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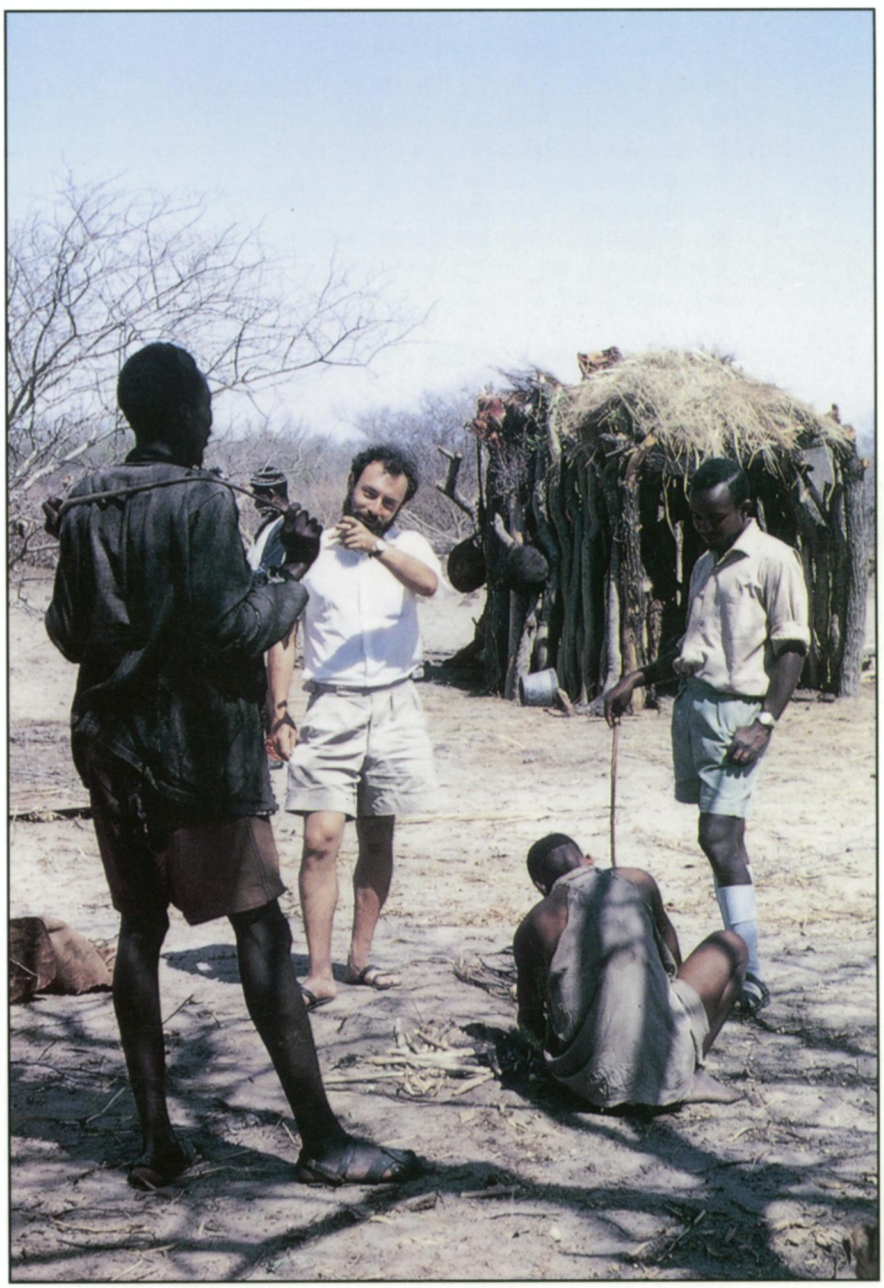

Politics and Practice in Critical Anthropology: The Work of Richard B. Lee /
L'œuvre de Richard B. Lee : la politique et la pratique en anthropologie critique

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Book Reviews / Comptes rendus

Cover/couverture

Photo by Irven DeVore, 1964. Richard B. Lee and company in the Kalahari of northwestern Bechuanaland Protectorate (Botswana).

Photo par Irven DeVore, 1964. Richard B. Lee et compagnons dans le désert du Kalahari au nord-ouest du Bechuanaland (Botswana).

Politics and Practice in Critical Anthropology: The Work of Richard B. Lee—Introduction

Jacqueline Solway *Trent University*

This volume is a modest offering of esteem and affection to Richard Lee in celebration of his work, his politics, his friendship, his enthusiasm and of the inspirational impact these have had on so many of us, not only those represented in this volume but on many others within and outside of the academy. The current issue developed out of a series of sessions organized by Christine Gailey and me for the 2001 joint meetings of the Canadian Anthropology Society, the American Ethnological Society and the Society for Cultural Anthropology in Montreal to mark Lee's impending retirement (2004) from the University of Toronto where he has been on the faculty since 1972 and where, in 1999, he was granted the prestigious position of University Professor. Thus this *Festschrift* does not signify the closure of a career, but rather a transition in which Lee will no doubt continue to collaborate with colleagues, mentor and train young anthropologists, conduct fieldwork, produce scholarly work and remain a political activist. In Gailey's words:

> In its original sense a *Festschrift* is a celebration in writing by people who have drawn on and grown to appreciate the work of a major figure, at a time when he or she can respond and contribute further to the discussions for which the honoree is so pivotal. For Richard Lee, this demands that writers address a range of issues and controversies that are far from concluded, areas of debate that point to the vitality of a four-fields approach in anthropology and long-term, socially engaged field research, with both agendas committed to redressing oppression. Only in such a way can we ensure that later generations will have an alternative view to seeing human nature as either a biological reflex or a narrow range of attributes serving a global imperium. (personal communication)

Many of the papers were delivered in preliminary form at the 2001 conference and some have been added.[1] In addition, Gailey conducted an extensive interview

with Lee in 2002; from this she has produced an intellectual biography that follows this introduction. Gailey provides a window into Lee's life enabling us to better understand and appreciate the array of factors and circumstances such as family, education, the radicalized political context of the 1960s and the anti-war movement that have shaped the direction of Lee's life's work. The articles in this volume, written for Lee, each touch upon one or more of the various theoretical, ethnographic and the political strands that run through his work and, more importantly, upon the ways in which these merge seamlessly in Lee's "career" (broadly conceived). The specific papers and their relation to Lee's oeuvre will be referred to below.

Art, Science and Politics

In his important 1992 article, "Art, Science, or Politics? The Crisis in Hunter-Gatherer Studies" published in *American Anthropologist*, Lee evokes Snow's distinction between the supposedly irreconcilable "humanistic and scientific" academic subcultures. I wish to borrow and slightly twist Lee's title in order to suggest that his work and that of those with whom he collaborated in the Kalahari and elsewhere have sought to bridge the gulf explicit in Snow's dichotomy. Lee's work, in particular, not only embraces and effectively synthesizes both tendencies but it does so without getting lost in the singular logic of either or indulging in either's excesses. To Snow's distinction, I wish to add, as did Lee, politics. Lee's commitment to social justice, to a politically engaged anthropology, and to activism within and outside of the academy have been consistent hallmarks of his work and practice. In different ways, the majority of the articles in this volume reflect these ideals and practices.

Lee's unwavering resolve to understand the nature of human equality and to strive towards its realization underlie his political praxis. The optimism inherent in this position does not spring from naïveté but rather from a mature and seasoned realism that endures despite the difficult times and challenging moments that Lee has encountered (see Gailey, this volume). Like many progressive scholars of his generation, Lee has witnessed "heroes and heroic regimes" dissolve into the ordinary, or worse, criminal; he has withstood the cynical prism through which his work has sometimes been viewed; has experienced a historical period in which activist politics were increasingly marginalized (if not trivialized) by right wing governments and sentiments in the university and beyond; and he has suffered personal tragedy. Yet, despite all, his optimism endures and casts an enabling light onto others. He greets new opportunities, new ideas and new people with zeal. In particular, students have always appreciated his enthusiasm: he not only made us feel welcome, he made us feel interesting.

Ethnographic Impetus to Theory

Lee's most enduring legacy will be the remarkable corpus of ethnographic work and its impetus to theory that stem from his long-term Kalahari research and from the scholars he inspired, encouraged and mentored. The San[2] and the body of ethnography that has emerged about them join a small group of ethnographic cases (including the Trobriand Islanders, the Nuer, etc.) that have provided the stimulus for important anthropological theorizing, debate and restudy. The San have been subject to study and restudy in large part because they are intrinsically interesting, but so are all people. The quality and reliability of Lee's and his colleagues' data have invited further study and enabled restudy to be especially productive. Moreover, the San have generated interest in large part because of the richness of Lee's ethnography and the extremely important theoretical questions that he has asked of his material and that others have been inspired and provoked to ask of it.

Lee's early work challenged long held assumptions that hunter-gatherer life was "nasty, brutish and short." Through rigorous empirical research, Lee demonstrated the security inherent in a foraging subsistence base.[3] Sahlins took Lee's material to advance his extremely significant concept of the "Original Affluent Society" which he first presented at the 1966 Man the Hunter Conference organized by Lee and DeVore and later refined in his 1972 book, *Stone Age Economics* (see also Gailey and Susser, this volume). Using Lee's material, Sahlins was able to pose important questions regarding the ubiquity of the market principle as the mechanism of economic integration in society. At the time, the debate between the formalist and substantivists loomed large in anthropology. To simplify, the formalists adopted a position that viewed the economy as composed of (individual) humans attempting to fulfil unlimited wants with limited ends while the substantivists argued that the economy constituted a category of culture that represented the "material life process of society" (Sahlins, 1972: xii). This particular debate no longer exercises the attention of anthropologists with the same vigour, but questions (or, in most cases, the blind acceptance) of the universality of the market principle as the basis of the economy remain central not only in academia but in the offices of governments and institutions that have a profound impact upon the daily lives

of people throughout the world. The implicit assumption that the economy consists of "autonomous" individuals making choices (on an even playing field) regarding the most effective means to allocate their scarce resources guides these institutions and their planning. In the current neo-liberal moment the assumption of market universality is joined by the concomitant normative notion that peoples' well being will be enhanced by granting them even greater autonomy in making such choices. These ideas influence and guide not only the policies of our own governments but also those of the multilateral institutions that dictate to the governments of poor countries. Such assumptions about the nature of the economy lead ultimately to policies that, for instance, force poor Ghanaian villagers to decide between utilizing their scant cash for water (that is being privatized as a result of World Bank policies) or school fees, or food, or medical care. For this and a host of other reasons, the lessons of "the original affluent society" and its inherent critique of market universality remain highly salient.

Lee's early research was influenced by cultural ecology and evolutionary studies; his work stands as a paradigm of these approaches and became the exemplar for many who sought to apply similar research methods and analytic tools in the Kalahari and elsewhere. The interdisciplinary Kalahari project that Lee and DeVore initiated in 1963 had the explicit goal of developing as complete a picture as possible of the hunting and gathering way of life. Their work and the 1966 Man the Hunter conference that they organized provided the foundation for ongoing interrogation and theorizing of the very concept and existence of the category "hunter-gatherer." Hunter-gatherer (forager) studies is now well established with regular international conferences, ongoing research and debate, and productive internal critiques. If some of this work is in counterpoint to Lee's, this reveals that the significance of his work lies not only in the models and data that it has provided but also in its role as stimulus to further reflection, question, debate and critical scholarship.

The Theoretical and Ethnographic Basis of Egalitarianism

Lee's early ethnography provided a critical contribution to the rise of feminist anthropology (see Gailey, Susser and Patterson, this volume). By using his own careful measurements and comparative data from other foraging societies, Lee revealed the importance of collected foods in relation to meat in most forager diets. In fact, in acknowledging that a greater proportion of the San diet was supplied by collected vegetable foods, Lee challenged the appropriateness of the term hunter-gathering society and switched to foraging society in many of his writings. By exposing women's subsistence role in San society, Lee and others were able to question the received wisdom that posited hunting and the division of labour upon which it was predicated, including male predominance, as the evolutionary basis of human social organization. In addition, Lee provided ethnographic evidence of women's political centrality and in doing so contributed to dispelling stereotypes of "primitive patriarchy."[4] His Kalahari colleague, Pat Draper, provided further ethnographic support in an important article that appeared in one of the formative volumes of feminist anthropology (Draper, 1975). In it she offers observation and analysis of greater sexual egalitarianism amongst foraging as opposed to sedentary San.

In the 1980's Lee's theoretical framework shifted explicitly to Marxist political economy with an emphasis upon examining the social and economic basis of egalitarianism. With Eleanor Leacock, he published works that affirmed Marx's construct of "primitive communism" and explored its ethnographic foundations. They argued for the existence of societies that have the capacity to reproduce themselves while limiting the accumulation of wealth and power and they attempted to identify the structures that enabled such societies to do so. Trigger, Gailey and Patterson (and, less directly, Susser) address this aspect of Lee's work. Gailey examines Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* and illustrates how Marx distinguished "communal" based social formations such as those of foraging groups from those of peasants and saw in the former possibilities for an emancipatory future.

Trigger's and Patterson's observations emerge from a similar spirit; they pay special attention to assertions regarding the "nature" of human nature that many wish to put forward on the basis of forager ethnography. Because many observers view contemporary foragers as a prism through which to glimpse human origins, easy licence is taken in asserting assumptions about "primordial" humans as either "noble savages" or "nasty brutes." Sylvain's paper also draws attention to the impact Lee's work has had for re-examining a Hobbesian notion of human nature. She then takes the discussion forward by differentiating ideas of human nature from those of identity and interrogating the latter in relation to San studies. Patterson identifies liberal views whose theoretical genealogy lies, in particular, with Locke and contrasts them with those emerging from a Marxist tradition. Patterson includes many of Lee's critics (the "revisionists") with the former who grant analytic privilege to the sphere of exchange while the latter

grant theoretical primacy to that of production. In so doing, the "revisionists" foreground San relations with encompassing and extractive political economies in which San relations with one another appear largely as a function of their external subordination. Lee, on the other hand, by keeping the primary (but not exclusive) gaze on production is able to illustrate the means by which San are able to inhibit both political and economic inequality despite the fact (not because of it as some critics would have) the San were enmeshed in power relations not of their own making.

