible results of interdependence and collective practice, as well as constituting a management objective.

"Community Ritual" and Individual Agency

Along with the integrative team approach, workplace members actively participated in community-building rituals initiated by management and/or staff. There were elaborate celebrations for retirements, birthdays, promotions, marriages, new babies and any other important occasions. These rituals definitely promote a sense of workplace community, by integrating family and work symbolism (Lazcano and Barrientos, 1999: 214). Such ongoing ritual practices also contribute to a workplace specific structure, what Bell (1992: 93) calls a ritualized, meaningful collective body, made possible by a "symbolically structured environment."

Another important ritual practice was the weekly meeting of all the staff. These meetings promoted feelings of homogeneity and downplayed hierarchical authority by giving everyone a voice. Such participatory rituals, as uniquely set apart contexts, tend to produce a temporary sense of an "authority and transcendence that all share" (Bloch, 1986: 189). Along with the celebratory community rituals, participatory rituals and a team approach, utilizing a flexible scheme of working hours also contributed to a sense of shared authority, de-emphasizing (thus transcending to a degree) hierarchical distinctions. As June said, "here you're trusted to know what your job is and to do it. Here it's much more flexible. So if I decide to work from 9 until 5:30 instead of 8 'till 4:30 that's fine. And, nobody even questions it. You don't have to tell somebody "I'm going to work this time." Fiona said that "I have to feel that I have control of some part of it, and that I get to influence what happens."

Obviously, the degree to which occupational and workplace properties necessitates interdependent practice is an important factor in the development of a sense of community or communitas. However, individual agency as a shared authority in shaping the workplace environment also contributes by lending more personalized and symbolically meaningful qualities to the "social home" of the workplace. That these processes are also inspired with meaning through reflexive creativity and agency is generally underemphasized in workplace studies (Hunter, 1992: 347-348). This neglects workplace complexities and the agency of workers" (Ludtke, 1985: 304).

Modern management philosophy recognizes that processes leading to a sense of community cannot only be legislated. Freedom and flexibility is part of management philosophy, but is objectified through processes of individual agency and creatively negotiated meanings. Cathy related the ability to gain knowledge independently to the abilities of the workplace collectivity, saying that "I gradually built up my own body of learning, as opposed to it being formal training, and that really opened up a whole new avenue of the type of work that not only I could do, but *this whole office could do.* So I found that helped keep it fresh."

Informed management practice includes reinforcing a sense of individual agency and awareness of community (Troyer, Mueller and Osinsky, 2000). Hackman (1990: 488) describes this process of integration as due in part to management co-ordination, as well as a "natural" property of purposeful interdependent practice.

> [Group members] gradually achieve greater internal coherence as a social system: The materials they work with, the content of group interaction, and the values of group members should fit together increasingly well over time. ... members may come to feel that the group provides them with a quite comfortable social home.

Dorothy described taking work home with her, and strategizing about work to be done the next day, as a lifestyle choice of "focus," definitely not as an imposition. As she says, "[Land Use Planning] was the focus of my life. And, not just because I didn't have another focus, but because I really liked what I was doing, and I thought it was worth doing." In considering individual and collective agency among my respondents, the sense of family or communitas they express cannot be solely attributed to managerial design plan towards efficient office ecology. In any case, even conscious organizational strategy designed to harness a sense of spontaneity can result in communitas becoming a "genuine characteristic of the venue" (Hobbs et al, 2000: 711-712). This can lead to a feeling of belonging so strong as for members to conceive of the workplace as a home (Barnett, 1993: 48).

Communitas: The Workplace "Family"

The experience of a family-like communitas crossed organizational divisions such as different teams, promotional timing and even rank and title. Reasons for the development of communitas can only partly be attributed to managerial strategies in this office. As it should, reasons for the experience had more to do with collective effort towards orchestrated practice that made work more pleasant for everyone. Amber, a media director there for eight years, noted that the familial atmosphere did not exist when the workplace was too large and some people were seen as lazy. "We are more of a family now the people that are here now are productive people, there's no dead weight left, everybody's working hard, so that's what kind of bound it more."

Most respondents sincerely thought of other members of the workplace as part of a "family." Walter, a planner for 22 years, defined two distinct levels of familial relationships in his occupational role and workplace position.

> [Unemployment] was like I'd been cut off from some of the family. Because of the length of time you sort of almost took a paternalistic approach to how you dealt with things, like if, say a developer had proposed something to take place in a particular municipality. And other employees, who you've worked with for a long time—in some cases you see them more than members of your family!

Although these contributed to the experience, it was not only the rituals encouraged by management that were facilitating communitas here. Just as important were the everyday social rituals that are comforting as "promises about continuity" (Moore and Myerhoff, 1984: 17). Expectations of continuity included those of trust and support, and these were relied upon as a person would rely on their literal family. Fiona, a contract worker at the planning commission for 13 years, expressed the common trust shared by workplace members.

> I guess I counted on people here a lot more than I ever thought I did, in the way that—you know like you knew the guys were always here—see, because I've been single all these years—they were good company—they were like brothers all the time, every day, and all of a sudden they were gone, they're not there anymore or the different people here.

In this workplace, communitas was also enabled by interdependent practice necessitating frequent social rituals like etiquette, gestures, manners and other "social forms." Through these everyday rituals, "social reality and social relationships are endlessly stated and restated [conveying] a wealth of social agreements essential for ongoing interactions" (Moore and Myerhoff, 1984: 17). Along with a definitive occupational logic and social organization, the workplace environment is symbolically significant to members bounded by virtue of shared meanings. Cathy, a design planner for 12 years, notes that promises of continuity include a familial assurance of shared social and occupational support.

> I know a lot of people that have problems getting along with (co-workers)—but here we all got along really, really well. It was a really nurturing environment—you knew if something happened to you there was always a friend you could come to. Even if there was something wrong at work, you knew it would get worked-out. You didn't really have to worry that you had messed-up too badly.

Like Walter, after 23 years as a planner in the workplace, Ross noted that "[unemployment] was like being

cut off from family. In some cases you see them more than other people, members of your family."

The high numbers of hours spent in the workplace increased the meaningfulness of this domain through shared practice. Fiona noted that a sense of family did not occur in every workplace, yet in the planning commission office, individual personalities seemed to be compatible.

> I've worked in other places and this is by far the best place for me to work. Especially right now, there's no one that I would like to see leave this place at all, everyone seems to get along really well, it's more like family.

In this office, there was a strong occupational as well as social interdependence. That the workplace was a locale of solidarity could be due part to its property of bounding a specialized occupation, as Durkheim (1933) noted. A strong sense of social interdependence was indicated as employees arrived half an hour before the workday began in order to participate in the morning coffee-time, when occupational and social life coalesced. As Walter describes this, it sounds much like Barth's (1969) stress on the importance of crossing boundaries in awareness of group identity. Here, the morning coffee socialization integrates home and office life, gradually shifting towards the latter:

> The coffee thing in the morning was a combination of business and pleasure both. And, sometimes the hockey scores or whatnot would get into the conversation, but normally we'd talk about what was happening with our families and what was happening with work—it was all kind of mixed together. Sort of 'shoot the shit'.

Becoming dislocated from this highly integrated "family" caused extreme trauma and intense feelings of loneliness. For Martha, a part-time secretary there for 14 years, the social interaction in the workplace was specifically valued as it had evolved over time, and would not be quickly forgotten.

> I do miss the people,—they were extended family. With [biological] family you never lose touch, but with these people, I'm going to lose touch, I mean it's a sad thing but that's a fact of life. Even though you felt like you had this extended family, you just don't stay in touch and you do lose that. So it's like letting go, it's slow, it's just gradual too, you never stop thinking of those people.

During the position cuts, mutual support in the workplace was so strong that it contrasted with feelings of loneliness at home. As Cathy said, "when the layoffs occurred and you'd see another brother fall by the wayside, everybody felt it very much. Everybody was very supportive and concerned when you went through it, but you still had to deal with it when you got home."

Several people described being separated from the rest of their workplace family in terms of being "alone" even when they had families and children of their own. The strength of the daily relationships in the workplace was such that losing it made some people feel as lonely as if they had lost all social contact, as Martha expressed in terms of death.

> I liked the people. If it hadn't been for all the good people, I wouldn't have stayed for 13 years. To me you know what [losing my job] was like? This is a weird analogy probably but it it's like, it's like when you die, you don't know what's beyond, and you have to sort of walk that path by yourself.

It became apparent that although the workplace setting was highly structured, and imbued with status distinctions, there was "room" within this structure for a strong awareness of communitas. In fact, occupationally specific structural organization facilitated coherent interaction and contributed to a harmonization of agents within a symbolically meaningful bounded workplace.

Communitas in the Workplace—Process, Structure and Order

In a large scale study of individual perceptions of work and home, Hoschild (1997: 53) says, "I did not anticipate the conclusion I found myself coming to: namely, that *work has become a form of 'home'* and home has become 'work.' The worlds of home and work have not begun to blur, as the conventional wisdom goes, but to reverse places." The familial office atmosphere my respondents described resembles the kind of "reversal" of mainstream societal characteristics that Turner (1969: 125) associated with communitas. However, since (at least formally) "normative" hierarchical organization is present in the workplace, it may be more relevant to think of this reversal as contradicting mainstream anthropological discourses about, rather than descriptions of the workplace. As Hunter (1992: 347-348) points out, cultural studies tend to impoverish "processes of human completion" by conceptually detaching self-realizing activity from processes of everyday labour.

My participants show that along with being well aware of status distinctions, collective and symbolic occupational purpose, logic, practice and interdependence

can serve to meliorate these structural distinctions so they may be included in, and even facilitate an experience of communitas. According to Durkheim (1933: 359) it is a natural property of occupational specialization to create solidarity, "As organs are more rigorously solidary when functions are very divided." Durkheim also recognized individuality in this solidarity, as Kertzer observes in the context of ritual. This means that "solidarity is produced by people acting together, not by people thinking together" (Kertzer, 1988: 76).

Like Kelly and Kaplan (1990), Morris (1987) and Gluckman and Gluckman (1977) the approach used here favours less oppositional concepts of structure and communitas, and a conceptual integration of ritual meanings and everyday social life. Sociocultural research of work often neglects the creativity and self-realization that can occur within these "mundane," pragmatic parameters (Hunter, 1992). My data supports research indicating that symbolic and metaphorical meanings including the experience of communitas are distinguished from, yet made meaningful through their inherent relationship with social organization and interaction. Hierarchical and status-based structure, in a dialogic rather than dialectical relationship with the experience of communitas, constitute "part of a person's overall (contrasting) social experience" (Alves, 1993: 896). Rather than describing a "quasi-liminal" or "liminoid" state, this approach builds upon Turner's (1974: 254) statement that in societies in which communitas has been incorporated, or "domesticated," "there is a thread of structure through ritualized communitas within liminality." With his consistent perception of social structure as primarily constraining, Turner viewed this type of communitas as one that "has been thoroughly domesticated, even corralled" (Ibid, 254). Still, it is more important that he allowed for the possibility of structured contexts for liminality and communitas. In these contexts, "the social structure does not disappear, but is simplified, generalized" (Hobbs et al, 2000: 712). As well, Turner recognized that "even when communitas has been institutionalized, there remains a core of potential communitas—that is, spontaneous communitas (Turner, 1969: in Alexander, 1991: 31). Turner (1969: 132) viewed ideological communitas as a "consciously defined model for obtaining spontaneous communitas, the feeling tome associated with mutual belonging" (Galt, 1994: 795).

It is often not feasible to try to find "antistructure" as lack of status-based and/or hierarchical structure in situations when this structure can be asserted to influence and frame virtually all social interaction. Recognition of the structure inherent in experiences of communitas helps alleviate some of the criticisms of research based on interpretation of communitas as linked inextricably to anti- or unstructured states. As Fernandez (1982) notes, communitas is not a "simple" state, but one as complicated as normative social interactions, including distinctions and tensions that follow a hierarchical structure. Conceptualizing the experience of communitas as structured would allow easier integration of empirical data. The resultant "normalization" of communitas helps recognize alternative creative forms, logic and spontaneity as properties of culture, like disorder (Kelly and Caplan, 1990: 138), rather than in dialectical relationship to it.

The degree of autonomy facilitated by small groups like the workplace is actualized through process guided by unique logic and distinctly orchestrated practice such as that of the specific field (Bourdieu, 1992: 102). Symbolically, membership in a category of people sharing a characteristic such as occupation, which is a strong, definitive part of their identity, is conducive to the experience of communitas (Turner, 1977: 201). The symbolic meaningfulness of belonging to such a category, which makes it such a central part of the self, is the result of processes of interaction, the "collective harmonization of agents" that Bourdieu (1977) speaks of.

Implications for Further Research

Integrating the concepts of communitas and hierarchical social structure in contexts of collectively understood logical and symbolic frameworks has several implications for anthropological research. In these situations, the experience of communitas can describe the ethos of unity and solidarity that builds on and emphasizes the creative processes of everyday collective practices. Communitas integrated with hierarchical structure warrants recognition as a factor in individual and collective meaningfulness of and personal identification with many formal and informal institutional domains.

Theoretically, the value of this integrative approach does not lie centrally in any proposed expansion of the situations in which communitas may be found. As mentioned earlier, the concept of communitas is already applied in a great variety of contexts, all of which can be shown to include at least some semblance of hierarchical and status distinctions. Many of these studies try to assert that these structured distinctions do not exist, or exist only in what is ultimately a subjectively construed "rudimentary" form. My data shows that it is more feasible to use the concept of communitas along with recognition of status based and hierarchical structure common to practically every social context. This approach

allows the concept of communitas to be an analytical possibility in the study of hierarchically organized groups when this organization is distinct from that of mainstream society. Communitas describes the very personal social bond or intense solidarity that may occur in groups in which members are interdependent and focussed on a coherent, common goal or purpose. Communitas appears to be compatible with hierarchical and status based structuring when group members realize some autonomy from mainstream society, even when this autonomy is largely due to a felt marginalization. The example used here is that of an occupationally specific workplace with distinct field-related goals.

An approach that integrates hierarchical structure with the conceptual bond of communitas also allows for a perception of social structural distinctions and positioning that is not primarily one of conflict or repression. This approach shows that hierarchical structure can, in some cases contribute to the individual's ability to have a well understood space and place in an interdependent, purposeful collectivity. This model is applicable in many social situations where structure provides social grounding, direction and relational identity as well as status based differentiation. It shows the complexity of the effects of social structure, which can individuate as it homogenizes (Turner, 1982: 48).

Finally, by allowing for the possibility that differentiating social structure can facilitate communitas, the latter concept is not defined mainly in relation (as antithetical) to social structure. This enables a less structuralist and more practice oriented model of communitas. Integrating communitas with hierarchical social structure makes the concept potentially applicable to many everyday social situations, as Turner intended in his later elaborations on the subject. Further, communitas integrated with social structure sensitizes us to the ritual processes and symbolism that permeate everyday hierarchized contexts of all kinds. In this way, the spontaneous creativity of communitas is realizable in "common" social situations rather than being limited to some hypothetical state of "antistructure." This study of a small workplace shows that communitas can be found in unanticipated settings, given certain conditions, and that these conditions are more widely distributed than is commonly acknowledged.

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Acknowledgments

The author wishes to thank the respondents for their time and insightful comments. Also, my thanks to Ann Luu for research assistance and to the anonymous reviewers, Sally Cole, Norman Buchignani and Peter Letkemann for valuable comments on earlier versions of this paper.

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Governmentality, Modernity and the Historical Politics of Ọ̀yọ́-Hegemony in Yorùbá Transnational Revivalism

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Abstract: In this essay, I argue that it was the influence of transnational forms of knowledge in Nigeria—the shift from indigenous oral forms to accessible circulating literary writings—which facilitated the generative locus of power that led to the privileging of Ọ̀yọ́-Yorùbá ancestry as the popular literary icon of African American revivalism. With the increasing significance of late nineteenth century scientific inquiries deployed by native-born Africans, a newly developing Nigerian elite participated in the documenting of human sciences and thereby contributed to the invention of a particular type of "Yorùbá history." This process, mediated by the temporalities of modern subjectivities, led to the standardization of "the Yorùbá" as we know them and was allied with the development of the Nigerian nation. In examining changes in social meanings over time, I examine what changes and which canonical tenets must remain the same for new meanings to be seen as legitimate. I demonstrate that these fields are embedded in historically complex webs of power that code geographic and temporal meanings in particular ways.

Keywords: history, power, geotemporality, race, Yorùbá, Ọ̀yọ́túnjí, African village

Résumé : Dans cet article, je soutiens que c'est l'influence de formes transnationales de connaissance au Nigéria—le remplacement des formes orales indigènes par des récrits facilement accessibles—qui a facilité l'apparition d'un centre de pouvoir qui a conduit à privilégier l'héritage Ọ̀yọ́-Yorùbá comme emblème populaire de la revitalisation africaine-américaine. Avec la croissance importante, à la fin du dix-neuvième siècle, de recherches scientifiques menées par des Africains de naissance, une nouvelle élite nigérienne a travaillé à l'élaboration de la documentation en sciences sociales et a ainsi contribué à la création d'un type particulier d'«histoire yoruba». Ce processus, médiatisé par les conditions des subjectivités modernes, a conduit à l'image standard des «Yorùbá» que nous connaissons, laquelle se trouve liée au développement de la nation nigérienne. En examinant le changement de signification sociale à travers le temps, je me demande qu'est-ce qui change et quels croyances officielles doivent rester les mêmes pour que de nouvelles croyances puissent être perçues comme légitime. Je démontre que ces champs sont inclus dans des réseaux de pouvoir complexes qui codifient les significations locales et temporelles de façon spéciale.

Mots-clés : histoire, pouvoir, géotemporalité, race, Yorùbá, Ọ̀yọ́túnjí, village african

Red blood splattered throughout the oval-shaped room. Robed in his best African clothes and by pulling the trigger of a borrowed shotgun, one of Ọ̀yọ́túnjí's young men had fallen to his death. The news of the suicide rang throughout the community. His last words inscribed on paper expressed how much he tried and wanted them to be proud of him, how much he hurt and how much he could not deal with the addictions that haunted him, how much he continued to fail those who he loved the most. His solution saddened the residents as they scrambled to explain how it could have happened, wishing that they had only paid more attention to the signs; if only they had tried harder. The lack of experience dealing with death in Ọ̀yọ́túnjí, a three generation-old community, left residents with a numbing powerlessness and malevolent curiosity about how the leaders would deal with a life taken in this way.

The emotional inclination of many, regardless of the cause of death, was to honour with a special ritual the life of their friend and "brother in the religion." During the first few hours members of the Ọ̀yọ́túnjí community scurried in search of the appropriate ritual procedure. They called the city of Beauport authorities, consulted the ancestors through the use of divinatory rituals, telephoned knowledgeable practitioners outside of Ọ̀yọ́túnjí, and consulted various historical texts in which Yorùbá traditions were documented. Although in the midst of a crisis, they not only sought the advice of their ancestors by conducting divination readings to determine the course of action, but they conducted literary research in search of the protocol of "traditional" burial practices among the Yorùbá of Southwestern Nigeria who committed suicide.

Over the course of the development of the black cultural nationalist movement, as it moved from Harlem, New York to South Carolina, African Americans disillusioned with Christianity converted to Yorùbá practices in an attempt to revive their African past. At the beginning of bi-weekly town meetings and other formal

events, in an attempt to enact the social, religious and political life of Yorùbá ancestors, Ọ̀yọ́túnjí revivalists have attempted to recreate their understanding of Yorùbá cultural practices by educating themselves about Yorùbá history and cultural practices. This has ranged from pursuing ritual apprenticeships, learning the divinatory corpus, attending workshops about Yorùbá cultural practices and reading and studying texts about the history of African peoples. Most of the texts that document Yorùbá "traditional" practices and are used in Ọ̀yọ́túnjí today were published prior to 1955. These include various early 20th century Yorùbá revivalist classics such as Samuel Johnson's *The History of the Yoruba* and N.A. Fadipe's *The Sociology of the Yoruba.* These texts form the source of knowledge for African American ancestral history and despite the apparent stability of these written historical forms, Yorùbá revivalists participate in shaping norms of acceptability by basing their terms of practice on renditions of those accounts.

Despite the attempts of various leaders within the community to focus on historical customs and "traditions" documented in Yorùbá history texts, the friends and relatives of the deceased who lived in Ọ̀yọ́túnjí mourned the loss of their compatriot. Disappointed in the traditionalist prohibitions against suicide, they disputed the actual relevance of applying Yorùbá funeral rites in present day circumstances. The vehement debates on what aspects of "tradition" should be fully adopted and what aspects should not be admissible took place within the community, in political forums, during work duties and in the midst of ritual processes.

Three days later, the eight chiefs, all members of the Ọ̀yọ́túnjí governing council, known as the Ògbóni Society, voted on their rule of action. Claiming directives from the ancestors who they believed prevailed over the Society meeting, the Ọ̀yọ́túnjí Ọba (king) and leader, Ọba Oseijeman, announced the results. Prefacing his statement with a declaration that Yorùbá traditions were based on ancient Yorùbá practices and that it was his job, as supreme ruler, to ensure that ancestral directives are followed, the Ọba by ruling that "the deceased man's body was neither to be honored by the Yorùbá family and friends, nor were village practitioners to attend any rites offered on his behalf." He made clear that Ọ̀yọ́túnjí did not have and could not invent a space for dishonourable death. Instead, locating other American cities as sites to which the body should be deposed—to family in Atlantic City, New Jersey or Philadelphia, Pennsylvania—the Ọba made clear that other U.S. sites could serve as dumping grounds for those who do not abide by Ọ̀yọ́túnjí Yorùbá traditionalism. "We must see beyond our emotional reactions and human desires" he added. "He (*the deceased*) allowed the spirits of evil to win his soul and honoring his life would be like honoring the spirits of evil and that would only cause his spirit further turmoil in the next life."

The popular villager response, that Yorùbá American practitioners who are victims of the extremes of poverty and oppression should be honoured with new and different rituals updated for African Americans in different circumstances from their African ancestors, was dismissed by the Ọba as not in keeping with "traditional" Yorùbá approaches. In addressing my request, made on behalf of some of the relatives of the deceased, that he consider, for the purposes of making the rules relevant to Ọ̀yọ́túnjí life, updating the U.S. applications of Yorùbá "traditions," he replied that he could not.

"Our young man, brother, and friend, died a dishonorable death and I cannot, in good faith, venerate such evil."[1]

Even with personalized sorrow and objections to the application of canonical traditions, as recorded and published in historical texts, the existence of written documentation, as proof of traditional authenticity, prevailed as the basis for identifying archaic Yorùbá practices. Three days later, the fallen man's Christian family in New Jersey family received his body. In the absence of both Ọ̀yọ́túnjí funeral rites and a representative delegate, they held a Christian ceremony for him in a New Jersey funeral home.

Named after the once powerful West African Ọ̀yọ́ Empire of the 16th to 18th centuries, Ọ̀yọ́túnjí means "Ọ̀yọ́ again awakes"—figuratively, that here, the Ancient Empire of Ọ̀yọ́ rises again. A black nationalist community of African American religious converts to Yorùbá practices who have reclaimed West Africa as their ancestral homeland, most Ọ̀yọ́túnjí practitioners trace their origins to that of the descendents of the men and women taken from West African communities and exported to the Americas as slaves. As a result of the belief that they have a right to control the African territory that was their homeland, prior to European colonization, residents of Ọ̀yọ́túnjí Village, claiming diasporic connections to the ancestral history of the Great Ọ̀yọ́ Empire of the Yorùbá people, have reclassified their community as an African Kingdom outside of the territoriality of the Nigerian postcolonial state.

Three national flags[2] wave in the Ọ̀yọ́túnjí palace courtyard representing black American emancipation from slavery, Black Nationalism and the establishment

of an ancient Yorùbá Empire in South Carolina. Though born in America, the vast majority of practitioners within and outside of Ọ̀yọ́túnjí have also rejected their place-based citizenship. Rejecting modern American citizenship as their shared nationality and, instead, claiming African cultural citizenship as their national identity, Ọ̀yọ́túnjí Village is a deterritorialized kingdom in a nation. Situated on the outer perimeter of Beaufort, U.S., approximately 65 miles southwest of Charleston, South Carolina, Ọ̀yọ́túnjí is five thousand miles from the Western-most tip of West Africa. Lying outside of the geographic boundaries of African nation states, Ọ̀yọ́túnjí was borne out of complex controversies over both the conditions of slavery that brought Africans to the Americas and the contestations between African American converts and Afro-Cuban Catholics over the legitimacy of their adaptations of West African practices.

Over a period of three hundred years, the United States became the home to millions of black Americans some of whose ancestors were enslaved, sold to traders and transported to the Americas as slaves. As captives in slave ships large numbers of hundreds of thousands settled in small and large plantations in places such as Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, Texas, Georgia, Florida, North Carolina. Since the abolishment of slavery to the mid- to late 1960s, large waves of black migrants moved to northern urban cities such as Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Boston and Detroit in search of employment and educational opportunities. However, in the U.S., even with the demand for labour in the north, the politics of enforced racial segregation, known as Jim Crow, led to the development of racialized spaces that enforced legal racial segregation. Jim Crow segregation shaped the terrain under which the development of American democracy took shape and in that realm the migration of Cubans to U.S. urban centres also complicated the urban landscapes within which black Americans and predominantly light-skinned Cubans negotiated the politics of African ritual practice. It was in this historical context that the historical tension between black Americans disenchanted with Judeo-Christianity and interested in African religions took shape.

The basis for selecting who or what social practices will be revered or forgotten is embedded in particular rules of social conduct that are extensions of these normative practices. These rules shape the types of knowledges and histories that constitute different types of subjectivities. The governing elite of Ọ̀yọ́túnjí is dependent on maintaining a differentiated hierarchy of traditional rules. As such, ritual acts operate within social hierarchies of scale within which social acts are valued and revered. As suggested with the suicide opening, there are some individuals whose life practices are in keeping with the values ideal for the development of particular forms of governance and others whose are not. The leader of Ọ̀yọ́túnjí Village had to necessarily undermine the villager's move to revere the deceased body as a disavowal of power. He took the opportunity to emphasize legitimate ritual acts and to punish other acts as deviant, as unacceptable.

Ọ̀yọ́túnjí Village was built on a commitment to revering traditional values, hierarchies of kingship and religious ritual. The goal is for black Americans to be redeemed from the effects of trans-Atlantic slavery. That is, for practitioners to sacrifice their worldly possessions in order to protect the integrity of their community, their racial group and therefore make ritual acts sacrificial acts. With this underlying principle, the assumption is that the human body is not simply an extension of the individual. Rather, the body belongs to the spiritual and human triad—the community, ancestors and the individual. The taking of one's life is not only not seen as a sacrifice, it is a desecration of power—a mockery of the chains of succession within which the body lives.

One of the characteristics of European normative approach to the individual was the presumption that subjectivity is inert and is, thus, tied to particular linear and spatially contingent definitions of personhood. I explore these complexities of subjectivity through the rubric of modernity by examining the emergence of discourses about trans-Atlantic slavery and contemporary trans-Atlantic alliances in order to understand Western modernity as both centrally West African and remotely European. Following Benedict Anderson (1983), I suggest that exploring the circulation of European literary institutions of knowledge such as the development of print capitalism is key to understanding how it is that particular versions of the Yorùbá past have become dominant features of trans-Atlantic cartographies of diaspora.

One such form of diasporic governance evident in the specificities and complex circulations of meanings is the way in which social realities are both mapped and knowledge of the past reproduced. For while identity has been popularly conceived of as rooted in place, within the confines of national borders, the criteria for what constitutes a national subject has been rooted in linear distinctions between the temporality of life and the inertia of death. Western temporal classifications have posited time as unilinear progressions, linking living individuals within a temporally linear progression of evolution. While these ordering schemes continue to

naturalize inner laws of morality and logic, the dominant trope of Yorùbá revivalist practices is that death is a linear extension of ancestral life. In order to maintain connections with their African ancestors, Yorùbá revivalists reconceptualize human time as cyclical and reclassify national boundaries, de-centring their spatial separation from Africa. These forms of temporal and spatial reconfigurations of human realities not only establish chronologies of time outside of modern notions of succession, but reconfigures relations of belonging in ancestral and racial terms.

In understanding the varying ways in which the symbols of Africa and slavery are employed by Yorùbá revivalists to shape social memories, it is necessary to highlight the local networks of power and knowledge within which agents actively cultivate relationships between the past, present and the future, the here and the there, or within the simultaneous conflation between the temporal and spatial. These complexities complicate the capacity of the imaginary by shaping the micro-politics of belonging in particular ways. What I refer to as geotemporality, therefore, reflects this self-conscious assertion of distinctly different temporal and spatial (chronotopic) experience posited against modernist standards of being. Operating in deterritorialized modes of contact, resignifying origins in both nationalistic and counter-national terms, it is a process of redistributive enactments through which individuals, recasting the time and space within different forms of chronological succession, assert different types of subjectivities. This process of articulation points to both the uses and limitations of European modernity in shaping daily lives and highlights complexities of reclassification within the context of larger orders of time and space.

Understanding the ways that different chronologies and spatialities are employed in a range of discursive strategies highlights how using geotemporal narratives allows agents to produce new mechanisms for charting counter-normative approaches to measuring reality. In an attempt to understand how normative practices gain the power to operate in domains outside of particular normative geographies, my goal is to explore the ways and the institutional means by which temporally and spatially contingent rules of conduct are differently established within the territoriality of the nation and circulate outside of it. Such an inquiry brings to the fore the dubious role of literary institutions in facilitating the standardization of identity, and therefore shaping the criteria for the transformation of governmentality from regimes of slavery, to precolonial orality, to that of modern nationalization. Within these changing governmental domains, the determinants for which practices are constituted as legitimate are directly connected to the ways that domains of knowledge are authorized as foundations of social practices.

In order to understand the ways that individuals reclassify identity within relations of power, we need to examine the ways that they both incorporate and recast prevailing ideologies of 19th-century science. Here we see how the teleology of scientific progress and evolution, signified as vertically constituted, are recast as horizontal or ancestrally recursive. This reorganization of objective reality, in which individuals are believed by some to be reincarnated into the world after their death, has implications for the ways in which social norms are shaped by particular technologies of knowledge. These cultural adaptations are just as strategic as they are symbolic and highlight Ọ̀yọ́túnjí attempts to reclassify the history of the Yorùbá within a continuum of social change. For, ultimately, Ọ̀yọ́túnjí practitioners' use of the Nigerian historical classics represents their search for an ancestral past which, based on both the consequences of slavery and British colonialism, benefits from the legitimatization of practice that emerged from particular institutions of hegemonic power.

Slavery, Colonialism and Institutions of Power

The history of the trans-Atlantic enslavement of African men and women transported to the Americas during the 15th to the 18th centuries was one in which African slaves were placed at the bottom of the human hierarchy and, categorized as chattel or property. As a result of the capture and enslavement of Africans dispersed during the trans-Atlantic slave trade, the basis for documenting the transfer of slaves from one place to the other did not involve the detailed documentation of enslaved Africans. Instead, although they listed ports of slave embarkation and disembarkation, as well as some given trade names or numbers, the majority of records which document in genealogical detail the continuity and ancestral succession of enslaved Africans are minimal if not non-existent. Much of the remaining evidence about those Africans who were enslaved and transported to the Americas consists of ship records that numerically list the enslaved bodies for trans-Atlantic trade, auctioneer records of slave advertisements and bills of sale. This erasure of African identities and their connection to African American family genealogies led to the dependence of African revivalists on textual knowledge. Despite this absence of historical specificity, beginning with the solidarity of racial membership through which

they retell their story of dispersal and precolonial nobility, members of Ọ̀yọ́túnjí Village-aligned communities actively reconstruct their African roots.

In the transition from premodern oral societies to modern colonial spheres of power where writing was central to the authority of knowledge, it was the structure of technologies of print capital that contributed to the production of literary institutions. The development of these institutions of modern knowledge fueled the massive processes of social change in modern Nigeria. These institutions set organizational standards for documenting truth and knowledge, thereby leading to the legitimatization of Nigerian history as textually documented and temporally specific. This, in turn, played a critical role in establishing the forms of knowledge that were necessary for the legitimacy of Yorùbá revivalist communities outside of Nigeria. Using these texts, communities of revivalist practitioners interested in reclaiming Yorùbá practices as their own and establishing rules of Yorùbá governmentality outside of Africa adapted this work within accepted discourses of historical science and truth. They borrowed from the institutional symbolic power of British colonial governance which played a critical role in ordering, standardizing and ultimately circulating knowledge about particular types of colonial subjects. This form of subject formation was not only constituted from a diverse African past, but was prominently resituated within the transition from orality to written texts and through a colonial governmental apparatus organized around the science of objective inquiry, intensive documentation and the possibility of uncovering a knowable subject. Ultimately, these processes of defining new subjectivities across geographic space and time were regulated by particular dictates of nation building that shaped both temporal and spatial determinants for classifying belonging and determining appropriate behaviour in relation to it.