Trigger not only poses questions about the inherent "goodness" or lack of it in human nature but also ponders the degree to which there might be a biological basis to human nature and thus limits to its social construction. Trigger acknowledges the openness of his questions and the difficulties in answering them. But he implores progressive anthropologists to consider the degree to which people in complex capitalist societies might fashion social structures and living arrangements that promote a more equitable sharing of wealth despite a basic human nature that may be less flexible than we may wish to believe. One of the reasons Trigger finds the San material so compelling is because of this political commitment that he shares with Lee. Amongst the San, as depicted by Lee, one finds no "noble savage" occupying an original utopia, but rather a group of people who actively resist the rise of inequality. They possess and deploy a set of rules or "instruments" that are, to borrow Clastres' term, "anti-state"; their existence illustrates, within important limits, the possible.

Praxis

Several articles illustrate Lee's commitment to a politically engaged anthropology. Some highlight the connection between theorizing and practice by asking what an emancipatory anthropology might look like. Biesele and Susser draw attention to Lee's Southern African activism while Brodkin's paper addresses a more deeply rooted foundation of his politics. With respect to Lee, to herself and to many other progressive Jewish activists, she asks "What kind of Jewishness do Jews create when they pursue social justice as Jews in North America today?" Brodkin identifies at least two strands of Jewish political activism that are constructed on the basis of different sets of narratives. Some emphasize the Holocaust and solidarity with Israel while others hark back to memories of immigrants working in sweatshops and to union struggles. Collective memories amongst the latter have been further radicalized through the infusion of feminist politics. Despite the class status they now occupy, the praxis of contemporary Jews such as Brodkin and Lee places them in the latter category. As Brodkin illustrates, although most progressive Jews no longer share direct identification with oppressed peoples in North America they can "perform identity work" that enables them to share in their struggles.

Ethnography

Few are as accomplished in the art of ethnography as Lee. His beautifully vivid and empathetic account of Kalahari peoples' changing lives has set a high ethnographic standard that few can match (the number of times key articles such as "Eating Christmas in the Kalahari" and the undergraduate ethnography first published as *The Dobe !Kung* have been reprinted is evidence of this as is the fact that his first ethnography, *The !Kung San: Men, Women and Work in a Foraging Society* won the prestigious Hersokvits award). Generations of anthropology undergraduates have come to appreciate a non-western society by reading his work. Through documentaries and other materials the wider public has also been presented with a sensitive account of an African society. Whether describing foraging practices, naming relationships, sexuality, or the politics and poetics of vanity and humility surrounding the presentation of a Christmas ox, Lee's fine attention to detail, lively descriptions and engaging portrayals of the vitality of San life have given his work a central place in the ethnographic record. As a result, the San are arguably the most thoroughly documented and well-understood group in Africa.

Lee's work, especially the earlier ecologically oriented writings, employed rigorous scientific methodology. He counted, measured, weighed and quantified. Lee seemed to have a natural gift for this sort of work; for instance, how many people could eyeball the weight of an ox within five to ten kilos?[5] He produced models that aided in the understanding of San society, of other hunter-gatherer societies and of sociocultural evolution. The Kalahari project has inspired subsequent team research endeavours such as the Harvard Ituri project. As a result of the team based nature of the research and Lee's generosity, the integrity of his meticulously collected data and analyses have been scrutinized repeatedly by other team members and have stood the test of time.

Perhaps it is Lee's brilliance as an ethnographer, his ability to keep multiple methodological balls in the air at any given time, and the widespread academic and public recognition of his work, in addition to the role San material has played in theory building, that have made him

and his work such a lightning rod—a flashpoint—for criticism and discontent. In the 1980's Lee's early ethnography as well as the evolutionary analytic framework that informed it came under increasing criticism. Claiming that he neglected San incorporation into coercive world power structures and arguing that their egalitarianism was a product of their subservience and not a *sui generis* phenomenon, "revisionist" scholars prompted a lively "Kalahari debate" (see Patterson and Gailey, this volume). Lee answered their challenge through detailed historical research (some of it conducted with authors in this volume such as Solway and, especially, Guenther) and by refining theoretical models of egalitarianism. As a result of the debates in which Lee and others engaged, our knowledge of Kalahari peoples and the models deployed in their analysis have become more sophisticated.

Lee first went to the Kalahari as a graduate student in 1963 and has returned numerous times since. He went again shortly after the conference upon which this volume is based in 2001 and was preparing for another fieldwork stint in 2003 as it was going to press. Long-term fieldwork presents many opportunities but also many challenges. A scholar who returns to the same research location for several decades bears the traces of a succession of academic paradigms, theoretical orientations and, especially in Lee's case, an ever changing and growing number of fellow fieldworkers. He or she is faced with the difficult task of disentangling changes in the object from those of the scholar-observer (Haugerud and Solway, 2000). The extent to which longitudinal research produces a greater sense of depth, or paradoxically, a greater sense of superficiality for the researcher is open to debate. But this is why long-term field research is important; it subverts our "isms," it mitigates against the smugness of the present, and it reminds us, to borrow Sara Berry's phrase that "no condition is permanent" (1993).

In the close to four decades that Lee has visited the Kalahari the pace of change has been breathtaking, complex, heartening and disheartening, and I would think, at times, bewildering. Many of the changes are cited in Hitchcock's and Biesele's articles and they form the backdrop to the articles of Guenther, Sylvain, and Susser. It has not always been easy or comforting to witness the transformations, but Lee has carefully documented the changes in livelihood strategies, participation in formal institutions and structures, social conditions, local and national political dynamics and so on. Despite the criticisms of some, Lee has never viewed the San as stone age relics. Each new version of his ethnography portrays the San as modern subjects in the new states of Southern Africa.

The legacy of Lee's Kalahari work not only finds expression in a voluminous output of books, articles, reviews, documentary films and in newspaper and other popular forms to which he has had direct input, but also, and significantly, it finds expression in the work of all of the ethnographers that have followed in his footsteps. They have been animated by not only his written work but most have been inspired and/or tutored by him personally. Few scholars have been as generous with their time, fieldnotes, language skills and good will as Lee. His unbounded enthusiasm and substantial support have provided an enabling context for scores of Kalahari researchers. Some have articles in this volume. Not all Kalahari researchers that have been influenced by Lee are included here—indeed if we were to do so we would need several volumes. Instead, we have included a representative group whose work spans half a century of Kalahari research. We begin with Elizabeth Marshall Thomas who travelled to Namibia (then Southwest Africa) with her extraordinary family to conduct fieldwork amongst the San initially in 1951. Renée Sylvain, a student of Lee's who completed her thesis in 1999, returned from the northern Namibian bush four days prior to the Montreal session upon which this volume is based. I suspect that in the 50 intervening years between Thomas' first research and Sylvain's 2001 return, there have been few, if any, years that at least one of us has not been in the Kalahari.

Thomas' paper draws upon her early 1950s fieldwork to highlight the exceptional relationship, or set of "understandings," that existed between the San and the local lions. This "Bushman/lion truce" that she describes no longer exists but that it did is fascinating and crucial to document. Thomas' paper depicts a past Kalahari and one that she observed only in the "Nyae Nyae" interior. The remaining Kalahari based papers are situated in the wider set of relations and present day circumstances, life and dilemmas of contemporary San.

Biesele's paper chronicles the Kalahari project's remarkable legacy of activism. The Kalahari Peoples Fund (KPF), founded in 1973 and based on publication royalties and donations, has facilitated a wide array of activities designed to promote San empowerment. Efforts have been directed towards enhancing livelihood opportunities, leadership development, the struggle for land rights, education and language development and numerous other projects. Increasingly, San are defining their own development priorities, assuming managerial responsibilities while western-based KPF workers are

moving happily further to the background. Hitchcock picks up on this theme by highlighting San land struggles and the range of methods the San, along with their neighbours, deploy in asserting their rights. Success has been mixed but some initiatives such as the various mapping projects appear to be bearing fruit and give one hope for seeing greater San empowerment. Hitchcock's paper gives the reader a good sense of the complex mix of characters (multi-ethnic local, government and expatriate) as well as the various levels (local, regional, state, international and global) that interact in the world of San activism.

Guenther's and Sylvain's papers address issues of theoretical and political importance regarding San identity at the turn of 21st-century post-Apartheid, post-cold war Southern Africa where, as elsewhere, questions of identity and recognition are becomingly increasingly foregrounded and increasingly politicized. The contested terrain of San identity and some of the means by which they attempt to navigate it are addressed by Guenther and Sylvain. Guenther's paper highlights the dilemma faced by San, who despite their participation in the contemporary everyday world, are continually recast as primitive by a public that wishes to ossify them as living fossils. His paper also follows nicely upon Biesele's as it illustrates a variety of San organizations and NGO's, some in which expatriate involvement is central and another that is run solely by San. Guenther's paper exposes a paradox of San artists, who live and work in a very modern world, but cannot escape the western hegemonic perspective that will only view them and their work through a primitivist lens. The western art consuming audience does this by rejecting artistic pieces that incorporate "modern" images and thus do not conform to outsiders' vision of the San as "primordial" noble savages. More nefarious, is the refusal to grant creativity to individual artists and instead to credit the "culture" with "authorship" of the works.

Sylvain addresses dilemmas faced by the Omaheke San of Namibia who have long been employed as farm labourers. Increasingly their political fortunes have been tied to the politics of recognition. Sylvain explores the identity dilemmas faced by the Omaheke in a number of arenas that tend to mutually reinforce one another. Their fortunes vis à vis the state of Namibia, their circumstances of employment, their relationships with NGO's and the like, and their place in the scholarly literature tend to hinge upon a number of contrasting sets of identities. For instance, are the Omaheke "indigenous peoples" or an underclass (and thus invisible to the blossoming NGO world), must they be defined by their cultural characteristics or class characteristics, and why must these categories be seen, as they so often are in and outside the academy, as mutually exclusive? By what standards of "authenticity" are these categories to be measured and who has the authority to set the standards? As Sylvain points out in her eloquently argued piece, the consequences for the Omaheke are not simply "academic." Sylvain's paper demonstrates the political, practical and theoretical pitfalls of being forced to categorize (and often essentialize) the Omaheke San as either an "underclass" or as "indigenous." In addressing these timely questions, Sylvain provides significant insights that add a new analytic layer to the Kalahari debate.

Susser and Lee, in collaboration with Southern African scholars and practitioners, are currently engaged in applied research in the struggle against HIV/AIDS. Southern Africa has the highest prevalence of documented HIV positive cases in the world. Given that analysts in Southern Africa and elsewhere have associated high rates of HIV with poverty and, especially in Southern Africa, with women's lack of autonomy, Susser wonders whether the San's legacy of a lack of "relative poverty" (Sahlins' original affluence) might have granted them any small amount of protection against its spread. She also speculates whether the San legacy of female political agency may have provided the San some added measure of resiliency against HIV compared to neighbouring groups. While Susser and Lee's results remain preliminary and suggestive at this point, they point to important factors to consider concerning spread of—and possible resistance to—AIDS amongst the San.

These papers are our tribute to Richard Lee. We honour him as a scholar, ethnographer, theorist, teacher, mentor, activist and friend. We hope Richard will take this volume in the spirit of the gift that we so cherish in Anthropology, that is, as only one moment in a chain of open-ended exchanges, of generalized reciprocity, that will endure, repeat, expand, and embrace new members over time. Like a trinket in the *hxaro*[6] network or a valuable in the *Kula* ring, we see this volume as an offering that will be productive of new and more "items" and relations. We look forward to many more decades of productive interaction with and inspiration from Richard. We can most assuredly count on the fact that Lee will continue his commitment to anthropology, to the peoples of the Kalahari and Southern Africa, to his students and colleagues, and to art, science and politics.

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Notes

1 Richard Katz and Patricia Draper also presented papers at the 2001 conference. Susser was a discussant at the conference and has provided a paper for this volume. Brodkin was unable to attend the conference but has contributed a paper.

2 San is a generic term deriving from the language family of Khoisan. Debate has raged and fashion has changed regarding the correct and/or appropriate appellation to bestow upon the former foraging peoples of the Kalahari (and Southern Africa). Bushmen, once dismissed as pejorative, is coming back into fashion. Lee worked with people who call themselves Ju/'hoansi and have been called !Kung in much of the anthropological literature (see also Gailey, this volume). Since some articles in this volume, especially those by Guenther and Sylvain, focus upon other San groups than the Ju/'hoansi, I will employ the generic term San.

3 The San's diet had been described (Thomas, 1959), but Lee painstakingly documented how varied and highly nutritious it was.

4 As Gailey notes (personal communication), Lee's depiction of the control women exercised over their own work arrangements and distribution of products was significant for feminist scholars producing a critique of male bias in anthropology, such attentive writings were valuable indeed (see, inter alia, Slocum, 1975).

5 This passage derives from Lee's well-known article "Eating Christmas in the Kalahari" first published in *Natural History* magazine. At one point Lee told me that this article was the magazine's most frequently reprinted article. Lee's capacity to make people come alive through his writing, to engage an audience, and to do so through the classic Jewish humour motif of self-deprecation is portrayed brilliantly in this wonderful narrative.

6 *Hxaro* is a system of generalized gift exchange practiced amongst the Ju/'hoansi (Wiessner, 1982).

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For Lee references see "Selected Bibliography."

L'œuvre de Richard B. Lee : la politique et la pratique en anthropologie critique – introduction

Jacqueline Solway *Trent University*

Traduction de Lori-Anne Théroux-Bénoni

Ce volume se veut un modeste gage de respect et d'affection envers Richard B. Lee afin de faire honneur à son travail, à sa politique, à son amitié et à son enthousiasme. Les pages qui suivent n'ont d'autre ambition que de rendre hommage à la figure inspiratrice que Richard Lee a jusqu'à maintenant incarnée, et ce, non seulement pour tous les gens qui ont participé à la réalisation du présent volume, mais également pour bien d'autres collègues et collaborateurs aussi bien à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur de l'enceinte universitaire. Les contributions qui ont donné naissance à cette parution ont pour point de départ une série de sessions organisées par Christine Ward Gailey et moi-même, Jacqueline Solway, dans le cadre de la réunion commune de la Société canadienne d'anthropologie, de la Société américaine d'ethnologie et de la Société pour l'anthropologie culturelle qui s'est tenue à Montréal en 2001. Le but de ces rencontres était de souligner la retraite prochaine (2004) de Richard B. Lee du corps professoral de l'Université de Toronto, université au sein de laquelle il œuvre depuis 1972 et où il s'est vu offrir, en 1999, le prestigieux titre de *University Professor*. Ce volume entend donc marquer le passage de Lee à une nouvelle étape. Ainsi, bien que retraité, il continuera d'offrir sa collaboration à ses collègues, d'assumer le rôle de mentor auprès de futurs anthropologues, de mener des recherches sur le terrain, de partager son savoir d'érudit par le biais d'ouvrages et d'œuvrer en tant que militant politique. Il ne s'agit donc pas d'un *Festschrift*[1] de fin de carrière puisque Lee continuera ses activités. Comme me l'indiquait Christine W. Gailey lors d'une discussion,

> le sens premier du mot Festschrift évoque un éloge écrit, un ouvrage composé d'articles réunis et dédiés à un maître par ses amis, ses disciples, alors que la personne en question est toujours en mesure d'établir un dialogue avec les auteurs. En ce qui a trait à R. Lee, l'invitation au dialogue requiert que les auteurs abordent un éventail de questions et de controverses d'une brûlante actualité, au sujet de la vitalité de l'approche

> alliant les quatre sous-disciplines de l'anthropologie et des enjeux entourant les recherches de terrain à long terme ayant un impact social. Quel que soit le débat intellectuel, pour R. Lee, l'élimination de l'oppression est à l'ordre du jour, car c'est ainsi que les générations futures parviendront à concevoir la nature humaine comme un tout, et plus seulement soit comme un réflexe biologique, soit comme une série d'attributs au service de l'impérialisme mondial.

Cet ouvrage se compose donc principalement de communications présentées lors de la conférence de 2001, auxquelles se sont greffés d'autres essais[2] et une interview. Nous avons assemblé cet ouvrage de telle façon qu'on puisse percevoir le naturel avec lequel s'imbriquent les composantes théoriques, ethnographiques et politiques qui forment non seulement la carrière de Lee, mais également sa vie. Il importe d'expliciter le lien entre les différentes contributions ici réunies ainsi que la façon dont elles mettent en lumière l'œuvre de Lee tout en s'attachant à cerner sa personnalité et sa pensée.

Les arts, les sciences et la politique

Dans l'important article, «Art, Science, or Politics? The Crisis in Hunter-Gatherer Studies», publié en 1992 dans la revue *American Anthropologist*, Richard Lee fait allusion à la dite opposition que Snow a établi entre les sous-cultures académiques humaines et scientifiques. Je me permets d'emprunter et de modifier légèrement le titre de son article afin de démontrer que Lee et ses collaborateurs ont déconstruit le mythe de l'impossible réconciliation des sciences humaines et des sciences naturelles en harmonisant les deux approches dans leurs recherches. En outre, les travaux qui résultent de leurs recherches dans le désert du Kalahari et dans d'autres régions ont une forte incidence politique. En effet, le travail et la pratique de Lee se fondent sur une quête de justice sociale, une anthropologie socialement engagée et un militantisme qui transcende le milieu universitaire. Chacun à leur manière, la majorité des articles du présent volume tentent de faire écho aux idéaux et à la pratique de l'homme et du savant.

La volonté inébranlable qui anime Lee de prouver et de revendiquer l'égalité humaine repose sur son engagement politique. Il ne faudrait pas prendre l'optimisme qui émane de sa position pour de la naïveté; il s'agit plutôt d'un alliage de maturité et de réalisme qui a su survivre au passage du temps et aux difficultés auxquelles Lee a dû faire face, comme le démontre Gailey en traçant la trajectoire intellectuelle de Lee. En effet, Gailey a interviewé Lee en 2002, et cette interview a été reproduite à la suite de l'introduction. En ouvrant une fenêtre sur la vie de Lee, Gailey nous rend apte à apprécier à leur juste valeur les facteurs qui ont influencé Lee dans sa vie comme dans son oeuvre. Elle montre à quel point sa famille, son éducation, le contexte politique radical des années 60 et le mouvement d'opposition à la guerre ont joué un rôle prépondérant dans son parcours de vie. L'auteure rappelle également que Lee a encaissé bien des coups durs. Tout d'abord, comme bien d'autres chercheurs de sa génération, Lee a vu s'effondrer des régimes et leurs héros qui, en plus de ne pas avoir tenu leurs promesses, sont tombés dans la banalité ou, pire encore, dans la criminalité. Il a souffert des tragédies personnelles et ses recherches ont été l'objet de critiques cyniques qu'il a su supporter. De plus, pendant que les gouvernements de droite et les universités faisaient basculer les militants dans la trivialité la plus complète, il s'est vu marginalisé en tant qu'activiste politique. Malgré tout, Lee n'a pas perdu son optimisme contagieux et c'est avec zèle qu'il accueille de nouvelles occasions, de nouvelles idées et de nouvelles personnes. Les étudiants en particulier ont de tout temps estimé son enthousiasme et affirment que Lee leur donne non seulement l'impression d'être les bienvenus mais également d'être intéressants.

L'ethnographie, source de théories

Les successeurs de Lee lui seront à jamais redevables du remarquable corpus ethnographique qu'il leur lègue et de l'élan qu'il a donné aux théories anthropologiques. Son apport théorique prend racines tant dans ses propres recherches à long terme sur le Kalahari que dans celles des chercheurs qu'il a inspirés, encouragés ou guidés. Les San[3] et la quantité de données ethnographiques qui s'y rapportent sont passés au rang des Trobriandais et des Nuer, cas ethnographiques qui ont inspiré d'importantes théories et ont fait naître de fécondes controverses. Il importe de reconnaître que la popularité des San comme objet d'études et de réexamen tient de la qualité et de la fiabilité des données mises de l'avant par Lee et ses collaborateurs. Certes, les San représentent un peuple intrinsèquement intéressant, mais tous les peuples ne le sont-ils pas? Si ce peuple a suscité autant d'intérêt et s'est si bien prêté à des investigations toujours plus approfondies, c'est d'une part grâce au talent ethnographique de Lee et d'autre part grâce à ses données qui l'ont amené à poser de pénétrantes questions théoriques et qui ont incité d'autres chercheurs inspirés à en faire autant.

Lee, grâce à ces travaux initiaux, a permis de remettre en question l'hypothèse voulant que la vie des

chasseurs-cueilleurs soit «pénible, bestiale et de courte durée». Ces rigoureuses recherches ont démontré que le mode de vie fourragère représente une option sûre et viable[4]. Marshall Sahlins a repris les conclusions de Lee et a développé le concept d'abondance dans les sociétés primitives, concept d'une extrême importance qu'il présenta sur la place publique pour la première fois lors de la conférence organisée par Lee et De Vore en 1966 et intitulée *Man the Hunter*. C'est à la suite de l'élaboration de ce concept que Sahlins publia, en 1972, la version anglaise du volume intitulé «Âge de pierre, âge d'abondance : l'économie des sociétés primitives[5]» (cf. Gailey et Susser). À l'aide du matériel de Lee, Sahlins a été en mesure de poser d'importantes questions sur l'universalité du principe voulant que l'économie de marché représente le mécanisme d'intégration à atteindre pour toutes les sociétés. Rappelons qu'à l'époque, le débat entre les formalistes et les substantialistes se situait au premier plan des préoccupations des anthropologues. En bref, les formalistes étaient d'avis que la société était composée d'individus s'efforçant de répondre à une quantité illimitée de besoins à l'aide de ressources limitées. Les substantialistes, pour leur part, percevaient l'économie comme une catégorie de culture représentant le procédé de vie matériel de la société (Sahlins, 1972). Bien que ce débat ne suscite plus aussi intensément l'intérêt des anthropologues, la question ou plutôt l'acceptation aveugle de l'universalité de l'économie de marché continue d'avoir des répercussions majeures. Ces répercussions se font sentir tant dans les milieux académiques qu'au sein des établissements gouvernementaux et des institutions qui exercent un pouvoir décisif sur la vie des peuples du monde entier. La supposition voulant que l'économie soit avant tout constitué d'individus «autonomes» faisant des choix (sur un même pied d'égalité) au sujet de la façon la plus efficace d'utiliser leur ressources limitées, balise la voie qu'empruntent nos propres gouvernements et les institutions multilatérales lors des prises de décision. Les pays en développement se trouvent sous la férule de ces organes décisionnels. Par le fait même, on ne peut malheureusement pas s'étonner de voir de pauvres villageois Ghanéens contraints à choisir s'ils utiliseront leurs maigres ressources financières pour acheter de l'eau (cette même eau que les politiques de la Banque Mondiale les a amenés à privatiser), de la nourriture, ou encore pour payer des frais de scolarité ou des services de santé. Cet exemple illustre pourquoi les leçons à tirer de la critique de l'universalité de l'économie de marché et du concept d'abondance dans les sociétés d'origine demeurent un sujet d'actualité.

À ses débuts, Lee s'est inspiré de l'écologie culturelle et des études évolutionnistes. Ses investigations se sont vite élevées au rang de paradigme de ces disciplines et sont devenues l'exemple à suivre pour tous ceux qui, après lui, ont cherché à travailler dans le désert du Kalahari ou ailleurs en utilisant des approches semblables. L'étude interdisciplinaire qu'ont entreprise Lee et De Vore en 1963 dans le Kalahari avait pour but de dresser le portrait du mode de vie des chasseurs-cueilleurs aussi exhaustivement que possible. Leur étude et la conférence de 1966 constitue la pierre angulaire qui n'a cessé d'inspirer des travaux soulevant de nombreuses interrogations et remettant en question l'existence même de la catégorie «chasseurs-cueilleurs». Conséquemment, les études consacrées aux chasseurs-cueilleurs (fourrageurs) constituent à présent une discipline reconnue faisant régulièrement l'objet de conférences internationales. De plus cette discipline est désormais rendue féconde par les nombreuses recherches et débats en cours ainsi que par la critique constructive qui l'anime. Le fait que certaines études au sein de cette discipline se situent à l'antithèse de celles de Lee représente la preuve tangible que sa contribution va bien au-delà des paradigmes qu'il a établis et des données qu'il a produites. L'influence de Lee se retrouve également dans les questions, les controverses, les débats et les recherches critiques qu'il a suscités.

Les fondements théoriques et ethnographiques de l'égalitarisme

La montée de l'anthropologie féministe a grandement bénéficié des premières recherches ethnographiques de Lee (cf. Gailey, Susser et Patterson). Par le biais de minutieux calculs et de données comparatives provenant de ses propres recherches sur d'autres sociétés fourragères, Lee a dévoilé l'importance insoupçonnée de la nourriture végétale provenant de la cueillette par rapport à la viande dans le régime alimentaire. Cette découverte l'a amené à mettre en doute la validité de l'expression «société de chasseurs-cueilleurs» et à préférer l'usage de l'expression «société fourragère» dans ses écrits. En faisant la lumière sur le rôle des femmes en tant que pourvoyeuses dans la société san, Lee et d'autres chercheurs ont remis en question les idées préconçues sur la chasse, la division sexuée du travail et la prédominance de l'homme. Ces idées avaient valeur d'axiomes dans les théories évolutionnistes de l'organisation sociale humaine. Lee, du coup, a fourni une preuve ethnographique de la position centrale de la femme dans l'organisation politique, et a participé à dissiper le stéréotype du «patriarcat primordial»[6]. Sa

collègue, Pat Draper, également spécialiste du Kalahari, a fourni davantage de données ethnographiques dans son article paru dans un manuel d'anthropologie féministe (Draper, 1975). Elle y offre des observations et des analyses qui corroborent l'existence d'un égalitarisme plus prononcé dans les sociétés fourragères des San que chez les San sédentarisés.

Au cours des années 80, Lee a explicitement changé de cadre théorique, favorisant les théories d'économie politique marxiste dans l'optique d'examiner les bases sociales et économiques de l'égalitarisme. Il a publié, avec Eleanor Leackock, des études confirmant l'idée du communisme primitif de Marx et examinant ses fondements ethnographiques. Ensemble, ils ont prouvé l'existence et la viabilité de ce type de société, et ce, en dépit du fait qu'elle limite l'accumulation des richesses et du pouvoir. Ils ont également réussi à identifier les structures grâce auxquelles ces sociétés se maintiennent. Trigger, Gailey et Patterson (de même que Susser, moins directement) se penchent sur cet aspect des recherches de Lee. Gailey, pour sa part, examine l'œuvre de Marx intitulé *Ethnological Notebooks*, et démontre comment ce dernier a réussi à différencier, parmi les formations sociales communautaires, le mode de vie des fourrageurs de celui des paysans. Ainsi, Marx a vu poindre à l'horizon les possibilités d'émancipation qu'offrent le mode de vie des fourrageurs. Dans un même ordre d'idées, Trigger et Patterson portent une attention particulière aux affirmations voulant que l'objectif des recherches ethnographiques sur les fourrageurs soit de comprendre l'essence de la nature humaine. Bien des observateurs perçoivent les fourrageurs d'aujourd'hui comme des vestiges permettant d'entrevoir les origines humaines. On assiste donc à l'émergence de plusieurs hypothèses dégradantes au sujet de ces humains dits «primitifs», les réduisant à l'image de «nobles sauvages» ou de «sales brutes».

Quant à l'article de Sylvain, il fait état des répercussions du travail de Lee sur le concept de «nature humaine» de Hobbes. L'auteure établit ensuite la différence entre l'idée de nature humaine et celle d'identité. Elle s'interroge sur le lien entre cette dernière et les études sur les Sans. Patterson, pour sa part, identifie des visions libérales dont les fondements proviennent principalement du philosophe John Locke et les oppose à celles de la tradition marxiste. Patterson assimile les censeurs de Richard Lee (les «révisionnistes») à Locke, puisqu'ils privilégient, tout comme Locke, les échanges dans leur analyse. Ce faisant, les révisionnistes préconisent une approche mettant au premier plan le lien entre les San et le système politico-économique. Dans cette optique, ils affirment que les relations égalitaires des San entre eux découlent avant tout de leur subordination à structure extérieure à la communauté. Lee, suivant Marx, focalise principalement, mais pas exclusivement, sur la production. Il illustre ainsi la façon dont les San parviennent à inhiber les inégalités politiques et économiques malgré le fait (et non dû au fait, comme le diraient les critiques) que les San soient empêtrés dans des relations de pouvoir qu'ils n'ont pas choisies.