The central issue is that the factors for determining which practices and histories are worthy of historical endorsement constituted the basis by which revivalist norms were shaped within institutions of power. By incorporating modern techniques of science and knowledge from which modern subject formations were developed, Yorùbá revivalists in the U.S. actively shaped the basis for producing new identities. But this process of invention is not a new phenomenon. The hypothesis that I am putting forward is that it was the influence of transnational forms of knowledge in Nigeria—the shift from indigenous oral forms to accessible circulating literary writings—that facilitated the generative locus of power that led to the privileging of Ọ̀yọ́-Yorùbá ancestry as the popular literary icon of African American revivalism. With the increasing significance of late 19th-century scientific inquiries deployed by native-born Africans, Nigerians participated in the documenting of human sciences and thereby contributed to the invention of a particular type of "Yorùbá history." The production of these histories took shape with the participation of large numbers of formerly enslaved Yorùbá speaking men and women from various parts of Southwestern Nigeria, especially the Old Ọ̀yọ́ region. The newly developing Yorùbá elite, who in documenting Nigerian history were themselves inserted into British colonial regimes, challenged not only the politics of historical representation, but also the pre-existing formations of values and principles that rested within Ọ̀yọ́-Yorùbá relations of power and knowledge. This process, mediated by the temporalities of modern subjectivities, led to the standardization of "the Yorùbá" as we know them and was allied with the development of the Nigerian nation. These subjectivities, intellectually framed in relation to an Ọ̀yọ́-Yorùbá historical imaginary, were recorded, published, standardized and ultimately circulated from literary texts to new oral forms and continue to form the basis for black American Yorùbá revivalist populations.

In examining changes in social meanings over time, it is important to locate the sites of variabililty and to question why they exist as such. What changes and which canonical tenets must remain the same for new meanings to be seen as legitimate? In identifying transnational mobility and the consequent mixing that emerges, we must necessarily distinguish between the ways in which emergent identities are facilitated by various techniques of governmentality which allow for particular forms of deterritorialized cultural production and delimits others. For to understand how some national re-classifications are accepted as legitimate, we must understand how, based on contemporary codes of classification, they are already allied within shared fields of power. These fields are embedded in historically complex webs that code geographic and temporal meanings in particular ways and exist both within and outside of the nation.

From Orality to the Written Word

Anthropologist, Jack Goody has speculated that the shift from orality to written language engendered a shift from the creative fluidity of oral knowledge to a recorded canon of stored and linear information within which incremental knowledge could be added (Goody, 1977). He argued that orality led to more variability than

engendered within literary texts. The debates concerning the extent to which written texts lend themselves to new interpretations, and variability within them, is not new to anthropological studies of culture and power, but they have significance for understanding the role of literary institutions in the production and maintenance of transnational cultural citizenship. Goody's explorations have import for theorizing transnational negotiations of cultural belonging as a facilitator of new forms of knowledge however, it misses the multiple layered complexities of global influences as well as the intersection between local domains of power. For even as interpretations of oral traditions that circulate locally may give analysts the impression that orality provides an intellectual ease with which new histories can be forged, written texts about dispersal, disappearance and ultimately dissolution also provide vehicles for innovation. This distinction highlights the flexibility of both written and oral knowledge and, in the context of my argument, points to the interplay between the institutional power of Protestant Christianity and British Colonial governmentality, and the science of historical models of inquiry.

This chapter has three parts. In the first, I begin by asking how a new zone of Yorùbá cultural production emerged in Nigeria as a consequence of British colonization and how related early to mid-20th-century anthropological conceptions of the village, as constitutive of a timeless place of traditional primitivity, have been incorporated by revivalist practitioners to establish Ọ̀yọ́túnjí as the modern city of Ọ̀yọ́. I look briefly at the standardization of a particular type of Yorùbá nationalism as an ideological and political force in which European colonial forces deployed particular forms of modernity which had the effect of contributing to the already developing formations of a sense of Nigerian national identity as a formal identity. This nationalist project which was set in motion by Christian missionaries had its greatest impact in the ideological (and not necessarily economic) domain. The next two sections of the chapter unfold with two key examples of how early ethnic and national identities were shaped by large communities of liberated slaves in Brazil, Cuba and Sierra Leone who resettled in Yorùbáland. I centre the first example of what I see as a politics of constructing a particular Yorùbá canon from which New World practitioners incorporate notions of authentic practice.

In understanding the role of various literary institutions in facilitating Yorùbá transnational linkages in the late 20th century, and in an attempt to understand how individuals use them to facilitate dominant forms of revivalist governmentality, the third section explore another form of change. I show how written texts, like oral narratives, which circulate through acts of interpretation, not only undergo significant historical variation, but also incorporate particular temporally linear forms of hegemonic symbolic capital. Such formats, mediated by the very modern codes of legitimacy that shape their intelligibility, erect the colonial subject as a participant in the documentation of his or her past.

By using two ethnographic examples that demonstrate how new temporalities and geographies are used by Yorùbá practitioners to both incorporate British colonial written codes while they also violate them, we see how new institutional histories of Yorùbá ancestral linkage have been reconceptualized by revivalist priests and clients who produce variation from written histories. For although these innovations are not always in alliance with dominant norms of print capital, they hold power through the commutation of shared racial codes to designations of African ancestry. These shifts, represented through African American reconfigurations of modern temporal and spatial codes as the basis for shared historical origins, take shape within abstractions of governmental jurisdictions. In understanding these transnational reconfigurations of citizenship as culturally and historically embedded, the more significant distinction, therefore, is between the incorporation of written narratives and the uses of orality to narrate redemption and slavery discourses as the site of incremental change and, therefore, as the basis for new narratives of descent.

Although colonial inscriptions of Nigerian Yorùbá history played a critical role in promoting some narratives over others, approaching the production of knowledge in terms of the hegemony of Nigerian state building alone demonstrates how some discourses carry the force of institutional power. In order to situate all histories as representations of innovations on multiple levels over time—highlighting what constitutes history, what is disregarded as history, or what elements are borrowed from historical canons—different historical versions of the past must be recognized as deeply enmeshed in the politics of capitalist modernity. For if history is useful insofar as it provides us with a point of reference for understanding long-standing social relationships, then exploring the complexities of reinventing history and their uses is equally critical. In contemporary revivalist communities such as Ọ̀yọ́túnjí, the leaders have, similarly, proscribed an "authentic" history of the Yorùbá, on one of the early histories written over a hundred years ago. Rather than focussing on a sustained search for the authentic past we need to examine the relationship between written histories and those histo-

ries by historians, local elite and individuals in their particular contexts. This is the task that modern scholarship written about the Yorùbá has traditionally set for itself. It is important to shift the problem altogether, following Hayden White's suggestion that "history is not a matter of 'truth,' but of the choice of a particular expository style that is itself determined historically." The benefit of treating written texts in the same way that we would oral texts is that it recasts the question not as how can we best derive the "authentic" past, but how we can understand the ways that authenticity is constructed within changing historical forms.

By examining the forces of legitimacy which shape what gets to count as "traditional" Ọ̀yọ́ history, we can see how what was regarded as the Ọ̀yọ́ nation in the 18th century was propelled by social, colonial and literary institutions that brought together individuals who shared similar sociopolitical and linguistic capital. As such, the formation of the category of people subsumed under Ọ̀yọ́ dominance came to be known as Yorùbá. Nevertheless, as an ancestral sign of both political prestige and a place from which captives of war originated—the concept of Yorùbá identity changed over time. As we shall see, British colonial literary institutions, as they worked in alliance with early Nigerian scholars, played a major role in the standardization of these conceptual organizations within written historical texts. This development of modern literacy was a means of assembling knowledge in particular ways. It contributed to interrelationships between European regimes of knowledge and power with various assemblages of local knowledge. In this vein, I turn to two sites of Yorùbá cultural production: the first is the history of the demise of the Ọ̀yọ́ Empire that led to nation building in colonial Nigeria; the second is the development of a Yorùbá community in Ọ̀yọ́túnjí Village that uses 19th-century colonial history to reconstruct its ancestral past. I highlight these two cases to examine the way that the same written history has been used differently in two locales and have been shaped by convergent and divergent relations of symbolic and material power. The power relations embedded in each community have given rise, out of the same texts, to inventions of belonging that have markedly different spatial and temporal contours and that demonstrate how history-making is inextricably bound to institutional domains of power—both with varying terms of legitimacy.

Although choice is enacted in both examples, connections to European modernity led to the production of written sources upon which Yorùbá revivalist concepts, histories and spatial arrangements were framed. Through the process of documentation, the knowing subject became the historically informed subject. Genealogies of family roots were embedded in textually documented sources. Identity classification became a matter of the state. The study of race developed from a long history of 17th and 18th century biological and social analysis. And alongside these productions of Yorùbá ethnic history were notions of racial difference. I end by demonstrating how Yorùbá revivalists in the U.S. have reconstructed black Americanness in an attempt to reconfigure their connections to West African ancestry. By employing taxonomies of racial difference in order to claim black homogeneity across national boundaries, revivalists both use the techniques of British modernity and reorient them in order to chart new meanings.

Literacy, Enlightenment and European Modernity

In northern West African cities such as Katsina, recorded history extended as far back as AD 1000, however, what little has been recorded about the Yorùbá of Southwestern Nigeria prior to the 19th century exists only in the eyewitness accounts of early missionaries and travellers who wrote cataclysmic descriptions of warfare and Empire rule. In villages along the West African coast, as in other early societies prior to the 18th century, in which writing was unknown, or where only a minority of people—clerks, bishops, the wealthy classes—were engaged in the reading and writing of texts, the art of oratory flourished (Akinnaso, 1985; Barber, 1991). The nucleus of daily knowledge emerged from the ritual authority of the local chiefs and social values were reproduced and encoded within the form and content of oral genres such as songs, divinatory verses, mythic tales and adages (Goody, 1980; Kay, 1977). Embedded in a complex system of multilayered rule, the quotidian gained knowledge through collaborations with diviners, elders and governing councils.

By 1838,[3] European missionaries, explorers, traders, settlers and government officials of the colonial regime stationed in Yorùbáland worked on stabilizing pre-existing treaties for commercial and political alliances. These inquisitors documented pre-existing social spheres with the goal of gaining dominance over political and economic resources as well as religious moral orders. Conversion to Christianity and the development of individual relationships with missionaries involved the substitution of indigenous superstitions with the grandeur of various technologies—clocks, books, compasses. Many relied on parallels with indigenous occult or magical beliefs in order to prepare them to employ what seemed to be com-

parable magical technologies of knowledge for the sake of achieving political influence. The Ẹ̀gbá and Efik chiefs, representing prominent Yorùbá speaking clans in the Southwestern region of Yorùbáland, welcomed missionaries and new techniques of knowledge as an instrument to achieve political ends (E.A. Ayandele,1966: xviii; Williams, 2001).

Among those Africans who attended Christian educational institutions during the mid-19th century and eventually converted to Christianity, most adopted principles of Christianity through the force of new technologies of institutional knowledge. These technologies of literary knowledge worked to establish the moral grounds on which particular types of modern subjects were produced. Notions of liberty, justice, individual accountability to society and the nation were shaped with the development of Nigerian civil society. By entering Christian Missions they planted seeds of nationalism as a way to transform the region, early converts to Christianity were introduced to the goals of nation-building in Europe, first by Christian missionaries and then by British officials.[4] However, many envisioned black self-government independently from Colonial rule, arguing that they were fit to represent themselves on the international arena.

Despite African participation in Christian missions, there was considerable disagreement among missionaries about whether it would be more effective to teach Christianity to non-Europeans, often classified as "uncivilized" people, or whether it would be best to "civilize" them first. If the latter, many felt that with the acquisition of European civility Africans would evolve in such a way that they would "naturally" become Christians—something that they thought they could not learn without this training.[5] With discourses of civility as a central component of Christian conversion, both British missionaries and African converts proselytized with the goal of eradicating native traditional ways and implementing new moral practices. These practices formed the basis for the development of legal codes under which both converts to Christianity and non-converts were expected to abide.

Yorùbá missionaries contributed centrally to the widespread understandings of Yorùbá life through their participation in transforming modern Nigerian nationhood. By the late 1800s, Christian missions were key revolutionizing institutions that further propelled the formation of the Nigerian colonial state within newly forming regions. Among the Yorùbá, the once prominent gods known as the *Òrìṣà* and organized around ideas of ancestral continuity and reincarnation gave way to a mass movement of Christian conversion in the non-Muslim areas of what was to become the southwestern region of Nigeria.[6] In the south, the transformation was slower and the reaction of Òrìṣà practitioners and royal monarchs to missionaries often depended on personal and political incentives that in some cases were achieved through their building of alliances with British colonial forces. As a result, Africans exposed to literacy adopted various forms of knowledge, thereby participating in spreading literacy throughout Yorùbáland.

In order to participate in what was increasingly seen as a Christian civilizing mission, increasing numbers of Christian missionaries migrated from Europe to the newly developing British colonial nation. The changes, though propelled by Christian missionaries and later by British colonial institutions, contributed to the processes of nation-building. The eventual penetration of late 19th-century Christianization was facilitated by nation-building and print capitalism. For although the spread of literacy was facilitated by the expansion of Christian missions, the development of Nigerian statehood served as one of the key facilitators of the colonization of the Yorùbá.

These new processes of production were deployed through a range of social, economic and legal-political institutions. Under indirect rule the British annexed coastal towns and subdivided kingdoms in order to promote colonial governance. Nigerian chiefs, working under new forms of governance, assisted in the enforcement and imposition of governing regulations, collection of taxes, and documentation of social life. The political economy of the growing British regime along the coastal areas eventually penetrated formerly dominant Yorùbá administrative districts. This included the establishment of Nigerian civil society that, in theory, separated the state from religious rule and led to the eventual British take-over of the region now known as Nigeria. Nevertheless, British direct rule of the early 20th century reduced the authority of the former chiefs, undermined indirect colonial governance by replacing it with indirect mechanisms of governmentality. This turn of governance was maintained by British economic control of resources and land and played a central role in the development of the new governing institutions that shaped Nigerian civil society.

With the growing development of national colonial institutions, print capital served as a useful technique of governance. It involved the circulation of particular notions of civil society which were enmeshed in principles of Protestant Christianity the institutionalization of particular ideas about the redeemable individual in relation to society that presumed human life as embedded in

linear properties of succession. This development of notions of subjectivity in relation to civility set new standards for a critical arena of knowledge acquisition that involved the training, governance and accountability of the subject and had the consequence of circulating certain forms of European bourgeois moral codes.

However, scholars such as A.B. Ellis (1894) and Leo Frobenius (1913) were among the first Western scholars instrumental in writing comprehensively about the Yorùbá people. In their attempt to trace the origins of the Yorùbá to migration patterns from Ancient Egypt, they set the framework for a genealogy of Yorùbá descent that persists in both formal and informal origin stories today. With the circulation of knowledge, spread through these developing secular and non-secular literary institutions, populations were enumerated, classified and racial codes were legitimized as constituting fundamental differences. The shift from indigenous approaches of governmentality to principles of European civil society involved the replacement of clan accountability with individual accountability to both God and the law. Despotic rulers were given new jurisdiction over populations and new moral standards and policing of personal practices were imposed regional colonial subjects. Individual actions were legally constituted through the language of individualism, choice, justice and accountability. Notions of life and death, and its related rituals, were taken from the domain of the community, becoming a matter of the state and the law. Practices such as human sacrifice and suicide were outlawed and instead, particularly in the Southern Nigeria, new notions of the individual and society were recast within the formation of a secular state that rested on Christian temporalities and Protestant moral codes.

In the process of establishing a secular nation, Nigerian Colonial government officials eventually adopted new codes for defining national ethnic identities that conflated pre-existing linguistic, ethnic and religious affiliations in the region that became known as Nigeria. The regions invested in non-secular governmental rule, such as that of the Muslims in the north, for example, eschewed the idea of a secular non-Muslim government. However, this exclusion of the presence of Islam in Nigerian state-building is a critical example of the ways that Protestant webs of power are established along ideological governmental alliances.

Recent approaches to theorizing modernity in Nigeria have highlighted its role not only in contributing to the production of standardizing mechanisms, but also in pointing to the production of human evolutionary differences through the use of scientific approaches. British colonial nation-building, fueled along racial lines, involved the creation of distinctions between African subjects and British citizens. These forms of differentiation and reorganization have implications for the ways that we understand the role of literary institutions as facilitators of governance and accountability. For such distinctions in the production of national identity were germinal, not so much for the way that Samuel Johnson was to circumscribe the Yorùbá as unified, but also for forging the basis for racial difference and establishing the virtues of honourable behavior for the communities of the diaspora in the 20th century. In the next section, I demonstrate that Yorùbá returnees reproduced Ọyọ́-dominant histories which led to the normalization of particular practices. These, in turn, shaped the ways that Yorùbá revivalists, in an attempt to institutionalize placement in displacement, adopted colonial grand narratives about the Yorùbá past from which they generalized about Nigerian society as a whole. This construction of a Yorùbá ethnic identity was a process brought about in large measure by the development of various classificatory institutions which shaped the basis for racial, thus nationally distinct, territorial differences.

Missionary Returnees, Print Capital and the Circulation of Moral Subjectivities

The formation and regulation of the modern concept of national identity, therefore, was a recent innovation that emerged along side Christianity and was facilitated by the spread of print capitalism. By the mid-1800s, many Yorùbá returnees, once enslaved captives, returned as freemen to their countries of birth from locations such as Sierra Leone and Brazil to Yorùbáland. Much of the impetus toward the formalization of written Yorùbá, as well as the translation of Yorùbá oral texts to English texts, and vice versa, was driven by the involvement of returnees who participated in developing national institutions (Matory, 1999). With the temporal and conceptual ordering that Christianity offered and after many years of British training, these early missionaries, once sold to white European traders, were schooled abroad and converted to Christianity.

One such missionary was Samuel Crowther. Enslaved and freed by a British intercepting ship in 1822, he, along with thousands of other captives, was taken to Sierra Leone where he became an Anglican missionary. Upon returning to his homeland, he participated in building early literary institutions by publishing the first history of Yorùbáland. In 1843, Crowther was instrumental in the development of a Yorùbá orthography—a writing system that continues to be

used in Nigeria today and that led to the standardization of Yorùbá as a language.

The process of standardizing Yorùbá as a written and translatable language involved the merger of the Ẹ̀gbá lexicon with a predominantly Ọ̀yọ́ morphology and syntax (Adetugbo, 1967; Ajayi, 1960; Matory, 1999). The result was the formation of an official language that resembled the dialect used by a range of men from the Lagos ex-captive returnee communities to the Ọ̀yọ́-political elite. Although there is significant evidence to suggest that most Yorùbá speakers who were once under the rule of the Ọ̀yọ́ Empire of the early 19th century saw themselves as distinctly Ẹ̀gbá, Ìjèbú, Èkìtì or Ọ̀yọ́, most subjects of the British crown claimed belonging not to the newly developing colonial state but to a standardized ethnic category under which Nigerian national identity was constituted.[7] Through the formalization of the Yorùbá language, Crowther greatly influenced the ways in which members of the Church Missionary Society used Yorùbá and therefore legitimized it within British Colonial spheres of power. For, prior to the 19th century, neither a unified national identity nor a linguistic identity known as Yorùbá existed under such a name.[8] Nineteenth century linguistic categories that were subsumed under either Yorùbá or Hausa governmental enclaves, were eventually subsumed under the domain of 20th-century categories of Nigerian nationhood. Yorùbá returnees played critical roles in contributing to the standardization of Yorùbá ethnicity and, in developing the infrastructure for various institutions of knowledge. And it is Samuel Crowther, however, who is today credited for popularizing the term, Yorùbá, for popular usage.

Other projects on which Crowther and his colleagues embarked included the formation of Christian educational institutions, training institutes and venues of higher learning, such as universities which added to the hierarchies of knowledge and separated the learned scholars from the non-literate classes. They formalized land deeds, produced taxation papers, translated *The Bible*[9] and adopted British historical formats by using budding scholars documented and incorporated local lore and myth within modern scientific investigations, creating innovative approaches to producing historical knowledge.

Two early English publications included a list of the Kings of Lagos since the late 18th century, documented by Reverend C.A. Gollmer in 1877, and under the title, *Historical Notices of Lagos, West Africa.* Another prepared by Reverend J.B. Wood published in 1878, charted the history of Lagos from its origins to the 1861 British annexation. These publications, written by a small pioneering elite who participated in the early literary production of written texts, circulated as authorial documents about Nigerian history. Other Nigerian returnees included such people as John Olawunmi George, John Augustus Payne and Samuel Johnson, all of whom played key roles in the transformation of the Nigerian colonial state (Falola, 1993; Matory, 1999; Moraes and Barber, 1990). In an attempt to document early nationalist history, all became teachers and linguists, contributing to the newly forming Nigerian literary community. John Augustus Payne, an Ìjèbú-native, also a former captive who was exiled in Sierra Leone, returned to Yorùbáland and produced a comprehensive study published in the 1890s. In the years following his return to Yorùbáland, he served in the British Administration in Lagos where in 1893 he published, *Table of Principal Events in Yorùbá History,* and, from 1874, published annually the *Lagos and West African Almanac and Diary.* Similarly, as a member of one of the early societies of educated young men, John Olawunmi George, also a returnee who was exiled in Sierra Leone, lectured locally, eventually becoming a prominent Lagos-based Christian merchant. He authored a short book about the history of the Yorùbá from their origins to the Yorùbáland wars of the 1800s.[10] His work described the Yorùbá ethnic groups, Ẹ̀gbás, Ketus, Ọ̀yọ́s as homogeneous, "of one stock" (1875: 18) and described the Yorùbá Empire as a Kingdom which incorporated many tribes and countries, and one which described the destruction of the Empire as caused by invasions by Fulani Muslim groups. Although George's historiography attempts to generalize about Yorùbá history, it is regionally shaped and based on the power and uniformity of the Ọ̀yọ́ Empire and not the differences within it.

Reverend Samuel Johnson, a native of Ọ̀yọ́ and also a former captive freed in Sierra Leone, was educated in missionary schools facilitated by the Christian Missionary Society (CMS). His *The History of the Yorùbá (1921)* became one of the most authoritative publications written about the Yorùbá of Southwestern Nigeria. Inspired by his interest in highlighting the role of Christianity in promoting changes in traditional practices, it was a story about Christian redemption and served to formalize popular knowledge about Yorùbá traditions. It is no surprise that the historical and intellectual canon to which global practitioners, tourists and a range of historians in the Americas refer includes his works alongside those of his contemporaries, sociologist N.A. Fadipe, and American anthropologist, the late William Bascom.

Johnson, along with other literate Yorùbá returnees and members of the late 19th- and early 20th-century

intellectual classes, participated in the shaping of the burgeoning historical canon that came to be characterized as Yorùbá history. But, it was through the influence of various institutions, such as publishing houses, schools and missionary establishments, that there developed ethnic categories within which distinct forms of differentiation prevailed. With the shift in the economy from mercantile to early capitalist monetary systems of exchange and with the rise of print capital, the determinants for what was published and by whom was connected to a highly selective political and economic process governed both within and outside of the colony. Additionally, because of the magnitude of racial discrimination that fuelled the conceptual apparatus within which Johnson and his colleagues worked, they were both within and outside of colonial institutions.

Johnson's *History of the Yorùbá* presents examples of how new and differentiated fields of knowledge were legitimated under conditions of British governmental influence and within the specificities of local Yorùbá politics. It was the displacement of older forms of indigenous governmentality with the influx of British colonial institutional power, emphatically coded within codes of racial difference, that new forms of knowledge merged with international power. Notions of racial difference in colonial Nigeria were not free from Protestant institutional moral injunctions and global codes of ordering. By reproducing these Christian injunctions, Nigerian nationalists superimposed their goals onto pre-existing kinship and linguistic alliances. And since race did not supplant them, the axes onto which racial distinctions were forged converged within the newly shaped religious-ethnic relations.[11] In transforming oral histories into literary texts, as well as in translating English literary texts into Yorùbá, these elite classes of scribes and returnee missionaries adopted British epistemological approaches to initiate changes to various forms of indigenous knowledge. This, in turn, contributed to significant changes in the lives of village societies along the West African coast in which traditional conceptions of ethnic and religious identity shifted into differentiated identities. Such differentiated subjectivities were constructed with distinctive values and performed different purposes, as evidenced in the publication of Johnson's groundbreaking work. An analysis of the Christianization of Yorùbá history, as reconstituted by early Yorùbá scholars, moves us away from the overt politics of ethnicity, race and nation. Instead, as *The History of the Yorùbá* illustrates, looking at this past through the lens of British imperialism produced the illusion of Yorùbá homogeneity in the reality of heterogeneity. Yet, by privileging of black solidarity, and thus demarcating racial difference, revivalist practitioners reconstruct the temporal geography of the Nigerian past as they create new distinctions within it. These politics take shape through the strategic uses of historical texts and have great import for understanding not only the site of variability within textual documents, but also the ways that institutions of power shape the mechanisms by which knowledge is legitimized. For if the mechanisms of power that through written texts led to the symbolic production of a unified concept of the Yorùbá people were facilitated by the development of international print capital, then the 20th-century development of literary institutions was also influenced by the absence of literary regional differentiation and the temporal underpinnings characteristic of the modern liberal subject. As I demonstrate in the next section that at the core of this Yorùbá literary canon used by African American practitioners is a politics of difference, even as they depend on the symbolism of black homogeneity.

Samuel Johnson: Nigerian Nationhood, Ọ̀yọ́-Centricity and the Politics of Difference

The historical range of Johnson's book, *The History of the Yorùbá*, spans a period that exceeds four hundred years. Using mythic tales and historical documentation, his account of pre-18th-century wars and successions, practices and customs was based on the lore of the Yorùbá people. Submitted to a publisher in 1899, Johnson's manuscript, *The History of the Yorùbá* was neither published, nor was it acknowledged as being received. After Johnson's death in 1901, his brother reconstructed the lost manuscript using the notes left behind. Not only does the correspondence between Yorùbá intellectuals suggest that gaining access to publishing resources were extremely difficult, but the mysterious disappearance of Johnson's manuscript suggests that there may have been attempts to subvert the publication of a text focussed on specific details of Yorùbá life. Johnson's process of recording Yorùbá history was to systematically document information in relation to scientific approaches to causation and consequence. His intellectual effort was in alignment with both protestant aspirations for humanity and the principles of Western Enlightenment.[12] Identifying ancestor reincarnation as based on the primitivism of the old ways, he relegated Yorùbá deities to the category of myths and lore. With the eventual publication of *The History of the Yorùbá* in 1921, along with the range of historical analyses of earlier writers, the emergent Yorùbá canon formalized the institutional terms by which Ọ̀yọ́-Yorùbá history would

be consolidated as Yorùbá history for an increasingly interested international audience.[13]

Johnson charted the story of the decline of the Ọ̀yọ́ Empire as taking place prior to the British takeover of Western Nigeria. He detailed the Ọ̀yọ́ Empire as being at its height from the early 18th to the early 19th century. The Empire was ruled by, as he described it, "a ruthless Aláàfin" (king) who collected tribute from the kingdoms which he annexed under his control (including groups such as the Ègbá, Ègbádò, Nàgó, Aja, Ewe, Adangbe and the Ga) (1959: 42). Johnson's reproduction of this history[14] is an attempt to clarify the concentric circles of Yorùbá lore by recasting the history of the Yorùbá through the lens of historical objectivity and is central to his struggle for representation in the burgeoning British colonial state. The passage that I will analyze is an attempt to explore how the history of what was to be the Nigerian nation was shaped not simply by members of excluded and marginalized groups. Rather, the historiography of the Yorùbá, which formed the foundation for the historical canon that circulates today, emerged from individuals who belonged to a developing ethnic group whose narratives of the past expressed the characteristics of Protestant liberal values central to British colonial governance. As shown by Johnson's account, his description of the dishonourable acts of jealousy by the Ọ̀yọ́ prince, Abíọ́dún, led to Abíọ́dún's acts of alliance with "outsiders." This alliance, he explains, eventually led to the weakening of the Ọ̀yọ́-Yorùbá political and military apparatus, governed by King Aole.

In charting a historical trajectory of flaws in the execution of Ọ̀yọ́-Yorùbá ancestral succession, Johnson explained that the region known today as modern Nigeria dates back to a period more than two thousand years ago. This was a time when Nok cultural practices flourished and where in AD 1000 Hausa Kingdoms and the Bomu Empire prospered as a centre of trade between North African Berbers and the local forest dwellers. With the establishment of the Dahomean Kingdom two hundred years later, the Ọ̀yọ́ and Benin Kingdoms four hundred years later, and subsuming both the Benin and Dahomey kingdoms between the 17th and 19th centuries, the Ọ̀yọ́ kingdom rose to its heights between the 17th and 18th century, becoming the Ọ̀yọ́ Empire, thereby achieving high levels of political government.

Marking the tragic end of the Ọ̀yọ́ Empire as beginning with quarrels concerning kinship succession and the loss of honour, Johnson linked the rise in the Islamic crusade of the 19th century (which led to the formation of an Islamic centre of governance located in the Nigerian northern city of Sokoto) to the internal problems with egocentrism and the loss of noble honour for Yorùbá subjects. Explaining the succession with metaphors that described the rise and fall of the Ọ̀yọ́ Empire in linear terms, he detailed the ways that the revolt at Ilorin[15] was the manifestation of Àfọ̀njá's success at mobilizing local and foreign (read Muslim) armies to overthrow the Aláàfin of Ọ̀yọ́. In an attempt to argue that it was the problems with succession that led to the downfall of the Ọ̀yọ́ Empire, Johnson demonstrated that none of King Abíọ́dún's sons succeeded him on the throne. Instead, the installation of King Aolé was reallocated to a cousin rather than to a son. In other words, it was King Abíọ́dún's cousin, Prince Aolé, who was elected as Aláàfin (Ọba or king)—rather than King Abíọ́dún's eldest son—Àfọ̀njá. King Abíọ́dún's son was given the title *Baṣọ̀run*, but as a Prince (through his mother's line) the new title was below the rank that he had already achieved. Therefore, he rejected his given title and demanded the highest military title, *Kakanfò the Àfọ̀njá of Ilorin*, which he claimed by force.[16]

For Johnson, it was Àfọ̀njá—alone—who was depicted as the king's enemy. Johnson explained that King Aole's actions were intelligently calculated since to have mishandled the situation would have led to an even more destructive situation—and probably civil war. Instead, he explained that the King gave King Abíọ́dún's eldest son the royal title "the Àfọ̀njá of the city of Ilorin" (1921: 188-190). In the passage that follows, Johnson represents the death of *Kakanfò Oyabi* as the beginning of the end of Ọ̀yọ́ governance. Explaining that the Ọ̀yọ́ Empire was under siege by insubordinate forces, he states:[17]

> Several weeks passed and they were still encamped before Ọ̀yọ́ irresolute as to what they should do next. At last an empty covered calabash was sent to the King—for his head! A plain indication that he was rejected. He had suspected this all along and was not unprepared for it. There being no alternative, His Majesty set his house in order; but before he committed suicide, he stepped out on the palace quadrangle with face stern and resolute, carrying in his hands an earthenware dish and three arrows. He shot one to the North, one to the South, and one to the West uttering those ever-memorable imprecations "My curse be on yea for your disloyalty and disobedience, so let your children disobey you. If you send them on an errand, let them never return to bring you word again. To all the points I shot my arrows will yea be carried as slaves. My curse will carry you to the sea and beyond the seas, slaves will rule over you, and you, their masters will become slaves. (1921: 192)

The trope of the fractured calabash represents the symbolic splintering of the Yorùbá people due to their lack of honour and their consequent display of greed and egocentrism. The calabash is, thus, symbolic of the popular perception of the homogeneity of the Yorùbá and the dispersal of its pieces is a reflection of their enslavement and disenfranchisement. The rise and fall of the Ọ̀yọ́ Empire reflects dominant renditions of the ways that the Yorùbá have come to be seen popularly—as a homogenous group that was "invaded by strangers" within the borders of their governance. We can see how Johnson's narrative of Yorùbá sameness was shaped through his deployment of Yorùbá unity. For Johnson's classification of Muslims as invaders further reproduced a meta-narrative about Yorùbá homogeneity that located the concept of Yorùbá Muslims as a contradiction in terms, thereby re-inscribing particular tropes of Ọ̀yọ́-Christian inclusion and Islamic marginalization. And in addition to this elision, there were five modern-day Nigerian provinces—Ìbàdàn, Ọ̀yọ́, Abẹ́òkúta, Ìjẹ̀bú and Òǹdó—which were home to multicultural subgroups of Yorùbá speaking people. The residents of these subgroups had distinct Yorùbá dialects and were highly diverse. This marginalization of Muslims and homogenization of Yorùbá identity assumes a particular type of Ọ̀yọ́ unification.