Trigger, s'interrogeant sur l'inhérence de la bonté ou l'absence de celle-ci chez l'être humain, médite sur l'importance des fondements biologiques et les limites du constructivisme social. Trigger reconnaît l'envergure de ses questions et les difficultés découlant de la poursuite de leurs réponses. Il conjure cependant les anthropologues progressistes de bien vouloir considérer cette question: Comment les gens vivant dans les sociétés capitalistes complexes sont-ils en mesure de façonner des structures sociales et des conditions de vie afin de promouvoir une répartition plus équitable des richesses? Il estime qu'il s'agit d'une question fondamentale, même si les bases de la nature humaine s'avèrent peut-être moins flexibles que l'on ne veut le croire. Si Trigger est à ce point fasciné par les San, c'est en partie parce qu'il est tout aussi engagé politiquement que Lee. Les San, tel que Lee les a décrits, sont loin d'incarner l'image du «noble sauvage» évoluant au sein d'une utopie originelle. Ils incarnent plutôt un peuple qui résiste farouchement au développement des inégalités. Ils possèdent et font usage d'un ensemble de règlements ou d'instruments «anti-étatiques», comme le dirait Clastres. L'existence des San révèle la viabilité de la possibilité, malgré d'imposantes limites, de fonctionner dans une société égalitaire.

Le volet praxis

Plusieurs essais illustrent à quel point Lee souhaite faire de l'anthropologie une discipline politiquement engagée. D'autres mettent l'accent sur le lien entre la théorie et la pratique en s'interrogeant sur ce à quoi ressemblerait une version émancipée de l'anthropologie. Tandis que Biesele et Susser se penchent sur le militantisme de Lee en Afrique australe, Brodkin traite des fondements profonds de son engagement politique. En effet, Brodkin, gardant à l'esprit son propre activisme ainsi que celui de Lee et d'autres militants progressistes juifs, tente de répondre à la question suivante : Quel type de judéité les juifs crée-t-il en tentant de réaliser leurs aspirations de justice sociale dans le contexte nord-américain? Brodkin reconnaît au moins deux types de militantisme politique juif édifiés sur différents ensembles de narration; à

savoir, celui qui met l'accent sur l'Holocauste et le sentiment de solidarité envers Israël, et celui qui revient inlassablement à l'image des luttes syndicales menées par les immigrants juifs exploités dans les usines. Les idées féministes ont influencé et radicalisé davantage la mémoire collective de ce deuxième type de militants. Brodkin et Lee s'identifient d'ailleurs à ce type de par leur praxis, en dépit de la classe sociale à laquelle ils appartiennent. Brodkin démontre que même si la plupart des juifs progressistes ne peuvent dorénavant plus être directement assimilés aux peuples opprimés d'Amérique du Nord, ils peuvent néanmoins faire valoir leur identité pour légitimer leur participation dans la lutte pour la justice sociale.

Le volet ethnographique

Bien peu de gens maîtrisent l'art de l'ethnographie aussi bien que Lee. Les descriptions vivantes et empathiques qu'il fait du caractère changeant de la vie des peuples du Kalahari tiennent le haut du pavé des canons ethnographiques. D'ailleurs, les réimpressions de ses articles clés, tel «Eating Christmas in the Kalahari», et de son ethnographie destinée aux étudiants de premier cycle publiée tout d'abord sous le titre *The Dobe !Kung*, témoignent de son talent. Sans compter que sa première ethnographie a remporté le prestigieux prix Hersokvits. C'est par le biais de son oeuvre que des générations d'étudiants au premier cycle en anthropologie ont pu découvrir une société non-occidentale. Ses documentaires et ses autres productions ont également gagné la faveur du public, contribuant à véhiculer la subtile image d'une société africaine. L'attention que Lee porte aux détails, jumelée à ses descriptions vivantes et à ses représentations attachantes des coutumes fourragères, des relations sociales, de la sexualité, de la politique ainsi que la poétique de la vanité et de l'humilité émanant de la présentation d'un bœuf à Noël, par exemple, font de ses études des pièces magistrales du registre ethnographique. En conséquence, on peut soutenir que les San constituent le groupe le mieux documenté et le mieux compris d'Afrique.

Dans ses recherches, et tout particulièrement dans ses premiers écrits axés sur l'écologie, Lee a fait usage d'une rigoureuse méthodologie scientifique. Compter, mesurer, peser, quantifier? Rien ne l'intimide et Lee semble même avoir un don pour ce type de travail. En effet, combien de personnes peuvent-elles, à vue d'œil, estimer le poids d'un bœuf avec une marge d'erreur de cinq à 10 kilos[7]? Lee a produit des paradigmes qui ont facilité la compréhension de la société San, celle d'autres sociétés de chasseur-cueilleurs ainsi que celle de l'évolution socioculturelle. Le projet du Kalahari a inspiré des recherches subséquentes tel le *Harvard Ituri project*. Étant donné que le projet fondamentalement axé sur le travail d'équipe les données que Lee a méticuleusement recueillies et analysées ont été scrutées à maintes reprises par d'autres membres de l'équipe mais n'ont pas perdu de leur intégrité et ont su résister au passage du temps. Ceci semble récompenser Lee de sa générosité.

C'est sans doute ses talents d'ethnographe, sa capacité à jouer sur plusieurs plans méthodologiques à la fois, sa renommée dans le domaine publique et académique de même que le rôle que ses études sur les San ont joué pour consolider la théorie qui ont fait de l'homme et de son oeuvre la proie de la critique et du mécontentement. Dans les années 80, le travail ethnographique initial de Lee tout comme le cadre analytique évolutif sur lequel se fondait son travail est devenu la cible de critiques sans cesse plus acerbes. Ses détracteurs révisionnistes prétendaient que Lee avait négligé l'importance de l'incorporation des San dans les structures coercitives du pouvoir mondial et que leur égalitarisme résultait davantage de leur servilité que d'un phénomène *sui generis*. C'est ainsi qu'ils déclenchèrent un débat animé sur le Kalahari (cf. Patterson et Gailey). La réplique de Lee se concrétisa en de minutieuses recherches historiques (dont certaines en collaboration avec des auteurs du présent volume tels Solway et plus particulièrement Guenther) et de redéfinir les modèles théoriques de l'égalitarisme. Les aboutissements de ces débats ont permis d'enrichir nos connaissances des peuples du Kalahari et des paradigmes servant à leur analyse.

La toute première fois que Lee est allé dans le désert du Kalahari, en 1963, il poursuivait des études supérieures. Il y est, depuis, retourné à plusieurs reprises. D'ailleurs, il s'y est rendu peu de temps après la tenue de la conférence qui donna naissance à ce volume et s'apprête à y retourner en 2003, alors que le volume passera sous presse. Si les recherches terrain de longue durée offrent de nombreux avantages, elles présentent aussi de nombreuses difficultés. Lorsqu'un chercheur regagne un même lieu de recherche pendant plusieurs décennies, il est assujetti à la succession des paradigmes académiques, aux courants théoriques et, ceci est encore plus vrai dans le cas de Lee, à un nombre grandissant de collègues sur le terrain. Un tel chercheur doit sans cesse se repositionner par rapport à son objet d'étude car il devient difficile de déterminer si les changements observés sont réels ou tiennent davantage des changements qui se sont opérés à même la personnalité

du chercheur-observateur (Haugerud et Solway, 2000). Les études longitudinales amènent-elles vraiment plus de profondeur ou, au contraire, sont-elles vouées à la superficialité? La question demeure ouverte et voilà justement pourquoi ce type de recherche est d'une telle importance. Ces travaux bouleversent notre compréhension des courants théoriques, mitigent les airs suffisants que prend souvent le présent et nous rappellent, comme le dit si bien Sara Berry, «qu'aucune condition n'est permanente» (1993).

Voilà maintenant près de 40 ans que Lee visite le Kalahari. Les changements qui y prennent place, vu leur rythme et leur complexité, sont parfois réconfortants, parfois accablants, et d'autres fois encore, je dirais, déconcertants. Les articles de Hitchcock et de Biesele font état de ces changements et servent de toile de fond aux articles de Guenther, Sylvain et Susser. Même au cours des transformations les plus démoralisantes, Lee a minutieusement documenté les répercussions de ces changements sur le mode de vie, la participation aux structures et institutions officielles, les conditions sociales, les dynamiques politiques locale et nationale, etc. Quoi qu'en disent les critiques, Lee n'a jamais perçu les San comme des reliques de l'Âge de pierre. Ses ethnographies les représentent toujours comme étant des sujets modernes dans les nouveaux états d'Afrique australe.

Richard Lee se démarque par sa bonne volonté. Généreux de son temps, débordant d'enthousiasme, prêt à partager ses notes ethnographiques, et à faire profiter autrui de ses connaissances linguistiques, Lee a créé un climat propice, stimulant et inspirant pour des dizaines de chercheurs menant des études sur le Kalahari. Il va sans dire qu'il était impossible d'inclure dans un seul volume tous les chercheurs qui ont été influencés par Lee. Nous avons assemblé un volume qui comprend un nombre représentatif de chercheurs dont le travail couvre un demi siècle de recherche sur le Kalahari. Le premier essai est signé par Elizabeth Marshall Thomas, qui, en 1951, a mené une enquête de terrain en compagnie de sa remarquable famille dans l'actuelle Namibie. Le dernier est de Renée Sylvain, une étudiante de Lee qui a terminé sa thèse en 1999 et a regagné le Canada quatre jours avant la réunion commune tenue à Montréal en 2001 sur laquelle se fonde cette parution. Il y a donc 50 ans séparant la recherche de Thomas et celle de Sylvain, et je serai étonnée d'apprendre qu'au cours de cette période, une seule année n'est passée sans qu'au moins un de nous ne soit retourné dans le Kalahari.

L'article de Thomas s'inspire de son enquête de terrain qui date des années 50. Elle met en relief la relation exceptionnelle prévalant entre les San et les lions de la région. Cette «trêve entre bochimans et lions» n'existe dorénavant plus mais le fait qu'elle ait déjà existé représente en soi un fait fascinant qu'il a été crucial de documenter. Thomas dresse le portrait passé du Kalahari qu'elle a observé dans le Nyae Nyae. Les autres articles sont encrés dans le présent et décrivent les relations, les circonstances, la vie et les dilemmes des San d'aujourd'hui.

L'essai de Biesele fait la chronique des répercussions du projet du Kalahari sur le plan du militantisme. La fond pour les peuples du Kalahari (KPF[8]), créé en 1973 grâce à de l'argent provenant de droits d'auteurs et de dons, a permis de mettre en oeuvre nombres d'activités afin de donner aux San l'occasion de se réapproprier leurs droits et leurs pouvoirs. Le fond a, entre autres, servi à améliorer les conditions de vie, à promouvoir l'éducation et le leadership en matière de développement ainsi qu'à supporter la lutte pour faire reconnaître leurs droits à la propriété. Au fur et à mesure que les San fixent leurs propres priorités en matière de développement et assument les responsabilités administratives qui s'y rapportent, le personnel occidental du KFP se retire, satisfait. Hitchcock, quant à lui, met l'accent sur la lutte pour les terres et la panoplie d'autres méthodes dont font usage les San pour revendiquer leurs droits. Les résultats sont parfois mitigés, mais certaines initiatives, notamment les différents projets cartographiques, semblent porter fruit et redonner espoir aux San et à leur supporteurs. Hitchcock illustre la complexité des acteurs en présence (la population multiethnique, les membres du gouvernement et les expatriés) de même que les différents paliers (local, régional, national, inter-national et mondial) dont les San doivent tenir compte dans leurs actions militantes.

Les essais de Guenther et de Sylvain abordent d'importantes questions politiques et théoriques concernant l'identité des San dans le contexte sud-africain actuel, c'est à dire dans le sillage de la guerre froide et de l'apartheid. En effet, en Afrique australe, comme dans bien d'autres endroits, les questions identitaires tendent à prendre une valeur politique et passent au premier plan des préoccupations des peuples. L'identité des San est source de controverse pour les San eux-mêmes et Guenther et Sylvain illustrent comment ils s'efforcent de s'y retrouver. Comme l'indique Guenther, les San, malgré leur participation à la vie ordinaire contemporaine, se voient toujours rabaissés au rang de primitifs par un public qui les perçoit comme des fossiles vivants. Son essai cadre bien avec celui de Biesele puis-

qu'il décrit une variété d'ONG et d'organisations, certaines administrées principalement par des étrangers, d'autres où l'administration repose entièrement entre les mains des San. Guenther révèle le paradoxe dans lequel se retrouvent les artistes de la région. En effet, puisqu'ils vivent et travaillent dans un monde moderne, ils ne peuvent échapper à la perspective hégémonique occidentale qui leur appose toujours une étiquette portant le terme «primitif». Le marché occidental rejette donc systématiquement les œuvres d'art qui tentent d'incorporer des aspects modernes et, pire encore, refuse de reconnaître que les artistes ont des inspirations créatrices qui leur sont propres. Les amateurs d'art occidentaux ont malheureusement tendance à attribuer la créativité artistique à une «entité culturelle» abstraite plutôt qu'à l'individu.

Sylvain, dans son article, traite des dilemmes auxquels font face les San Omaheke de Namibie qui servent de main-d'œuvre sur les fermes. La réappropriation de leurs droits se trouvent de plus en plus liée à la reconnaissance de leur identité distincte. Sylvain analyse les dilemmes identitaires devant lesquels se retrouvent les Omahekes dans différents domaines intimement interreliés et interdépendants. Leur avenir au sein de la Namibie, leurs conditions de travail, leurs liens avec les ONG et leur place dans la littérature académique dépendent de nombreux attributs identitaires parfois contradictoires. Par exemple, les Omahekes constituent-ils un peuple autochtone ou représentent-ils plutôt une sous-catégorie? Doit-on définir leur identité en fonction de leurs caractéristiques culturelles ou de leur classe sociale[9]? Ces choix ont une forte incidence car si on considère les Omahekes simplement comme une sous-catégorie, ils ne relèveront plus du nombre grandissant d'ONG qu'en tant que sous-catégorie. De plus, qui a la légitimité d'établir ces critères de classification et sur quelle base? L'éloquent article de Sylvain démontre combien les conséquences de ces décisions ne sont pas purement académiques en soulignant les écueils politiques, pratiques et théoriques de l'épineuse question de classification. Elle ajoute donc une facette au débat complexe portant sur le Kalahari.

Susser et Lee en collaboration avec des chercheurs et des médecins d'Afrique australe font en ce moment des recherches appliquées de façon à participer à la lutte contre le SIDA/VIH. L'Afrique australe possède le nombre le plus élevé de personnes vivant avec le VIH au monde. Les taux élevés de SIDA ayant été associés à la pauvreté et, plus particulièrement en Afrique australe, au manque d'autonomie des femmes, Susser désire savoir si l'absence de «pauvreté relative» (i.e., le concept d'abondance originel de Sahlins), peut avoir un tant soit peu prémuni les San contre le fléau du SIDA. Elle se demande si la tradition d'engagement politique des femmes aurait contribué à limiter la propagation du SIDA chez les San comparativement aux groupes voisins. Les résultats préliminaires de Susser et Lee n'ont, pour l'instant qu'une valeur indicative, mais ils signalent l'existence d'importants facteurs à tenir en considération quant à la propagation et aux éventuels moyens de freiner la propagation du SIDA chez les San.

Ce recueil représente donc notre hommage à Richard Lee. Nous tenons à l'honorer en tant que chercheur, ethnographe, théoricien, mentor, activiste et ami. Nous espérons qu'il acceptera ce volume en tant que don, au sens anthropologique du mot, c'est-à-dire que tant qu'un moment dans le cycle de réciprocité, en tant qu'échange généralisé, qui persiste, se répète, s'amplifie et englobe de nouvelles personnes au fil du temps. Telle une breloque dans le réseau du *hxaro*[10] ou un objet précieux dans la cérémonie de la Kula, nous percevons ce volume comme une offrande qui engendrera de nouveaux biens et de nouvelles relations sociales. Nous nous réjouissons à l'avance de savoir que nous pouvons encore compter sur des décennies de coopération fructueuse avec Richard Lee. De plus, nous pouvons compter sur le fait que Lee continuera de respecter ses engagements envers l'anthropologie, les peuples du Kalahari, l'Afrique australe, ses étudiants et ses collègues ainsi qu'envers les arts, les sciences et la politique.

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Notes

1 Note de traduction – *Festschrift*, équivalent anglais du mot *mélange*. Laissé en anglais dans le texte vu l'importance du mot dans la version originale anglaise.

2 Richard Katz et Patricia Draper ont aussi présenté une communication durant la conférence de 2001. Ida Susser a participé aux discussions, puis, a produit un article qui se retrouve également dans le volume. Karen Brodkin, qui n'a pu participer à la rencontre, a tout de même contribué au présent ouvrage.

3 Le mot San est un terme générique dérivé du nom de la famille linguistique Khoisan. L'appellation appropriée à conférer aux peuples du Kalahari et d'Afrique australe a soulevé bien des débats et a suivi différents courants. Ainsi, le terme *Bochimans*, qui fut condamné pour sa connotation péjorative, tend à présent à revenir. Richard Lee a travaillé avec le peuple qui se nomme Ju/'hoansi et qui se fait appeler !Kung dans la littérature anthropologique (cf. Gailey dans ce volume). Étant donné que certaines contributions au présent volume, particulièrement celles de Guenther et de Sylvain, se concentrent sur des groupes de la famille San qui ne sont pas les Ju/'hoansi, dans le cadre de cette introduction, le terme générique San sera utilisé.

4 Thomas (1959) avait déjà décrit le régime alimentaire des Sans. Cependant, Lee s'est imposé la tâche ardue de démontrer à quel point leur régime alimentaire était varié et avait une grande valeur nutritive.

5 Traduction française de *Stone Age Economics* publiée en 1976.

6 Comme l'a remarqué Gailey lors d'une de nos discussions, l'image que Lee a dressée des femmes et du contrôle qu'elles exercent sur leur propre organisation du travail et sur la distribution des produits a eu de fortes répercussions sur les chercheures féministes critiquant la vision biaisée des hommes en anthropologie (voir, inter alis, Slocum, 1975).

7 Cette allusion provient de l'article renommé de Lee intitulé «Eating Christmas in the Kalahari», publié pour la première fois dans la revue *Natural History*. Il m'a, une fois, confié qu'il s'agissait de l'article le plus souvent republié dans cette revue. Cet article illustre parfaitement le don qu'a Lee de rendre les gens vivant par le biais de ses écrits et de capter l'attention des lecteurs grâce à son humour typiquement juif ainsi qu'à sa tendance à se rabaisser lui-même.

8 Kalahari Peoples Fund (KPF)

9 D'ailleurs, pourquoi faut-il que ces catégories s'excluent l'une l'autre dans les visions académique et séculaire?

10 Le *Hxaro* est le système d'échange généralisé pratiqué par les Ju/'hoansi (Wiessner, 1982).

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Pour les références de Lee, voir la «Bibliographie des œuvres sélectionnées».

Richard Lee: The Politics, Art and Science of Anthropology

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Abstract: This introduction to the work of Richard B. Lee provides both a biographical sketch and an examination of major contributions his research has made to anthropology today. The biographical sketch of Richard B. Lee situates his development as a political anthropologist in the 1960s. The intellectual biography addresses his involvement in key debates about foraging peoples, the historicity of primitive communism, the social construction of gender and gender hierarchies, four-fields approaches in anthropology, and the role of the anthropologist in indigenous rights.

Keywords: ethnological theory, foraging societies, political anthropology, primitive communism, Richard Lee, San

Résumé : Cette introduction aux travaux de Richard B. Lee comprend une esquisse biographique et une analyse des contributions les plus importantes que ses recherches ont apportées à l'anthropologie actuelle. L'esquisse biographique situe le développement des intérêts de Richard B. Lee pour l'anthropologie politique dans les années 1960. La biographie intellectuelle rappelle son implication dans les débats-clés sur les chasseurs-cueilleurs, l'historicité du communisme primitif, la construction sociale du genre et des hiérarchies de genre, l'approche de l'anthropologie incluant quatre champs privilégiés et le rôle de l'anthropologue dans les luttes pour les droits des autochtones.

Mots-clés : théorie ethnologique, sociétés vivant de chasse et de cueillette, anthropologie politique, communisme primitif, Richard Lee, San

No *Festschrift* is complete without providing readers with a sense of the person and the emergence and development of the themes that occupy the scholar's intellectual life and social and political engagement. With the objective of portraying the person behind the work, politics and scholarship, I arranged a meeting with Richard to record some biographical details. The following is based on our taped exchanges which took place in Riverside, California, March 14-15, 2002.

Early Cultural Milieu

Richard Borshay Lee was born in Brooklyn, New York, on September 20, 1937. His sister Rhea was 16 years older, born to his mother in her first marriage. Although Rhea married when Richard was only five years old, they have remained close throughout their lives and share a love of Yiddishkeit[1] and Major League Baseball.

Richard's parents were in their thirties at the time he was born. They had met in New York in the 1930s when both were active in left-wing circles. Anne Borshay worked for AMTORG, the Soviet-American trading company; Charles Liberman (later Lee) worked for the Longshoreman's Union as a bookkeeper. In early 1942 they decided to move to Toronto, "where my mother's family had settled after emigrating from Minsk, Russia at the turn of the century."[2] One of his earliest memories was crossing the U.S.-Canadian border in a vintage automobile, driving "to our new life in Canada."

Politics and Culture: Toronto in the 1940s and 1950s

For Lee, being the child of progressives became "the core of my consciousness." In Canada they moved to the edge of a well-to-do Toronto suburb, Forest Hill Village, which later became part of Toronto proper. Richard's father became a CPA and built up a modest practice. Lee went to the local public school, "South Prep," where he became aware that most of his schoolmates' families were far better off than his was:

> I had vivid memories of my mother and father saying, "Well, always remember, Richard, the poor, the working people are the salt of the earth, and so you have nothing to be ashamed of or apologize about," and that's the way I grew up...our family culture was classical music and literature while [some of my richer classmates' families] were going on gambling junkets to Havana....

Still, in the late 1940s the institutions of Jewish community life in Toronto were relatively progressive. For several summers Lee went to Camp Northland through the YMHA, where the counselors taught the campers Woody Guthrie and labour songs. The era was, for these 12 and 13 year olds, exciting and full of hope for the future:

> The world of fascism had been defeated, the New World was being created, the quarrels of the Cold War hadn't really taken hold, and so there was a lot of optimism and progressive politics among the youth. This contributed to my basically optimistic view that revolution is possible, change is possible, and the condition of oppression under capitalism is not the natural state, not the inevitable state of humankind.

But alongside this enthusiasm, he realized that geopolitical struggles were real and could scar the lives of individuals. He recalls that one wealthy woman who lived in the exclusive Rosedale neighbourhood invited him and his parents to her home to meet Paul Robeson, who made a lasting impression on them. He followed Robeson's

> ...epic battles with the Immigration and Naturalization Department...we weren't in Vancouver, but we heard about when he came to Blaine, Washington and they wouldn't let him travel out of the U.S. into Canada, and so he stood on the US side at the Peace Arch and gave a concert across the border for several thousand people who had gathered on the Canadian side.

Because of their involvement in progressive causes, the dynamic in his natal family was less transnational than internationalist. His mother held Canadian citizenship (in those days, a British passport) while his father retained landed immigrant status until some 40 years later, when he became a dual citizen. As an adolescent in the 1950s Lee considered New York the place to go, but gradually the strengths of the Canadian way of life began to grow on him. Inspired by the political message of Tommy Douglas, pioneer Canadian socialist, and given that all American 18 year olds had to register for the draft, he applied for and was granted Canadian citizenship in 1956.[3]

Although he had no call to become an anthropologist in those days, the politics of culture and race as they permeated Lee's community and family, prefigured an abiding opposition to racism and the denial of agency and cultural creativity to those deemed socially inferior. As he puts it,

> In this progressive Jewish milieu, there was always a strong presumption that, for example, people of color were an oppressed minority,...that out of their suffering has come some of the most important cultural productions of history.

His love of folk music, blues and jazz was fostered by his 10-year career through high school and university playing drums in various bands around Toronto, selling his drum set only when it came time to go off to graduate school.

One of his favourite authors at the time was Howard Fast, whose book *Freedom Road* on Reconstruction in the U.S. South helped to shape his ethics and sense of human agency:

> ...the world was a mess, but the people were strong and were going to rise...oppression couldn't go on indefinitely because...the righteous anger of the people would rise up—this was my childhood view of the world.

His simple sense of right and wrong would be challenged by what was for his family—and his father especially—a cataclysmic event: the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956, when Khruschev denounced Stalin's crimes. The "fairly uncritical" discussions of the USSR that had been part of his childhood ceased abruptly. While his mother's politics had always appeared to be more "pragmatic, less ideologically driven" than his father's, as a young man of nineteen Lee saw his father become deeply disillusioned:

> One of the things I took from that time period...was that one must never allow oneself to become so ideologically trustful and ideologically driven that one could find oneself in a situation where your world could collapse...because everything, everything you had believed in was a sham. Science, with its reliance on empirical evidence and verifiability, offered a more intellectually satisfying alternative.

The unmasking of Stalin's repression, he recalls, did not embitter his mother:

She would say, "Well, I still believe in the basic goodness of humanity, and I still believe in the basic truth of the underlying principles, but we have to see how they could go so horribly wrong with Stalin."

He remembers repeatedly arguing at the supper table with his disillusioned father, who would say, "I've had it, I'm going to join the synagogue!"—the ultimate right-wing for a committed atheist. Lee recalls defending the Soviet Union to his father, since despite Stalin's monstrous actions, he recognized the USSR had played the pivotal role in defeating Hitler in World War II.

Lee's maturing sense of cultural politics drew from his upbringing in a leftist milieu sensitive to the influence of race, class, and state oppression on culture creation. His awareness of the dangers of uncritical acceptance of any ideology—even as he remained critical of capitalist society—grew from the critique of the Soviet state that the 1956 Party Congress revelations spurred among leftists throughout the world and which ultimately led to the more vigorous and grounded progressive commitments of the 1960s and 1970s.

Becoming an Anthropologist: The University of Toronto in the 1950s

Richard's family aspired for him to become a lawyer and Lee concurred, until it came time to choose courses for his first year at the University of Toronto. Richard had written a paper on Indian-White relations in Canada before Confederation in grade 13, and opted for an honours anthropology course. The instructor for this pivotal first-year course was Robert C. Dailey, who inspired Richard to go into anthropology. As it turns out, Dailey had the same influence some eight years later on Harriet Rosenberg, who some 16 years in the future would become Richard's life companion and many years after that, his wife. Dailey's approach was Boasian, weaving the physical, the social and the archaeological into the course. Dailey's discussion of his fieldwork among the Inuit of Rankin Inlet (west coast of Hudson's Bay) sparked Richard's abiding concern with foraging societies. Halfway through the term, Lee told his parents he was going to go into anthropology. He recalls his father saying, "Can you make a living at that? Can you really make a living at that?" but soon "coming around"; his mother was supportive from the outset.

Lee's subsequent training in kinship and social organization brought him under the tutelage of one of Meyer Fortes' former students, Canadian anthropologist R.W. Dunning, who at the time was writing and sharing with his students the volume that would become a classic in Canadian anthropology, *Social and Economic Change among the Northern Ojibwa* (1959). Dunning was not reluctant to reveal to his classes his deep mistrust and dislike for the bureaucracy. To him the Department of Indian Affairs was bent on destroying Indian culture, whom the local peoples had to resist in order to survive. Largely due to Dunning's influence, Lee's first field research was with Northern Ojibwa on the north shore of Lake Superior. Still in his second year, Richard grew closer to Professor Ronald Cohen, whom he knew slightly through interlaced family networks; Cohen's field research was in Bornu, an emirate in northern Nigeria. Unlike Dunning, whose training under Fortes would have eschewed such theorizing, Cohen was a social evolutionist. He introduced Lee to the works of Leslie White and Julian Steward, and urged Richard and other students in the cohort to do field research in Africa.

At the University of Toronto in the 1950s, Lee recalls reading Wittfogel's work and being more influenced by Steward than White. Although his immersion in the Marxian tradition shaped his political consciousness, Lee also embraced the "scientism" of Julian Steward's "cultural ecology"; he would not include Marx's work explicitly in the construction of his theoretical apparatus until the 1970s. Among the British anthropologists taught at the university, Fortes and E.E. Evans-Pritchard figured larger than others. Among U.S. anthropologists, Richard found the early work of Marshall Sahlins intriguing, but was most influenced by Eric Wolf's *Sons of the Shaking Earth* (Wolf, 1959), and the work of Steward's more historically grounded former students such as Morton Fried and Sidney Mintz.