Ilé-Ifẹ̀ was the city popularly represented by most scholars as the birthplace of the Yorùbá—Johnson charted Ọ̀yọ́ as the force of Yorùbá greatness and noble honour. Not only does this approach make secondary the symbolism of Ilé-Ifẹ̀ as the birthplace of modern Yorùbá, but, it further reinforces age-old rivalries between Ọ̀yọ́ and Ilé-Ifẹ̀. Many late 19th-century historians and early 20th-century sociologists tended to adopt one of the following versions of Ọ̀yọ́ or Ilé-Ifẹ̀-centred prominence narratives.[18] One narrative posits that the mythic god, Odùduwà, settled in Ilé-Ifẹ̀, having arrived from the Far East. Odùduwà's children and grandchildren are said to have dispersed throughout Yorùbáland. Over centuries, they became the rulers of the many Yorùbá kingdoms. Samuel Johnson is among those who decried this history and instead argued that the origins of Yorùbá culture began at Ilé-Ifẹ̀, where human kind was created and that the Ọ̀yọ́ Empire was the site of Yorùbá prestige. What distinguishes the two narratives from each other is that the first posits Ilé-Ifẹ̀'s prestige as a product of the colonization of the Yorùbá by "outsiders"—Muslims. The second recasts Ọ̀yọ́, and not Ilé-Ifẹ̀, as the site of Yorùbá prestige and reign. Although by recasting the birth of Ilé-Ifẹ̀[19] as a home place for the Yorùbá, and Ọ̀yọ́ as the place where the Yorùbá exercised power and flourished, both narratives maintain that Ilé-Ifẹ̀ was the place where the Yorùbá people came to see themselves as a unified people. Johnson's own motive for placing Ọ̀yọ́ as the site of prestige might stem from his own status as the grandson of King Abíọ́dún. For Ọ̀yọ́túnjí practitioners, claiming Ọ̀yọ́ provided an opportunity for legitimating their connection through their slave dispersal and, therefore, their nobility based on their connection to King Aole and his royalty.

Johnson enacted his version of the origins of the Yorùbá people through a number of literary constructions. First, by de-centring the mythic personage of Ilé-Ifẹ̀ onto *Mọrèmi*, (Jephtha) the mythic wife of one of the ancient heroes of Ilé-Ifẹ̀ and *Odùduwà* (Òrányàn), instead of endowing Ife with the prestige of origins and, therefore, a more prominent martyr, Johnson contributed to the construction of the symbolic imagery of Old Ọ̀yọ́, and not Ife, as the place of Yorùbá greatness.

Johnson claimed that the figures of *Mọrèmi* and *Odùduwà*, respectively, were actually Jephtha and *Òrányàn*, the deified mother and father of Ọ̀yọ́, whose two sons, *Ajaka* and *Ṣàngó*, succeeded them and became famous in the history of the Ọ̀yọ́ Yorùbá people (1921: 148). By making animal sacrifices to the gods of Ife and sacrificing her only son, Ṣàngó, Johnson shows that *Mọrèmi* protected the people of her town from the repeated raids of competing outsiders, such as the Ìgbò tribes. This act made her a heroine of the Ilé-Ifẹ̀ nation. By decentring the importance of Mọrèmi, Johnson is able to foreground the deification of Shango, the patron Òrìṣà of Ọ̀yọ́, and highlight the centrality of Ọ̀yọ́, and not Ilé-Ifẹ̀, as an icon of the Yorùbá past.

Second, Johnson's description of the spatial and political organization of Ilé-Ifẹ̀ contrasts with his description of the grandeur of the king of Ọ̀yọ́, the Aláàfin and renders Ilé-Ifẹ̀ secondary in grandeur to that of Ọ̀yọ́. According to Johnson, the Aláàfin of Ọ̀yọ́ lived in an exquisite palace surrounded by his administrators and non-royal servant residents. The government and social structure were based on a hierarchy of political officials, an Ògbóni cult, diviners and a chief priest of Ifa. This is not true of his description of Ilé-Ifẹ̀.

Third, although other historical accounts attribute the downfall of the Ọ̀yọ́ Empire to a range of factors, Johnson indicts Àfọ̀njá for causing the Òwu war which led to the eventual succession of Old Ọ̀yọ́ by the Fulani. Ultimately, it is Àfọ̀njá's ruthless egotism that Johnson sees as the primary cause. In Johnson's account, Àfọ̀njá's greed and recklessness led him to do almost anything, including inviting Muslim Fulani and Hausa foreigners from the north to join forces with him in

order to wage a war against King Aole. For Johnson, not even the symbolism of King Aole's metaphoric curse, a symbol of the enslavement and dispersal of the Yorùbá people, was represented as a dishonourable form of retaliation. Rather, he blamed Aole's actions on Àfọ̀njá for, according to Johnson, the homogeneity of the Ọ̀yọ́-Yorùbá government was wrongly dismantled as a result of the 1810 revolt at Ilorin.

Finally, Johnson not only construed Àfọ̀njá as the main cause of the Òwu War, but he identified the events surround the Òwu War, itself, as the leading cause of the Ọ̀yọ́ Empire's downfall. In depicting the Òwu War as the source of the fragmentation of the Yorùbá people, Johnson upheld the centrality of Ọ̀yọ́ as the primary hub of both Yorùbá origins and demise. Àfọ̀njá's actions, such as the joining of forces with external Islamic powers at the beginning of the Òwu War, were represented by Johnson as indicators of greed and disrespect for empire while he describes King Aole's deliverance of the deadly curse and act of suicide as heroic martyrdom. Nevertheless, contemporary Yorùbá historians have noted that a range of factors such as shifts in mercantile consumption, British Colonialism, and the growing power of the Hausa states in the north contributed to the demise of the Empire.

The existence of two different regimes for the circulation of knowledge and the circulation of principles of governance requires analyses that make distinctions between the spheres of power that co-existed during the writing of late 18th- to 19th-century history and British interventions into Yorùbá governmentality. The intersection of these regimes of power defines the parameters within which individuals determine relations of belonging.

The act of emphasizing the "once homogenous, ever powerful Yorùbá Empire" and the consequent dispersal and/or enslavement of Ọ̀yọ́ men and women made the centrality of Ọ̀yọ́ a key component of the Yorùbá "homeland" imaginary. Unlike Johnson, however, Ọ̀yọ́túnjí use of Ọ̀yọ́-centred Yorùbá history has produced an insistent desire for redemption through which individuals realign themselves with the West African past. The prevailing discourse, as is often the case in oral discourses, describes a narrative of anteriority in which, before the demise of West African Empires, Africans were once noble kings and queens. These discourses provide possibilities for reconceptualizing the literary production of Yorùbá origins and its transnational metaphors of dispersal as constitutive of the ways that slavery and histories of dispersal can be detached from geographical space and symbolically rerouted to different places. These metaphors are articulated through temporal and spatial convergences and for the purposes of legitimizing their geotemporal connection to the honour and prestige of the past, Ọ̀yọ́túnjí practitioners lay claim to Ọ̀yọ́ ancestry, therefore repositioning black Americans (and not simply White European slave traders) as complicit in their own enslavement.

In *Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel* (1981), Mikhail Bakhtin examined how time and space fold into each other in specific literary genres. He explored the diversity of chronotopes (literally meaning the simultaneity of time/space) and their varied representations. One component of the chronotope, time, takes on diverse forms—cyclical time and linear time. Cyclical time, he argued, is reoccurring and locates events outside of the standards of human mortality as we know it. Linear time, on the other hand, lacks cyclicity and ties perceived reality to the human scale. Space, the other component of the chronotope, is changed with the movement of time and is used to define place in terms connected to the perceived relative stability of the written form. Such chronotopes, although reversible and interchanging, carry with them a degree of cultural specificity that limits the ways that new social rules order interpretive logic (Bahktin, 1981: 84; Gilroy, 1993: 199; Irvine, 1996: 258; Stewart, 1996: 11). These specificities shape the cultural codes of a native's world, thereby explaining their states of "being" as well as legitimizing them. However, even as forms of time change from linear to cyclical and space to particular meanings of place, both the written and spoken word are characterized by an intrinsic connection, albeit abstract, between spatial and temporal narrative techniques. It is the chronotope that Johnson and other Yorùbá returnees transformed to shape new perceptions of Yorùbá history. This chronotopic incorporation of modern British peculiarities of linear time and abstract space produced not only new codes within which to interpret social norms, but also new forms of rhetorically structured communicative practices from which new standards for measuring belonging were established.

Ultimately, the codes of modernity which took shape in Nigeria involved the ideological separation of linear time from cyclical time, and three-dimensional responsiveness of space to the recognizability of place. But, it is not simply orality that was subjected to this form of variation, but rather the opposite. The ideological reconfiguration of state-based civil society, shaped by the peculiarities of modern life, transformed precolonial African governance into an international bourgeois order secured within the capitalist relations that shaped it. As I demonstrated, the scope of civil society and the

developing nation state shaped its legal, political and educational orders on the fixity of modern chronotopes. The contemporary manifestation of this invention has become so abstract that the chronotopic variables that in the past century radically remade the "real," did so in such a way that achieved the homogenization of time as linear time. Written texts gained meanings from the standardization of distinctive expectations of stability and virtues of truth through the structure of textual authority. As a result, narratives of civility, morality and honour, as they were embedded in the written histories of the Yorùbá, were, even with their Africanized resonance, structural extensions of European modernity.

The goal of unifying analytically the global importation of modern European organizational principles with local social and political action is to demonstrate how everyday practices follow the same spatial and temporal conjunctures of the past and how the specificities of local history shape the particularities of interpretive variation. These chronotopic variations which ultimately set the terms for different relations of belonging are geotemporal. They represent people's processes of employing chronotopic connections to reconfigure "reality" against which they recast European modern chronotopes and reuse them in order rework them. These complex practices—dialogic and dialectical—have implications for governmentality—that is, for the forces of power that shape the determinants for how people's lives should be lived on a daily basis. Although individuals engaged in related geotemporal processes are intentionally participating in distinctive acts of normative reconfigurations, they do so by building upon the very principles and form that they are undermining in the first place.

The Ọba of Ọ̀yọ́túnjí Village and his constituents in South Carolina and throughout the U.S. are no different. In an attempt to recast their membership to Africa, they also employ chronotopic techniques that are interwoven with modern rules and order. These chronotopic strategies shape their world through the incorporation of the familiar of everyday life in a world partially unfamiliar to them. Despite these disjunctures, they use particular concepts of identity and racial subjectivity that not only emerged out of the history of European modern nation building, but that also structure their everyday life. These concepts are interwoven with contemporary rules of order in ways that blur the binary between the "real world" and "imaginary."

To conclude my analysis, I now turn to my final example of the specificity of modern subject formations that employ particular rules of British colonial governance in non-colonial contexts. Ọ̀yọ́túnjí revivalists tie chronotopes of modern human life to the temporality and spatiality of African worlds in a way that presumes congruence in the midst of structural incongruence. What is important to note is not only the rhetorical and historical devices that revivalists use to reconfigure Yorùbá transnational belonging, but the ways that the orator used the written text itself to embark on a transnational return to a imaginary "source."

Revivalist Governmentality: Conduct and Spatial and Temporal Linkages

One summer day, an open air town meeting (known as an *Obánjóko*)[20] was announced. The beating of the drums accentuated the imminent appearance of the main speaker, the Ọba of Ọ̀yọ́túnjí Village. Dressed in white or pastel colours with traditional *lapas* (cloth that women wear around the bottom of their bodies), head wraps and Ọ̀yọ́ tribal inscriptions etched on their faces, giggling girls and chattering young women gathered chairs for the impending event. The evening air thickened with the smell of the oncoming rain. As the rain started to fall people quickly entered a nearby building, often known as the community leisurely hangout—*The Ọ̀yọ́-Horseman.*

The low chattering stopped as the community members gathered into the main courtyard and the Ọba entered the room. A senior chief opened the session, commanding loudly in Yorùbá, "*Dìde*" (Arise!) Everyone in the room stood up as his Majesty, Ọba Adéfúnmi I, the Ọba of Ọ̀yọ́túnjí, walked into the room. A relatively small-sized light-brown-skinned man, accompanied by his right-hand chief and royal wives, dressed in cloth of royalty walked in proudly. He sat on an elevated chair in the front of the room and faced his community members. The session began with the pouring of libation and followed by vows to the leader and the Yorùbá nation. The members declared their allegiance to the king, with fist outstretched and bodies erect. They shouted a series of words in unison, first in Yorùbá and then in English, lagging behind others, each one looking sternly at the Ọba and the display of artifacts at the front of the room. At the conclusion of the pledge, the Ọba's right hand chief commanded that the audience take their seats. He addressed the audience, reviewing the order of events and using formal language, sometimes struggling with Yorùbá, sometimes in formal English.

Once the introductory rituals were completed and the relations of power and allegiance established the leader, Ọba Oseijeman I, prefaced his opening message by announcing the results of the divinatory "reading of the week" conducted a day earlier and posted on the side of the building.

> So our reading this week indicated that we suffer from uncontrollable egomania. That in essence we could wind up destroying the very thing we are trying to build because of ego. Ego is that characteristic which all human beings have, unless of course it can be weeded out of them through cultural habits and forms. But ego is that thing that makes you think that you are really hot stuff. Ego is that thing that makes you think you are too big, too great, to endure any kind of rebuke or refusal, or that people will not pay you maximum attention and honor.

Upon establishing his legitimacy through the symbolic power of ancestral communication, the Ọba proceeded with his speech by linking the problems of greed among the elite in Ọyọ́túnjí to Samuel Johnson's textual description of the greed and egocentrism that led to the fall of Old Ọyọ́. In an attempt to demonstrate how Johnson's account of King Aole's death, and therefore the downfall of the Ọyọ́ Empire, had prophetic consequences that were directly linked to their American community, he recounted Johnson's tale of King Aole relinquishing his power:

> So the result of it was that King Aole went out and took with him a huge vase—a ceramic vase. He took with him a huge ceramic vase and he took four arrows. He went out and he pronounced his famous curse to the Yorùbá people. He shot one arrow to the north, to the south, to the east, and to the west, and then he took the vase and held it up and smashed it to the ground. And he said, "As a broken calabash can be mended, but never a broken vase, can never be mended, it is smashed into thousands of fragments."

In demonstrating how the dispersal of Yorùbá slaves was central to the linkages between the enslavement and dispersal of the prisoners of war of the Ọyọ́ Empire and black Americans whose ancestors were sold into trans-Atlantic slavery, he continued:

> To the directions in which I have shot my arrows, to the north, to the west, to the east, to the south, may the Yorùbá people be carried as slaves. May they send their children out on errands and never hear from them again. May slaves rule over them and they become slaves. And then having pronounced his famous curse, as the high priest of the nation, which is what the Ọba is, this was like the servant of all of the Gods denouncing the people whom the Gods were supposed to protect, or who is to guide people to find ways of protection from the Gods. After he had smashed his vase and shot his arrows he went into his chambers and took poison and died, never retracting his words.

The above excerpts demonstrate how the leader of Ọyọ́túnjí used geotemporal approaches to transform the codes of European modernity. This approach to recasting belonging outside of the temporal distinctions of Nigerian citizenship involves a reconfiguration of transnational symbolic linkages between Africa and the Americas, the past and the present. Though this innovation was legitimized using both divinatory oral and written sociological texts, in order to lay claim to the authority of literary institutions, the orator used modern codes to produce interpretive variations. The following codes—(1) slavery as the basis for connection, (2) techniques of orality for community, and (3) literary and divinatory sources as geotemporal domains of governance—demonstrate how another generation of individuals whose ancestors were formerly enslaved in the Americas may, although differently situated in relation to the Ọyọ́ Empire, substitute their identities with different chronotopic sequences with which to establish recognizable codes of belonging.

Slavery and Race as the Basis for Connection

Among African Americans interested in claiming Yorùbá ancestry, Johnson's descriptions of the dispersal of slaves is a modality through which the links between Ọyọ́-Yorùbá and Yorùbá revivalists in the U.S. are shaped. Motivated by an attempt to claim membership to relations of power, Ọyọ́túnjí revivalists actively embraced Samuel Johnson's history of the Yorùbá as their own. They extrapolated from Johnson's work not simply because his text is one of the foremost to detail the history of the Yorùbá, but because it serves as a prestigious articulation of the principles of Yorùbá nobility that enrich that history. Nevertheless, the carry over is far from invariable for while Johnson distanced himself from the insubordinate actions of *Àfọ̀njá the Kakanfò* and the excessive pride of King Aole,'s, thereby blaming Àfọ̀njá for forcing King Aole to deliver the vengeful symbolic curse of enslavement, the Ọba of Ọyọ́túnjí linked its residents to both Aole and Àfọ̀njá.

Significantly, the Ọba's use of Johnson's text encodes racial commonalities as the basis of shared origins. This renarrativizing of Yorùbá history was connected to the Ọba's use of the symbolism of race as biology, thus shared ancestry. Through this symbolism of blood, he incorporated linguistic signifiers of unity, emphasizing the symbolism of black American slavery articulated with the history of Yorùbá dispersal in the Americas. In contrast, it is clear that Johnson's self-conscious racial analysis is absent. He was more concerned with ethnicity and nationality as units of analysis, that is,

similarities and differences of Yorùbá and European civilizations (Law, 1990; 81). At the heart of Johnson's articulations of Yorùbá membership are highly regionalized histories of Ọ̀yọ́-Yorùbá codes of behaviour from which hegemonic criteria of membership were shaped. On the other hand, the Ọba superimposed the notion of racial kinship onto those of culture, enlisting individuals to monitor themselves according to new alliances. His message demonstrated how race, thus kinship, figures prominently in the linkages between Nigerian Yorùbá and American Yorùbá revivalists. His use of the referential symbolism of the dispersal of black people creates a racially homogeneous imaginary.

Johnson's work is interpreted for local purposes. His classification of Yorùbá identity suggests that the cultural practices of the Yorùbá of Southwestern Nigeria were not reducible to shared racial or ethnic commonalities. Yorùbá were organized in units that cut across lines of ethnicity, kinship and religious practices. The effect of Johnson's typography was to cast those who were not members of the newly developing ethnic group as outsiders. However, the Ọba's incorporation of race as kinship replaced these regional codes with a deployment of a new politics of nationhood and place. This difference in historical expression represents differences in narrative intention. It also suggests that while, on the one hand, Johnson's history of the Yorùbá details the rise and fall of the Yorùbá people in relation to the downfall of the Ọ̀yọ́ Empire and the enslavement of Yorùbá captives of war, on the other hand, it provides the chronotopic opening by which Yorùbá revivalists can claim strategic complicity to their own enslavement. That is to say that the precarious mechanisms of modern values that enable the conflation of race with the ancestral unity of a shared African past is allied with a moral authority in which causality and historical consequences can be conflated and strategically substituted with grand narratives of blood and statehood.

The precolonial history of the Yorùbá and the largely undocumented history of trans-Atlantic slavery are, through the biological imagery of race, imbued with alliances that also extend beyond the imagination of the nation state. During the early stage of his lecture, the Ọba emphasized the link between Americans and Africans in which he identified contemporary Ọ̀yọ́túnjí royalty as former Yorùbá nobility.[21] By making central Ọ̀yọ́-origin narratives the basis of their racial ancestry, the leader established and further reproduced particular types of Yorùbá subjects by using tropes of slavery to lay claim to transnational Yorùbá nobility. He employed a narrative that connected recursive temporalities of African greed and egotism with transnational connections to African American complicity. With this profound sense of duty and charismatic presence, he connected the people of Ọ̀yọ́túnjí to those great cultures of antiquity.

Oral Techniques for Unity: Knowledge, Power and Governmentality

Speech acts are the social practices that enable individuals to develop certain types of knowledge which, in particular contexts, overtly reference modern regimes of "truth" that shape individual subjectivity. Speech acts are embedded in referential indexical practices and are formed in relation to particular regimes of knowledge. These regimes provide frameworks from which individuals produce particular rhetorical and historical genres of knowing that correspond to the temporal and spatial particularities of the actor in question. By shifting the temporal and spatial terrain that is "becoming" Yorùbá and therefore reclaiming the history of Ọ̀yọ́ nobility, the Ọba a grammar of plurality to invoke the relevance of slavery and redemption to African Americans as critical components of Ọ̀yọ́ ancestry.

Various Nigerian Ọ̀yọ́ Yorùbá narratives of historical greatness represent people's desire for a particular type of national history. It is history that rests on the antiquity of the soil, on past lessons learned, on the wars fought and won and homogeneity in the midst of heterogeneity. Those narratives describe how omnipotent forces from the heavens protected the people against human suffering. While they obscure the ruthlessness and eventual defeat that accompanied the transformation of both cities, these stories link the Yorùbá people to great victories of warfare and Empire, conveying the power of place in designating historical belonging. They render the antiquity of its people an intrinsic component of what constitutes national belonging. Though the Ọba's representations of shared ancestral origins among black Ọ̀yọ́practitioners and black Americans in Ọ̀yọ́túnjí marked both a linguistic and racial connection between the Ọ̀yọ́ Empire and the U.S. Ọ̀yọ́túnjí Village, his use of linguistic markers such as "we" and "our," instead of "my" or "I," the selection of possessive markers to convey the link between the archaic Yorùbá of the Ọ̀yọ́ Empire and the community assembled in the room, were critical geotemporal techniques.

Further, in the Ọba used Johnson's imagery of King Aole's arrows dispersed in many directions in order to signify the scattering of the Yorùbá people to the four-corners of the earth. This metaphoric dispersal posits the existence of their Yorùbá homeland as a shared homeland from which Ọ̀yọ́túnjí practitioners believe

they were expelled and which they have symbolically reclaimed. Such a notion of diaspora and home is a dominant paradigm in the lives of many African Americans in this movement. Ọ̀yọ́túnjí Villagers often refer to places in "Africa" as home and identify phenotypically black people in America as "Africans" and as such, the notion of a physical return to Africa is not essential. Instead, the ritualization of transnational identity provides Ọ̀yọ́túnjí practitioners with a sense of belonging.

Literary and Divinatory Institutions as Geotemporal Domains of Governance.

Some of the parallels between the deceased man, described in the opening pages of this text, Samuel Johnson's description of King Aole's suicide, and the Ọba of Ọ̀yọ́túnjí's retelling of King Aole's death are that they are connected to the factors that shape what constitutes honourable deaths. For while they all share the dilemma of colonial inscriptions entrenched within particular taxonomies of morality, virtue and retribution, the convergences between justifiable deaths and retributive deaths are taxonomically problematic. As obscure as the sources of these contestations may be, they both point to distinctions between the codes of governance and codes of personal accountability, highlighting the ways that acts are embedded in politics of governmentality.

Firstly, the social hierarchies of nobility and kingship were narrowly defined by the Ọba both in relation to Ọ̀yọ́túnjí and its ancestral Ọ̀yọ́ origins and through distinctions between rulers and followers. As an absolute monarch, the Ọba defined personhood by decentring individual ownership of subjectivity. As he stated, "the ego of a nation should be contained within the Ọba. He should have an ego, nothing should be denied him and he should be above the common law." In other words, it is different for a noble king to exercise the choice to take his own life. However, because of the politics of hierarchy and governance, everyday citizens are not expected to exercise absolute power by committing suicide. Their actions are expected to maintain standard codes of order.

Being highly stratified, Ọ̀yọ́túnjí's social hierarchy is divided into levels that range from the Ọba (king) at the head of the apex, the chiefs, the head priest and then the non-priest practitioners and finally general clients. Ọ̀yọ́túnjí's political sphere is represented publicly as a democratic dictatorship in which the political leader known in Yorùbá as an Ọba (king) ultimately has symbolic as well as physical decision-making power. The Ọba, sophisticated and traditionally learned, is more commonly known by his followers both in and outside of Ọ̀yọ́túnjí as the Yorùbá father of dispersed Africans. He claims a constituency of thousands of African Americans in the United States, hundreds of whom lived and trained in Ọ̀yọ́túnjí and continue to be connected by computer based information technologies (the world wide web), telephone communications and postal mail.

It is the *Ọba* who appoints all of the chiefs. As wards of the state, the chiefs must serve the *Ọba* and Ọ̀yọ́túnjí kingdom. They divided into two basic groups—those who are on his inner executive council and are voting members of the Ògbóni society, and those on the outer executive council who are not voting members of the Ògbóni society. They are the: (1) *Afin* chief, (2) *town* chief and (3) honorary or ancilliary chief. Although not all chiefs sit on the Ògbóni, all of the members of the *Ọba's* inner executive—the *Afin* and *town* chiefs—constitute the *Ògbóni*.

The *Afin* chiefs govern the well-being of the Afin or palace and oversee the affairs of the town. The duties may involve collecting taxes and documenting the monetary affairs of the crown. The town/district chiefs who are also on the inner executive council govern specific districts within the town. There are a total of eight *Afin* and town chiefs in Ọ̀yọ́túnjí and these chiefs must be priests of an *Òrìṣà*. Their titles reflect political positions of importance and are always described in Yorùbá: *Chief Ajetunka* (town chief and tax collector), *Chief Ẹlẹ́sin* (the right hand man of the king), the *Chief Alàgbà* (the head of the men's society), and *Chief Oni Sàngó* (head of the *Sàngó* temple). The other members include the chief priest who is the head of the society of priests (*Igbimonolosa*), the head of the women's society (*Ẹgbẹ́ Mọ̀rèmi*) and the head of the men's society (*Akíkanjú*), the *Ìyálóde* (mother of the town), the *Dowpe gan* (head of the work force), the *Ìyá Oríìtẹ́* (mother of protocol), the principle of the Yorùbá Theological Archministry (school), the head of tourism and the head of the militia.

With knowledge about Yorùbá traditions emerging from traditions of Western scholarship, formal Ọ̀yọ́túnjí Village politics are organized around a political system of governance known as and documented by scholars as the *Ògbóni Council*. In Ọ̀yọ́túnjí, like in 19th-century Nigeria, *Ògbóni*, is a Yorùbá word referring to landholders who participate in the central ruling council. It is based on a form of formal representation in which member chiefs meet to consider and rule on issues and disputes that cannot be dealt with in smaller religious or interest-based councils. Instituted as the Ọ̀yọ́túnjí governing board of the community, all governing decisions are made by the *Council of the Ògbóni*. Represented by

the Ọ̀yọ́túnjí priestly leadership having authority granted by the ancestors (the earth spirits), the Ògbóni is responsible for administering religious, legislative, judicial, legal and executive matters. In general terms, most residents see it as serving the ancestors and their families. With the force of democratic input, each member of the council has one vote and the *Ọba*, as the chief priest of the *Òrìṣàs* and of the *Ògbóni* society, has the final word on all decisions. He also has the power to appoint his chiefs and to dismiss them from office, but is expected to serve his administration with the goals and well-being of all of his members in mind. The various societies in Ọ̀yọ́túnjí implement the goals of the *Ògbóni* on a daily basis and are not only answerable to the king, but to all of the members of the *Ògbóni*.

Like Old World *Ògbóni* members, many of whom who took their membership to the earth cult seriously, Ọ̀yọ́túnjí Ògbóni members are also dedicated cult participants. To claim membership, residents must undergo a solemn induction into the secret society. This induction takes the form of ritual sacrifices, prayers, bodily inscriptions as well as private and public utterances of sacred oaths. As it is popularly believed by residents, secretive ritual initiation for public office provides practitioners with the ancestral power from which to reclaim Yorùbá cultural and political life as their own. The value of religion as the basis for Ọ̀yọ́túnjí political and social life neither lies in the institution nor in the practice of religion itself. It lies in the geopolitics of transnational ancestry in which African Americans who were forcibly enslaved can reclaim pre-slavery/colonial religious beliefs as their own. Thus, many practitioners believe that Yorùbá ancestral forces live within them and it is through ritual that they communicate with them.[22] The links between Southwestern Nigeria and life in the Americas is played out through invocations to the middle passage by which ritual acts are used by practitioners to commune with their Yorùbá ancestors. Prominently displaying reminders of slave captivity through sculptures that feature life-size broad-nosed, proud African ancestors, they study, worship and wear the *elekes* (beads) of their initiation into Yorùbá *orisa* rituals, believing that it is to ancient Yorùbáland, and not to America, that their souls will return when they die.

To date, the lack of many transnational studies on African countries that examine the specificities of cultural processes as socially, politically and economically embedded within and outside of Africa, highlight the desperate need for such examinations of transnational social change. Yet, these links in the study of social change should neither be posited as exceptions nor should they be relegated to the margins. Rather, such analyses are central to the ways that European colonial history is fundamental to the ways that we understand the geopolitics of making and unmaking transnational alliances in the midst of social contestations. This is so, especially in relation to the ways that individuals use competing notions of history to produce complex forms of governmentality.

Secondly, in examining the codes of governance in relation to the connections between spiritual and textual knowledge, the Ọba often legitimized his assertions in relation to books or ancestral designations. By claiming divine ancestral teachings the Ọba performed his duty within a system of authority, similar to what is mythologized in the histories of the Yorùbá Empire. With implicit references to canonical sources, the Ọba's political authority was evident during his introductory remarks in which he cited the established canon of Yorùbá literature and asserted it through his authority as a king. For in order for the Ọba to adopt and produce doctrine that his membership had to follow, it was important to establish boundaries for his membership to exercise choice. This opening for how to deal with choices is connected to the second issue, personal accountability. Clearly, in the Ọba's case, Ọ̀yọ́-based nobility also extends beyond his person. His speech, like everyday oratory, was governed by codes of interpretive legitimacy that he used to modify the types of subjects and actions that he felt needed to be studied. However, in order to maintain his own authority to interpret history, his message was assumed to be informed by ancestral channels and historical sources. Thus, his identity was not that of a small-framed, American-born man from Detroit, Michigan. Rather, and as one woman mentioned to me in an interview, "the Ọba is a transmitter of royal Yorùbá knowledge."

Returning to the opening passage in which the young man from Ọ̀yọ́túnjí committed suicide, we see that individuals are able to use canonical histories and themes to incorporate old forms, while at the same time reproducing those forms to create new forms of innovations. Even as they are entreated to form a way of life intended to reclaim a morality contrary to the egotism and shame of suicide (which sealed the demise of the Ọ̀yọ́ Empire), the Ọba used the symbolism of suicide to discuss the parameters of appropriate behavioural practices—that of the honour and nobility of redemption.

Given the differences in the exercise of the Ọba or King Aole's power, and the expectations of revivalist followers, the differences are not in the contradictions. The contradictions make the differing power relations and

shape the criteria for who should be revered after death. They are connected to the changing mechanisms of value that are based on the differential politics of power and the institutions of knowledge that legitimize some forms of knowledge and not others.

While Johnson's history aimed to show how the demise of the Ọ̀yọ́ Empire was based on a transcendence of power—the abuse of power which ultimately led to the victory of British and Moslem colonial interests, he also blamed "outsiders" for contributing to the forces that led to the "civilization of the Yorùbá."[23] For the Ọba of Ọ̀yọ́túnjí, vices within the Ọ̀yọ́ governing elite did not produce long-term ideological gains. His narration of Johnson's history did, however, highlight other effects of that earlier period of disruption on the current Ọ̀yọ́túnjí community. For in his talk, people in the present who "descend" from those who suffered the consequences of disagreements among royal kin were told that they are embodiments of the long-term consequences of those disagreements. As he explained, "There is a lesson which we here have never forgotten and that is why we try to teach royals to restrain their obstreperous egos—because we have never forgotten what happened to Baṣòrun Gáhà."[24] The Ọba referenced the historical royal figure, Baṣòrun Gáhà to show how the lessons of Gaha were relevant to members of the Ọ̀yọ́túnjí's own nobility, implying that their descent followed that of ancestral royalty.

In legitimizing his lesson, the Ọba linked historical and divinatory knowledge with textual histories. In relation to the task of creating homogeneity in the midst of spatial and temporal heterogeneity, he drew upon two beliefs central to the Yorùbá revivalist canon: the beliefs that black Americans are intimately linked to the antiquity of the Yorùbá people, and, despite their enslavement, that they carry noble blood. Through this connection, he adopted King Aole's curse of enslavement as a necessary consequence of Àfọ̀njá's dishonourable transgressions.

The authoritative sources that support Ọba Adéfúnmi I's narration of identity and history are critical for understanding the determinants of what constitutes history, how these are charted, and to what extent disjunctures and conjunctures are significant to the overall reformulation of the past. Today, contestations over the standardization of modern temporal and spatial configurations have profound implications for the ways in which Yorùbá experiences are conceptualized, "authenticated," and claimed by those who see themselves as the offspring of enslaved Africans and who became "Yorùbá." The interpretations of "traditional" Yorùbá practices and histories are numerous. Noting the flexibility of some aspects of making history, we see how popular knowledge can be incorporated into dominant canonical ideologies and vice versa. Yet whatever the historical norms, the processes by which individuals achieve derive are of utmost importance. In the case of Yorùbá revivalist practitioners in the U.S., geotemporal means are critical for the reconfiguration of transnational subjecthood and highlight which institutions or what practices are relevant in legitimizing the establishment of norms.

Paying analytic attention to the circulation of forms of the knowledge which are reconstituted and produce new domains through which meanings are transformed raises questions about the authoritative sources that shape everyday meaning. In American communities where geographic rupture is fundamental to *Òrìṣà* imagery and "homeland" claims, the systematic knowledge that constitutes the Yorùbá canon is mutually tied to the modern processes of shaping categoric distinctions between blackness and whiteness, life and death, *civilization* and *heathenism*, in relation to other possible approaches to ordering. And although the ordering of normative meanings is critical to the authorization of knowledge, I have demonstrated that the reproduction of both oral and written texts depends on the regulated unity of a shared classificatory universe. Ultimately, variation is possible within the authority of particular institutions. In this regard, the notion of Yorùbá belonging has taken on different spatial and temporal dimensions in different sites within relations of historical and contemporary power.

This process of making and remaking Yorùbá history speaks to the ways that subjectivity is reconceptualized and narrated across transnational borders and the mechanisms by which individuals form alliances with power. Though many members of Ọ̀yọ́túnjí base the authority of their worldview on the same texts whose writing was constituted within different historical moments, the differences in relevance reflects the ways that power is negotiated in different circumstances, with different criteria, and for different processes of recapitulation. The institutionalization of various normative practices used by leaders of Ọ̀yọ́túnjí to enforce particular articulations of modern subjectivities is connected to the referential values embedded within them that circulate within relations of power. Thus, any analysis of the intellectual production of Yorùbá nationhood in the South Carolina Ọ̀yọ́túnjí enclave necessarily connects to the standardization of normative parameters of the past with the interpretive politics of governance and legiti-

macy in the present. It pushes us to go beyond highlighting the uniforming processes of colonialism and the development of national governance and to focus on the ways that individuals act within, outside and through historically constituted histories. It also provides us with ethnographic insights for theorizing the means and conditions under which new historical narratives are produced, reproduced and realigned along vectors of power.

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Acknowledgments

I am grateful to Carolyn Martin Shaw, Barnar Hesse, Steve Small, Brackette Williams, Jacob Olupona, Ore Yusuf, Jennifer Burrel, Mirhi Inal, and seminars at Welseyan University, Yale University, and the Anthropology department at the University of California, Berkeley, for their input and comments on this essay.

Notes

1 Members of the family disagreed with the Ọba's decision and attempted to address his appeal to literary documentation by asking the resident anthropologist to discuss with him the various ways in which traditions change—even in the literature.

2 The colours of the three flags are red, green and gold; red and black; white and black, respectively.

3 M.R. Delaney and Robert Campbell, *In Search for a Place: Black Separatism and Africa*, 1860, 114-115. Here the authors discuss the role of Liberia and Sierra Leone in putting an end to the Trans-Atlantic slave trade.

4 Although British officials in the 1890s trained groups of Nigerians to carry out the visions of nation building within standards of civil society, an earlier class of Yorùbá-speaking people who lived in the region in the mid-1800s preceded them.

5 See "Journal of a Visit to the Encampment" Samuel Annear, Badagry 1844, Methodist archives, London.

6 Ọ̀yọ́ residents' overt religious alliances with either Christianity or Islam are often coupled with a degree of hostility toward what they classify as "pagan traditions" conceived of as "old-time" and in mystical terms. Despite the critique of paganism, large numbers of people participate in the major festivals, regardless of their professed faith. Yorùbá orisa worship and religious practices are still enmeshed in the cultural life of many traditionalists in the countryside.

7 This stratification of ethnicity within nationality was exasperated during the post-colonial 1960s period of Nigerian nationalism in which ethnicity, religious, or kinship subcategories were reunited with deeply penetrating forms of ethnic difference which ultimately led to fierce civil rivalries.

8 The word *Yorùbá*, a derivative of the Hausa word *Yaraba*, referring to the people of Ọ̀yọ́, emerged outside of Nigeria. It was used in Sierra Leone by European C.M.S. missionaries and was re-signified as Yorùbá by literate Ọ̀yọ́ missionaries who claimed it as a way to describe Ọ̀yọ́ as the country of the Yorùbá.

9 The interpretive oral descriptions of Yorùbá history, politics and beliefs that circulated within and outside of the British colonial apparatus were diverse and shaped the narrative tropes about the Yorùbá past.

10 In 1897, J.O. George published his lectures in a book entitled *Historical Notes on the Yorùbá Country and Its Tribes*.

11 Their original codes of organization were either appropriated or transformed.

12 For one thing, Johnson argued that missionization had advanced Yorùbá society beyond paganism and aided in its growing civility and general progress.

13 Samuel Johnson also provided records about the work of Captain Clapperton, an early British explorer who recorded his observations about Yorùbá social life, and Colonel Ellis, a prolific writer whose work on Yorùbá ethnography was prominent from the end of the 19th century into the early 20th century.

14 Johnson, using mythic tales and historical documentation, describes many wars and successions. His account of pre-18th-century history was based on the customs and lore of the Yorùbá people. Evidence of the details of military succession in Yorùbáland before the 19th century is scant, however, 18th-century travellers wrote about the rulers of the Ọ̀yọ́ Kingdom as "a great warlike people" who from 1738 to 1747 raided Dahomey land until the Dahomey king promised to pay tribute to the Ọ̀yọ́ Empire.

15 Characterized here as the first significant period of war that led to the decline of the Ọ̀yọ́ Empire, the 1820 Òwu civil war, and then the Àfọ̀njá revolt against the Aláàfin at Ilorin (1824).

16 In the ranking system Kakaǹfò is higher than Baṣòrun.

17 Following the death of King Aole, Àfọ̀njá the Kakaǹfò and Opele the Bale of Gbogun, declared their independence and ceased extracting tribute from the local towns (Johnson, 1921: 193). The downfall of the Yorùbá kingdom coincided with the beginning of tribal independence. Johnson described the post-1837 period of the political struggle over Ọ̀yọ́'s successor states. He depicts the Fulani southward invasion of Yorùbáland as symbolic of the aforementioned demise of Yorùbá dominance and of the development of the dominance of Islam in the Ọ̀yọ́ region.

18 J.D.Y. Peel ascribes the contest between competing centres of national power-the Yorùbá Kingdoms of Benin, (Bini), Dahomey (Aja), and Ọ̀yọ́-as key to understanding the rise of Yorùbá identity. The rise in Ọ̀yọ́-Yorùbá power has been described as "three brothers quarrel and their homes are invaded by strangers." The strangers signify Islamic forces that are popularly represented by Yorùbá Christians as invaders into Yorùbá territory. Fage, on the other hand, emphasizes how the political system of the Ọ̀yọ́ rose to empire status in the 18th century, thereby enforcing particular forms of Yorùbá identity. Other scholars such as Akinjobin, in an attempt to demonstrate how the development of a unified conception of Yorùbá people came into being, argue that through intermarriage, common religious practices over time and political and economic dominance the Yorùbá came to constitute a distinc-

tive Yorùbá linguistic and cultural group (1972: 318-320). Regardless of the forces of power that enabled Yorùbá dominance or subordination, it is not difficult to recognize that they all share a fundamental assumption that the roots of the Yorùbá should be argued in terms of an authentic past.

19 Ilé-Ifẹ̀ is often recognized as being the originary homeland, the site of the formative development of Yorùbá cultural practices, the place where Yorùbá gods originated and the place that the deceased are said to return.

20 *Obánjókó*, in Yorùbá means *the Ọba sits*. It refers to the *Ọba*'s assumption of a position of authority which requires him to leave his royal quarters and join the community.

21 Ultimately, his invocation of black American slavery served to legitimize what he posited as the long-standing connection between African Americans and Africans along the West African coast. For the Ọba, Johnson's Yorùbá also reside in the Americas and through divinatory ritual, it is believed, African Americans have the tools to interpret the past and redeem themselves from the injustices and the betrayal of enslavement.

22 "Blackness" remains the sole qualification for membership into the Ọ̀yọ́túnjí Yorùbá secret societies.

23 Johnson represented this as taking place through the partial eradication of non-Christian polygamy and heathenism.

24 The Ọba misrepresented Baron Gáhà. His title is actually Baṣọ̀run Gáhà. This "misrepresentation" is telling, if not accidental, as it might be an equation of "noble" titles.

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L'anthropologie en tant que discipline académique à Laval[1]

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1. Les précurseurs

Durant l'ère duplessiste (1944-1959), on peut affirmer que l'activité anthropologique fut directement ou indirectement reliée aux nombreux changements sociaux qui sont survenus au Québec après la Seconde guerre mondiale. Les premiers praticiens ont réalisé ce que nous appellerions aujourd'hui une «anthropologie de sauvetage». En effet, il s'est agi pour eux de constituer des dossiers ethnographiques sur les communautés traditionnelles en voie de disparition. Travaillant à la fois au Musée National du Canada et aux Archives de Folklore de l'Université Laval, Marius Barbeau fut incontestablement le premier observateur systématique de villages canadiens français et de réserves amérindiennes dans les perspectives de l'anthropologie culturelle. Ses premières enquêtes ethnographiques et folkloriques dans la vallée du Saint-Laurent remontent à 1914. Plusieurs anthropologues américains de l'époque connaissaient Barbeau par le biais de ses liens avec Edward Sapir qui fut le premier directeur du Musée National du Canada en 1910, au moment de sa fondation. Les folkloristes, dénommés dans les années récentes tour à tour spécialistes en arts et traditions populaires et ethnologues, identifient Barbeau comme étant le maître de Luc Lacourcière (Lacourcière, 1947; Rioux, 1969). Lacourcière, avec l'assistance de Mgr. Félix-Antoine Savard, créa en 1944 à la Faculté des Lettres de Laval les Archives de Folklore[2]. Marius Barbeau est certes une des figures les plus marquantes de l'anthropologie du Québec et je regrette que, tout en ayant un certain nombre d'articles et de films sur lui et sur son œuvre, nous ne disposions pas encore d'une évaluation critique de l'ensemble de ses travaux. Quant aux retombés de la documentation folklorique de Lacourcière, elles sont visibles à travers la richesse extraordinaire des enregistrements que l'on retrouve dans les anciennes Archives de Folklore, dans ses écrits sur les contes et les légendes du Canada français et dans les travaux des nombreuses

générations d'étudiants qu'il a formées et qui on poursuivi son œuvre, sensiblement à partir des mêmes objectifs et méthode de cueillette des données orales (histoires, chants, contes, légendes) et autres éléments traditionnels.

Jacques Rousseau, botaniste de formation, mais aux connaissances encyclopédiques, fut un contemporain de Barbeau, bien que ce dernier ait été son aîné de plusieurs années. À l'occasion de ses études botaniques dans la péninsule du Québec Labrador, il sût observer minutieusement les coutumes et les traditions amérindiennes, en particulier, la culture matérielle, l'organisation sociale et le dualisme religieux des Montagnais (aujourd'hui les Innus) et des Naskapis. La synthèse de ses travaux ethnobiologiques sur cette péninsule fut présentée dans un ouvrage qu'il co-édita avec Jean Malaurie (1964). J'ai effectué, en collaboration avec Josée Thivierge, une évaluation critique de son oeuvre amérindienne (1986) avec l'intention de rendre ainsi hommage à l'un des fondateurs du champ scientifique québécois, à un farouche défenseur des droits aborigènes et à un des premiers scientifiques à rappeler aux autorités gouvernementales leurs responsabilités vis-à-vis les peuples autochtones. À partir de son entrée au Centre d'études nordiques de Laval (Collectif, 1971) en 1962 jusqu'à sa mort en 1970, Rousseau continua ses travaux amérindiens sans pouvoir, toutefois, produire un exposé de synthèse sur l'ensemble de son œuvre.

Un autre précurseur de travaux anthropologiques au Québec fut Marcel Rioux qui, par alliance, devînt le gendre de Barbeau. En début de carrière, Rioux entreprit, durant son séjour au Musée National du Canada, des études systématiques en anthropologie sociale sur des villages francophones du Québec (1954-1957) qui demeurent encore aujourd'hui des monographies fort intéressantes. Peu de temps après son arrivée à l'Université de Montréal, Rioux passa du Département d'Anthropologie au Département de Sociologie estimant que ses travaux se situaient de plus en plus dans les traditions sociologiques des études sur la globalité. Cette conversion nous amène comme naturellement, à faire ressortir la contribution de sociologues éminents au développement de la recherche anthropologique au Québec.

Comme nous l'illustrerons plus loin, l'ethnographie de la Côte-Nord fut conçue, pour devenir un laboratoire qui servirait à la formation de générations d'anthropologues à la pratique du terrain dès leur entrée à l'Université. Elle permettrait aussi de constituer un dossier ethnographique complet sur une région isolée du Québec et de nous aider à mieux comprendre le processus d'industrialisation du Québec et, partant, les dynamismes influant l'évolution de la mentalité québécoise vers une certaine nord américanisation. N'oublions pas aussi, qu'à l'époque des précurseurs, il existait aucun programme d'anthropologie dans les universités du Québec. De fait, l'anthropologie au Québec était une discipline inconnue qui semblait osciller entre l'ethnographie-folklore et un type de sociologie globaliste venant des traditions sociologiques durkheimiennes professées à Laval par Fernand Dumont. Ce type de sociologie a influencé la perspective centrée sur les problèmes sociaux de l'École de Chicago, si bien représentée à Québec par Jean-Charles Falardeau au début de sa carrière professorale.

2. Les premiers anthropologues enseignant dans les universités québécoises

C'est à l'automne 1958 que Laval offrit un premier cours d'anthropologie à la Faculté des sciences sociales. Le titulaire de ce cours fut Marc-Adélard Tremblay, un diplômé de Cornell ayant travaillé sous la direction d'Alexander H. Leighton, psychiatre et anthropologue, pionnier des études en psychiatrie sociale et en épidémiologie psychiatrique aux États-Unis (1959) ainsi qu'en anthropologie appliquée (1945). Ce premier cours d'anthropologie, intitulé «Éléments d'anthropologie» comportait 60 crédits, était réparti sur deux trimestres et était obligatoire pour tous les étudiants du Département de sociologie. Tremblay était venu à Québec à l'automne 1956 avec le mandat de développer des enseignements dans les domaines de la méthodologie en sciences humaines et des sciences sociales appliquées. Aucune mention ne fut faite, au moment de son engagement, de sa formation anthropologique. Toutefois, l'ensemble des cours qu'il offrit sur la méthodologie scientifique et sur l'initiation à la recherche empirique dans les sciences sociales représentent des étapes importantes dans l'émergence de l'anthropologie culturelle en tant que discipline académique à Laval dans la mesure où, dans le cadre de ces cours, il initiait les étudiants/tes aux techniques ethnographiques, à celles de l'entrevue libre avec informateur clef, à l'observation participante et aux techniques biographiques, (l'histoire de vie, en particulier), autant de techniques d'observation particulièrement utilisées en ethnologie et en anthropologie sociale et culturelle. À l'hiver 1961, au moment où le Département de Sociologie fut transformé en un Département de Sociologie et d'Anthropologie, Tremblay offrit aux premiers étudiants inscrits à la Section d'anthropologie, un cours d'anthropologie appliquée, dont les principales orientations s'inspiraient des enseignements d'Alexander H. Leighton sur le même sujet à la fin des années

quarante et aux débuts des années cinquante à Cornell University.

3. L'anthropologie à l'Université Laval jusqu'aux années 1970

Afin de mieux comprendre ce qui a fondé l'enseignement de l'anthropologie culturelle à Laval durant les années cinquante, il faut replacer cette discipline dans son contexte institutionnel, soit celui de la Faculté des Sciences sociales. Rappelons que cette dernière, au moment de son établissement en 1938 en tant qu'École des Sciences sociales, se dissociait de la vision traditionnelle du social (une conception à caractère idéologique) et proposait une conception positiviste du réel. Cette position innovatrice suscita la critique interne des clercs, comme l'illustre si bien le Père Lévesque dans ses *Souvenances,* lui qui eut à défendre son point de vue à Rome par l'entremise du Père Supérieur de sa communauté (1983, Tome 2 : 22-26). Il faut rappeler que Laval était encore à ce moment-là confessionnelle et que la recherche, surtout celle amorcée dans les sciences sociales, devait s'inspirer de la position officielle de l'Église catholique et des prises de position officielles d'un régime gouvernemental ultra conservateur. Il m'apparaît d'intérêt de savoir que la Faculté reçut en 1949 une importante subvention de la Fondation Carnegie pour entreprendre, dans le cadre du Centre de Recherches sociales, une étude systématique de la société canadienne française. Le petit Département de sociologie d'alors (1956), composé de six professeurs localisés au Quartier latin, où se trouvait l'Université Laval de l'époque, constitua le foyer d'une recherche interdisciplinaire orientée vers l'application[3]. Quand Tremblay offrit pour la première fois ses Éléments d'anthropologie, Laval n'était pas encore le genre d'institution où s'établissaient des cloisons étanches entre les disciplines, ce qui facilitait d'autant les collaborations entre professeurs venant d'horizons disciplinaires différents. À cette époque, d'ailleurs, le programme d'étude en folklore était perçu comme ayant une étroite liaison à l'ethnologie.

Cette perception facilitera la venue en 1966 de Nancy Schmitz, une diplômée du programme d'études folkloriques à la Faculté des Lettres de Laval, à son Département de sociologie et d'anthropologie. Voilà le type de climat intellectuel qui prévalait au moment où les professeurs de la Faculté entreprirent d'importantes recherches empiriques sur le Québec. L'étude sur l'instabilité des travailleurs forestiers (Tremblay, 1960) regroupait des professeures des départements des relations industrielles, d'économique et de sociologie. Celles sur l'impact des changements technologiques sur les communautés agricoles et forestières de la région du Bas Saint-Laurent dans les années cinquante et qui furent à l'origine de la vaste entreprise de recherche que fut le BAEQ (Bureau d'Aménagement de l'Est du Québec) ainsi que celles portant sur le logement à Québec (Hodgson et al., 1961-1963) furent conduites par des professeurs venant des mêmes départements. L'étude sur les comportements économiques (production, consommation, épargne et endettement) de la famille salariée canadienne française qui dura sept ans (1957-1964) fut elle aussi une entreprise conjointe de la sociologie et de l'anthropologie (Tremblay et Fortin, 1964). Combien d'autres études pourraient être mentionnées qui possédaient ces deux caractéristiques essentielles que furent l'interdisciplinarité et une orientation en vue de l'action, deux éléments significatifs, qu'on a trop souvent tendance à oublier, dans l'émergence de l'anthropologie en tant que discipline académique à Laval.

L'établissement d'un programme d'anthropologie à Laval en 1961 obligea la direction du Département de sociologie à embaucher des anthropologues sur une base permanente (Albert Doutreloux, un africaniste originaire de Belgique, en 1963 et Nancy Schmitz, en 1966), mais aussi à inviter de professeurs européens qui marquèrent profondément l'évolution du programme, comme nous l'illustrerons plus loin. Renaud Santerre, diplômé de la première promotion d'anthropologues formés à Laval, fut embauché en 1968 et Pierre Beaucage, de la seconde génération, arriva la même année, tandis que Paul Charest, membre du troisième contingent, joignit nos rangs en 1969. Geza de Rohan Csermak, un autre membre du corps professoral des premières heures, fit un bref séjour à Laval (1970-1972). Doutreloux retourna en Belgique pour occuper un poste à l'Université Libre de Bruxelles en novembre 1969 tandis que Beaucage accepta un poste au Département d'anthropologie de l'Université de Montréal en 1971. Cette année-là, Bernard Saladin d'Anglure devient professeur permanent à Laval et assume la direction du Département : il sera responsable de la recherche sur les Inuit. Durant les années soixante, Laval invita plusieurs collègues européens à venir dispenser leurs enseignements pour de brèves périodes. Raoul Hartweg (anthropologie physique) et Paul Mercier (ethnologie africaine et histoire de l'anthropologie, 1966) ont été certes les invités les plus remarqués par leurs visites régulières à l'automne de chaque années pour une période de deux à trois mois et furent également parmi ceux qui furent les plus appréciés par les étudiants. D'autres invités, toutefois, s'adaptèrent moins bien à la

culture québécoise : non seulement eurent-ils moins de succès dans leurs enseignements que les deux premiers, mais en certaines occasions ils entrèrent en conflit avec les étudiants/tes et leurs jeunes collègues québécois.

3.1 Les premiers enseignements anthropologiques à Laval

Comme nous l'avons noté plus tôt, les premiers enseignements en anthropologie à Laval furent offerts à la Faculté des Lettres durant les années quarante, tandis qu'à la Faculté des Sciences sociales, ces premiers enseignements furent dispensés au Département de Sociologie. Dès l'ouverture de l'année académique 1958-1959, Tremblay fut autorisé à dispenser son cours d'anthropologie qu'il donnera sans interruption durant douze ans. Au moment de l'établissement de l'Option d'anthropologie en 1961, le même cours sera offert exclusivement aux étudiants s'inscrivant à ce programme d'étude, dès leur première inscription. Ce cours définissait les objectifs de l'anthropologie en tant que discipline scientifique, retraçait dans leurs grandes lignes les principaux courants théoriques qui ont marqué son développement, exposait les principaux outils conceptuels dont elles se servait, examinait les paliers fondamentaux de l'analyse anthropologique (devenus depuis autant de champs sous-disciplinaires) et passait en revue les principales techniques d'enquête et d'observation qu'elle utilisait. Si le temps le permettait, les étudiants préparant des travaux longs sur une société sans écriture, présentaient les résultats de leurs recherches en bibliothèque devant leurs condisciples.

À l'automne 1959 (année académique, 1959-1960), Tremblay offrira un deuxième cours d'inspiration anthropologique, lequel se situait dans la foulée des travaux de l'École de Chicago sur la croissance des villes et l'écologie des phénomènes de désorganisation sociale ainsi que ceux de Leighton sur l'épidermiologie sociale des maladies mentales dans le comté de Stirling (nom d'emprunt) en Nouvelle-Écosse. La première fois que ce cours fut dispensé, il le fut sous le titre de «Désorganisation et réorganisation sociales» (Collectif, 1970, : 5). Ce cours fut obligatoire pour tous les étudiants de sociologie 3ième année ainsi que pour ceux de l'École de Service social. D'ailleurs, les psychiatres de l'époque, en résidence à Saint-Michel Archange (aujourd'hui, Robert Giffard), l'ont également suivi durant quelques années. Essentiellement, ce cours traitait des conditions de la production ainsi que des conséquences de la désorganisation sociale. L'anomie, (pour utiliser le concept durkheimien) était conçue comme regroupant tout un ensemble de facteurs particulièrement favorables, tant au niveau individuel que collectif, à l'apparition de maladies mentales ou d'expériences psychologiques suffisamment traumatisantes pour que surgissent des symptômes d'intérêts psychiatrique (Gosselin et Tremblay, 1960; Tremblay et Gosselin, 1960). C'est à cette époque que Tremblay amorça ses travaux sur l'impact des changements technologiques sur la vie communautaire et la survivance des Acadiens et sur leur acculturation linguistique. Il entreprit, par après, ceux se rapportant à l'hôpital psychiatrique en tant que culture de la folie (Fortier, 1966; Côté, 1966) et ceux traitant de réhabilitation sociale des ex-patients psychiatriques dans le Québec métropolitain (Tremblay, 1987).

3.2 L'établissement de l'Option «anthropologie» en 1961

Si on se rapporte au Mémoire de l'anthropologie (Collectif, 1970 : 9-20) rédigé dans le but de justifier la création d'un Département d'anthropologie autonome, on y remarque que l'option anthropologique à Laval en 1961 possédait cinq caractéristiques différentes décrites ci-après :

> c'est une option d'anthropologie culturelle et sociale structurée en fonction des liens étroits qu'elle doit entretenir avec la sociologie : à titre d'exemple, les sociologues et les anthropologues suivent plusieurs cours en commun et à peu près le 1/5 des crédits en anthropologie sont obtenus par des enseignements sociologiques;
>
> la linguistique dispensée à ce moment-là à la Faculté des Lettres est conçue comme une discipline fondamentale dans un programme d'enseignement en anthropologie culturelle : elle y occupe effectivement une place;
>
> l'enseignement théorique ainsi que les applications ethnographiques porteront sur trois aires culturelles : l'Afrique noire francophone, l'Amérique latine et l'aire nord-américaine à l'intérieur de laquelle on accordera une importance particulière au Canada d'expression française, aux Amérindiens et aux Inuits [*sic*];
>
> dès l'origine, on consacre la nécessité d'une expérience d'au moins trois mois sur un terrain particulier dans le but de recueillir des données empiriques nécessaires à la rédaction d'une thèse de maîtrise : toutefois, on n'exclut pas la possibilité de présenter une thèse théorique;
>
> la carrière anthropologique, à ce moment-là, est vue comme pouvant en être une d'enseignement (à l'Université), de recherche (dans un Centre de recherche), ou encore d'action dans un contexte gouvernemental.

La même Mémoire discute de la mise en place et de l'évolution subséquente du programme d'étude en anthropologie. Les deux extraits qui suivent en établissent le profil d'ensemble.

> Afin de mettre à exécution un tel programme de soixante crédits devant conduire à la maîtrise en anthropologie, en plus d'utiliser les ressources sociologiques et celles de la Faculté, on puise à même les ressources de la Faculté des Lettres (Département de Linguistique, Département de Folklore, Institut de Géographie) et occasionnellement à celle du Centre d'études nordiques (Collectif, 1971). On invite aussi régulièrement d'Europe des professeurs qui assument les enseignements de «l'Ethnographie de l'Afrique française» (Paul Mercier), «L'Ethnographie de l'Amérique latine» (Maria de Queiros et Henri Favre), et «L'Anthropologie physique» (Raoul Hartweg). Il n'y avait à ce moment-là qu'un seul anthropologue à plein temps. (Collectif, 1970 : 9)

Depuis ses tout débuts, la Faculté des Sciences sociales de Laval comportait une Propédeutique de deux années à la suite desquelles les étudiants s'inscrivaient dans un Département pour y poursuivre leurs études durant deux autres années et au terme de celles-ci ils devaient présenter une thèse pour l'obtention d'une maîtrise. Au début des années soixante, cette Propédeutique est réduite à une seule année et les études disciplinaires (départementales) prennent alors trois ans. En 1966-1967, l'année de Propédeutique disparaît complètement et les étudiants s'inscrivent directement dans un département à leur arrivée à la Faculté. Ce changement dans les orientations pédagogiques facultaires allait favoriser et accélérer le développement de l'anthropologie par la nécessité qu'il imposait d'accroître les ressources humaines afin de répondre aux besoins académiques de clientèles étudiantes qui s'orientaient davantage en fonction d'une spécialisation disciplinaire offerte seulement dans un département. Le Mémoire de 1970 ne manque pas d'y faire allusion :

> En 1966-1967, l'année propédeutique disparaît et les étudiants de première année s'inscrivent directement au Département de Sociologie et d'anthropologie, font une année commune à la suite de laquelle ils choisissent soit l'Option «Sociologie», ou l'Option «Anthropologie». Dès lors cette dernière comporte 90 crédits qui s'échelonnent sur trois années académiques (soit la 2ième, la 3ième et la 4ième). L'automne 1968, l'ancien programme de maîtrise de quatre années est concentré en trois ans et mène à l'obtention d'un baccalauréat en sociologie ou en anthropologie. On élabore à la même occasion, un nouveau programme de maîtrise. À l'automne 1969, le programme est conçu de telle sorte que les étudiants optent pour l'anthropologie ou pour le sociologie à la fin du premier semestre de la première année. Il n'existe plus que quelques cours communs au niveau des études de premier cycle. (Collectif, 1970 : 10)

3.3 Le statut de l'anthropologie dans les universités

Dans un document analysant le processus d'intensification de l'enseignement de l'anthropologie au sein du Département de sociologie de Laval, la direction souligne avec emphase que le statut académique de cette discipline n'est défini avec rigidité dans aucune institution universitaire. C'est donc dire que parfois on la retrouve avec une autre discipline pour former un Département conjoint et que, dans d'autres circonstances et dans d'autres lieux, elle est complètement autonome. Elle peut être logée dans une variété de structures facultaires différentes, telles qu'une Faculté des Arts et des Sciences, une Faculté des Sciences sociales, une Faculté des Lettres et, occasionnellement, dans d'autres Facultés. Enfin, certaines universités offrent seulement un programme de 2ième et 3ième cycle en anthropologie; d'autres, seulement un programme de 1er cycle et d'autres, un programme complet à tous les cycles de l'enseignement universitaire. En tant que tradition, l'anthropologie s'intéressait aux peuples sans écriture et à l'Autre lointain. Mais avec l'évolution disciplinaire, l'éventail des intérêts de l'anthropologie s'est élargi pour incorporer les civilisations complexes et pour intégrer tout autant la culture même de l'observateur que celles des autres (Genest, 1985).

Ce même document souligne encore que l'anthropologie, en tant que science fondamentale, se divise en deux traditions qui sont complètement différentes l'une de l'autre, à savoir, l'anthropologie physique ou somatique et l'anthropologie sociale ou culturelle. Ce clivage, prétend-on, reflète assez bien l'une ou l'autre des grandes orientations des anthropologues d'aujourd'hui. Soulignant qu'il serait difficile d'initier correctement en même temps les étudiants à ces deux traditions scientifiques, le document propose d'orienter l'enseignement et la recherche à Laval du côté de l'anthropologie dite sociale et culturelle. Le rédacteur, à n'en pas douter, se réfère surtout dans les propos qui précèdent à la tradition européenne plutôt qu'à la tradition boasienne (américaine), qui, elle, conçoit l'anthropologie comme devant plutôt se diviser en quatre champs sous-disciplinaires : anthropologie physique, ethnolinguistique, archéologie

et anthropologie culturelle. Ce modèle fut adopté par la plupart des universités américaines et par l'Université de Montréal en 1960 au moment de l'établissement de son Département d'anthropologie, lequel coïncida avec la venue du Dr. Jean Benoist, médecin et spécialiste des Antilles et peu de temps par après celle d'Asen Balikci, inuitologue. Ce type de structure impose à leurs clientèles étudiantes un apprentissage rigoureux dans chacune de ces sous-disciplines et nécessite habituellement des ressources nécessaires pour ce faire. Ces ressources, on peut le comprendre à la lumière du contexte économique de l'Université Laval au début des années soixante, n'existaient tout simplement pas.

L'influence européenne apparaît encore plus nettement dans la suite du document où on met en relief les nécessaires rapprochements de la sociologie et de l'anthropologie en plus de rappeler que cette dernière n'a pas encore la maturité nécessaire pour voler de ses propres ailes à la lumière surtout des exigences du marché du travail. Ce document fut écrit, ne l'oublions pas, en 1960, au moment où l'Université de Montréal songeait à créer un Département d'anthropologie complètement indépendant de toute autre discipline. Ce qui fut fait en 1961. Laval se devait, par conséquent, de fournir une réponse à une telle innovation dans le monde francophone québécois. La réaction ne tarda pas à se manifester. Laval élargirait les structures de son Département de sociologie pour inclure l'anthropologie, mais une anthropologie à la manière européenne (française), sous l'éclairage sociologique. Voici comment cette nouvelle orientation départementale est justifiée dans le document de la direction.

> Par suite de cette orientation que nous proposons pour notre programme d'études anthropologiques, celles-ci se rapprocheraient de très près, à Laval, de la formation sociologique. D'ailleurs, si on se reporte à l'histoire de la sociologie, on retrouve une tradition importante orientée en ce sens : l'École sociologique française en est sans doute la plus glorieuse et la plus éclatante incarnation. Plus que jamais, il semble fructueux, pour le sociologue, de situer constamment ses travaux par comparaison avec les sociétés archaïques. Et la perspective inverse, pour l'anthropologie, ne paraît pas moins importante. Des arguments tout à fait «pratiques» se joignent à ces considérations plus purement scientifiques. Les possibilités d'emploi pour les anthropologues sont encore, dans notre milieu, assez mal définies. Il semblerait judicieux de proposer, en conséquence, une formation assez polyvalente à nos étudiants. Ce serait faciliter beaucoup la tâche des professeurs du Département de sociologie que leur permettre d'orienter, selon la conjoncture, les élèves ayant terminé le cycle des études vers tel ou tel secteur de travail où une formation à tendance «sociologique» ou «anthropologique» paraîtrait plus opportune... Pour toutes ces raisons, il ne nous semble pas souhaitable de créer un Département distinct d'anthropologie. Nous proposons, plutôt, la transformation actuelle de notre Département de Sociologie en un Département de Sociologie et d'Anthropologie. (Direction du Département de Sociologie, 1960 : 2-3)

3.4 La coexistence pacifique de la sociologie et de l'anthropologie

Entre 1961 et 1969, les Annuaires de l'Université Laval présentent, dans la foulée du Document de la direction du Département de sociologie de 1960 et du discours dominant qu'on y retrouve, la sociologie et l'anthropologie comme deux disciplines scientifiques ayant de fortes ressemblances et entretenant entre elles des liens étroits. On y remarque aussi que les étudiants du 1er cycle des deux disciplines suivent des cours de base en commun.

Par contre le *Mémoire de l'anthropologie* (Collectif, 1970) visant à la création d'un département autonome d'anthropologie, tient un discours quelque peu différent de la position officielle que l'on retrouve dans les Annuaires. Ce *Mémoire* affirme, en effet, que depuis l'introduction de l'anthropologie au Département de sociologie, ces deux disciplines se sont développées plus ou moins parallèlement, l'anthropologie cherchant surtout à se différencier de la sociologie et aspirant avant tout à établir sa spécificité. Si on interroge les étudiants qui ont été formés durant cette décennie dans un département conjoint, la très grande majorité d'entre eux nous confirmerait, à mon avis, qu'ils ont été fortement marqués soit par les professeurs de sociologie, soit par les professeurs d'anthropologie et, plus rarement, par des professeurs des deux options. À la limite, on pourrait presque affirmer que l'interdépendance disciplinaire paraissait mieux dans les principes que dans les faits.