Thus, Lee's early theoretical framework was social evolutionist, but with a concern for understanding kinship and social organization as dynamic rather than fixed, due largely to colonial histories and confrontational processes that involved community attempts to sustain ways of life in the face of state incursions. These aspects would make Lee's social evolution distinct from that of Steward and others, since his concern for history as process and local resistance subverted the view of the forces of production as the motor of history favoured by Wittfogel and White.

After doctoral studies at Berkeley with Sherwood L. Washburn, Robert Murphy, and J. Desmond Clark, Lee first conducted field research in the Kalahari in 1963. He was part of a loose international coterie of academics studying hunters and gatherers in the last decade of British rule in southern Africa.

Contributions to Ethnological Theory

Lee's earliest writings, from the late 1960s to the latter half of the 1970s fit comfortably into a framework that emphasized the cultural framing of environmental use, a four-fields approach to cultural ecology, the cultural dimensions of production and reproduction, and historically attentive social evolution. Lee noted that the foragers spent considerably less time in "subsistence" than was typical of workers in industrial capitalist societies. He stressed the ways that their far-flung kinship networks, flexible group membership and patterns of sharing and exchange buffered local groups against the vicissitudes of seasonality and drought. Implicitly, he argued that in the long sweep of history, want was less a result of environmental scarcity than of evolving human relations that limited access to necessary resources and led eventually to the permanent inequalities of state societies. Hence the appellation, "Original Affluent Society" (see Solway and Susser, this volume), emerged for groups such as the San.

In contrast to some of the other articles in *Man the Hunter* (Lee and DeVore, 1968), Lee's contribution did not focus exclusively on men's hunting contributions to the food supply, but emphasized subsistence activities of both women and men as contributing to the adequacy of the diet and availability of greater leisure time even amid "scarce resources" in a desert environment (Lee, 1968).

While Lee's evolutionism at that time had more in common with Julian Steward than Marvin Harris, he was critical of Steward's "composite band" versus "family band" typology for hunter-gatherers, suggesting, based on the !Kung case that these are better seen as seasonal variations (Lee, 1972a). Even so, one senses a tension in his article on group composition and in those on fertility and reproduction (Lee, 1972b), and subsistence strategies among foragers (Lee, 1972c). Lee's work in this early period emphasizes how successful the strategies are: we do not find here the techno-environmental motor force of history that we see in other social evolutionist writings of the era (Lee, 1968).

His changing choice of terms for the people with whom he worked reflects a growing sense of how apartheid and colonialism influenced the very naming of a people: the uncritical adoption of the common usage of "Bushmen" in the 1960s is followed by the transition to the more respectful term "San" in the early 1970s, and in the late 1980s, to the self-appellation "Ju/'hoansi." Each refinement reflects the development of a stronger indigenous rights movement worldwide, and the reassertion by local peoples of their persistent identities. In this way and even in the early work, he brings changing interactions with surrounding peoples into the arguments. Lee never ignored historical dynamics, pointing out the relations of the !Kung with the incoming Herero and Tswana in different regions, while emphasizing the deep historical depth of San occupation in the Kalahari relative to other peoples (Lee, 1972c).

Tracing his trajectory as a scholar from the early to the late 1970s demands that we see Lee's growing attention to gender, on the one hand, and mode of production debates, on the other. He never loses his concern with the ways people construct their usable environments, and what is now called political ecology. In short, while Lee's theoretical armature becomes more subtle and more explicitly linked with indigenous rights, feminism, and a critique of capitalism, his appreciation of the holistic nature of anthropology remains important: his work iterates the centrality of a four fields approach, with culture at the core.

Gender and Egalitarianism in Foraging Societies

In our conversations Lee stated that his development as a scholar owes more to the influence of Marxist feminist work than any other corpus of scholarship; he is one of the few senior male ethnologists that acknowledge such influence. Because his ethnographies on the San are so widely read in U.S. and Canadian universities (see Lee, 2003a), generations of women and men have become attentive to gender dynamics and structures that challenge patriarchal paradigms.

The early 1970s saw the emergence of Marxist feminist anthropologists who interrogated the theorizing of sex roles and reproductive institutions among peoples in precolonial and marginalized capitalist settings (Gough, 1968; Leacock, 1954; 1972; [Brodkin] Sacks, 1971; 1976; Siskind, 1973; 1978). Together with the British feminist Marxist critique of *Precapitalist Modes of Production* (Edholm, Harris and Young, 1977; Hindess and Hirst, 1975), these writings presented ways to integrate cultural dynamics and human agency with a concern for the structures that shape production and social reproduction, without sacrificing history or gender politics. Lee brought a range of such Marxist feminist influences to his writings beginning in the late 1970s, notably in *The !Kung San: Men, Women, and Work in a Foraging Society* (Lee, 1979).

Unlike many ethnographers in the 1960s and early 1970s, Lee's early writings discussed the division of labour by sex and the role women played in production

and reproduction among the San. Through the descriptions one can see the enactment in everyday life of what constitutes comparable worth of women and men in the San foraging context. Especially since the early 1970s, he highlights the voices of actors shaping local communities, through a language of rough joking and banter that helps to reproduce non-hierarchical relations (Lee, 1992b). This central ethos was later given the label "complaint discourse" by Harriet Rosenberg in her studies of Ju/'hoan aging and caregiving (Rosenberg, 1997).

He and Irven DeVore drew Marjorie Shostak into their volume on Kalahari foragers, which premiered Shostak's exploration of one woman's perspective on girlhood among the San (Shostak, 1976), later emerging as the classic life history *Nisa: The Life and Words of a !Kung Woman* (Shostak, 1982). Through his co-operation with and encouragement of other researchers on the San, Lee avoided stereotyping gender relations among the various groups in the Kalahari.

Lee's concern with gender was anticipatory of what became the study of the cultural construction of masculinity. "Eating Christmas in the Kalahari" begins as a "cultural misunderstanding" piece, but soon delves into the gendering of hunting and how !Kung concepts of masculinity eschew the machismo associated with hunting in Euro-American contexts. Contrary to images fostered by "man the hunter" mythologies, Lee shows how the !Kung practice of "insulting the meat" subverts what they perceive as a potential for arrogance that, in turn, might shift into domination and violence within the group (Lee, 1969). In later pieces, Lee explores women's attitudes toward meat and the ways sexual joking plays with hunting metaphors (see, e.g., Lee, 1979).[4]

The Mode of Production Debates

In the late 1970s and 1980s a range of Marxist anthropologists in North America and Europe debated how production and reproduction were articulated in precapitalist social formations—both state and non-state—and in colonial and capitalist industrial contexts. Beginning with the publication of Eric Hobsbawm's reexamination of arguments on modes of production in Marx's *Grundrisse* (Hobsbawm, 1965), orthodox, structural, and dialectical Marxist scholars in the Soviet Union, Europe, and the Americas developed a critical discourse on the role of culture and agency in the transformation of political economies and the social formations associated with them. Among the debates that emerged was whether or not egalitarian societies existed and persisted in the face of state encapsulation and colonization. Many of these debates took place in the pages of *Critique of Anthropology, Culture, Dialectical Anthropology, Economy and Society* and in the first Conference on Hunting and Gathering Societies (CHAGS) organized by Maurice Godelier in Paris in 1978 which Lee and Leacock attended.

Lee's "Is There a Foraging Mode of Production?" appeared in *Anthropologie et société* in 1980 and signaled his first explicit engagement with the precapitalist mode of production debates. *Politics and History in Band Societies*, the collection of CHAGS essays he edited with Leacock, appeared in 1982. Their position in the latter volume emphasizes a historical appreciation of shifting political terrains among foraging societies, the centrality of gender in the analysis if social formations (and not only in terms of social reproduction), and the complex and simultaneous significance of both structure and concerted human agency in social transformation. They also made a larger claim: that egalitarian societies exist, albeit today under genocidal or ethnocidal threat from the expanding world system. Leacock's and Lee's position in their introduction and the essays each wrote for the volume centers on the importance of appreciating local histories. The argument stresses that politics are intrinsic to the reproduction of social relations in foraging societies, that existing "primitive communist" social formations do not conform to liberal notions of equality in their egalitarian relations, and that the reproduction of foraging and other band societies is due to the active engagement of their constituents in changing social and ecological contexts.

Foragers versus the Scholars without History: The Kalahari Revisionist Debate

Lee's long-term field research provides his work with a depth of time and a sense of transformation with processes of colonization, sedentarization, militarization and other issues confronting indigenous peoples that virtually no other ethnographer has framed. In light of his efforts to portray the contemporary issues faced by the San peoples in the region in which he worked, it is astonishing that he was attacked in the late 1980s and early 1990s for romanticizing them and ignoring history (see Wilmsen 1989; Wilmsen and Denbow 1990; see Lee 1992a for his far-ranging response on the controversy and his broadest theoretical statement on contemporary issues across the discipline of anthropology).

With Jacqueline Solway, Lee based his defense of the historical validity of egalitarianism and autonomy among Kalahari foragers on archaeological, ethnohistor-

ical and ethnographic evidence that contradicts the claims of Wilmsen and Denbow of early San subordination under a regional power grid (Solway and Lee, 1990; see also Lee and Guenther 1991). The Solway-Lee argument is not that San had no history, but rather that their insertion into relations of domination by neighbouring polities is rather late and highly uneven, so long as foraging has remained an option. Far from denying dynamism to the society, Lee emphases the social engagement of particular San peoples—on human agency if you will—in reproducing egalitarian relations. Daily practices, evasions and acts of resistance emerge time and again in San efforts to remain autonomous under pressure from surrounding pastoral and sedentarized peoples, as well as recent South African and other state domination (e.g., Lee and Hurlich, 1982). Solway and Lee urged scholars to document the varied histories of the region and the responses of the peoples, instead of imposing a Procrustean bed of an early "world system" for which there is no evidence (Solway and Lee, 1990). The major theoretical point was for them, and for those who sided with them in the face of this virulent attack, that exchange was a universal of human experience and did not automatically translate into political dependency or economic subordination (see also Lee and Guenther, 1993).

Indeed, in moving beyond the Kalahari debate, Lee provides new intellectual life to the notion of primitive communism (Lee, 1992b). The term, he points out, had its origins not so much in the writings of Marx and Engels as it was found in the work of Lewis Henry Morgan who called it "communism in living" (Lee, 1990b). Lee's appreciation of what a real social safety net entails, as a feature of pre-class societies, as distinct from the imagery associated with the current fast-disappearing welfare state apparatus, provides contemporary peoples with a measure of how societies need not replicate the Hobbesian "Warre of all against all" that underlies neoliberal policies and practices.

Parallel to Leacock's and Gailey's essay in the same volume (Leacock and Gailey, 1992), Lee presents relations in primitive communism as more or less equal rather than the hypothetical ideal of equality in the classic liberal sense. Inequities exist, but they are not structural: they are artifacts of personal achievement, skills or talents, or moments in the life course, and are contained and prevented from crystalizing into permanent hierarchies through the normal operation of systems of kinship, production and reproduction. What results from this fundamental security—the right to exist in one's multifaceted social personhood—is not utopian similarity of being, but an individuation that can be explored actively through the life course. In keeping with the work of Stanley Diamond (1974), there is in Lee's continuing appreciation of primitive communism an abiding commitment to indigenous rights. Lee's unromantic view of indigenous rights rejects preservation strategies (see Lee, 2002). His view is that people will continue to make their own histories whether or not they control the conditions in which they must live. Gaining greater control over those conditions is the struggle facing indigenous peoples and their advocates throughout the world (see, e.g., Lee and Biesele, 2002; Lee, Hitchcock, and Biesele 2002).

The Work Today

In 1996 the HIV/AIDS crisis in southern Africa drew Lee to undertake work on the social and cultural aspects of HIV/AIDS. In a region ravaged by the epidemic, Lee expects that the Ju/'hoansi may be less affected by the disease. With Ida Susser he has studied San men's and women's responses to AIDS prevention (Lee and Susser, 2002; 2003). They see a clear link between what may be the Ju/'hoansi's success at keeping the epidemic at bay and the high status of women, contrasting so markedly with women in less gender-equitable settings. In contrast to Namibian and South African township women, who said that they could not ask their male partners to use condoms, Ju/'hoan women and men spoke freely. Ju/'hoan women said that they were willing to ask or teach their husbands about condom use. Otherwise, they said "women could get sick!" Lee and Susser acknowledge however that San people elsewhere in the region working in underpaid or unpaid jobs on farms and ranches and exposed to the gender dynamics of the wider society are at much greater risk of succumbing to AIDS. This brings home the point that fighting AIDS and the struggle for indigenous rights in post-Apartheid southern Africa must go hand in hand (Lee, 2003b). And he continues active research projects in both areas. Richard Lee's lines of ongoing research, combining medical anthropology, indigenous rights, political ecology and social activism, augurs well for the coming decades.

Richard Lee has learned the lesson of !Kung masculinity well: while he is clearly a pivotal figure in anthropology today, he remains an affable sort, an optimistic intellectual: deeply engaged and deeply influenced as a person by the people with whom he has worked for decades. Lee's intellectual generosity has helped colleagues around the world, from politically marginalized scholars labouring under repressive

regimes to marginalized academics at home, and, always, the countless students both graduate and undergraduate. Despite his outspoken stands on issues of the day including U.S. adventures in the Middle East and Israel's continuing occupation of Palestine he has been honoured by two honorary degrees. As an advocate for indigenous rights, his deft weaving of political ecology, social, cultural, historical and medical anthropology gives his argumentation a singular and lasting persuasive force.

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Notes

1 *Yiddishkeit*, literally "Yiddishness," roughly translates as "Jewish lore." The concept is weighted heavily toward the more the humorous and the more political aspects of Eastern European stetl (ghetto) and New World immigrant experiences.

2 All quotes and information in the biographical section are taken from a series of interviews I conducted with Richard Lee in Riverside, California, March 14-15, 2002.

3 Later, when he was offered a job at Harvard University, Lee had to go through the usually bureaucratic entanglement of applying for a "green card," although he had been born in the US.

4 The only other anthropologist at the time who explored this kind of everyday construction of gender in subsistence practice was Janet Siskind in her pioneering study of marginalized indigenous communities in the Peruvian Amazon (Siskind, 1973).