La création de la revue *Recherches Sociographiques* en 1960 sera un événement de très grande importance pour le Département de Sociologie et d'Anthropologie dans la mesure où tous les professeurs du Département (il n'y avait qu'un seul anthropologue à ce moment-là) publieront au moins un article dans l'un ou l'autre des quatre numéros de la première année (1960) et que 62% des articles de cette même année proviendront des professeurs du Département. Mais la revue se définit aussi comme étant un carrefour de rapports interdisciplinaires. Durant sa première année d'existence, par

exemple, elle accueillera des articles en provenance de l'anthropologie, de l'histoire, du folklore, de la science politique, de l'économique et des relations industrielles. C'est donc sous l'égide des sociologues que ces rapports interdisciplinaires s'intensifieront, l'anthropologie n'étant qu'une discipline parmi l'ensemble des autres disciplines représentées. Comme la revue se consacre d'abord et avant tout au milieu «canadien français», les anthropologues y occuperont une place de plus en plus effacée au fur et à mesure que l'anthropologie acquerra de la maturité et que plusieurs des travaux de terrain en anthropologie s'effectueront ailleurs qu'au Québec. Tremblay, par exemple, qui occupait la deuxième position en 1969 pour l'ensemble de ses contributions à la revue durant la première décennie de son existence (Santerre, 1969 : 42), n'apparaît même plus dans la liste des 37 principaux collaborateurs de la revue pour une période allant de 1970 à 1983 (Santerre, 1983 : 6).

Se sentant obligé de faire progresser l'anthropologie en tant que discipline scientifique pleinement reconnue, Tremblay réduisit sensiblement ses travaux à caractère appliqué avec les collègues des autres départements vers le milieu des années soixante, quelques années après l'instauration de la Révolution tranquille. De concert avec Albert Doutreloux, il commença à mettre l'accent sur les aspects traditionnels de l'enquête ethnographique dans le but de favoriser les études sur le terrain et les expériences transculturelles, quand cela s'avérait possible, et ainsi susciter des comparaisons interculturelles soigneusement documentées.

Les études entreprises sur les Amérindiens du Canada dans le cadre de la Commission d'étude Hawthorn-Tremblay (1966-1967, 2 vols) qui débutèrent en 1964, les études de Tremblay sur les Acadiens du Sud-Ouest de la Nouvelle-Écosse (1960-1965) ainsi que le programme de recherche sur l'Ethnographie de la Côte Nord du Saint-Laurent (1965-1975), les travaux de Doutreloux au Zaïre, ceux de Pierre Beaucage au Honduras, ceux de Renaud Santerre au Cameroun contribuèrent à élargir graduellement le fossé entre l'anthropologie et la sociologie, sinon sur le plan théorique, tout au moins au niveau de différences méthodologiques importantes. Comme nous l'affirmions plus tôt, dès 1969 les étudiants de sociologie et d'anthropologie ne suivaient plus que quelques cours en commun. Ainsi le nombre restreint d'étudiants à l'option anthropologie, tant au premier qu'au deuxième cycle, favorisa leur insertion dans les projets et programmes de recherche existants. La plupart des étudiants des années soixante firent des séjours de recherche sur le terrain, soit sur la Basse Côte Nord avec Tremblay, soit en Afrique noire avec Doutreloux ou Renaud Santerre, ou soit encore chez les Inuit avec Saladin d'Anglure. Tous les étudiants, sans exception, étaient tenus d'effectuer un séjour sur le terrain.

Grâce à une politique d'apprentissage hâtif aux techniques anthropologiques d'observation, les diplômés de l'option «anthropologie», détenteurs d'une maîtrise purent aller entreprendre des études de troisième cycle à l'étranger ou réussirent à se trouver des postes dans les services gouvernementaux. La recherche des équipes, encadrée au Laboratoire d'anthropologie, était centrée sur la notion d'aire culturelle qui sous-tendait le programme d'étude (Gold, 1987). L'établissement d'équipes de recherche fut certes un autre élément qui concourut à établir une distanciation de la sociologie. Cette philosophie d'action, contrairement à celle centrée sur l'élaboration de modèles conceptuels en sociologie, est reflétée dans le *Rapport annuel* de la Faculté des sciences sociales aux tout débuts de l'établissement de l'option «anthropologie». Voici ce qu'on y lit :

> La recherche étoffe et illustre l'enseignement théorique. Un des buts primordiaux est l'analyse de la société canadienne française, passée et présente. Deux autres aires culturelles font aussi l'objet d'une étude poussée : l'Afrique française et l'Amérique latine. La responsabilité particulière du Canada français envers ces contrées, une certaine communauté culturelle, la présence de missionnaires canadiens français dans ces pays : ce sont des arguments déterminants. (*Rapport Annuel*, 1962-1963)

Si les anthropologues se sont donnés une vocation ethnographique, les sociologues, de leur côté, sous le direction de Fernand Dumont, s'étant défini une vocation théorique, s'adonnèrent en grand nombre aux analyses scientifiques des idéologies et aux études historiques. Ces deux orientations parallèles des sociologues et des anthropologues, car les uns et les autres travaillaient sur des objets distincts, sont apparues au moment où Dumont devint directeur du Département de sociologie et d'anthropologie (1960-1967) et l'unité de ces deux disciplines, dont ce dernier était le principal promoteur, s'est maintenue en tant que pensée officielle du Département au moins jusqu'à l'accession de Gérald Fortin au poste de directeur en 1967. Les sociologues s'attendaient à ce que les anthropologues, ici comme ailleurs, étudient les sociétés traditionnelles et le processus de modernisation des communautés rurales. D'une certaine manière, c'était aussi la définition que certains anthropologues se donnaient d'eux-mêmes. S'inspirant en cela des traditions anthropologiques dans leurs études sur les petites unités sociales fonction-

nelles, (Redfield, 1955), les anthropologues du Québec, à cette époque, amorcèrent des études sur les communautés paysannes en voie de décomposition et sur les isolats du Québec et du Canada . Au principe de l'unité des disciplines correspondait une stratégie de division des tâches entre sociologues et anthropologues : les contestations étudiantes de 1968-1970, auxquelles nous référons dans la section suivante, mettront en cause à la fois le principe et son opérationalisation en vue de la création d'un département autonome.

Les réactions des populations à l'étude, en particulier sur la Basse Côte-Nord mais aussi chez les Inuit et les Amérindiens, incitèrent les différentes équipes de recherche à l'intervention anthropologique. Imprévue au point de départ, cette orientation d'action, suscitée par les attentes des populations étudiées, ne se confirmera pleinement qu'après la création du Département d'anthropologie en 1970. Entre-temps, les terrains ethnographiques des années soixante dans les aires culturelles privilégiées avaient réussi à former des anthropologues québécois et à établir une tradition empirique de recherche dans cette discipline. Toutefois, il est nécessaire de remarquer que le nombre des publications qui furent produites par ces équipes de recherche ne fut pas aussi grand qu'on aurait pu l'espérer. Leur succès en tant que formation de chercheurs et d'action concertée, cependant, est incontestable. Il ne faudra que quelques années pour qu'un noyau de jeunes chercheurs, ayant une longue expérience de travaux d'observation à la manière de l'anthropologie, terminent leurs études doctorales, soit aux États-Unis ou en Europe, viennent se joindre au corps professoral et tentent d'élaborer une anthropologie plus théorique en s'appuyant sur des traditions empiriques déjà bien établies (Beaucage, Charest, Breton, Genest et Santerre).

4. Les contestations étudiantes de 1968-1970

En plus d'avoir vécu cette expériences des contestations étudiantes de 1968-1970 d'une manière un peu spéciale, dû au fait principalement qu'elles furent perçues par plusieurs comme étant le résultat d'une querelle entre les «Anciens» et les «Modernes» (notre séniorité nous classant parmi les premiers!) et que notre position personnelle n'ait jamais parfaitement correspondu à celle de la majorité. Je réfère principalement en ce qui a trait aux manifestations particulières sur le campus de Laval à la Faculté des Sciences sociales. Ma dissidence me valut, en une certaine occasion, l'occupation de mon propre bureau de professeur! Le point de vue que je présente ici en ce qui a tait à l'ensemble des événements qui se produisirent durant la période 1968-1970, au moment où l'anthropologie faisait encore partie du Département de Sociologie et d'Anthropologie, s'appuiera sur trois documents inédits : *L'anthropologie à Laval; La création du Département d'anthropologie*; et *Les rapports étudiants assistants professeurs* dans la prise de décision : le cas du comité pédagogique – section anthropologie.

Nous n'avons pas l'intention de passer en revue les diverses contestations étudiantes qui se sont produites sur le campus lavallois, particulièrement à la Faculté des sciences sociales, ni d'en reconstituer les principaux enjeux. Nous nous attarderons davantage aux objectifs poursuivis et aux résultats obtenus : l'analyse des stratégies, à elle seule requerrait des études approfondies. Aussi nous apparaît-il nécessaire de présenter à la fois les objectifs et les résultats en tenant compte des conditions sociopolitiques existantes à ce moment-là au Québec. On se souviendra que les contestations étudiantes de 1968 commencèrent en Californie pour s'étendre, comme une traînée de poudre, à la plupart des grandes universités américaines dans les semaines qui suivirent les premières manifestations. En Europe, c'est à Nanterre (Université de Paris Xième) qui fut le foyer d'origine des confrontations et manifestations étudiantes de mai 1968 à Paris : ces dernières se produisirent par après dans d'autres pays Européens. Ces révoltes étudiantes (le concept n'est pas exagéré) donnèrent lieu à de vives manifestations, à des grèves générales illimitées et à des confrontations étudiantes policières lesquelles dégénérèrent en batailles rangées entre les forces de l'ordre et les manifestants, des groupes d'agitateurs profitant des ces affrontements pour déstabiliser les gouvernements en place. Au Québec, ces contestations et ces manifestations étudiantes n'eurent jamais l'ampleur ni l'intensité de celles qui se produisirent ailleurs, principalement en Europe occidentale et aux États-Unis. Quels ont été les objectifs poursuivis et quels ont été les résultats obtenus? Ce sont les deux questions auxquelles nous tenterons de répondre sommairement.

On peut affirmer que ces révoltes étudiantes visaient un ensemble d'objectifs définis comme inséparables les uns des autres. Essayons d'en reconstituer les principaux patrons constitutifs : (a) la réforme des structures universitaires académiques (régime des études, organisation des cours et des programmes d'étude) et administratives (démocratisation des structures) afin qu'elles correspondent davantage aux aspirations des générations montantes et qu'elles reflètent mieux les habitudes de vie des autres secteurs de la vie sociale; (b) une plus

grande sensibilisation des gouvernements et des structures étatiques aux besoins financiers grandissants des universités afin que celles-ci puissent offrir un éventail plus large et mieux adapté de programmes d'études tout en maintenant, et atteignant si possible, un haut degré de qualité dans la formation des diplômés; (c) une plus grande ouverture de l'Université sur le monde extérieur par l'abandon de son statut traditionnel de «tour d'ivoire» et l'instauration de programmes de formation préparant plus directement à une fonction sur le marché du travail; et (d) une participation étudiante active dans les structures du pouvoir (décisionnelles et consultatives) de l'université afin que les étudiants puissent devenir les principaux agents de leur formation et choisir les programmes et les cours qui correspondent le mieux à leurs aptitudes, préférences et ambitions. Les revendications précises des groupes contestataires pouvaient varier quelque peu d'un milieu universitaire à l'autre, car elles étaient le produit de conditions historiques particulières. Toutefois, l'idéologie fondamentale qui les sous-tendait s'inspirait de deux principes directeurs, à savoir, le modernisation des structures universitaires et la participation étudiante aux décisions prises dans les structures du pouvoir.

Au Québec, à la suite des recommandations de la Commission royale d'Enquête sur l'Enseignement présidé pas Monseigneur Alphonse-Marie Parent (1963-1966, 5 vols.), on avait préalablement mis en vigueur une réforme en profondeur de notre système d'éducation, dont la création d'un ministère de l'Éducation en 1964. Les recommandations de ce Rapport n'avaient pas encore toutes été mises en place en 1968, c'est-à-dire, la démocratisation de l'instruction, la gratuité de l'enseignement, une plus grande participation des francophones québécois aux disciplines scientifiques et administratives, la réforme complète des cycles de l'enseignement, la participation des étudiants à l'élaboration des programmes, le renouvellement des méthodes et outils pédagogiques, le respect des capacités d'apprentissage de l'étudiant, une meilleure liaison entre les programmes d'étude à l'Université et les exigences du marché du travail, l'importance des études des 2ième et 3ième cycle à l'Université, et ainsi du reste. Ces recommandations donnèrent lieu à des politiques et pratiques nouvelles dans le monde de l'éducation. Mais les réformes en profondeur ne s'implantaient pas assez rapidement. Au fur et à mesure que les années passaient (c'était le période euphorique des débuts de la Révolution tranquille) et que les contingents étudiants grossissaient en nombre dans les universités, on commença à percevoir certaines frustrations chez les étudiants dont les attentes et les ambitions devenaient de plus en plus précises par rapport à la qualité de l'enseignement universitaire, à la compétence des professeurs en enseignement et recherche et, surtout, par rapport à leur participation active dans le processus pédagogique. Laval eut, comme toutes les autres universités québécoises, ses contestations étudiantes, lesquelles furent sporadiques, localisées et particulières, sous l'angle des revendications spécifiques qui les avaient amorcées. La Faculté des Sciences de l'Éducation et celle des Sciences sociales furent sur le campus de Québec les initiatrices de ces mouvements de revendication, au moment même où le Québec connaissait une période de croissance économique et de développement social. Les diplômés des universités québécoises, à cette époque, contrairement à ce qui se passait en Europe, se trouvaient assez facilement des emplois sur le marché du travail. Nous nous souvenons nettement, qu'à certains moments, les administrateurs d'université et le public en général se demandaient : «qu'est-ce que voulaient réellement les étudiants d'université» qu'ils considéraient comme «des enfants gâtés»!

Les observations générales qui précèdent nous permettent de mieux préciser les doléances étudiantes des anthropologues au Département de sociologies et d'anthropologie à la fin des années soixante. Ces doléances n'ont pas été prises à la légère, car elles étaient pleinement fondées, le recul du temps nous permettant de dégager avec plus de netteté les enjeux en présence dans leur cas. Une première revendication se rapporte à la dissolution du Département conjoint (même si cela va à l'encontre des recommandations de la Commission de la Réforme de l'Université Laval) afin que les anthropologues puissent gérer eux-mêmes leurs programmes d'étude et définir les conditions de développement de l'anthropologie au Québec. La Commission de la Réforme, présidée par l'Abbé Lorenzo Roy, visait à abolir les départements, non à en créer de nouveaux! Ce principe d'une dissolution fut, cependant, apprécié à son mérite spécialement en vertu du fait que l'anthropologie, une discipline autonome dans la plupart des grandes universités du monde, méritait une plus grande indépendance à l'Université Laval. Dans le contexte lavallois, ce statut de dépendance de l'anthropologie était surprenant non seulement à la lumière des pratiques ailleurs mais aussi de celles en existence sur le campus lui-même où certaines disciplines avaient conquis ce statut sans en avoir tous les *desiderata*. Le nombre d'anthropologues engagés dans l'enseignement, l'importance de la recherche anthropologique, estimée par le montant global des subventions annuelles de recherche

obtenues sur concours ainsi que par l'importance des effectifs étudiants, justifiaient que l'anthropologie obtienne le statut départemental.

S'appuyant sur les critères mentionnés plus haut, les étudiants et certains professeurs rejettent carrément d'une part l'existence de deux sections relativement autonomes à l'intérieur d'un Département conjoint, car cela était perçu comme représentant le *statu quo*, et même l'établissement d'un programme anthropologique d'étude qui aurait un fort degré d'autonomie. On veut la dissolution de l'ancien Département et la création d'un Département d'anthropologie, entièrement indépendant de la sociologie. On exige encore que les professeurs embauchés au Département nouveau soient d'une grande compétence en recherche, mais possèdent aussi de bonnes qualités pédagogiques. On insiste, enfin, pour que les étudiants soient parties prenantes aux principales décisions qui les concernent, d'où l'importance de la création d'instances décisionnelles constituées, sur une base paritaire, de professeurs et d'étudiants. Ces revendications n'ont pas toutes été acceptées d'emblée au moment où elles ont été énoncées, mais elles l'ont été sur une période relativement courte. Un certain nombre de ces revendications, par exemple, seront reflétées dans les rapports des travaux de la Commission Roy et, en particulier, dans un document se rapportant au 1er cycle (L'enseignement au 1er cycle, 1970 : 3). Voici quelques-uns des principes énoncés dans ce document qui ont un rapport direct aux propos qui précèdent :

> Pour l'ensemble des programmes, le premier cycle des études universitaires a comme objectifs généraux de permettre à l'étudiant : 1. d'être le principal agent de sa formation; 2. de progresser suivant son dynamisme personnel; 3. de s'orienter graduellement à partir d'une formation de base vers une spécialisation admettant des degrés divers; 4. d'acquérir la méthode, les concepts et les principes fondamentaux propres à une discipline ou à un champ d'étude; 5. de développer des habitudes de travail qui favorisent le jugement critique, l'esprit novateur et rendent capable l'éducation continue; 6. d'assurer une formation qui prépare au travail interdisciplinaire, à la mobilité occupationnelle et à la perception des problèmes que posent les développements de l'état actuel de la société. (p. 3)

Que faut-il retenir des contestations étudiantes de 1968-1970? Elles ont exercé un poids considérable sur les réformes universitaires qui s'ensuivirent aux débuts des années soixante-dix et elles ont été, dans une très large mesure, à l'origine de la création d'un Département d'anthropologie. Elles ont aussi influencé largement les orientations pédagogiques de l'anthropologie au début de cette même décennie (l'évaluation des professeurs et des cours par les étudiants datent de cette période) en plus de favoriser la participation directe des étudiants aux décisions départementales.

5. Les réformes et la création du Département d'anthropologie en 1971

Comme nous l'avons vu, à partir de 1968, de multiples activités de consultation, la production de travaux de comités d'étude et de grands rapports, se concrétiseront dans des réformes importantes à l'Université Laval (Laberge, 1978). À partir de 1960, avec l'arrivée au pouvoir d'un Gouvernement qui avait promis la réforme de l'éducation dans le sens d'une démocratisation des structures et d'une meilleure accessibilité des étudiants aux institutions d'enseignement, avec l'accroissement des populations étudiantes et des contestations qui s'ensuivirent, avec aussi la dissociation de l'Université Laval du Séminaire de Québec qui avait été à l'origine et l'augmentation substantielle des subventions gouvernementales de fonctionnement, l'Université Laval se voit dans l'obligation de modifier en profondeur ses structures.

En avril 1967, le Conseil de l'Université met sur pied un Comité du développement et de planification de la recherche que préside l'Abbé Lorenzo Roy. Ce comité remet son rapport en septembre 1968 ; il contient pas moins de 55 recommandations différentes se rapportant à presque tous les aspects de l'enseignement et de la recherche. À l'époque, ces recommandations produisirent bien des bouleversements, car elles transformaient les rapports de l'administration centrale aux Facultés en ce qui avait trait à la conception des programmes et la gestion des études. La tendance générale est à la centralisation et à la création des secteurs regroupant plusieurs Facultés. En effet, le Rapport Roy :

> ...proposait de les intégrer dans un vaste ensemble cohérent et communiquant, et concluait que, finalement, les Facultés pourraient être appelées à disparaître au profit de secteurs plus vastes. (Desmartis, 1981)

5.1 La Commission de la Réforme

Dans le document cité plus haut, André Desmartis présente un bon aperçu de la nature et des impacts de la Commission de la Réforme à Laval. Nous nous contenterons de citer intégralement une partie de son exposé car il rapporte l'essentiel de la chronologie des événe-

ments ainsi que des étapes qui ont abouti aux principales réformes structurelles :

> En novembre 1968, était formée la Commission de la Réforme chargée d'appliquer les principales recommandations du Rapport Roy. Après avoir élaboré la nouvelle Charte et les Statuts qui furent mis en vigueur en 1971, la Commission de la Réforme faisait adopter après plusieurs versions successives, le règlement des études du 1er cycle qui fut mis en application en septembre 1972, non sans avoir déclenché au passage une importante contestation étudiante. Finalement, la Commission de la Réforme disparaissait en 1973, sans avoir réussi à établir les liens organiques entre la structure des ressources (les départements et les facultés) et la structure des programmes (les directions de programme et les directions d'ensemble) qu'elle avait conçues. Il faudra attendre en 1980 pour qu'un comité «chargé d'harmoniser les statuts et les règlements» fasse finalement accepter une solution de compromis sur ce point. De même, la Commission de la Réforme échouait dans sa tentative de regrouper les facultés en unités plus larges, les secteurs.
>
> L'effort de rationalisation et de lutte contre l'arbitraire, commencé par la Commission de la Réforme, devait être poursuivi par divers comités relevant généralement du Conseil de l'Université. Citons, entre autres, l'établissement de normes communes d'allocation des ressources humaines aux diverses unités (la fameuse Annexe A), sans oublier l'uniformisation des conditions salariales entraînées par la signature de la Convention collective conclue avec le Syndicat des professeurs de l'Université Laval en janvier 1977, après quatre mois de grève. En confiant aux UPA (Unité Pédagogique et Administrative), c'est-à-dire au niveau départemental, de nombreuses responsabilités qui relevaient jusque là des doyens, cette conventions entraînait également d'importants changements de structure. (Desmartis, 1981)

5.2 Le comité Gérard Dion et la création du Département

L'Université Laval traverse donc une période de mutations profondes au moment où l'anthropologie tente de se dissocier de la sociologie. En 1970, l'anthropologie réussira à obtenir un statut départemental malgré les tendances centralisatrices de l'époque, associées à un processus de rationalisation des ressources. À la suite de nombreuses perturbations internes au Département de Sociologie et d'Anthropologie, résultant tout autant de conflits entre les professeurs que de contestations étudiantes, la Faculté des sciences sociales, par l'action de son doyen, l'économiste Yves Dubé, met sur pied en 1969 un comité présidé par l'Abbé Gérard Dion dans le but d'étudier la situation du Département de Sociologie et d'Anthropologie. Plusieurs documents seront produits dans le but de réclamer la création d'un Département d'anthropologie distinct de la sociologie, y compris une pétition signée par les professeurs des deux options du département conjoint. Les positions des anthropologues sont exposées dans un volumineux mémoire qui sera à la fois présenté au Comité Dion et au Conseil de la Faculté des sciences sociales. Dans ce Mémoire, on y fait état de la spécificité de l'anthropologie en tant que discipline académique, de sa constante croissance depuis l'établissement de l'option anthropologique à l'intérieur du département conjoint, de la qualité de ses équipes de recherche qui oeuvrent sur la Côte-Nord du Fleuve Saint-Laurent (sous la co-direction de Charest et Tremblay), dans le Grand Nord chez les Inuit (sous le direction de Bernard Saladin d'Anglure), à la Sierra de Puebla au Mexique (sous la direction de Beaucage) et au Nord Cameroun (sous la direction de Santerre). Ces divers projets de recherche ont obtenus en 1969-1970 des subventions de l'ordre de $70 711 et en 1970-1971, $117 949. (Collectif *l'anthropologie*, 1970 : 20) et ils encadrent pour cette dernière année académique 28 chercheurs totalisant 139 mois/plein temps de recherche (Idem, : 22). On fait encore référence à ses acquisitions muséographiques, au développement de ses programmes d'étude et de recherche ainsi que des structures à institutionnaliser. On met en relief le fait que les étudiants, dans leur mémoire du mois de novembre 1968 avaient réclamer la création immédiate d'un département : cette proposition n'avait pas rallié l'ensemble des professeurs, quelques-uns (nous étions du nombre) préférant que l'Option consolide ses ressources humaines avant de réclamer officiellement un tel statut dans une couple d'années. Mais les initiatives étudiantes de 1969, la création d'un Comité pédagogique et l'établissement d'un programme complet d'études, etc. ainsi que le malaise grandissant que ressentaient les anthropologues à l'intérieur du Département de Sociologie et d'Anthropologie, particulièrement à la suite de mésententes se rapportant à la répartition du budget et à l'engagement du personnel départemental en 1969, ont accéléré le processus de la dissociation.

Le Comité Dion fut sensible aux arguments avancés par les anthropologues (à leur très grande satisfaction et soulagement) et son Rapport ainsi que celui que la Faculté des sciences sociales présentera au Conseil de l'Université reprendront essentiellement l'argumentation développée dans le Mémoire de l'anthropologie en

l'étayant des informations qu'il contient. À sa séance du 13 octobre 1970, le Conseil de l'Université Laval approuvait la résolution suivante :

> 1. Que le Département de sociologie et d'anthropologie de la Faculté des sciences sociales soit aboli; 2. Que deux départements soient créés, à savoir celui de sociologie et celui d'anthropologie; 3. Que le nouveau Département d'anthropologie s'en tienne principalement aux domaines de l'anthropologie sociale et culturelle et qu'il concentre ses efforts sur les aires culturelles les plus rapprochées : Canada français, Amérindiens, Esquimaux. (Extrait du Livre des Délibérations du Conseil de l'Université. Résolution U-70-472)

Cette décision fut accueillie avec enthousiasme par les 85 personnes qui composaient le Département à cette date mémorable : 67 étudiants (dont 54 au 1er cycle et 13 au 2ième cycle), 10 professeurs (dont quatre professeurs invités) et huit assistants de recherche et d'enseignement (Dorais, 1980 : 1). Elle permit aussi aux anthropologues d'accéder à une autonomie administrative et de planifier le développement de la discipline selon les seuls critères en usage dans les centres académiques où elle florissait. Tremblay, qui assumait à ce moment-là la fonction de vice-doyen à la recherche à la Faculté des sciences sociales, fut nommé directeur du Département : il cumula les deux fonctions durant une période d'une année, jusqu'au moment où il accéda en novembre 1971 à la direction de l'École des Gradués (l'équivalent d'une Faculté des Études supérieures). C'est Bernard Saladin d'Anglure, comme je l'énonçais plus tôt, qui prit la relève à la direction du Département d'anthropologie en 1971. Le développement de l'anthropologie, comme il fut documenté dans les chapitres suivants de la monographie, fut rapide à maints égards, donnant raison à ceux qui voulaient une dissociation de la sociologie sur-le-champs.

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Notes

1 La monographie de Tremblay sur le Département d'anthropologie de Laval parût en 1989 au Laboratoire et Centre de documentation du département. Cet article comprend ce qui constituait, avec des ajouts et des modifications au texte initial pour le rendre plus facilement compréhensible à un public plus large, son introduction et son premier chapitre. Je tiens à remercier madame Josée Thivierge qui m'a assisté dans ce travail de reconstitution historique et qui m'a été d'une aide précieuse. Cette étude est basée sur certains documents officiels du Département d'anthropologie de l'Université Laval (Collectif 1970, 1976, 1978a, 1978b et 1982), des Annuaires de la Faculté des Sciences sociales 1962-1963, 1965-1966, 1986-1987 et ceux de l'Université, sur les écrits de mes collègues et sur ceux découlant de mon expérience de professeur à Laval depuis 1956. La section portant sur : Les précurseurs à Laval et ailleurs s'inspirent largement d'un articles publié conjointement avec Gérald L. Gold (1983) tandis que la section portant sur l'anthropologie à l'Université Laval jusqu'aux années soixante-dix reprend certain éléments qui apparaissent dans le même article.

2 En 1976, sous le direction de Jean Hamelin, les Fonds documentaire des Archives de Folklore, ceux de l'Atlas linguistique de l'Est du Canada et du Trésor de la langue française au Québec ont été regroupés pour former le CELAT (Centre d'Études sur la Langue, les Arts et les Traditions populaires des Francophones en Amérique du Nord) in, CELAT, Un Centre multidisciplinaire à fréquenter, Faculté des lettre, 1986, pamphlet d'information.

3 En plus de Jean-Charles Falardeau, les autres membres du département étaient : Guy Rocher, aujourd'hui professeur chercheur à la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Montréal; Fernand Dumont, toujours professeur au département de sociologie de Laval en 1987, mais aussi Président de l'Institut québecois de la Recherche sur la Culture (IQRC); Yves Martin, ancien sous-ministre du ministère de l'éducation, ancien recteur de l'Université de Sherbrooke et ancien directeur général de l'Institut de recherche en santé et sécurité du travail du Québec (IRSST); Gérald A. Fortin, ancien directeur du département et maintenant (1989) chercheur à l'Institut National de la Recherche Scientifique INRS-urbanisation et Marc-Adélard Tremblay, professeur au département d'anthropologie de Laval et depuis mai 1987, Président du Conseil québecois de la Recherche sociale (CQRS) au titre de prêt de service.

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Book Reviews / Comptes rendus

Rae Bridgman, Sally Cole and Heather Howard-Bobiwash (eds.), *Feminist Fields: Ethnographic Insights*, Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1999, 314 pages.

Reviewer: *Jasmin Habib*

Feminist Fields: Ethnographic Insights edited by Canadian anthropologists Rae Bridgman, Sally Cole and Heather Howard-Bobiwash and published by the independent Broadview Press presents essays about feminism, women in anthropology and feminist practices in the field. In the introduction, the editors write that they set out to attract young and old practitioners and to make the text "friendly to lay and undergraduate readers" by "encourag[ing] authors to enliven their texts with stories and first person narratives to bring tangled theoretical concepts to life" (p. 2).

Though in many ways this is an uneven text, in most cases the writers accomplished their editors` goals. The best essays offer exceptional insights and are accessible, reflexive, and most importantly for someone reading this text for its methodological contributions, ("ethnographic insights" being the subtitle of the book), they challenge feminists to rethink the study of gender in anthropological terms. The book covers a range of topics in 17 essays, including the role of women and feminism in academia; the problematic representation of women's practices; the changing social and political economies and their effects on women; the frontiers of women's organizing and political practices; and reflexive feminism in the "field." This review will focus on the best of these essays, reflecting my interest in feminist research methodologies.

Most impressive was "Home has Always been Hard for Me" by Susan Frolick who chooses to situate her own privileged mobility in order to gain insight into what can be the disorienting and demanding experience of homelessness and single-motherhood. Of one woman's struggles, she writes how:

> She politicized home as an impossible space wherein she has had an ongoing struggle to find and make a place for herself and her son against barriers of poverty, abuse, homophobic and sexist discrimination, and her own inability to overcome the politics and weightiness of "home" work. (p. 91)

Through her vulnerability as a lesbian, as well as through her poverty, Raine mediates her understanding of home—as a secure place of belonging—as a reality she has never been able to "afford," symbolically or materially, nor likely will in the future (p 92).

In her chapter on homelessnes, Rae Bridgman adds to her analysis a reflection on the vulnerabilities of the subjects of any ethnographic project, something feminist sociologists who were at the forefront of the development of feminist research methodologies wrote about in the early 1980s but it seems anthropologists still need to be reminded of.

On the politics and problematics of representing—in anthropological and feminist terms—women's practices, Parin A. Dossa's chapter entitled "Narrating Embodied Lives: Muslim Women on the Coast of Kenya" begins with this provocative statement:

> My purpose is to suggest a frame that goes beyond the listening-telling paradigm of life narratives (Ong, 1995), that seek to address the "crisis of representation" in feminist/subalternist anthropology, but ultimately, remain confined to capturing "words" (p. 157)....[D]espite my painstaking efforts to listen to women's stories, I was missing out on a critical element: images of women's bodies at work, engaged in aesthetic and creative endeavours, on the move and in positions of repose. The telling and listening paradigm became inadequate.... (p. 158)

Dossa "returns" to do field work in the village of Lamu in her "home" region, though as she writes, not as a "native": "[a] 'native' stance would be pretentious as my advanced education in the West and my profession as an academic have created cultural and class differences that need to be taken into account" (p. 160). In the paper, she "show[s] that there is no simple equation between veiling/seclusion and women's oppression and lack of opportunities....[T]hat the veil is one means through which women occupy multiple spaces" (p. 171).

Her conclusions:

> Women in Lamu do not consider themselves to be engaged in female-centred subversive activities. To view them in this light would be to impose outside perceptions on their lives and to assume that occurrences in the public male

> sphere are more important than private, female-centred activities. (p. 170)

Of women's organizing and their relationship to feminist political practices, in "Off the Feminist Platform in Turkey: Cherkess Gender Relations," Gonul Ertem writes of "Cherkess' women's approach to women's issues" (p. 173). Ertem's argument is that Cherkess women's political positions are informed by their broadly based national struggle within Turkey's "ethnically diverse but ideologically homogeneous national context" (p. 175). Ertem presents a fascinating, rich and historically sensitive account of the cultural and national struggles faced by Cherkess women vis-a-vis Turkey's feminists, asking important questions while giving us the context within which to understand the complexity of women's and feminist's political organizing. She includes in that discussion a most interesting reflection on Cherkess masculinity.