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Subtle Matters of Theory and Emphasis: Richard Lee and Controversies about Foraging Peoples

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Abstract: From the late 1960s onward, two divergent views about human nature came to dominate studies of kin-communal societies. One derives from the liberal views of John Locke (not Thomas Hobbes); the other builds on Rousseau's critique of the liberal contract theorists and incorporates the views of Lewis Henry Morgan, Karl Marx, and Frederick Engels. In the 1970s, the former was associated with the work of Sherwood Washburn and Napoleon Chagnon among others; the latter with the writings of Richard Lee, Eleanor B. Leacock, and Janet Siskind. This paper examines the differences between the two viewpoints; it shows how this dichotomy underpinned subsequent debates about the peoples of the Kalahari.

Keywords: foraging societies, social theory, Kalahari peoples

Résumé : À partir des années 1960, deux visions divergentes de la nature humaine en sont venues à dominer l'étude des sociétés communautaires ou *à parenté*. L'une provient des vues libérales de John Locke (et non Thomas Hobbes); l'autre s'est élaborée à partir de la critique adressées par Rousseau aux théories du contrat libéral et comprend les perspectives de Lewis Henry Morgan, Karl Marx et Frederick Engels. Dans les années 1970, la première perspective était représentée entre autres dans les travaux de Sherwood Washburn et Napoleon Chagnon; la seconde, dans les écrits de Richard Lee, Eleanor Leacock et Janet Siskind. Cet article examine les différences entre ces deux points de vue; il montre comment cette dichotomie sous-tend les débats subséquents sur les peuples du Kalahari.

Mots-clés : sociétés vivant de chance et cueillette, théorie sociale, peuples du Kalahari

When I think about the professional career of my friend Richard Lee, I first think about his contributions to the study of foraging societies and his commitment to the development of a critical, socially engaged, integrated anthropology. Then I think about the controversies and debates in which he has been involved over the years. This is not to say that Richard is a particularly combative person: Feisty perhaps; always ready and eager to engage in critically constructive dialogue and debate; but definitely not combative. He is a person who has held strong opinions at least since our days as graduate students together at Berkeley in the early 1960s. A careful look at those controversies and debates, especially at the theoretical underpinnings and matters of emphasis of their participants, is overdue. It will tell us a good deal about anthropology and its practitioners in the late 20th century. Such an inquiry was, of course, launched by feminist social critic and theorist, Donna Haraway (1978a, 1991; 1978b, 1991; 1989), in the late 1970s, but the particular articles to which I refer and am indebted have rarely been cited by anthropologists. They certainly do not inform our understanding of controversy and debate in late 20th-century, anglophone anthropology, even though they should be required reading in courses that deal with the history of anthropological theory.

Studies of foraging societies in the last half of the 20th century were marked by an adherence to liberal social thought from Sherry Washburn's (Washburn and Avis, 1958: 433-434; Washburn and Lancaster, 1968) "man the hunter" and Sally Slocum's (1971, 1975) "woman the gatherer" to Napoleon Chagnon's (1968) "fierce people" and Ed Wilmsen's (1989) "political economy of the Kalahari." The shared theoretical framework of these writers carries with it a number of assumptions, mostly implicit, that have not been adequately scrutinized. Richard Lee early adopted a Marxist theoretical perspective that contrasted with the liberal viewpoints of his contemporaries. It is my contention that this the-

oretical divide as well as the differences in emphasis and meaning between Lee and the writers building on liberal social thought have underpinned the controversies concerned with foraging communities, their relations with surrounding societies and their place in the modern world. Let us examine how liberal social thought underpins the writings of the authors mentioned above and how their perspectives contrasted with the positions inspired by Marxist and Marxist-feminist social theory that Lee honed and refined over the years.

From the mid-1950s onward, Sherry Washburn elaborated a complex picture of the development of human society. It was underpinned by the idea that the fundamental universal pattern underlying human life was the hunting adaptation. Washburn and Virginia Avis (1958: 433-434) depicted its impact in the following way:

> Hunting not only necessitated new activities and new kinds of cooperation but changed the role of the adult male in the group....The very same actions which caused man to be feared by other animals led to more cooperation, food sharing, and economic interdependence within the group.

Washburn and Lancaster (1968: 293-301) elaborated this thesis in the late 1960s. They wrote that

> the general characteristics of man...can be attributed to the hunting way of life....It involves divisions of labor between male and female, sharing according to custom, cooperation among males, planning, knowledge of many species and large areas and technical skill....Within the group of nonhuman primates, the mother and her young may form a subgroup that continues even after the young are fully grown. This grouping affects dominance, grooming, and resting patterns, and, along with dominance, is one of the factors giving order to the social relations in a group. The group is not a horde in the nineteenth-century sense, but it is ordered by positive affectionate habits and by the strength of personal dominance. Both these principles continue into human society, and dominance based on personal achievement must have been particularly powerful in small groups living physically dangerous lives. The mother-young group must have been intensified by the prolongation of infancy. But in human society, economic reciprocity is added, and this created a whole new set of interpersonal bonds. When males hunt and females gather, the results are shared and given to the young, and the habitual sharing between a male, a female, and their offspring becomes the basis for the human family.

In this view, "mother-young groups" and "dominance based on personal achievement" are rooted in nature. They persist into human society and become the basis for the sexual division of labour given the purported propensity of males to hunt and kill and of females to forage for plants and to care for their young.

But what is dominance and where does it come from? Elsewhere Washburn argued that aggression was a fundamental adaptation of the entire primate order, including humans, and that social order was maintained by hormonal and neural activity and by learning:

> Order within most primate groups is maintained by a hierarchy, which depends ultimately primarily on the power of males....Aggressive individuals are essential actors in the social system and competition between groups is necessary for species dispersal and control of local populations. (Washburn and Hamburg, 1968: 282)

In other words, males engage in dominance behaviour because of their propensity to hunt and kill. They form dominance hierarchies, enter into social contracts when they cooperate around hunting, and make tools to dispatch their prey. Female primates engage in less dominance behaviour; they are more maternal and exhibit parental control over their young; they do not hunt, make hunting tools, or engage in the same kind of cooperative activity as males. They and their offspring are ultimately subordinate to males who order group structures and defend their members. Females are not incorporated into the group on the same basis as males, because they have different capacities. It also means that the inequalities reflected by the continually shifting pecking orders of males and by the subordination of females and their offspring are ultimately rooted in the nature of the primates themselves. In a phrase, social hierarchy and power relations are part of the natural order—something that humans acquired as part of their primate ancestry and subsequently elaborated. Slocum (1971, 1975: 42) remarked perceptively that this construction "...gives one the decided impression that only half the species—the male half—did any evolving."

As Haraway notes, Washburn's construction of primate society, nonhuman and human, refracts liberal social theory. His views were not those of Thomas Hobbes who claimed that males and females were equal in the state of nature, and that women only became subject to men after they had children and only through the marriage contract (Pateman, 1991: 55). Washburn's views resonated with those of John Locke (1690, 1960: 74-76) who constituted the family and the dependence of

a woman and her children on her husband in the state of nature. In spite of his comments on the equality of man, Locke did not believe in the absolute equality of all men either. In *The Second Treatise on Government,* Locke (1690, 1960: 54) wrote that

> Though I have said...*That all Men by Nature are equal,* I cannot be supposed to understand all sorts of *Equality*; *Age* or *Virtue* may give Men a just precedency; *Excellence of Parts* and *Merit* may place others above the Common Level; Birth may subject some and *Alliance or Benefits* others, to pay an observance to those whom Nature, Gratitude, or other Respects may have made due.

Thus, in Locke's view, women were naturally subordinate to men and not all men were equal.

Slocum's conclusions contrasted with those of Washburn and Lancaster. Like Lee (1965, 1968a, 1968b), she emphasized the importance of sharing in the evolution of the human species.

> Food sharing and the family developed from the mother-infant bond. The techniques of hunting large animals were probably much later developments, after the mother-infant family pattern was established. When hunting did begin, the most likely recipients would be first their mothers, and second their siblings. In other words, a hunter would share food *not* with a wife or sexual partner, but with those who had shared food with him: his mother and siblings. (Slocum 1971, 1975: 45)

This implied social relations and a division of labor simply unimaginable to Locke whose liberal social theory portrayed or refracted the social arrangements of an emergent agrarian capitalist regime (Wood, 1984).

Neither Washburn and Lancaster nor Slocum, nor Lee argued that sex was the basis of human sociality (Haraway, 1989: 215). This was the position adopted by Napoleon Chagnon and by the sociobiologists who stressed reproduction, reproductive success, inclusive fitness, and sexual selection rather than the social relations of production, circulation, and use. Chagnon (1979a: 88) wrote that humans "...behave reproductively in the context of defined social groups" and that males compete for mates. He asserted that Yanomamo men claimed to fight over women (Chagnon, 1979a: 87). In his view, given the scarcity of marriagble women among the Yanomamo, the

> ...competition among males for mates can become a severely disruptive force in the internal ordering of large, heterogeneously composed villages. One expression that this takes is a tendency for men to represent themselves as aggressively as possible, indicating to potential competitors that affronts, insults, and cuckoldry will be immediately challenged and met with physical force. In addition, displays of masculinity, such as fighting prowess and *waiter* (ferocity) are admired by Yanomamo women, and particularly aggressive men have an advantage both in soliciting the sexual favors of women as well as depressing the temptation of other men to seduce their wives.

Aggressive men, those with power in Chagnon's view, have more children (Chagnon, Flinn and Melancon, 1979: 297) Social relations are cast in terms of a "political economy of sex" among the Yanomamo in particular and human society more generally that is rooted in the inequalities of men *a la* John Locke. Chagnon (1979b: 375) writes that

> If we consider polygyny to be a perquisite of leaders and a mark or measure of inequality, then in the world's so-called "egalitarian" societies not all men are in fact equal, at least in so far as their reproductive potential and ultimate biological success are concerned. Polygyny is widespread in the tribal world and has probably characterized human mating and reproduction for the greater fraction of our species' history....Given that natural selection by definition entails the differential reproduction of and survival of individuals, this fact of life—this inequality—is of considerable importance.

At this point, Chagnon breaks with Locke who was concerned with the social relations of production and property rather than with adducing evidence to support arguments about the subordination of women and control of their reproductive capacities. Locke, like Chagnon, already knew the answers to those questions. He assumed that power could not be shared equally by the husband and wife, that the presumed inferiority of women was rooted in nature, and that women were not incorporated into civil society on the same basis as men because they lacked the capacities of strength, mind and civility to become civil individuals (Butler, 1991: 82, 85; Pateman, 1988: 52-54, 93-94).

Chagnon proceeds to develop his argument, focussing not on reproduction, reproductive fitness and sexual selection but rather on attacking liberal and materialist conceptions of history that explained class structures and conflict in terms of control over resources. He continues

> This raises the question of the utility of viewing human status differentials largely, if not exclusively, in terms of *material* resources and the relationships that individuals in different societies have to such resources. That the relationship between people and control over strategic resources is central to understanding status differences in our own highly industrialized, materialist culture is insufficient to project these relationships back in evolutionary time and to suggest that all human status systems derive from struggles over the means and ends of production. Struggles in the Stone Age were more likely over the means and ends of reproduction. (Chagnon, 1979b: 375)

On the one hand, and to his credit, Chagnon, unlike many liberal anthropologists, recognized that the social relations definitive of modern industrial capitalism—the capitalist mode of production—were not characteristic of all societies at all times and at all places. On the other hand, he believed that gender relations and gender hierarchies are universal features of all societies regardless of whether they manifest kin-communal, tributary, capitalist, or socialist social relations.

Here, Chagnon, the Cold Warrior, was responding to critics of the Vietnam War, some of whom were influenced by Marxist social theory, and to counter-culture activists who advocated viewpoints ranging from anarchism to the libertarianism of Ayn Rand. Patrick Tierney pointed this out in his book, *Darkness in El Dorado* (Grandin, 2000: 12-14). He described Chagnon's portrayal of the Yanomami in the following manner:

> As a Cold War metaphor, the Yanomami's "ceaseless warfare" over women proved that, even in a society without property hierarchies prevailed. Thus, Communism was unnatural because even the most classless societies had pecking orders in reproductive matters. The underlying ferocity and deceit that fueled the Yanomami's successful military strategy also offered a kind of parable: the ruthless Communists were going to win if long-haired hippies did not rejoin the march of Darwin. (Tierney, 2000: 42)

From the late 1960s onward, anthropologists girded in liberal social theory discussed egalitarian foraging societies in terms of the inequalities they presumed to exist among their members. For some, women were naturally subordinated to men. For others, not only were women subordinated to men, but even the men themselves were arranged in pecking orders that refracted their varying abilities to attract and mate with women. During this same period however Richard Lee and others—notably Eleanor Leacock (1954, 1972) and Janet Siskind (1978)—continually emphasized the importance of sharing in foraging societies. In the *Man the Hunter* volume, Lee (1968a: 31) described the group structure of the Dobe area !Kung in the early 1960s in the following way:

> The "camp" is an open aggregate of cooperating persons which changes in size and composition from day to day....The camp is a self-sufficient subsistence unit. The members move out each day to hunt and gather, and return in the evening to pool the collected foods in such a way that every person present receives an equitable share.

He then proceeded to describe the gendered division of labor that existed at Dobe:

> A woman gathers on one day enough food to feed her family for three days, and spends the rest of her time resting in camp, doing embroidery, visiting other camps, or entertaining visitors from other camps.... The hunters tend to work more frequently than women, but their schedule is uneven. It is not unusual for a man to hunt avidly for a week and then do no hunting at all for two or three weeks. (Lee, 1968a: 37)

Finally, Lee (1968a: 36) pointed out that much of the subsistence work in the Dobe !Kung camp at this time was done by married, young and middle-aged adults, and that the number of non-productive young and old people was large.

> The aged hold a respected position in Bushman society and are the effective leaders of the camps....Long after their productive years have passed, the old people are fed and cared for by their children and grandchildren. The blind, the senile, and the crippled are respected for the special ritual and technical skills they possess....
>
> Another significant feature of the composition of the work force is the late assumption of adult responsibility by adolescents. Young people are not expected to provide food regularly until they are married. ... It is not unusual to find healthy, active teenagers visiting from camp to camp while their older relatives provide food for them.