Sharon Roseman contributes to a long-standing—though not always fully articulated—anthropological problematic: the activist role of the anthropologist in the field. In her chapter entitled, "Fixo Ben" (She Did the Right Thing): Women and Social Disruption in Rural Galicia," Roseman writes:

> A practice approach demonstrates not only how productive women's disruptive commentaries can be but also how these public discussions can draw anthropologists into local analyses. The women I know in rural Galician villages do not invite me to participate in their intense deliberations about the actions of men...simply as a welcoming gesture. They are enjoining me to participate in the local politics of gender consciousness. (p. 223-224)

A practice approach can be central to feminist ethnographers' attempts to account for women's agency, the structures that constrain that agency and their awareness of these constraints. It can also be used to analyze not only how women's practices are socially disruptive within their local communities but also how we, as feminist anthropologists, can be similarly disruptive in subtle ways in both their and our own communities and in our writings.

In a highly readable and engaging chapter entitled "Gender and Identity Formation in Post-Socialist Ukraine: The Case of Women in the Shuttle Business," Tatiana Zhurzhenko writes:

> The transition from socialism to the market-oriented economy accompanied by a revision of gender roles and by the emergence of new models of behaviour. This has resulted in radical changes in the economic strategies and lifestyles of Ukrainian women....The emergence of new identities for Ukrainian women reflects the instability and contradictions of society in transition. (p. 243)

The coverage of the book is obviously broad but it is not comprehensive. Clearly chapter length work cannot encompass all aspects of the research but there are points where more could have been done. The gender analysis in the pieces is also somewhat uneven, and in many cases could be pushed further than the authors do. The strongest essays are those that take up an analysis of gender—rather than simply placing women at the centre of their texts. These are anti-essentialist and concerned to move the feminist project forward through a critique of past feminist works and failures, especially with respect to feminism's failure to deal directly with class and identity politics. Unfortunately, the postmodern influence in anthropology is least successfully analyzed and seems to have been reduced to nothing more than a kind of "New Age" anthropology.

One puzzle posed by the book when read for insights into the practices of feminist anthropology is how to comprehend this subject in a historical and productive way. In this respect, Deborah Gordon's "U.S. Feminist Ethnography and the Denationalizing of 'America': A Retrospective on Women Writing Culture" lies at the centre of the text and deserves attention. In "Pilgrim Souls, Honorary Men, (Un)Dutiful Daughters: Sojourners in Modernist Anthropology," Sally Cole discusses the conflicted relationship that marked Margaret Mead and Ruth Landes' professional lives. This essay points less to any hope for a future of female/feminist support and promotion and more towards what many have sadly experienced: a competitive rather than nurturing spirit between women and feminists in academia.

Though a Canadian-based text, surprisingly little makes it a Canadian volume. I was most disheartened to find that there was no chapter on the history of feminist thought in Canadian anthropology or even any reference to other texts that take up the relationship of feminism to the Canadian academy. There is little about Canadian feminism's mark on anthropology or anthropology's mark on Canadian feminism. I also find it objectionable that a Canadian anthropology text would not include native women or even an explicit critique of feminism or feminist anthropology from a First Nations perspective. It is as though the writers, particularly those writing about First Nations peoples, did not want to *engage* the debate that has raged both between indigenous women and feminist circles in a very public way since the 1980s over such issues as voice appropriation and reproductive choice. One footnoted reference to legal analyst and indigenous rights activist Patricia Monture-Angus who is critical of the feminist movement is surely not enough. This then makes the text especially problematic for it presents (appropriates?) indigenous women's voices only in the context of fieldwork and it then seems that this book was written *despite* this important critique.

Turning then to the practice of reflexive writing, there are wonderful examples of it in the text but overall, I was disappointed. For a number of years now, anti-feminists and feminists alike have questioned the role played by self-reflexive texts in anthropology, many arguing that they are no more than navel-gazing exercises. Sadly, some of the essays

included in the text have sections that are no more than that. This is where feminist work has been least successful it seems to me, not only in promoting the strength of reflexive work but of understanding the importance of a "situated" (Donna Haraway) analysis. "Situated" never meant establishing an egocentric anthropology; when such reflections do little to expand the analyses at hand, they only reinforce the central place of the anthropologist. Much of what emerges with such exposes reveals less about how the world turns or where privilege lies (unless, of course, you choose to read it against the grain). I do not think anyone is at all interested in strictly biographical statements by anthropologists or feminists except insofar as such experiences might reveal *how* they have lived privileged lives (by virtue of their class, status, or geography, etc.) and how theirs is an always-partial perspective. Writing as though all women as women are in a position of marginality seems rather absurd in light of all of the criticisms made by women of colour and indigenous women over the last two decades. This issue really should have been addressed more forcefully in a text published in 2000.

Strange as it might seem for those who think of feminism as a political practice, what is also avoided in the text is politics. Only in Deborah Gordon's work are the political stakes of feminism highlighted. Some hint at political conflicts yet these conflicts seem peripheral to rather than at the centre of their subjects' experiences. In Bridgman's piece on homelessness, there is no discussion of the war against the poor that includes punitive laws against "vagrancy." In Cecilia Rothstein's article on "Who Are We for Them?: On Doing Research in the Palestinian West Bank," Rothstein avoids any discussion of the militarisation of Palestinian women's lives. While conflict may have been "low level" in the years in which she conducted her research, it cannot have been a marginal experience for women who have been living under or, as importantly for some among them, resisting military occupation for more than 30 years.

Overall, however, this is a good collection of essays. There may be few people whose interests are diverse enough to sustain reading the book cover to cover, but it could be read as a report on some of the new areas of research on and about women's place in the world. Students of feminist anthropology will find this ethnographic collection useful and it would be an excellent reader for upper-year undergraduate students alongside a feminist theory text.

Éric Gagnon et Francine Saillant, *De la dépendance et de l'accompagnement. Soins à domicile et liens sociaux*, Les Presses de l'Université de Laval / L'Harmattan, 2000.

Recenseure : *Sylvie Fainzang*
Cermès (Inserm)

Cet ouvrage porte sur une catégorie particulière d'acteurs dans le monde de la santé : celle des intervenantes à domicile, autrement dit de ces femmes qui se rendent chez les personnes dépendantes en vue de les aider dans leurs activités domestiques et dans leurs soins, et qui apportent une contribution à ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler le «maintien à domicile» des individus en perte (provisoire ou permanente) d'autonomie.

Bénévoles accompagnant à un rendez-vous médical ceux qui ne peuvent s'y rendre seuls, aides-domestiques faisant l'entretien ménager de ceux qui ne peuvent plus faire le faire eux-mêmes, infirmières venant changer le pansement des malades, elles viennent compenser leurs incapacités, atténuer leur isolement, compléter ou appuyer l'aide qu'ils reçoivent de leurs proches ou des services publics. Par une description fouillée de leur mission et de leurs activités, cet ouvrage examine le travail des intervenantes qui œuvrent au sein des organismes communautaires, leurs pratiques d'aide et de soin, et les formes de liens qu'elles nouent avec les personnes dépendantes, en vue de cerner la manière dont est gérée, individuellement et collectivement, la question de la dépendance.

Une interrogation fondamentale traverse l'ouvrage : qu'est ce qui motive et assure la pérennité des liens sociaux dans notre société? Une question qui est également au centre des préoccupations des organismes intermédiaires insérés entre la famille et les services publics, et des pratiques d'aide et de soin qui se déploient entre l'aide familiale et les soins professionnels.

L'intérêt qu'Éric Gagnon et Francine Saillant portent aux relations dans les pratiques d'aide et de soin, et aux liens qui sous-tendent ces relations, est lié à leur volonté de relier des expériences individuelles à des enjeux globaux autour de cette question de la dépendance. Dès lors, de nombreuses autres questions émergent : Quelles relations se tissent entre ces intervenantes et les aidés? Quelles finalités sont visées par l'aide et les soins? Dans quelle mesure les pratiques d'aide et de soin ne représentent-elles pas une forme de relation impliquant un nouveau lien de dépendance, avec ses caractères propres?

Pour y répondre, les auteurs de cet ouvrage ont considéré les services et les intervenantes comme des réalités hétérogènes, perméables au milieu, et pourvues de spécificités internes dans leur approche de l'intervention, et ont retenu, pour cadres de leurs enquêtes, des milieux divers (notamment rural et mono-ethnique, urbain et mono-ethnique, urbain et pluri-ethnique).

Avec cette ouvrage, on découvre qu'il existe toute une organisation politique et économique de la dépendance qui

favorise et aménage les liens et les pratiques d'aide et de soin par la création d'entreprises et d'organismes. Pour soutenir les familles et compléter les services publics dans la prise en charge à domicile des personnes dépendantes, différents organismes proposent ainsi leurs services ou sont appelés à le faire par les pouvoirs publics. Certains d'entre eux existent depuis longtemps, d'autres sont plus récents. Ces divers organismes de bénévoles, organismes privés ou d'économie sociale, participent au réaménagement des modalités selon lesquelles notre société pense et gère la question de la dépendance.

Les auteurs examinent d'abord dans quelles conditions les organismes et entreprises ont émergé. A cet égard, ils montrent comment les services bénévoles ont été créés pour l'aide à domicile, et dans quelle mesure ce recours au bénévolat touche à la fois à la question de la liberté dans la relation d'aide et de soin, et à la question des responsabilités collectives face à la dépendance. Examinant quelle place les entreprises privées ont obtenu dans le champ de l'aide et des soins, ils montrent que la création et l'essor de ces organismes et entreprises est lié à des déplacements dans l'aide que peuvent recevoir les personnes dépendantes. On voit ainsi comment, au moment où les entreprises privées à but lucratif connaissent un certain essor, une autre sorte d'entreprise a fait son apparition : les entreprises d'économie sociale, destinées à créer des emplois de réinsertion sociale. La nécessité de replacer la relation d'aide dans son contexte conduit les auteurs à examiner la nature de cette relation dans ces divers cadres que sont les organismes de bénévole, les entreprises d'économie sociale, et les entreprises privées, où la valeur du service est directement corrélée à la gratuité du service ou au contraire à sa valeur marchande.

Les facteurs invoqués par les pouvoirs publics qui expliquent et justifient les politiques de maintien à domicile sont bien évidemment tous porteurs de la question de la dépendance et de son contraire : l'autonomie. En effet, si les personnes âgées en perte d'autonomie constituent la majorité des personnes touchées par l'aide à domicile (70%), divers autres groupes en sont également bénéficiaires : personnes handicapées, malades chroniques, personnes post-hospitalisées, personnes souffrant de problèmes de santé mentale chroniques ou de troubles cognitifs, mourants, malades atteints du sida, donc des individus vivant des expériences très différentes et nécessitant des services variés.

Eric Gagnon et Francine Saillant examinent également les dimensions et les expressions de la relation qui s'établit entre les différentes catégories d'intervenantes et les personnes auxquelles elles apportent aide et soin, en s'interrogeant sur la place qu'elles occupent en tant qu'intermédiaires entre un espace public et un espace privé, et entre la personne aidée et son milieu. A travers le tableau qu'ils brossent, se lit la place de l'écoute, de la compassion, de l'amour et de l'empathie, comme partie intégrante de la vision humaniste de l'intervention, et se révèlent les deux figures du lien social que concentre le rôle des intervenantes : la figure de l'ami et la figure du professionnel. Discrétion, confidentialité, respect de l'intimité, mesure de la parole, réserve, sont autant de qualités qui caractérisent les pratiques des intervenantes et qui sont les conditions nécessaires à l'établissement de ce qui est considéré comme une «bonne relation». Les auteurs montrent combien, pour les intervenantes, l'aide et les soins, c'est avant tout un acte de communication, lequel se déploie suivant une certaine temporalité. La question de la temporalité, analysée ici avec une grande finesse, est fondamentale au regard de la relation de confiance qui doit s'instaurer. Certes, la durée des liens amenuise la distance existant au début de la relation. Mais, si le temps écoulé permet aux aidés de s'habituer à cette présence, un contact trop fréquent met en péril la bonne distance qui doit être préservée. Comme on le voit, c'est une relation tout entière fondée sur la bonne mesure.

La référence à la figure de l'ami ouvre sur une nouvelle question, que n'esquivent pas les auteurs, celle des liens de l'intervenante avec le milieu familial. Ainsi, une des dimensions de l'ouvrage consiste à cerner comment cette pratique d'aide s'inscrit à l'intérieur des familles et des communautés des aidés, et à étudier la place spécifique de l'intervenante à la fois par analogie et par différence avec les membres de la famille.

Enfin, s'interrogeant sur la manière dont se joue la gestion de la liberté dans cet espace particulier qu'est la relation d'aide, les auteurs examinent comment et jusqu'où les intervenantes s'y engagent, comment elles affirment leur indépendance et leur liberté en écho à celles que revendiquent les aidés, comment se pose la question des limites et comment s'exerce ou non le contrôle extérieur sur leurs actes.

Pour conclure, l'ouvrage ouvre sur une question de toute première importance : le rôle de l'Etat. Dans la société moderne que les auteurs qualifient de «société de la dépendance» au sens où la dépendance fait problème, les auteurs mettent en évidence les formes fortement institutionnalisées que prend la gestion de cette dépendance, dans la mesure où l'Etat distribue les rôles et les responsabilités à l'intérieur même de la sphère privée.

Au total, Éric Gagnon et Francine Saillant nous proposent ici un ouvrage alliant la sensibilité et la lucidité sur un phénomène social d'une actualité croissante.

Review Essay

Mary Bouquet (ed.), *Academic Anthropology and the Museum: Back to the Future*, New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2001, xiv +240 pages.

Reviewer: *Barbara Lawson*
Redpath Museum, McGill University

Following decades of marginalization and neglect, museums have become sites of critical interest for many anthropolo-

gists and other social scientists engaged in studies of institutional life, exhibitions, and material culture. Museum anthropology made its debut in the latter half of the 19th century; its period of greatest influence coinciding with the establishment of the university as anthropology's institutional setting in the 1890s. With the fieldwork revolution of the early 20th century, museums declined as places for academic anthropology, reaching an all-time low by mid-century.

Academic Anthropology and the Museum examines the current period of renewal and re-invention, which began gathering momentum almost twenty years ago. Editor Mary Bouquet (Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam) has already gained scholarly attention with theoretical writings on museums and material culture (2000a, b). The need for a sampling of recent museum-related work by anthropologists was apparent to Bouquet who had just set up a course on cultural anthropology and museology at Utrecht University. The editor suggests that her own Netherlands-based experience and the European-focus in most of the articles provide a useful alternative to anthropology's almost exclusive preoccupation with the Anglo-American tradition. Not mentioned by Bouquet, but also significant, is that one of the few works focussing on museum anthropology to emerge immediately before the museum boom, *From Field-case to Show-case* edited by W.R. van Gulik, et al. (1980), was also Netherlands-based. Thus the present volume serves as a useful benchmark for those interested in assessing theoretical, pedagogical and praxiological developments over the past 20 years.

In addition to her own introduction and essay, Bouquet has assembled contributions from 12 anthropologists. Among them, the names of Michael Ames and Jeanne Cannizzo will be familiar to readers of *Anthropologica*. The contributors, mostly associated with European universities, represent varied levels of museum involvement—some having experience as curators or directors *and* contributors to the development of museological theory, others more theoretically oriented with limited "field" experience. The sites under investigation, such as the Smithsonian, Alert Bay's U'mistà Centre, and northern Australia's Melville and Bathurst islands, comprise a broader geography than the academic affiliations of the contributors. The 12 essays are intended to provide a cross section of the many different types of anthropological work now being undertaken in museums; they are grouped as an introduction and the five sections discussed below.

(1) "Anthropological encounters with the post-colonial museum" addresses the complexity of cultural relations during and after the colonial period and how these are embodied in museum artifacts. Saunders' contribution examines Belgium's Royal Museum for Central Africa (the Koninklijk Museum, Tervuren) and the U'mistà Centre (Alert Bay, British Columbia) and finds these geographically and historically disparate locales similar as representations of pseudo-scientific culture (termed pseudo-Boasian in the case of the U'mistà Centre). Both institutions are found to link centre and periphery, but in opposite directions. Although the essay is often insightful, this reader was vexed by it's frequent lapses into jargon-laden obscurity. Relations of scientific production and centre/periphery oppositions are further explored in Porto's consideration of museum photography as print-colonialism in Portugal and Angola, and Venbrux's look at the pre-museum history of anthropologist Baldwin Spencer's collecting of Tiwi artifacts on Melville and Bathurst islands.

A methodological framework, which sees museums anew from the critical stance of the social scientist, is the basis for both sections (2) "Ethnographic museums and ethnographic museology 'at home'" and (3) "Science museums as an ethnographic challenge." A variety of institutions serve as field sites, as activities behind the scenes and in the public space are examined, and as the lay public and museum practitioners are recast as subjects of investigation. In section (2), Segalen examines the historical, institutional, and sociological contexts of France's national museums, with special consideration of the Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires, while Dias compares teaching ethnographic museology in anthropology departments at Lisbon's Instituto Superior de Ciênçias Do Trabalho e da Empresa (ISCTE) and at the University of Coimbra. At issue are the historically divergent trajectories of anthropological research and museum presentations, which although discussed with regard to France and Portugal, should in no way be taken as a particularly unique state of affairs. Segalen's case study is somewhat surprising in its tendency to polarize recent efforts by anthropologists and museum practitioners: the former apparently uniquely suited to recapture public attention and fulfil a new social role by illuminating contemporary concerns, while the latter group remains hopelessly bound to displaying the contents of fusty reserves regardless of any other considerations. In this regard, Dias' call for a renewed dialogue between anthropology and museums is far more sensible.

Section (3) employs ethnographic methodological and theoretical developments to determine how scientific knowledge is both represented and constituted in museum settings. The chapter by González, Nader and Ou provides an excellent historical overview of the anthropological literature treating the conflicting epistemologies that emerge when artifacts are interpreted and cultures are represented in exhibitions. The contexts they examine are the *Enola Gay* and *Science in American Life* exhibits at the Smithsonian Institution and the ensuing controversies which challenge the notion that scientific and curatorial experts are purveyors of objective reality. Their discussion of "scientific" hegemony over public spaces is particularly compelling when considered in relation to the subject of cultural representation in academic anthropology. Macdonald's behind the scenes fieldwork at London's Science Museum is nicely counterpoised with the front stage orientation of the previous chapters and also provides a good bridge to discussions which follow. With

close to two decades of museum-related anthropological critique, it is indeed refreshing to have some insights acknowledging the complexity of museum culture, the fallacy of assessing exhibits as the work of one or two individuals, and a recognition of the critical and informed reflexivity engaged in by many members of the museum community.

Behind the scenes activities are further explored in section (4) "Anthropologists as cultural producers," which examines the convergence of museological theory and practice with accounts of anthropological forays into the depths of museum territory. Shelton explores the realm of critical museology in which issues and non-conventional exhibition genres deconstruct the work of museums. The focus is on Britain and specifically the Brighton Museum, which reworked its ethnographic displays in exemplary fashion during the mid-1990s with a variety of new interpretive strategies, cultural engagements and creative interventions. Jean Cannizzo compares processes of cultural production in academic research, radio programming and museum exhibitions with a case study of the development of *David Livingstone and the Victorian Encounter with Africa*, an exhibition which was generated and displayed by the National Portrait Gallery (London) and the Royal Scottish Academy (Edinburgh). She realistically describes constraints and negotiations required for an academically-trained anthropologist to collaborate with specialists inside the cultural milieu. As with Macdonald's contribution, Cannizzo's account of contingency, detail and complexity in the process of cultural production is most welcome. This section closes with Bouquet on the subject of exhibition-making and the process of translating concept into design, rendering museum collections visible and accessible to the public. Her fieldwork site is the Institute and Museum of Anthropology at the University of Oslo, where she is able to observe the shift in organizational arrangements that have reconfigured that institution since the 1990s. It is important to mention here that new managerial regimes, dependence on contracting personnel for projects, shifts in the balance of power between curators and other staff members resulting from changes in emphasis from collections to exhibition have likely affected all museum sites under scrutiny in the present volume over the past decade. Bouquet's ethnography of exhibit-making reveals different levels of human agency in what appears to the uninitiated simply as an arrangement of objects, images and words. The volume's final section (5) "Looking ahead" consists of a single essay by Michael Ames, a prominent figure in museum anthropology's recent history. Ames directed UBC's Museum of Anthropology for nearly a quarter century, and his commentary on possible museum scenarios in the year 2015 is well-informed and a fitting ending for this stimulating volume.

As Bouquet notes in her introduction, the relationship now developing between university anthropology and museums poses numerous challenges for academic teaching and research. Perceptions of ethnographic museums as being isolated from everyday life, serving as repositories for exotic objects or mausoleums of material culture and as potentially glorifying colonial exploitation continue to plague anthropological inquiry. Recent criticisms, such as those articulated by Haas (1996), express concern over museum anthropology's ability to divest itself of this perceptual and material baggage. With intensified scrutiny by the academic world and also from numerous cultural communities, the task of cultural representation within contemporary museums has also become increasingly complex. Artifact-related dialogues frequently give way to fundamental concerns about control, both internal and external, and conflicting epistemologies compete for the attention of a shape-shifting audience. *Academic Anthropology and the Museum* focusses on anthropologists, but the consideration given to relations between academic and museum worlds will be useful to any scholar with current affiliations or aspirations to engage with museum culture. In terms of the volume's original intent, as a work responding to the needs of those teaching and studying anthro-museology, it is an impressive accomplishment.

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Veena Das, Arthur Kleinman, Margaret Lock, Mamphela Ramphele, Pamela Reynolds (eds.), *Remaking a World: Violence, Social Suffering, and Recovery*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.

Reviewer: *Sima Aprahamian*
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Remaking a World: Violence, Social Suffering, and Recovery edited by Veena Das et al. is the third (and last) volume on social suffering, violence and recovery compiled by the members of the Committee on Culture, Health, and Human Development of the Social Science Research Council (New York). Whereas the first two volumes *Social Suffering* and *Violence and Subjectivity* examined the effects of problems related to force, political, economic, institutional power on individuals and communities, this last volume explores how people build their lives after collective trauma or after being marginalized through structured violence.

As described in the insightful introduction by Veena Das and Arthur Kleinman, *Remaking a World* brings together six ethnographic papers interwoven through "the thread of narration." The six essays in *Remaking a World* focus on the remaking of everday life after social trauma. The overlapping fibers of the ethnographic cases as Veena Das and Arthur Kleinman point out, deal with the following: "(a) relation between collective and individual memory; (b) creation of alternative public spheres for articulating and recounting experience silenced by officially sanctioned narratives; (c) retrieval of voice in the face of recalcitrance of tragedy; and (d) meaning of healing and the return to everyday" (p. 3).

The ethnographic essays in *Remaking a World* often poetically address the issues of social trauma and the remaking of everyday life through a uniquely anthropological perspective that explores how violence "works on lives and interconnections to break communities" (p. 1). This is a welcome contribution in a field dominated by psychologists and psychiatrists whose focus is on documenting, diagnosing post-traumatic stress disorder. The anthropological approach brings into attention issues of cultural representations, collective experience, critiques of the construction of knowledge based on the appropriation of social suffering. It also highlights the consequences of social suffering on everyday life; the effects of collective violence and social trauma on the individual, and "coping" with social suffering.

After exploring everyday life in the context of violence, the focus in *Remaking a World* is thus on mappings of healing and re-starting anew a life disrupted and affected by violence through detailed ethnographic case studies. The case studies compiled in this volume are marked with great diversity. The first paper by Komatri Chuengsatiansup examines the reclaiming of history (historiography) by the Kui of Thailand. Through detailed field notes on the construction of Bon Boran, a traditional Kui house, one learns how such an activity that drew together many members of the community and helped them engage in the process of negotiating their identities transforms individuals into "conscious citizens" (p. 68). The Kui are shown to be using a politics of exclusion to construct an autonomous identity, fighting the State politics of exclusion at the same time.

Just as the Kui social suffering is due to history, so is the pain of being Cree in Canada - the focus of the second article in this volume—the result of colonial heritage which is continuing by the politics of the State. Naomi Adelson through her ethnographic study examines the processes of re-imagining Cree identity after the social suffering due to the politics of colonization.

Maya Todeschini's exploration of the writings and interviews with Hayashi Kyoto, an author and Nagasaki survivor of the Atom Bomb, leads to an understanding of the stigmatization of the Japanese women whose bodies were seen to be sites of pollution/contaminated by the Bomb. She situates the issue in the Japanese contradictory symbolic conceptualizations of womanhood as life giving, women as protectors of social life as well as destroyers of it.

The next article is a study by Sasankra Perera of southern Sri Lankan villages in a post-violence period where narratives of spirit possession have emerged from individuals who had experienced directly or indirectly political violence. Sasankra Perera attempts to understand spirit possession as "mechanisms for remembering the past as well as coping with trauma resulting from extensive political violence" (p. 158).

The last two articles are on reconciliation. Whereas Deepak Mehta and Roma Chatterji in their case study of a "communal riot" in Dharavi, Bombay show how informant testimony is facilitating reconciliation after the trauma of political violence, Fiona C. Ross's study of the women's testimony in the first five weeks of public hearings of the South African Truth and reconciliation Commission draws attention to the power of words: "Words can be weapons; giving voice to the voiceless" ... and the struggle for truth in order to have reconciliation continues ... (p. 273).

The case studies in *Remaking a World* give hope that communities can rebuild their lives afer social suffering(s). This is indeed a timely and eloquent volume that privileges narrative at many levels.

Marisol de la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos: The Politics of Race and Culture in Cuzco, Peru, 1919-1991*, Duke University Press, 2000, 408 pages.

Reviewer: *Maria-Ines Arratia*

Marisol de la Cadena has written an interesting, detailed and insightful historical-ethnographic account of the politics of identity in the city of Cuzco, Peru, a highly significant cultural centre for the entire Andean region. This is the kind of in-depth study for which an "indigenous anthropologist" is particularly well suited, since probing into the very roots and sustenance of a complex, solidly established class system, can certainly benefit from an intimate, self-reflected exposure to its values, its implications and its pervasive long-term consequences. It is a prime example of embodied learning coupled with anthropological sophistication.

The book is composed of seven chapters, each dealing with one context where the politics of identity construction become manifest. The agents involved in these politics include intellectuals, dominant elites, political ideologists, writers, and, of course, aboriginal populations dubbed "Indians" by the Conquistador. Attention is given to the relationship between the State andIndigenous peoples, the particular role of academics and the politics of representation. Copious explanatory notes decoding some otherwise implicit meanings and a broad bibliography add value both to de la Cadena's analyses, as well as to the work as a resource for Andeanists. It is important to note that refer-

ences are drawn from Peruvian sources as well as from international scholars.

The volume is historically rich and replete with details of the complex dynamics involved in the construction of indianness and mestizaje in the 20th century, which are so relevant and revealing in understanding the complexities of current day, postcolonial cultural politics in Peru. The many-layered and textured account includes archival research and ethnographic examples, and provides the basis for a new style of postcolonial Andean ethnography, that incorporates historical developments, rural-urban interactions, socially dominant-subordinate dynamics, and includes the reproductive aspects of hegemony, as well as the symbolic aspects of legitimation and authenticity in the creation and reproduction of expressive culture intended to make visible and position cultural diversity as part of a regional heritage.

Indigenous Mestizos introduces the interpenetrated, patterned constructions of identities in the economic, social and symbolic contexts, carefully and explicitly attending to gendered differences. Breaking with the highly prevalent binary oppositions that characterize Andean ethnography, de la Cadena uncovers the essentialism of a "cultural racism" that constitutes the basis of the class system in Cuzco. Her ethnographic cases illustrate the currency of her historically drawn analyses bringing forth the voices of the informants, who use their own embodied learning experiences as the basis of their "native exegesis."

De la Cadena deals particularly well with the politics of representation, by unpacking complex hegemonic processes. The hegemony of "decency" is defined as the symbolic capital of the elites, to which the Mestizo cannot aspire, and the Indian, even less. Education and respect are two values that subaltern groups can harness for themselves in the process of accumulating their own symbolic capital. In this regard, ritual and performance are highly valued, for they imply specialized, elaborated knowledge. Thus the processes of de-indianization of Indianness and of indian culture in the urban setting through literacy, education and dignified representation give status to the Mestizo. These are cultural and not biological processes, and yet they affirm racism.

While the manner in which identity becomes manifest is constructed and asserted in particular spaces provides alternatives to the stronghold of this hegemony, it still falls short of achieving its goal, however. Thus Indians and Mestizos remain subaltern and even though the latter acquire markers of de-indianization through literacy and urbanization, in the end they inadvertently contribute towards the reproduction of the class system.

Geography and the perception of Indians as attached to the land are presented as two important components of cultural racism that come into play not only on the construction of identities, but even on the status attributed to Cuzco as a serrano regional centre, in constant tension with a relatively more hispanicized Lima. Thus we also learn of the historical construction of centre-regional rivalries and the contradictions involved in valuing a prehispanic past while devaluing the presence of indians pressumably "degenerated" through conquest and colonization.

The growth of tourism in Cuzco and surrounding area towards the middle of the century has drawn together the global and the local and provided incentives for the invention of new traditions as well as the recreation/reformulation of older ones. Cuzco has been given the status of "cradle of Peruvianness." Issues of authenticity and legitimation, morality, purity and social hierarchy become intertwined in the various interpretations of culture that circulate as indigenous ethnicity is constantly renegotiated.

The book offers rich interpretations of the complex processes it seeks to uncover and provides some comparisons with the situation and positioning of indigenous cultures in other Latin American countries, inviting further research of this kind. Indeed, there is a great deal to be drawn from this work in providing comparisons with other Andean countries which were also once a part of the Tawantinsuyu. There is also a great deal to draw in comparing how rural indigenous peoples recontextualize their cultural values and identities in urban settings throughout the continent, for the study of class formations and the concept of hybridity. Further, the proposal de la Cadena makes in considering tourism a "Western technology" and the success this industry has had in providing a livelihood not only to Cuzco but to various surrounding villages, should motivate other researchers into analyzing how regional histories come to inform current representations of local lore and new exotizations of Indianness for the benefit of the tourist trade.

Indigenous Mestizos should become compulsory reading for graduate students in Andean Studies and will prove to be an important resource for Latin Americanists in general. The book should also interest scholars working on the construction of ethnicity, race, class and dominant-subaltern relations and the politics of representation.

Steve Paquet, *Folie, entraide et souffrance – Anthropologie d'une expérience parentale*, Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2001, 134 pages.

Recenseur : *Louise Blais*
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Dans le champ de la santé mentale, le rôle de la famille et de la communauté s'est élargi pour devenir source primaire de soutien. De plus en plus, la famille se veut le recours par excellence quand la maladie d'un proche se pointe. Ce transfert de responsabilités des institutions aux familles est en grande partie attribuable à l'insuffisance de fonds alloués aux services offerts dans la communauté suite à la restructuration des soins de santé. Les proches assument ainsi de lourdes tâches, sans toutefois toujours bénéficier de l'aide de

partenaires. Compte tenu de l'énormité des responsabilités reléguées aux familles touchées par la maladie mentale, il importe de reconnaître le soutien limité qu'elles reçoivent.

Dans cette étude, Paquet souhaite démontrer que «la folie, quand elle fait irruption dans l'espace social, est d'abord vécu par ceux et celles qui la côtoient comme une pathologie du lien social, un dysfonctionnement dans l'ordre de la réciprocité et de l'échange» (p. 6). L'auteur cherche ainsi à dresser les contours de la souffrance en explorant l'expérience de parents traversant des moments difficiles et déchirants. Il espère entre autre illustrer que c'est moins l'atteinte corporelle qu'entraîne la maladie et beaucoup plus la remise en cause du rapport particulier à l'autre, à la culture et à soi-même qui est accablante. Ce faisant, il suppose qu'aucune frontière ne saurait trancher de manière efficace entre l'expérience de l'individu souffrant et celle de ses proches.

Afin d'en arriver à une compréhension et une interprétation plus détaillée de la souffrance, Paquet privilégie l'expérience vécue. Il s'agit ici de restituer le sens que revêt la souffrance en prenant comme point d'ancrage la parole de parents dont un de leurs enfants est atteint d un trouble de santé mentale, telle la schizophrénie, la psycho-maniaco- dépression ou un trouble de personnalité. Au total, neuf entrevues ont été réalisés, dont huit auprès de mères, et l'une auprès d un père fréquentant l'organisme «La Méduse». L'auteur explique la faible représentativité par les multiples crises et contraintes auxquels plusieurs membres appartenant au groupe d'entraide sont confrontés quotidiennement. L'échantillon s est donc constitué à partir de la disponibilité émotive des membres de l'organisme. Pour faire part des données recueillies, l'auteur a sélectionné trois des neufs récits, compte tenu de leur richesse d'information et de leur représentativité au niveau qualitatif. Ces trois récits ont donc servi à créer une trame narrative de référence à partir de laquelle l'auteur a procéder à la lecture et l'interprétation des autres discours.

En plus de mener des entrevues sur le terrain, Paquet a consacré une bonne partie de sa recherche à observer attentivement et à décrire le plus fidèlement possible les valeurs véhiculées au sein du groupe d'entraide. L'examen de documents produits par l'organisme, la rencontre avec le personnel de La Méduse, la participation à des séances ouvertes de même que l'observation d'échanges informels entre les membres ont ainsi contribuer à dessiner l idéologie et les dynamiques du groupe entourant l'expérience de la souffrance et de la maladie.

La trame narrative formée à partir des récits permet d'illustrer les dimensions collectives de la souffrance, telle que vécue et rapportée par les gens faisant partie du groupe La Méduse. Cette démarche vise à saisir l'expérience vécue de la souffrance par l'entremise à la fois du discours personnel (dimension subjective) et des dynamiques et liens qui se créent au sein du groupe (dimension intersubjective).

Selon Paquet, «le défi d'une analyse interprétativiste de la souffrance est donc d'arriver à dresser le portrait des significations de cette souffrance à partir de ce que le souffrant peut en dire» (p. 15). Malgré un discours commun et des façons socialement définies de réagir face à la souffrance d'une personne significative, il reste, d'après l'auteur, une part intraduisible de la souffrance. D'autres difficultés relèvent de l'impossibilité de traduire un vécu douloureux et de la distance qui fait surface entre l'individu et l'autre dans l'expérience de la souffrance. Le caractère silencieux de la souffrance rend le rapport à «l'autre souffrant» difficile en ce qu'il traduit son appel en une plainte parfois impossible à entendre. En insistant sur la grande solitude que vivent les individus affligés de maux, bons nombres d'auteurs s'intéressant aux thèmes de la souffrance et la douleur ont par le fait même négligé de souligner que «cette expérience de la souffrance est d'abord animée par une urgence explicative qui déborde de loin tout le silence qui l'entoure. La souffrance témoigne d'une quête de sens à jamais inassouvie» (p. 19). Paquet dira que «la souffrance, loin d'imposer le silence et de rendre impossible l'échange et la communication, exige par-dessus tout l'interprétation et donc la parole» (p. 18-19).

C'est au cours du deuxième chapitre que l'auteur procède à la présentation de l'organisme et à sa mise en contexte. «La Méduse», nom fictif donné à un organisme d'entraide communautaire, rassemblent les parents et les amis d'individus souffrant de troubles de santé mentale. Les services offerts à travers cet organisme s'organisent autour de cinq axes : service d'urgence, d'information, de counselling, de répit et d'entraide. Son objectif premier consiste à aider les proches dont l'un des leurs est atteint de maladie mentale. Dans ce dessein, le groupe d'entraide encourage la communication au sein de la famille et entre l'équipe professionnelle, la familiarisation avec les ressources dans la communauté, la défense des droits des personnes touchées par des troubles mentaux, la lutte contre l'ignorance et la stigmatisation à leur égard et la réorganisation du rôle de la famille dans le plan thérapeutique en ce qui a trait à la maladie mentale. À bien des égards, l'équipe mène un combat à caractère social.

Les parents des personnes atteintes font l'expérience d'une souffrance qui leur est propre et réclament ce droit à la souffrance. La folie est ainsi vue comme un mal collectif car elle se trouve à l'origine d une souffrance vécue collectivement. Certains parents compareront la folie à un deuil, mais un deuil qui persiste et qui se poursuit, et avec lequel ils doivent apprendre à vivre.

Selon Paquet, l'organisme est un espace symbolique en ce sens qu'il permet à ses membres d'orienter différemment leur vie en leur offrant une nouvelle direction ainsi qu une signification renouvelée. Bien que leur participation à ce groupe ne puisse rien changer à leur situation, c'est à dire la maladie d un proche, les membres peuvent procéder à la transformation de leur propre personne. L'un des effets marquants de leur implication dans ce groupe repose sur cette reconnaissance collective de leur impuissance, et la possibilité d en assumer les conséquences.

Le troisième chapitre nous amène à une exploration de l'origine, des impacts et du traitement de la maladie. L'auteur aborde ce chapitre en suggérant une certaine prudence lorsqu'il s agit d'identifier les causes et les traitements des problèmes de santé mentale. Malgré la popularité de l'approche bio-psycho-sociale auprès des ressources alternatives, il semble que la subjectivité des malades demeure occultée au profit d une vision s'inspirant surtout du courant scientifique. À l'opposé, le courant anti-psychiatrique, en focalisant constamment sur les conditions sociales à l'origine de la folie sans se référer à la réalité vécue par les individus, risque de les réduire de manière abstraite (Parent, 1999, dans Paquet, 2001).

De son côté, l'organisme conçoit la folie comme fortement liée à des difficultés au niveau de la communication. Ces troubles de communication sont à leur tour compris à la fois comme une cause et un effet de la maladie. Ainsi, une personne aux prises avec un problème de santé mentale est quelqu'un avec qui l'échange demeure difficile. Par ailleurs, la folie constitue une atteinte relationnelle qui risque d'amener la personne souffrante à l'isolement et au retrait social.

La symbiose entre la personne souffrante et sa famille occupe une place centrale au niveau de la souffrance évoquée par les participants de La Méduse. Le groupe cherche en fait à se défaire de cette fusion. Mais cette incapacité de se détacher de leur enfant demeure fréquemment l'un des facteurs associés à l'émergence de la maladie. D'autres facteurs invoqués pour expliquer l'origine de la maladie s'appuient sur des prédispositions de nature génétiques ou héréditaires, l'usage de la drogue et la délinquance. Paquet prend également le soin de souligner que certains de ces facteurs peuvent être à la fois une cause et un effet de la maladie.

L'auteur examine ensuite les répercussions de la maladie pour l'entourage de la personne atteinte. Il semble que l'une des grandes difficultés associées au maintien des liens qui unifiait auparavant la personne atteinte d'un trouble de santé mentale et son entourage renvoie au retrait social que manifeste la personne souffrante et la rupture des liens familiaux qu'elle entraîne. De façon similaire à l'isolement social, les tentatives de suicide et la manipulation qui peut s'ensuivre représentent une étape déterminante dans la trajectoire de la personne souffrant d'un trouble de santé mentale. Enfin, les troubles de comportement et l'errance sont également conçus comme des symptômes liés à la folie.

En ce qui a trait au rétablissement, l'engagement et la bonne volonté de la personne souffrante constituent les ingrédients qui, selon ses proches, l'amèneront vers les voies de la guérison. À l'opposé, le refus de collaborer de la personne atteinte est souvent perçu comme un signe d'abandon par son entourage. En effet, plusieurs proches des personnes souffrant d'un trouble de santé mentale sont d'avis qu'avant qu'elles puissent bénéficier de l'aide et du soutien qui leur sont proposés, elles doivent reconnaître leur maladie et accepter les obstacles que celle-ci risque d'entraîner. Notons au passage que sur ce point, le discours des proches ressemble à celui des intervenants professionnels du système socio-sanitaire.

Bien qu'à plusieurs niveaux, la personne présentant un trouble de santé mentale est vue par ses proches comme victime en ce qui a trait à la maladie, elle n'en demeure pas moins à leurs yeux responsable de son développement et de son rétablissement. Le lien familial agit comme agent régulateur en réglant et délimitant la distance entre les membres, ce qui, à son tour, permettra l'allocation plus adéquate des obligations et des responsabilités de chacun à l'égard de l'autre. Comme l'explique habilement Paquet (p. 95), «si la carence des liens familiaux représente un élément explicatif quant à l'arrivée de la maladie, la faiblesse (ou le dérèglement) de ces liens en constitue le symptôme et leurs redéfinitions, l'aspect curatif».

Paquet aborde son dernier chapitre en posant une question des plus intéressantes : «Comment dégager les raisons de leur souffrance si on ne leur accorde pas le pouvoir de détenir les mots pour en interpréter le sens?» (p. 97). Donner un sens à une existence meurtrie par une souffrance bien souvent trop difficile à exprimer, et chercher non seulement à la nommer, mais à la mettre en mots, voilà le défi auquel sont confrontés celles et ceux touchés par la souffrance.

L'ensemble des parents ont soulevé un grand sentiment d'impuissance face à la maladie de leur enfant. Ce désarroi se trouve également lié à l'impossibilité à laquelle ils sont confrontés de vivre et de souffrir à la place de leur enfant en détresse. En effet, l'auto-sacrifice, ou le sacrifice de soi pour l'autre, représente une réaction possible devant la souffrance d un proche. Certains parents parviendront ainsi à mettre de côté leur propre existence pour «sauver» celle de la personne malade. Du point de vue des parents, la question du sacrifice peut être envisagée comme une manière de donner un sens à ce qui représente pour la conscience une «expérience de l'insupportable». Certains parents chercheront ainsi à réparer les erreurs du passé.. Dans ce contexte, le sacrifice et l'auto-sacrifice désignent les deux variantes d'un seul et même désir, soit celui de se défaire d'un mal et d'une souffrance qui intensifient à divers degrés un douloureux sentiment de culpabilité.

L'expérience de la souffrance s'accompagne bien souvent d une initiative où les personnes en détresse arrivent, en examinant leur moi intérieur, à dévoiler leur vraie identité. Paquet est d'avis que ce souci de soi doit être vu comme une manifestation importante de l'impuissance dans laquelle ils baignent fréquemment devant l'impossibilité de changer le sort de leur enfant. En développant de nouvelles attitudes devant la maladie et la vie de tous les jours, ces parents peuvent toutefois se changer eux-mêmes. Dans le cas échéant, le souci de soi vise donc une conversion de soi. C'est également une façon indirecte d intervenir plus efficacement auprès de l' individu souffrant. À l'instar de Foucault, Paquet soutient ici que le souci de soi ne semble prendre son sens que lorsqu'il est vu dans la perspective du souci de l'autre. Loin d'être un exercice à caractère individualiste, le souci de soi

doit être interprété comme une pratique intensifiant les relations sociales.

En dépit des entraves et des pertes que supposent l'expérience de la souffrance, cette dernière peut également comprendre sa part de bénéfices en ce qu'elle représente parfois l'occasion pour des individus de se rapprocher et d'acquérir de nouvelles façons d'envisager les contraintes qui se pointent dans le quotidien. Paquet parvient ainsi à démontrer que l'expérience de la souffrance demeure une expérience «multiorientée» et c'est justement parce qu'elle reste au départ indéfinie qu'elle présente des significations aussi variées parmi les individus qui y sont confrontés (Kleinman, 1988, 1995, dans Paquet, 2001).

Afin de comprendre le sens que prend la souffrance pour ceux qui la vivent, l'auteur a dû «rendre compte du savoir local qui oriente en grande partie l'interprétation et la mise en parole de leur propre expérience» (p. 20). Ainsi, en optant pour une approche interprétativiste, Paquet reconnaît que la souffrance ne peut avoir de sens ni de valeur si elle n'est pas considérée dans sa localité, c est-à-dire dans un contexte socialement défini. Cette démarche lui a permis de concevoir la souffrance comme une expérience prenant racine dans un «espace social délimité» constitué d'échanges et de relations interpersonnelles. En ce sens, la réflexion de Paquet se rapproche de Singleton (1994: 155) pour qui «la souffrance individuelle est toujours fonction d'un malaise social». Dans la même veine, LeBreton (1998) dira qu'en ne cherchant pas à connaître la «trajectoire sociale et individuelle» de l'individu qui souffre, on fait abstraction à la fois de la personne, son histoire et son environnement. À la manière de ces auteurs, Paquet reconnaît et souligne donc comment il est peu probable de soulager la douleur corporelle si le corps social en souffrance reste dans l'ombre.

L'analyse de Paquet a également le mérite de dépasser les conceptions communes de la souffrance et de la maladie. Plutôt que de s'acharner à éviter, à taire ou à médicaliser ces expériences comme le veulent de nombreux discours sur la santé/maladie, il jette un profond regard sur ses diverses significations possibles. Sans ignorer les contraintes et les pertes que l'expérience de la souffrance comporte nécessairement, il y voit l occasion de relever certains effets bénéfiques. À titre d'exemple, l'auteur souligne à maintes reprises comment la souffrance semble promouvoir un cheminement intérieur et une croissance personnelle par la découverte d'habiletés dont plusieurs gens ne se doutaient pas. C'est aussi une occasion d'éviter l'isolement en s'impliquant socialement, et par le fait même, de créer de nouveaux liens.

Ainsi, Paquet conclut justement que l'expérience de la souffrance fait partie du lien social en ce qu'elle permet aux membres d'une même communauté de partager et d'en arriver à une vision commune du monde. Bien qu'il agisse à un niveau plus restreint, le groupe d entraide offre, au même titre que la culture, une façon pour ses membres «d être et de penser le monde».

Enfin, Paquet parvient à réaliser la délicate tâche de donner une voix aux personnes souffrantes sans sombrer dans la dramatisation ou l'exhibition gratuite de détails misérables. Même en l'absence d'un point de référence personnel quant à l expérience de la souffrance et de la maladie mentale, le lecteur peut, grâce aux verbatims sélectionnés par l'auteur et l'analyse qui en découle, concevoir la détresse, les vulnérabilités, la force et l espoir que ces gens entretiennent. Le portrait authentique qui en transpire humanise des expériences qui, trop souvent, demeurent inexprimables.

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Thomas Biolsi, *"The Deadliest Enemies": Law and the Making of Race Relations on and off Rosebud Reservation.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.

Reviewer: *Tony Fisher*
University of Alberta

Deadliest Enemies is an excellent book. It's not perfect, but then, no really good anthropology book is. *Deadliest Enemies* begins well. The Introduction introduces us to things we should know but probably don't. Chapter 1 is a good, brief review of the Rosebud Reservation's history and how its present legal status or conundrum came to be. The book carries on through four chapters focused primarily on specific cases and their associated legal issues. The final chapter and conclusion point to the impact of Indian law discourse.

Biolsi does a good job of keeping the lawsuits and the circumstances which lead to the lawsuit, the circumstances surrounding the trial and outcome of the suit, in the picture. This is very important because the Sicangu Lakota (or "Rosebud Sioux Tribe") must fight complex legal-political battles on alien ground. An 'alien ground' which is chimerical too.

The ground is owned by the Sicangu Lakota (whose nationhood is denied). But, their homeland is actually held by the people who are contesting the legal-political issues with them. And the contest is in alien courtrooms and legalese, alien to the Lakota.

As Biolsi says early on, a "central theme of this book is the contradiction and indeterminancy that lies at the heart of the discourse of federal Indian law—as well as the consequences of this for Indian-White relations" (p. 11). The origins of the contradiction lie in the legal (and mythical) char-

ter of the United States itself. The Declaration of Independence contains a statement of the "rights of man" from which it excludes the "merciless Indian savages" among whom might be the Sicangu Lakota. Another of the origins is the further exclusion of "the natives, who were heathens" as aliens from American humanity by Chief Justice John Marshall (p. 12).

Then, the U.S. Congress excluded "Indians not taxed" from citizenship, when it gave citizenship to former slaves, and then, the Supreme Court of the United States kept individual Indians from citizenship, even it they had dropped their tribal affiliation (Ibid.). This was the case notwithstanding having ruled, Indian Nations were not real nations, but "denominated domestic dependent nations" (p. 13). To Canadians this may sound familiar. It is similar to the views expressed by Premier Gordon Campbell, of British Columbia, regarding First Nations of the Province and their Treaties.

These exclusions are crucial. Not because of the obvious bigotry of the law, but the making of "Indians" into "others" then giving the "others" the choice between extinction or assimilation; no choice at all. In the real world of the Lakota excluding them as people or trying to obliterate them makes the indeterminate legal outcomes of Indian law into zero-sum games or outcomes: somebody, Indian or White, has to lose (p. 198). These outcomes or potential ones make neighbors into the deadliest enemies of the title. That is an origin of the violence in the race relations between Whitemen and the Sioux. There are several more origins.

In the chapters, about Indian-White relations, and the conclusion, Biolsi points out that the historic legal battle for rights, respect, and even sovereignty has defined a very "narrow range of rights-claims that are actionable" (p. 181). This means that the centuries of abuse and humiliation borne by the Lakota (or other First Nations, elsewhere) are heaped on to each legal action taken to define or determine jurisdictions, responsibilities, and liabilities under or within Indian law (p. 203). This intensifies the importance of these actions and their zero-sum outcomes.

A major point made by the book is that the historic processes of colonization and domination of the many North American Indian Peoples has at the same time privileged anthropologists and others as "Whitemen." Furthermore, the innocence or objectivity which the anthropologists and judges claim in their ethnological and legal discourse, "...is both a produced cultural fiction and a valuable political and legal status" (p. 206). Anthropology has a history, too, and in this history lie questions about our collective and individual relations with the First Nations whose recent history of Aboriginal rights claims have been influenced, in part, by the same history. The privilege which the Whiteman has is starkly exemplified by how and where the Lakota must claim their own independent humanity. They must do so in the Whiteman's court rooms or legislatures, in the Whiteman's language (s) and protocols.

The differences between Canadian and American law and practice are significant, but the basic Crown (human) versus Indian (who is other-than-human or not-quite-human) is the Canadian version of the U.S. Declaration of Independence mythology. Canadian anthropologists, jurists, and others must read this book. It ties historic myth, theory, and legal precedent to the day to day lives, discourse and battles of the contemporary First Nations of the New World.

Thomas C. Patterson, *A Social History of Anthropology in the United States*, Oxford: Berg, 2001, x + 212 pages.

Reviewer: *Robert L.A. Hancock*
University of Victoria

Since 2000, a number of significant books dealing with the history of anthropology in North America have been published. Among the most notable are Susan Trencher's *Mirrored Images: American Anthropology and American Culture, 1960-1980*, a major survey of the development of what she terms "fieldworker ethnographies" in the latter half of the twentieth century, and Regna Darnell's *Invisible Genealogies: A History of Americanist Anthropology*, a comprehensive examination of the development and refinement of the Boasian theoretical paradigm. With his new book, *A Social History of Anthropology in the United States*, Thomas Patterson has added yet another perspective to this literature.

Patterson's book arose out of a dissatisfaction with available histories of anthropology. In his opinion, the existing literature "did not refer to the social and political contexts in which anthropology was born and nurtured in the United States, and they certainly did not address how anthropologists as active agents fit into and helped to shape these contexts" (ix). He has three objectives: to examine the ways in which the civil-rights and anti-colonial movements, as well as European social theorists and critics, influenced American anthropology; to bring to the fore anthropologists on the left of the political spectrum whose contributions to the discipline had been downplayed by repression in the inter-war and Cold War eras; and to highlight the dialectical nature of anthropological knowledge production, that is, to show that the discipline "is shaped by what the world is and who the anthropologists and the diverse peoples they study are" (x). He explicitly characterises his book as a corrective to previous internalist approaches which did not examine the history of American anthropology in the context of American society.

Treating the topic chronologically, Patterson divides his book into five chapters. The first, "Anthropology in the New Republic, 1776-1879," examines the preprofessional period of American anthropology, from the founding of the Republic to the work of Lewis Henry Morgan. He draws connections between debates in Britain and the United States, focussing

on anti-slavery movements. Relying largely on secondary sources, Patterson emphasises the role of territorial expansion in the development of anthropological thought in the United States, and in the parallel rise of scientific racism.

In his second chapter, "Anthropology in the Liberal Age, 1879-1929," Patterson examines the founding of the Bureau of Ethnology (later the Bureau of American Ethnology) and the professionalisation of the discipline. The expansion of the discipline, reflected in the growth of academic departments, the re-organisation of *American Anthropologist*, and the founding of the American Anthropological Association, occurred during a period of widespread racial intolerance of American Indians, Jews, and African-Americans. Patterson discusses Franz Boas in this context, focussing on his anti-racist work, his arguments against evolutionism, and his work with African-American intellectuals. Only brief mention is made of Boas's political work in a public setting—an aside on Boas's defence of the Kwakwaka'wakw potlatch neglects to mention that it was the *Canadian* government he petitioned. Interestingly, in his discussion of Boas's censure by the AAA in 1919, Patterson does not mention the anti-Semitism of the Washington group which opposed Boas. Instead, he discusses the anti-Semitism of marginal characters, such as Madison Grant.

Patterson's third chapter, "Anthropology and the Search for Social Order, 1929-1945," covers an era of increasing politicisation of American anthropology. Here he focuses on prominent anthropologists, including Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict, who undertook major government research projects; ironically, many of the anthropologists chosen for these projects were students of Boas, the man who had been censured for his "disloyalty" during the First World War. As well, the growth of philanthropic funding for anthropological research during the Depression led to an emphasis on interdisciplinarity which carried through the war years.

The period shaped by the Cold War and decolonisation movements is the subject of Patterson's fourth chapter, "Anthropology in the Postwar Era, 1945-1973." He highlights the massive influx of students, a result of the GI Bill, and the resultant shift in the locus of development back to universities from the government, though the government still dictated the areas of research. The growth of the discipline caused a certain amount of consternation in the academe, and a committee under the leadership of Julian Steward sought to reshape the AAA, advocating closer ties with government and other professional groups. One outcome of this new development was the growth of area studies, with the Ford Foundation initiating a training program for area specialists suitable for government service. This politicization was one-sided, however; Patterson notes that the AAA offered little or no support to those Fellows or Members called before the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Patterson's fifth and final chapter, "Anthropology in the Neoliberal Era, 1974-2000," characterises this period as having been marked by a fracturing of the discipline. Leading to this rupture was a number of factors: the contraction of employment opportunities in universities, which led to an increase in the number of anthropologists working outside the academe; the attempts to reorganize the AAA to make it more inclusive, but which actually created divisions amongst the various interest groups; and the rise of postmodernist approaches, which privileged ethnography at the expense of the other subfields. However, this section also shows the limitation of his approach: by emphasising the influence of outside approaches on anthropology, Patterson underplays the links between generations of anthropologists, such as that between the interpretivist approach of Geertz and the postmodernism of Rabinow, Clifford, and Marcus.

There are numerous weaknesses in this work. Given his explicitly political orientation, Patterson's discussion of the highly charged eras is strangely anodyne. Failing to analyze them in any depth, he instead focusses on the development of area specialisations, the anthropological critique of modernisation theory, and the role of anthropology in introducing and valorizing other world views in an American context. An explicit examination of the political views of the main figures, and of the impact of these views on theoretical developments, would have been a more fruitful approach. While Patterson does this for the Marxist scholars, he does not expose the politics of the conservatives. After all, the Marxists were reacting to forces within the discipline as well as to changes in the "real world," and conservative politics were part of the social context of the time. Additionally, as a historian of anthropology I am dismayed by the fact that Patterson does not take into account other approaches to the history of the discipline. His desire to improve upon previous internalist studies of the discipline has led him to neglect much of the previous work on the history of anthropology, weakening his analysis. He has moved too far from the internalist approach he disparages to offer a effective analysis of the development of American anthropology.

While this work, as a general survey, makes an important contribution to the historiography of American anthropology, it needs to be supplemented by more detailed works such as those by Trencher and Darnell. Patterson has done an admirable job of linking innovations in anthropological theory to developments outside the discipline, but his description of the growth of anthropology as a discipline over time is somewhat thin. Overall, however, his new book offers an interesting perspective on the history of anthropology in North America.

Richard Just, *A Greek Island Cosmos*, Oxford: James Curry, 2000, xi + 276 pages, ISBN 0-933452-73-X.

Reviewer: *Shauna LaTosky*
University College of the Cariboo

When the young Australian anthropologist Roger Just embarked on fieldwork (from 1977-1980) in Spartokhori, a rural Greek village on the remote Ionian island of Meganisi, his intention was to break new ground rather than follow those topics that had come to dominate the anthropology of Greece. His plan to pursue class, economics, and politics, topics that seemed more relevant than "kinship and family," or "honour and shame" changed, however, when he began to listen to the local rhetoric which likened the village to "all one family," "to a place where everyone knew one another, where everyone was related to one another, where everyone cared for one another..." (p. 37). Over twenty years later, ironically, Just defends and embraces the very "traditional" topics of Mediterranean kinship and family which he had hoped to avoid.

A Greek Island Cosmos is an ambitious and successful attempt to reinvigorate the anthropological study of kinship and community. The ethnography's goal is clearly stated: the focus is on a rural Greek community, but its purpose is to specify the conditions in which the Spartokhoriots' rhetoric of kinship and family, of solidarity and community, operates.

It is no easy thing these days to publish a study of a Greek rural community (as it was perhaps for anthropologists like Campbell, Friedl, or du Boulay). Village studies, particularly by the 1980s, have been largely rendered suspect, as failing to explore rural-urban links and demographic shifts. However, untroubled by the anxiety of most anthropologists, for whom the village is no longer viewed as a viable unit of study, Just persuasively argues that rural-based studies do not misrepresent Greece, but are vital for an anthropology of Greece. As far as Just is concerned "hanging out on urban street corners would be no advance on pussyfooting around rural verandah" (p. 24) because urban and rural life in Greece are so intertwined that one cannot be understood without reference to the other.

In chapter 1, Just is jolted out of his own rural reverie (of "the traditional village, with its white-washed houses, its gnarled fisherman, its grizzled elders, its quaintly attired women, its donkeys and chickens and sheep and goats") when he finds himself amongst a people some of whom could talk quite knowledgeably about his own home town of Geelong. It becomes evident in chapter 2 that Spartokhori is hardly a rural enclave, but has a history of continual immigration and emigration. "What appeared to be, and genuinely was, a tightly-knit village community was the product of a quite dynamic and unstable past, and persisted despite an equally dynamic and unstable present" (p. 42).

Chapter 3 describes the influx of wealth and depopulation during the postwar years, a time when many Spartokhoriots emigrated to America, Canada, Australia, and South Africa, or were employed in the merchant marine. Just reminds the reader that the cohesion of the village community through the structures of kinship and family can only be properly appreciated when population movements are taken into account.

The two subsequent chapters focus on aspects of kinship—consanguinity, affinity and godparenthood. Just begins by unraveling the kinship ties that link this island community (the forms of relationship recognized and how it is they contribute to the sense of community and belonging which the Spartohoriots express).

Spartokhori as both an intensely public and private place is the theme that pervades the chapter entitled "Back-to-Back Community." Here the author's own experience of the constant tension in this tightly knit community is candidly conveyed in an anecdote that stresses the obsession with one's own privacy and with others' activities. After having spent many sleepless nights planning routes and manoeuvres in order to avoid being caught accepting a gift of olive oil from one person without anyone else finding out, Just asks "How could anything so simple have become so complicated?" (p. 166)

The complexity of the Spartohoriots' inward and outward representation of themselves is further demonstrated in "Household and Inheritance" and "Romance and Dowry." Just illustrates, for instance, how the Spartokhoriots (especially the wealthier and better educated) deny the importance of dowry (despite its continued existence and frequent increase) as something that represents backwardness.

In the final chapter Just concludes that the rhetoric of Spartokhoriot communal life as "all one family" overrides the competitive relationships, jealousies, resentments and day-to-day animosities between the village's constituent households. This expression of solidarity becomes most apparent when the entire village rallies around Niko, the coffee-shop proprietor, whose increasingly attractive establishment has not only caught the eye of tourists but jealous village residents who attempt to have him shut down.

In the epilogue, Just only briefly points out that when he returned to Spartokhori in 1994 the community was faced with several challenges from population decline to a steadily increasing wave of tourists. However, given the lack of data (which Just quickly reminds us could not have been duplicated in just a few weeks) on kinship and family as aspects still explicitly recognized by Spartokhoriots, one cannot help but wonder if, for example, the two new migrant Albanian families would, as Just predicts (p. 257), *become* Spartokhoriots if their children were to marry into the village.

While Just's biggest contribution, in my opinion, is the attention he gives to the preservation of local identity among Spartokhoriots, "despite mobility, dispersal, diversity and active participation in creating change" (p. 32), a general sense of frustration nonetheless arises towards the end of the book as the reader struggles not to think of the Spar-

tokhoriots' sense of solidarity as something that has all but vanished. Repeating the Spartokhoriot rhetoric of community, Just is himself doubtful that Spartokhoriots would continue to say: "We're all one family" (p. 258).

Though I agree with the author that it is worth trying to reinvigorate kinship studies, an area that evidently has the ability to add real value and meaning to people's lives, only future research will determine whether contemporary Spartokhoriots' sense of community is still congruent with kinship and family. This book should stimulate undergraduates and graduates to undertake kinship studies and will no doubt be of interest to those who teach about kinship. Just is an excellent writer who can turn even the most seemingly mundane aspects of kinship into something interesting and meaningful.

Gerhard Baer, Manuel Gutiérrez Estévez, Mark Münzel, (Coords.), *Arts indigènes et anthropologie. Artes indígenas y antropología,* Société Suisse des Américanistes/Schweizerische Amerikanisten-Gesellschaft. Bulletin 64-65 (2000-2001), 254 pages.

Recenseure : *Lourdes Méndez*
Universidad del País Vasco/ Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

Il est toujours difficile de rendre compte d'un ouvrage collectif et encore plus lorsqu'il s'agit, comme c'est le cas, des actes d'un colloque concernant un champ d'étude relativement marginal au sein de l'anthropologie: celui des arts. Bien que le projet de repenser les formes d'expression artistique 'non occidentales' en s'éloignant de la conception de l'art propre à l'histoire occidentale tout en regardant de près les processus créatifs et le rôle des créateurs autochtones soit en cours depuis Franz Boas, l'anthropologie de l'art cherche encore aujourd'hui sa voie théorique et méthodologique (Gell, 1998). L'ouvrage dont je vais faire le compte rendu est un bon exemple d'une anthropologie des arts qui essaie de trouver sa voie.

À l'automne 1999, à l'occasion du 50e anniversaire de la Société Suisse des Américanistes / Schweizerische Amerikanisten-Gesellschaft (SSA/SAG), eut lieu à Trujillo (Espagne) un colloque sur «Arts indigènes et anthropologie». Le Bulletin 64-65 de la SSA/SAG publie les 25 textes (4 en français et 21 en espagnol) présentés à Trujillo et, dès l'introduction, on attire notre attention sur deux questions. D'une part ses organisateurs signalent que les arts de l'Amérique «latine» ont été négligés par les penseurs occidentaux et, d'autre part, ils affirment que l'ethnologie américaniste a longtemps exclu de sa réflexion tout ce qui n'était pas «traditionnel» ou «purement indien». Le titre du colloque fut volontairement «imprécis et même ambigu», et le pluriel «arts» de même que la référence à l'anthropologie devaient conduire à un éloignement de la conception occidentale de l'Art qui permettrait repenser la production esthétique amérindienne. Mais la réflexion des organisateurs du colloque par rapport au titre choisi ne s'est pas étendue au qualificatif «indigènes» accolé aux «arts», reflétant ainsi la persistance d'un biais ethnocentrique qui concerne la dénomination des arts propres aux sociétés autrefois «primitives», «sauvages» ou «barbares» (Silver, 1979). Ce manque de réflexion explique peut-être pourquoi cet ouvrage rassemble des articles extrêmement divers en ce qui concerne ce que chaque auteur(e) considère «arts indigènes» (mythes, rituels, chansons, poèmes, artisanats, fêtes, masques, histoire de vie d'un chaman, arts domestiques, tables pour les morts...). Malgré l'intérêt de la démarche initiale, un certain nombre des textes publiés dans ce Bulletin renvoient vers une image « exotisante » des soi-disant «arts indigènes» qui empêche de penser conjointement arts occidentaux et non occidentaux (Geertz, 1983) et qui, généralement, sauf dans l'article d'Eva Garrido Izaguirre «Categorias del gusto en la escultura de Ocuchimo...», ne retiennent pas vraiment sur le plan analytique les effets idéaux et matériels du colonialisme et du postcolonialisme (Philips et Steiner, 1999) sur ces «arts indigènes».

À la faveur de la description et de l'analyse de différents «arts indigènes» antiques et contemporains de nombreux groupes ethniques – Mapuche (Argentine), Secoya (Amazonie équatorienne), Ticuna (Brésil, Colombie, Pérou), Yague (Amazonie péruvienne), Huicholes, Coras et Tzeltales (Mexique), Maya-Chortis (Guatémala), Chiriguano-Chané (Bolivie), une grande diversité de thèmes sont proposés dans les 25 textes inclus dans cet ouvrage que l'on peut tout de même regrouper en deux corpus. D'une part, il s'agit des textes apparaissant sous les rubriques «Introduction thématique» et «Réflexions sur l'art»; et d´autre part, ceux regroupés sous les rubriques «Art et artisanat»; «Masques, rites et iconographie»; «Arts et fêtes»; «Esthétique, goût, morale et identité» et «Voix et traditions orales». Dans le premier corpus de textes, on traite des problématiques qui concernent la place des recherches sur l'art en anthropologie; on traite également du développement d'une anthropologie de l'art qui réussit progressivement à s'éloigner de la conception occidentale de l'Art et de la théorie du beau de Kant; enfin, certains auteurs de ce corpus se penchent aussi sur la difficile question de l'expérience (ou de la réponse) esthétique. Malheureusement, les auteurs paraissent ignorer – du moins en ce qui concerne les références bibliographiques – l'existence d'ouvrages en anthropologie de l'art, vieux d'une trentaine d'années (Otten, 1971), et d'autres bien plus récents (Marcus et Meyers, 1995), qui auraient sans doute contribué à une approche plus nuancée des «arts indigènes».

C'est le cas de l'article de Manuel Gutiérrez Estévez «Los sentidos y su moralidad: apuntes sobre la mezcla y la risa entre los amerindios». L'auteur de ce texte retient le fait selon lequel une approche purement esthétique de l'art est impossible dans la mesure où nos sens sont culturellement et historiquement constitués. Cependant, pour développer cette idée extrêmement intéressante, il passe d'une lettre écrite en 1784 par un habitant de Arequipa (sud du Pérou)

après un tremblement de terre à l' *Introducción a la vida devota* de Francisco de Sales et aux *Ejercicios Espirituales* de Ignacio de Loyola sans que l'on réussisse à cerner les effets pratiques de ces discours introduits par les colonisateurs sur les «sens» et la «moralité» des populations visées. De même, dans son essai d'anthropologie philosophique, David De los Reyes propose une réflexion sur l'art et l'expérience esthétique indigène des peuples précolombiens qui tombe dans les biais idéologiques si brillamment analysés par Sally Price (1989). Le caractère éphémère de certains arts des Amérindiens de l'Amérique du sud tropicale et subtropicale retient l'attention de Mark Münzel et le pousse à réfléchir sur les efforts ethnographiques et muséologiques de conservation d'oeuvres qui n'ont pas été créées pour être conservées. Après avoir fourni plusieurs exemples décontextualisés – mythes, chansons, poèmes, masques – et avoir fait allusion à son expérience personnelle sur le terrain et comme curateur du Musée Ethnographique de Francfort, l'auteur finit son texte en affirmant tout simplement qu' il est nécessaire de lutter contre «un élément essentiel de l'art indigène, celui de ne pas vouloir être conservé».

Parmi ce premier groupe d'articles, il y en a trois qui méritent une attention spéciale. Le premier est celui de Michael Kraus qui présente différentes théories ethnologiques sur la naissance de l'art indien au début du XX^{e} siècle et les confronte aux explications mythiques des Tukano tout en situant au centre de sa problématique les écrits de l'anthropologue évolutionniste Theodor Kock-Grünberg (1872-1924) sur l'anthropologie de l'art, et tout en faisant ressortir comment ce dernier interprète les données recueillies sur le terrain dans le contexte scientifique de l'époque. Le deuxième article est celui d'Ulrike Ziegler qui considère comme un art visuel (?) la fête de la Saint Jean-Baptiste au village de Natagaiama (Tolima, Colombie), et prête attention au mélange d'idées et de traditions culturelles européennes et amérindiennes et à la façon dont les masques utilisés lors des processions véhiculent des idées sur l'origine indigène de la région. Et le troisième article, sans doute le plus théorique, est celui de Pierre-Yves Jacopin «Aux fondements de l'anthropologie de l'art: formes, contextes, paroles, gestes» où l'auteur s'interroge sur la méthodologie de l'anthropologie de l'art et propose – à l'exemple des formalistes russes du début du XX siècle – de mettre l'accent sur la forme, ce qui permettrait, d'après lui, de décrire ces arts «avant de les interpréter et considérer leurs différents contextes, ainsi que leurs fonctions». L'auteur oublie cependant de souligner que le paradigme formaliste avait pour corollaire la notion d'expérience (ou réponse) esthétique, notion qui n'est pas universellement associée à l'art, ce qui conduisait les formalistes à une argumentation circulaire: un objet est un objet d'art s'il suscite une réponse esthétique lorsqu'on le regarde d'une façon totalement désintéressée (Anderson, 1979). Même si P.Y. Jacopin signale que l'anthropologie de l'art doit «examiner les apparences, les usages, les techniques, les us et les coutumes, les modes d'élaboration et de transmission d'un phénomène avant de se poser la question de son interprétation», on n'arrive pas à saisir comment le faire à travers son choix méthodologique.

La plupart des articles regroupés dans le deuxième corpus de textes de cet ouvrage s'appuient sur un travail sur le terrain. C'est le cas du texte de Sabine Kradolfer « 'Muy lindos látigos tenés vos': la artesanía del cuero entre los mapuches argentinos» basé sur un travail sur le terrain effectué à Neuquén (Nord Ouest de la Patagonie) entre 1996 et 1998. Dans son article, l'auteure analyse l'artisanat du cuir – un travail exclusivement réalisé par les hommes – du point de vue des rapports sociaux (mais sans tenir compte des théories anthropologiques sur les rapports sociaux de sexe/genre), en essayant de montrer comment à l'intérieur de toute société, les activités techniques ne peuvent pas être dégagées de leurs représentations et de leur structure sociale. En ce sens, elle insiste sur le fait que l'artisanat du cuir nous renseigne sur les relations d'entraide, sur la parenté, sur la division du travail et aussi sur les relations de prestige propres à la société Mapuche. Pour sa part Belén Nión, en prenant comme point de départ une fête qui eut lieu en 1993 en hommage au chef religieux comme guide spirituel, décrit dans son texte les différents courants spirituels de l'Umbanda, un culte afro-brésilien dans lequel la musique joue un rôle central et à travers lequel à Viana (Maranhäo, Nord Est brésilien), on revendique une identité typiquement brésilienne. Toujours dans ce deuxième corpus de textes, tandis que Maria Susana Cipolleti nous propose l'histoire de vie de Fernando Payaguaje, un chaman Secoya (Tucano occidental) qu'elle a interviewé à plusieurs reprises entre 1985 et 1991 en prêtant attention à l'humour et aux problèmes de collecte et d'édition de l'histoire de Fernando Payaguaje, Stella Longo – en adoptant une approche sémiotique et en s'intéressant à sa densité sémantique – analyse deux versions chiriguano-chané du mythe des jumeaux divins recueilli en 1929 par Alfred Métraux lors de son expédition au Chaco bolivien. Pour sa part, Séverine Durin dans «La Fiesta del Tambor entre los Huicholes de Jalisco...» reconnaît dans son introduction avoir eu des difficultés à comprendre le contenu de la notion «arts indigènes» et, peut-être pour cette raison, elle nous propose une belle analyse autour d'un rituel agricole Huichol en mettant l'accent sur les paris politiques et les stratégies qui se manifestent lors de son déroulement. Pour sa part, dans «La Semana Santa en Cora...» (pour les Indiens coras, «La Judea»), Verónica Gonzalez-Laporte examine différents aspects symboliques liés à cette célébration annuelle, aspects qui ont à voir avec les rapports que les Coras maintiennent avec les métis et qui les aident à confirmer leur identité indigène.

Je terminerai ce compte rendu en faisant allusion à deux articles radicalement différents. Le premier se situe le plus près des débats actuels autour des objets et des méthodes qui seraient propres à une anthropologie des arts, et le deuxième s'en éloigne le plus ce qui, à mon avis, pose des problèmes non seulement méthodologiques mais aussi d'éthique

professionnelle. Je vais d'ailleurs commencer par ce dernier. L'article de Claude et Geneviève Auroi «Arte popular en el Perú: los mates (calabazas) burilados de Cochas...» a pour objet d'étude une collection privée de 28 calebasses gravées au stylet entre 1984 et 1987 par la famille Poma et appelées au Pérou «mates burilados». La plus grande partie du texte est descriptive (matériaux, technique...) mais la surprise vient lorsque, presque à la fin de l'article, on peut lire que les 28 pièces de cette collection (effectivement privée) de 'mates finos' ont été réalisées à la demande des auteurs de ce texte et que les bons rapports qu'ils ont entretenus avec la famille Poma ont permis que «l'intérêt spécifique que nous avions pour des sujets propres aux paysans huancaivos soient pris au sérieux par les créateurs de ces 'mates' qui ont essayé d'incorporer notre préoccupation dans leurs oeuvres». Je laisse aux personnes qui liront ce compte rendu le soin d'évaluer cette démarche. L'autre article est celui de Eva María Garrido Izaguirre «Categorías del gusto en la escultura de Ocumicho, un pueblo purépecha». Dans ce texte, elle analyse la production, à partir des années 1960 et principalement par les femmes d'Ocumicho (Mexique), de sculptures polychromes en argile faites uniquement pour être vendus à des étrangers. C'est un objet d'art qui n'a pas de place dans les foyers d'Ocumicho (il s'agit de «diables»), et qui est créé en suivant les critères de goût des acheteurs des contextes urbains mexicains ou des acheteurs d'autres pays. À partir de ces constatations, l'auteure décrit comment se tissent les liens entre le goût esthétique de la communauté d'Ocumicho et le style propre à ces «diables» et réussit à appréhender les principes esthétiques, éthiques et stylistiques que doit posséder un objet pour qu'un habitant d'Ocumicho le trouve «beau». Autrement dit, elle réussit à cerner les principes recteurs de l'esthétique purépecha. En ce sens, cet article trouve sa place au sein des recherches anthropologiques intéressées par le contenu des catégories esthétiques indigènes.

Comme je l'ai déjà signalé, l'anthropologie des arts cherche encore sa voie théorique et méthodologique et cet ouvrage est un excellent exemple de la vitalité de ce champ d'études.

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David M. Guss, *The Festive State: Race, Ethnicity, and Nationalism as Cultural Performance*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000, 239 pages (paper).

Reviewer: *Anastasia N. Panagakos*
University of California

In *The Festive State: Race, Ethnicity, and Nationalism as Cultural Performance*, author David M. Guss explores how festivals, rituals, andcultural performances exemplify the ways in which culture and identity become sites of contestation in Venezuela. This point is well illustrated in the opening vignette of the book in which the people of the small village of Catuaro are faced with a most unusual dilemma. Over the years people from the area had formed strong bonds with a statue of the Dolorosa, or Sorrowful Mary, to whom promises would be made to in return for protection. During an attempt to clean the statue, a specialist sent in by the government (which had developed an interest in preserving the national heritage) discovered that underneath her wig and multiple layers of paint, the Dolorosa was actually the youthful saint of San Juan Bautista. At first the people of Catuaro panicked, particularly the devotees of the Dolorosa who had bonded with the saint as a gentle female, not as a male saint who evoked other feelings and meanings. Much discussion was generated with the revelation of the "transvestite saint" including a public meeting at which it was decided that the statue's true nature as San Juan Bautista must be honoured. For Guss, the intervention of the government-sponsored specialist represented a phenomenon happening all over the country—that interference by tourists, the media, political parties, or the discovery of oil was now common in even the most isolated of villages and that so-called local traditions were now a part of national and even global interests.

Guss frames his ethnography by beginning with a discussion about cultural performance and how dramatizations allow participants and observers to understand, criticize and change the world in which they live. Like other scholars

studying cultural performance, such as Mary Crain and David Cahill, Guss recognizes the importance of a discursive approach that acknowledges how actors use events to debate, challenge, argue and negotiate. Thus cultural performance becomes a "field of action" where both elites and oppressed can express competing claims and where the media have the potential to become an authority. Guss pinpoints the beginning of a national interest in folk culture to 1947, after Venezuela's first democratic election, when the "Festival of Tradition" was held to celebrate the new nation's unique heritage. Juan Liscano, the director of the National Folklore Service, which had been established the year before, gathered sixteen different groups from rural communities throughout Venezuela to perform. The performers who until this time had only considered their music and dances as acts of religious devotion found themselves transformed into active participants of a "tradition." For the urban audiences the festival changed the way they viewed Venezuela and as Guss writes, "the folklorization process had begun...permanently suspended between the worlds of ritual obligation and national spectacle, these festive forms now began to negotiate a new and complex reality" (p. 20).

With this brief history of the Festival of Tradition and others with similar themes, Guss devotes the remainder of his book to four independent case studies depicting how political, commercial and cultural interests have melded to promote certain festivals that contest and reinvent Venezuelan identity. The four case studies are the Afro-Venezuelan celebration of San Juan, the seemingly indigenous Day of the Monkey, the production and dissemination of cultural "tradition" by a multinational tobacco company, and the mestizo ritual dances of Tamunangue. While each case represents one facet of Venezuelan culture with a distinct history and cultural meaning, Guss's narrative highlights the features common to all four sub-plots; be it the contested history of the actual performance, the appropriation of tradition to serve national and corporate interests, or how the very nature of these diverse performances exposes the contradictions inherent in Venezuelan identity—African, European, indigenous, Catholic, colonial, slave, poor, elite, urban, rural, Black, White or Brown.

While each chapter provides a thoughtful and in-depth account of each case study, the chapters on the Day of the Monkey and the tobacco-sponsored Bigott Foundation were particularly interesting and insightful. In a chapter entitled "Full Speed Ahead with Venezuela," Guss recounts how the British American Tobacco Company (BAT) became one of the biggest, and most recognizable, sponsors of cultural education in Venezuela. As Guss remarks, a corporation can use the symbols or images of the nation in such a manner hat it becomes one's patriotic duty to purchase their products. BAT's Venezuelan subsidiary, Cigarrera Bigott, was acquired early in the 20th century and, in addition to being a top seller, had a very positive public image due to the philanthropic works of its Venezuelan founder, Luis Bigott. In 1981, however, the Venezuelan government banned the advertising of tobacco and alcohol on television and radio thus propelling BAT to find alternatives to getting Cigarrera Bigott's name and logo on the airwaves. The solution was to redesign the Bigott Foundation (originally founded to help workers secure housing) into an entity that would promote popular culture in both local artistic workshops and television programming showcasing the best of Venezuelan folk culture.

Guss's description of the "Encuentro con" (Encounter with) series of documentaries and the two shorter series referred to as micros and the Cuñas produced by BAT is high quality thick description. Without even viewing the program one gets an immediate sense of how these shows were finely crafted to first establish the legitimacy of a multinational tobacco giant as a producer of Venezuelan cultural programming and later, to publicize its own role as a champion of folk culture. As Guss found in his study, in the end the organization became more than just a way of disseminating culture, but became the subject of its own study, a producer of popular traditions like the communities it had set out to investigate in the first place. The name of the Bigott Foundation (synonymous with Cigarrera Bigott) and its logo of three tobacco leaves reclaimed its hold on the television audience in a way that not only complied with the government's ban on tobacco advertising but insidiously tapped into the emotions of the Venezuelan people who were proud to see the nationally televised attention given to their local practices.

In the chapter on the Day of the Monkey, Guss exposes the complex history of a festival that, according to some proponents, is solely indigenous. By highlighting competing accounts of the festival's origins, the author demonstrates how the festival has come to signify different things for different people. Those who most strongly believe that the Day of the Monkey is an indigenous phenomenon are young men who have left the village for work or study and view the festival as a homecoming celebration which defines their identity against a larger Venezuelan identity poised to engulf them. Yet others, mostly elders with strong agricultural ties, challenge the indigenous roots of the festival insisting that it was a craze of the 1920s. Guss's own interpretation of the festival is based on both ethnographic recollections and historical documentation stressing how this one festival evokes competing ideas of mestizaje for different groups. Given the contested nature of the festival, and that Guss himself was recognized at the festival as an anthropologist and authority, it would be interesting to learn how his recollections could be used by local groups to either reinforce their own views or to disclaim the views of others. The *Festive State* is a rich ethnographic account of the production and reproduction of culture and identity in contemporary Venezuela. Guss's command of the literature and his own intimate ethnographic knowledge of Venezuela help to create a text that reveals the multiple layers of meaning ascribed to ritualized behaviour and the ways in which local groups, politicians, artists and multinational corporations, to name a few negotiate these

meanings to fulfill their own agendas. Given Guss's interest in how the state appropriates local celebrations to promote national identity, I would have been interested to learn how he himself, as an authority of Venezuelan folk culture, is also drawn into the politics of culture production and appropriated by competing interests as an expert. In addition, a concluding chapter revisiting some of the theoretical issues presented in the first chapter would have been an instructive and useful way of drawing together the various themes that unite the four various case studies. In conclusion, *The Festive State* is an important contribution not only to ethnographic studies of Latin America, but to our current understanding of ritual and cultural performance as well.

Laura Nader, *The Life of the Law: Anthropological Projects*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002, xiii + 262 pages.

Reviewer: *Alan Smart*
University of Calgary

Laura Nader has not only been one of the foremost contributors to the anthropology of law, but has also been at the forefront of efforts to push anthropologists into theoretical and practical engagement with the ways in which disputes and the administration of justice influence and transform the lives of the people we study. Her 1969 call for anthropologists to "study up" was extremely influential in the discipline, and this book demonstrates the results of a career devoted to studying up while keeping in close touch with ordinary people in Mexico, Lebanon and the United States.

This volume derives from the 1996 Cardozo Lectures given at the University of Trento, Italy. The first chapter is a long (53 pages) "personal document" describing the trajectory of her research career and how it has related to general trends in the study of law and anthropology. While perhaps overly familiar for those who have followed her work, or have watched her 1981 PBS documentary *Little Injustices*, the chapter illustrates how a career-long focus on disputing can continually be reinvented with new insights into how ethnography can study issues with a broader, even global, impact. She notes that when asked about her persistence with the topic, she responds that the "present academic scene is cursed by trendiness" (p. 6) and that sticking with a subject in a changing world has "led me to think even more intensely about what ordinary people think is important: disputes. Disputes under changing conditions have challenged anthropologists to rethink methodologies and old theories, to rethink the place of our work in history, and to think about the work of our colleagues in allied areas" (p. 7).

The second chapter explores the changing relationship between anthropologists and lawyers in the study of law and disputes. She traces it back to the 19th century, when several of anthropology's key ancestral figures received their training in law, including Maine, Morgan, McLennan and Bachofen. Professionalization in both disciplines led to a greater separation in the 20th century, but more recently, movements such as Law and Society, Economics of Law, and Critical Legal Studies have increased the degree of collaboration. Nader sees the public interest law movement as an exemplar of engagement that anthropologists can learn from.

Hegemonic processes in law are the focus of chapter three. Her key example is what she calls "harmony ideology" where adversarial dispute procedures are challenged by dominant pressures towards mediation, negotiation and conciliation. She sees this as having been a central feature of many colonial regimes, and came to recognize that processes of "making the balance" that were so prominent in her early Zapotec work were not simply indigenous cultural features but had been actively promoted through colonial pacification. As a result, she is very sceptical about widespread policy concerns about the putative "litigation explosion" in the United States and the Alternative Dispute Resolution movement. This is an ironic case where the work of anthropologists on disputing processes in village or tribal contexts has had a major practical influence but anthropologists have become the harshest critics of the use made of their work. Nader argues that Alternative Dispute Resolution has become a new way of controlling populations that became too interested in gaining access to justice forums in the 1960s and 1970s. The litigation explosion is revealed as representing at best a "quarter truth," and the promotion of alternatives to adversarial legal procedures was intended "to prevent not the *causes* of discord but the *expression* of it" (p. 141).

The next chapter makes explicit an approach that has become more explicit in the course of Nader's work, what she calls a "user theory of law." In contrast to the dominant emphasis in jurisprudence and political science on influential decision-makers, judges and legislators, she emphasizes the plaintiff as a key source of legal transformation. She argues that a search for justice, or more precisely responses to the experience of injustice, is fundamental and universal in human societies, so that forums for justice are also ubiquitous. Furthermore, she asserts that "the direction of law is dependent in large measure on who is motivated to use the law and for what purposes" (p. 169). The unintended consequences of these aggregated patterns of usage are compared to linguistic drift. In the epilogue she takes this approach to examine key contemporary global issues of intellectual property rights and indigenous rights. She points out that anthropologists who may have had little interest in legal questions have frequently been brought into these debates by the insistence of the groups that they have studied, as they dealt with issues such as biopiracy or toxic waste dumping on native reservations. As Nader remarks in the concluding paragraph:

> We live in a face-to-faceless world massively affected by global industrialization. In this world in which the com-

> plaint may be as important as the winning, the injured plaintiff keeps the law alive and reminds social scientists of the dynamics of culture. (p. 230)

The Life of the Law does not present a great deal of new information or analyses. Instead, it traces and compiles the conclusions of a career of excellent work by an insightful and engaged scholar. It might be of greater interest to those who do not work in the anthropology of law than to those who are specialists and know Nader's corpus well, providing a clear sense of the cumulative contributions of the field to anthropology as a whole. It would also have potential as a textbook for undergraduates, who should appreciate the personal grounding and its clear and committed style of writing.

Catherine Julien, *Reading Inca History*, Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2000.

Reviewer: *Susan Vincent*
St. Francis Xavier University

This is a fascinating book. The project Julien embarks upon is a valuable and timely one: she works toward uncovering the genres the Incas used in constructing their own histories of themselves and then considers the information about the Incas that can be derived in this way. To do this, she carries out an archaeology of the texts written by Spaniards about the Incas within about the first century after the Spanish arrival in Peru. The project is based on the premise that the construction of history is culturally situated and politically mediated. Thus, the Spanish chroniclers developed their histories by gathering information from Inca sources and then reformulated the information to make sense of it in terms of Spanish notions of history as well as to satisfy their own reasons for writing. By comparing the Spanish versions of Inca history, one can uncover the form and content of the material on which it is based. Julien relies specifically on Spanish narratives that drew on Inca sources from the Cuzco area. These works range from the well-known Cieza de Leon and Cobo, to the more recently published complete manuscript of Betanzos.

In searching for a distinctively Incan historiography and what it can tell us, Julien challenges Reiner Tom Zuidema's claim that the Incas were not interested in history and had only shallow memories of the past. In contrast, Julien projects backwards the idea that history is a cultural and political product of a specific moment. Thus, the Incas, just like modern historians, were involved in an ongoing revision of the story of their past in order to fit the information available as well as the political goals of the historians. In particular, Julien argues that Pachacutec, the ninth Inca, created a version of the rise of the Incas which was essentially the story of the winners of a regional power struggle: it emphasized their special and unique right to power, as against any claim to importance of other similar peoples with whom they had had alliances or conflicts in the past.

First, Julien is interested in identifying the genres of history that the Incas recorded. These include genealogical and life history information, on which she concentrates her attention, as well as stories of military campaigns, the development of ritual, and the building and organization of the Inca political realm. After identifying the genres, Julien explores why these were important to the Inca and what information can be gleaned from them.

This process of establishing genres and interpreting them necessitates an understanding of Inca values and cultural patterns in order to read these stories. For example, Julien begins by examining the notion of "capac." While she admits defeat in arriving at a clear definition of the term, which relates to an elite Inca status, she argues that the genealogical affiliation of both mother and father are important in establishing the position of their children. This is a significant discussion, relating as it does to Zuidema's contention that the Incas followed a pattern of parallel inheritance. Against this, Julien hypothesizes that there was a political hierarchy based on segmentary descent groups devolving from each Inca ruler, in which the filiation of both parents is counted. If both parents are from the highest order of kin group, as would happen if they were full brother and sister, the children are members of the highest possible rank of descent group.

By exploring the concept of *capac*, Julien uncovers the Inca genre of genealogy and thinks about why the Incas would place importance on establishing specific lines of descent for their leaders. Her answer, derived after exploring the other genres, relates to the implications of a preferred marriage among high-born Incas as opposed to marriage alliances with the elite of neighbouring peoples. Alliances can be useful for a rising power, but once that group has achieved domination, then cultural patterns such as endogamous marriage can reinforce the special and unique qualities that justify their supremacy.

Because Julien's method is presented in great detail here, it merits some comment. The textual analysis she uses is painstaking and requires close attention on the part of the reader to follow her argument. Each Spanish text has been paraphrased in English, and these paraphrases are placed side by side to compare content and sequencing. Julien is interested in the content of the stories rather than in creating a lyrical flow herself. The resulting telegraphic narrative can be disconcerting: "They had had some problems with the cacique of Jayanca. They had also looted Chimo, after which they took the loot up to Cajamarca....From all of the loot, Pachacuti had a number of important statues fashioned" (p. 139). The same paraphrase might be used in several comparisons as Julien reads them for different purposes, making for a necessarily repetitive presentation of data. The book is not light reading.

The methodology is impressive, however. Julien teases out the distinctively Spanish modes of interpretation, such as

evidence of the biblical story of Genesis to see if other information in the text contradicts this. Julien concludes that the contradictory elements are remnants of the underlying Inca source material. When the uncovered versions also differ from each other, Julien works to explain this. Thus, they might be competing stories from contemporary factions, or they could be changes in the story through successive regimes—pre-Pachacutec, post-Pachacutec, and post-Conquest. The type of evidence her analysis elicits does not have the goal of developing a chronological sequence of events, but rather allows her to point to the larger political processes manifest in these competing versions of history.

This book lays the groundwork for important research on the Andean past. The theory of Inca historiography that Julien derives here provides a new way of excavating the politics of state building in the region. I look forward to the literature this work will generate in the future.

Elizabeth Furniss, *The Burden of History: Colonialism and the Frontier Myth in a Rural Canadian Community*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999, xii + 237 pages, ISBN 0-7748-0710-5.

Reviewer: *M.J. Whittles*
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Popular images of contemporary Canada paint a picture that is often naively presumed to be one of a modern postcolonial nation-state: a territory previously optimized as a settler colony, yet granted dominion status 135 years ago, henceforth politically independent, with few, if weak ties to the European "mother state(s)," and long having abandoned a colonial mentality of indigenous domination in favour of liberal pluralism. In reality however, Canada persists as a colonial society in which settler populations continue to exert considerable authority over subordinate minority indigenous populations. Status and non-status Indians, Metis and the Inuit have neither witnessed nor benefited from the retreat or relaxation of non-aboriginal colonial political and cultural domination in the nearly five centuries since European contact. Indeed, the culture of ethnic dominance in Canada often exceeds the ongoing practices and legacies of conventional models of colonialism that span political, military and economic exercises to include the production of dominant cultural ideologies and practices, the fabrication of hegemonic narratives, metaphors and symbols, as well as the imposed adoption of the shared perspectives and experiences of the colonizers. It is from the standpoint of this contemporary colonial culture that Elizabeth Furniss addresses her examination of popular culture, ethnicity and racism, and historiography in the central interior of British Columbia. Drawing from sources as diverse as regional historical records, archival research, popular text, public imagery and art, community school curricula, and some first-hand ethnographic inquiry, Furniss has crafted sophisticated and compelling scholarship that leaves the reader considerably better informed, but somewhat uneasy about the state of ethnic relations in Canada. Drawing from the ideas of Edward Said, Scott James and Richard Slotkin, *The Burden of History* weaves fresh data and interpretations to create a revealing commentary that is as demanding of the reader's attention in reaching conclusions as it is critical of the current Canadian scene.

A broad, dry interior plateau northwest of Vancouver, the Cariboo-Chilcotin region is a territory of mixed forests, punctuated by vast rich grasslands. The Secwepemc, Tsilhqot'in, and Carrier first nations, who currently number about 6,000—about 9% of the total regional population—live largely in fifteen reserve communities and have always occupied the region. Newcomers, most of whom inhabit the communities of Williams Lake and Quesnel, form the current majority, consisting of residents of British, German, French and Dutch ancestry, but also including a significant first- and second-generation East Indian population. The region is dominated by a reliance on resource industries, and as such, it demonstrates a distinctly working-class ethos. Colonial ideology holds that the region prospered through the entrepreneurialism, competitiveness, rugged individualism and frontier spirit of "cowboy country," and little attention is popularly paid to the original inhabitants. Furniss delivers conclusive evidence to support her arguments, but one example persuasive and gripping enough to be reproduced here is that of ex-New York real estate salesman Rich Hobson, who following the 1929 stock market crash, decided to forgo city life for the adventure of the northern Chilcotin plateau: "Yeah," he was reportedly told by an acquaintance in Wyoming, "That's my gold mine. Grass! Free grass reachin' north into unknown country. Land—lots of it—untouched—just waitin' for hungry cows, and some buckaroos that can ride and have guts enough to put her over" (p. 68). Hobson left for British Columbia without delay.

In a tale dissonantly familiar of students of culture contact history, Furniss opens *The Burden of History* with an outline of the record of European colonisation in the Cariboo-Chilcotin. First described glowingly by Alexander Mackenzie in 1793, the interior plateau was soon opened to European trade so that by the first decade of the nineteenth century, the North West Company had expanded operations into the region, only to be followed by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1812, when it established Fort Kamloops. Initially welcomed, later tolerated by regional aboriginal peoples, the fur trade brought not only opportunities for exchange of furs, dried salmon and fresh meat, but introduced successive waves of devastating disease: smallpox arrived in 1802 (claiming victim almost half the aboriginal population), again in 1855 and 1862 (reducing native populations by an additional 62%); 1845 brought whooping cough; and, 1850 witnessed an outbreak of measles. By 1860, and the time of the famed Cariboo gold rush, the relationship between aboriginal peoples and

colonists had tipped markedly and irrevocably in favour of the latter—two years earlier mainland British Columbia was made a British colony, and in the following decades (and with British Columbia's entry into Canadian confederation in 1871), successive governors and a series of commissioners encouraged rapid, wholesale European settlement in addition to the gradual assimilation and extending of "civilisation" to aboriginal nations. Initially ignored in the nearly century and a half since the formal extension of colonial control and the arrival of settlers by the thousands into the Cariboo-Chilcotin, claims by the Secwepemc, Tsilhqot'in, and Carrier first nations to aboriginal title over their traditional territories were later denied outright by colonial administrators, government officials, and, until recently, the provincial and federal courts. Early experiments with a reserve system and the infamous preemption programme (whereby settlers merely laid formal claim to parcels of "unoccupied land up to 320 acres," whereupon "Indian squatters" were subject to eviction), left only undesirable tracts for lawful aboriginal occupation, and further have alienated native people from their territory and their heritage ever since. Effectively prevented from participation in the contemporary primary (resource-based), secondary, and tertiary economies, aboriginals in the Cariboo-Chilcotin have been pushed to the margins of welfare dependency.

In a chapter entitled *The Landscape of Public History: Pioneers, Progress, and the Myth of the Frontier*, Furniss introduces the reader to a colonial mentality with a distinctive difference. Although there may be a shared occupancy of public spaces in Williams Lake and Quesnel, there is little mixing, and non-aboriginal perceptions of absolute difference persist amid an idealized and colonialist separation, all underlined by a popular myth of the Cariboo-Chilcotin as a frontier. Images of European expansion, settlement, and industry and "a frontier rich in traditions and where the seemingly empty wilderness remains 'untamed' and 'untouched'" abound in local popular culture, saturating the landscape with "truths"—even restaurant placemats in Williams Lake praise "settlers who came to Canada's West [and] made this magnificent land their own" (p. 53). Popular literature on pioneer life including such titles as *Outlaws and Lawmen of Western Canada* and *March of the Mounties*, reify a dominant colonial theme in Canadian history of "conquest through benevolence," whereby "we have treated our Aboriginal people well"—here pioneer heroes "do not inflict violence; instead they impose peace, order, and good government on Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people alike" (p. 63). Furniss describes a series of public museum displays in Williams Lake, identifying the past lives of "ordinary people" through selective accounts of colonial settlement in the Cariboo-Chilcotin. Aboriginal people, selectively invisible, are presented as part of the historical background to European settlers in some displays, omitted entirely in others. Public school curricula throughout the region often ignore (or "systematically forget" as Furniss identifies) issues of cultural diversity in favour of a narrow nationalist ideology. Aboriginal cultures, when mentioned in history textbooks, are often presented as passive, static civilisations at the time of contact, who lived quietly in the forests and streams of the wilderness, only to become "dependent on the brandy or rum forced upon them by traders," for which they traded "valuable buffalo robes, furs, horses, food, and some even their wives and daughters" (p. 58-59). Causes are sacrificed in favour of symptoms of aboriginal decline, and territorial dispossession and economic disruption as the result of colonial expansion are excluded from explanation. In sum, pervasive and influential historical epistemologies have become understood as "truths" crystallizing public consciousness. Yet it is through the medium of the Williams Lake Stampede, an annual four-day rodeo and festival of the frontier, that the city "transforms itself into a mythological Wild West town, with storefronts and interiors decorated with motifs of cowboys, Indians, and cattle" (p. 8). As hegemonic theatre, the Stampede elevates pioneers and cowboys to the level of culture heroes, while typecasting and relegating aboriginal people to the level of historical curiosities, otherwise invisible in the public domain.

Who is to blame? Furniss not only identifies local working-class myth, "common sense racism," and "truth" and the fashion in which they "are communicated intuitively and indirectly, appealing to imagination, fantasy, and emotion" (p. 187), but presents local attitudes and behaviours as not so much false consciousness, rather as one of a number of possible frameworks for understanding within a colonial culture. Here some readers may require further discussion—how can one explain racist, exclusionary beliefs and the practice of widespread status domination in a liberal plural state? What too, of aboriginal responses to decades of ignorance and maltreatment? Here Furniss offers partial answers: redirecting the "colonial gaze," attempts to construct "cultural bridges," embracing the politics of embarrassment, the use of what Sivak identifies as "strategic essentialism," and various forms of counter-hegemonic resistance.

The *Burden of History* attempts much, and achieves most of what it sets out to accomplish. One real strength Furniss brings to the topic is her appreciation for the depth and range of relevant topics: chapters variously tackle issues of right-wing politics, the lengthy and complex history of treaties and the land claim process in the Cariboo-Chilcotin, and institutional racism in the administration of aboriginal justice. Combining methods and models from anthropology, culture studies, media analysis, and a fair degree of textual exegesis, the present volume offers a sound and expansive overview of a devilishly complex phenomenon. Critics may find it to be rather too finely spread, perhaps better concentrating on one or two of the many topics presented. Yet in a time when many Canadians will continue to contemplate their collective national identity (or lack thereof), including the history of so-called benevolent paternalism, and in the months and years that will follow British Columbia's failed

and shamefully notorious experiment in popular politics—in the guise of the recent province-wide referendum on aboriginal treaty rights, land claims, and public policy—Furniss is to be congratulated for her efforts here. Many, if not all readers will be most glad they gave this book a read.

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0003-5459(2002)44:2;1-9