During the 1970s, Lee and others became increasingly more explicit about the Marxist theoretical frameworks that underpinned their research. In their introduction to the *Politics and History in Band Societies*, Leacock and Lee (1982 : 6-7) were quite explicit:

> As editors, our own view is that anything less than a dialectical and historical-materialist view of society

> ends in distortion; a view we have each elaborated elsewhere....As we see, the strength of the Marxist approach comes to the fore at the level of synthesis. Marxist methodology resolves the conflict between generalizing and particularizing emphases, for it both enables fine-grained analyses of underlying determinant relations in specific instances and articulates these analyses with a comprehensive general theory of human history....
>
> While committed to the importance of historical and cultural specificity, a dialectical and historical-materialist approach requires the search for underlying regularities or "laws." While committed to the significance of social cohesion, the approach calls for definition of the basic disharmonies, conflicts, or "contradictions" within socio-economic structures that impel change....
>
> A dialectical and historical-materialist approach situates a society's center of gravity in the relations and forces of production—the ways in which people necessarily relate to each other in the course of producing and reproducing life. It necessitates both placing a society fully in the historically specific context of its relationships with its social and geographical environment, and dealing with the complex interrelations and interactions within and between the relations and forces of production on the one hand and the social and ideological superstructures on the other.

This dialectical and historical-materialist approach contrasted with the ones described above that were ultimately rooted in liberal social theory in general and Lockean thought in particular.

After describing the evidence for the relations between men and women in !Kung society, Lee (1982: 39-50) pointed out that these were relatively egalitarian. Age, life experience, personal qualities, and kinship were as important as gender in discussions and group-decision making. There were headmen, but they had no real authority. One man was quite surprised to learn that other individuals in a camp where he had lived considered him to be the headman. These and other facets of everyday life among the !Kung led Lee (1982: 55-56) to conclude that

> The fact that communal sharing of food resources and of power is a phenomenon that has been observed directly in recent years among the !Kung and dozens of other foraging groups is a finding that should not be glossed over lightly. Its universality among foragers lends strong support to the theory of Marx and Engels that a stage of primitive communism prevailed before the state and the break-up of society into classes....
>
> Having declared that the foraging mode of production is a form of primitive communism, it would be a mistake to idealize the foraging peoples as nobles savages who have solved all the basic problems of living. Like individuals in any society, foragers have to struggle with their own internal contradictions....The demands of the collective existence are not achieved effortlessly, but rather they require a continuing struggle to deal with one's own selfish, arrogant and antisocial impulses. The fact that the !Kung and other foragers succeed...offers us an important insight.

However, by the late 1970s, Lee (1979: 401-431) was indicating that the tempo of processes barely perceptible a decade or two earlier was increasing. He examined the impact of a number of the processes transforming everyday life for the !Kung: working on cattle posts, planting crops, tending herds, wage work, migrant labour, and penny capitalism. Their effects were compounded in the 1970s by the introduction of schools, increased missionary activity, changes in land tenure, armed liberation struggles in both Namibia and South Africa, and the eventual militarization of the !Kung homelands. As the armed struggle intensified, the !Kung were enmeshed in new structures of power and social relations that were not entirely of their own making.

During the 1980s, Edwin Wilmsen and James Denbow developed a critique of Lee's work (Wilmsen, 1989; Wilmsen and Denbow, 1990). The essence of their critique is that Lee and other Marxists who make use of the concept of primitive communism or the kin-communal mode of production "do not treat forager societies as segments of large social formations" (Wilmsen, 1989: 52). He suggests that the way out of the impasse this creates is to utilize the concept of "the articulation...of formerly colonized peoples in modern nation-states and more broadly in a world system." He proceeds to describe the world system as "a multiple cultural system that incorporates 'mini-systems' such as tribes" (Wilmsen, 1989: 52). He subscribes to Wallerstein's (1974: 347-348) view that "Most entities usually described as social systems—'tribes,' communities, nation-states—are not in fact total systems."

Wilmsen (1989: 52-53) correctly points to the close relationship of Wallerstein's notion of world system with dependency theory and the development of underdevelopment. What these perspectives have in common is that they postulate the existence of a single world economy, an international system of production and distribution, held together by unequal exchange. The developed industrial countries have siphoned capital, raw materials, and labour from the underdeveloped countries that

far exceeded the value of the finished goods the latter were forced to import. In the process, the social formations of the periphery were distorted and transformed. The current world system "is capitalist through and through..." and "one that intensified or invented 'pre-capitalist' modes of production to articulate with" (Wilmsen, 1989: 53).

World systems theory and dependency theory are internal critiques of the classical and neoclassical economic models of development and modernization that were popular in the mid-20th century. Like some of the structural Marxist arguments cited with approval by Wilmsen, they are rooted in liberal rather than Marxist social thought. These liberal theories give precedence to exchange and the market rather than to production and the ways in which surplus goods and labour are pumped out of society. They assume that all production is for exchange rather than use and that capitalist social relations are natural. These theories locate the single motor for development—exchange—in the industrial capitalist countries rather than in the underdeveloped periphery; they assert that peoples on the periphery lack agency and the capacity to shape their own history in circumstances not entirely of their own choosing. These theories largely ignore both the violence of articulation and the myriad forms of resistance devised by communities threatened with encapsulation by industrial capitalist states. In a phrase, the analyses that liberal social theorists produce are functionalist rather than dialectical.

Thus, the crux of Wilmsen's and Denbow's critique is that they do not like dialectical analyses which challenge the primacy of exchange relations, the dominance of the West, and the inevitability of capitalist expansion across the face of the globe. They imply that people have always been the way they are today and, further, since human nature is fixed, they cannot change. This brings us back, full circle, through the writings of classical economists, like James Steuart and Adam Smith, to the views of Hobbes and Locke, the founders of modern liberal thought.

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All People Are [Not] Good

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Abstract: Richard Lee's analysis of the role played by gossip and ridicule in maintaining political and economic equality in small-scale societies is reviewed from an evolutionary perspective. Comparative research on early civilizations suggests that, whenever the scale of society increases, these mechanisms eventually fail to be effective and force is used to protect political and economic privileges. While high-level decision making is required to manage complex political systems, this does not explain why managerial elites invariably appropriate disproportionate surpluses for their own use. Such behaviour questions the view that human beings are inherently altruistic, although sometimes corrupted by reactionary or unjust societies. While social engineering was able to curb inegalitarian behaviour in small-scale societies, industrial societies have yet to discover how to produce an analogous result.

Keywords: hierarchy, human nature, inequality, Marxism, sociocultural evolution

Résumé : L'analyse faite par Richard Lee du rôle joué par les commérages et le ridicule pour maintenir l'égalité politique et économique des société à échelle réduite est envisagée dans une perspective évolutionniste. La recherche comparative sur les premières civilisations suggère l'hypothèse que chaque fois que la dimension de la société augmente, ces mécanismes finissent par ne plus être efficaces et on utilise la force pour protéger les privilèges politiques et économiques. Même si on doit prendre des décisions à un niveau global pour diriger des systèmes politiques complexes, cela n'explique pas pourquoi les élites dirigeantes s'approprient toujours des surplus disproportionnés. Un tel comportement met en question l'idée que les être humains sont fondamentalement altruistes, malgré qu'ils soient parfois corrompus par des sociétés réactionnaires ou injustes. Alors que l'intervention sociale a pu prévenir le comportement inégal dans les sociétés à échelle réduite, les sociétés industrielles n'ont pas encore découvert comment produire de tels résultats.

Mots-clés : hiérarchie, nature humaine, inégalité, marxisme, évolution socio-culturelle

As a result of his early studies of the !Kung San, Richard Lee (1979) reached some very important conclusions about the nature of human behaviour in small-scale societies. In this paper, I will consider the implications of these findings for understanding sociocultural evolution and charting the future development of anthropology.

The San Tzu Ching, or Three Character Classic, which was composed by the Confucian scholar Wang Yinglin in the late Sung dynasty and served for almost 700 years as a primer for Chinese youngsters learning to read, began as follows:

Jen chih chu	At the beginning of people's lives
hsing pen shan	their human nature is basically good
Hsing hsiang chin	Human natures are close to one another
hsi hsiang yuän	it is their cultural environment that causes them to grow far apart from each other

This summation of Confucian, and Chinese, views about human nature reflects an understanding that is more optimistic and hopeful than the Christian belief that all humans are inherently sinful. The paramount, original sin identified in the Bible was disobedience to God, but, in the patriarchal and hierarchical societies in which the Judaeo-Christian tradition emerged and flourished, this form of sinfulness was effortlessly extended to include disobeying kings, officials, fathers, husbands, elders, teachers and employers. This interpretation survived intact through the European Middle Ages. Following the growth of capitalism, however, many people came to regard greed as the gravest moral vice.

As part of their rejection of religious orthodoxy, 18th-century Enlightenment philosophers adopted the contrary view that human beings were fundamentally

rational and good. This idea may have been encouraged by Jesuit missionaries' accounts of Confucian beliefs, but it was also inherent in the continuing influence of Pelagianism, a minority tradition in Christian theology that stressed God-given reason and free will, rather than divine grace, as a major element in human salvation. In the 18th century, these heterodox beliefs took on new life in the context of Deism. In Enlightenment circles, belief in human goodness and rationality powered the conviction that human beings had the ability to build a better future for all humankind. While humanity's innate goodness was thought to become corrupted in rigidly hierarchical and despotic societies, it was assumed that general moral improvement could be brought about by creating progressive societies that were more in line with human nature. It was believed that such societies would liberate the human spirit, progressively eliminate ignorance, curb uncontrolled passions, free human beings from superstition, and unleash human creativity and progressive change (Toulmin and Goodfield, 1966: 115-123).

Karl Marx's ideas about human nature were based on, yet departed from, those of the Enlightenment. He regarded individuals as passionate creatures whose needs and general aspirations were innate and cross-culturally uniform. Yet he rejected the concept of an autonomous human nature. He described human nature as a social construct that altered as social formations were transformed. This view accorded with Marx's burning desire to radically transform Western society. In practice, conservatives generally prefer to regard human nature as biologically grounded and inflexible, while radicals hope that it is situationally determined and therefore capable of swift and radical change. Yet Marx and Engels, in conformity with Enlightenment views, also believed that hunter-gather societies were characterized by equality and sharing and regarded socialism as the return, at a more advanced level of economic productivity, to a situation that accorded with the original goodness of human beings; a view that Lewis Henry Morgan also held to be true of American republican democracy (Fuller, 1980: 230-264; Geras, 1983).

Lee's ethnographic observations among the !Kung would have pleased Marx. Here was evidence of what Marx had regarded as a "primitive" social formation exhibiting economic and political equality that was not merely the product of an ideologue's or philosopher's imagination. Yet Lee in turn entered new territory when he presented evidence that economic and political equality in small-scale societies did not simply reflect human nature. Self-assertion and greed were kept in line by complex patterns of ridicule and gossip, and by fears of falling victim to witchcraft (Lee, 1979: 458-461; 1990; Trigger, 1990). If the state protects power and privilege in complex societies, ridicule, gossip and fears of witchcraft protected social and economic equality in hunter-gatherer societies. About the same time Pierre Clastres (1977) argued that people who lived in small-scale societies actively resisted the development of the state. Lee's findings made it clear that groups such as the !Kung were fighting to maintain social and economic equality among themselves. Rather than simply being without a state form of organization and hence lacking something, hunter-gatherer societies possessed their own instruments of political control, of which the state would eventually become the antithesis. The "anti-state," with its use of ridicule, gossip and witchcraft as equalizing mechanisms, appears to have functioned well so long as societies remained small and all the people who lived in them knew each other personally.

An unanswered question remained: how large could societies be in which anti-state principles were still effective? My Huron ethnohistorical research, conducted in the 1960s and 1970s, had demonstrated that these techniques remained operative in Iroquoian towns that had over 1 500 inhabitants and in multicommunity societies that were several times larger still. These remained societies in which, despite elaborate consultative structures and formal political offices, each individual had to personally agree with public policies in order to be bound by them. No individual could tell another what to do, and no localized clan group could be dominated by another. Families and clans that felt pressured by other groups in the community could leave and try to set up on their own or join a more congenial group (Trigger, 1969; 1990). Similar arrangements existed among the Tupinamba in Brazil (Clastres, 1977) and the Kachin in Burma (Leach, 1954). These observations initially caused me to believe that gossip, ridicule and witchcraft must result in public opinion being an effective curb on individual behaviour not only in small-scale, but also in middle-range, societies. Yet many middle-range societies around the world exhibit marked social stratification and economic inequality, as Jérôme Rousseau (2001) has clearly demonstated. Pastoral societies also display varying degrees of egalitarianism and social hierarchy (Salzman, 1999; 2001). Eventually I became aware that as sedentary and semisedentary societies grew larger egalitarianism tended to survive mainly among swidden agriculturalists, especially ones with overall population densities that were low enough that dissidents could easily move away, thereby frustrating the development of chiefdoms and other forms of social stratification.

Some anthropologists who oppose unilinear views of sociocultural evolution have posited that resistance to the development of inequality has been successful at much larger scales, in the form of heterarchical preindustrial civilizations. This would make states an optional, rather than an inevitable, consequence of increasing social complexity and leave open the possibility that states and economic inequality are only accidental features of modern industrial societies. Some archaeologists propose that Teotihuacan, in Mexico, may have been a kingless complex society (Cowgill, 1997) and the Indus Valley civilization a potentially stateless one (Kenoyer, 1997; Maisels, 1999: 186-259; Possehl, 1998). Yet the little that is certain concerning such societies resembles what was known about the Classic Maya prior to the decipherment of their writing system. John Eric Thompson (1954) imagined the Maya to have been a unique society of dispersed farmers, peacefully governed by priests who lived in elaborate but largely empty ceremonial centres. Since the decipherment of their script, Maya society has turned out to be more like that of other early civilizations than Thompson thought possible (Coe, 1993).

Moreover, well-documented, heterarchically structured early civilizations, such as those of Mesopotamia and the Yoruba, were not characterized by the absence of hierarchy and economic inequality, but presented hierarchy and economic inequality in another form (Stone, 1997). My comparative study of early civilizations has produced no evidence of early complex societies in which social stratification did not exist and was not accompanied by massive economic and political inequality (Trigger, 1993). Likewise, there is no evidence of any large-scale societies in which the authority and privileges of the dominant upper classes were not protected by coercive powers. Once a ruling group controls society-wide communication networks, gossip and ridicule can be countered by the administrative interventions of the state. The coercive powers of the state can also be deployed to punish individuals who are suspected of practising witchcraft against the upper classes (Trigger, 1985).

Where matters of social and political equality are involved, complexity does not produce a wide variety of responses. Early civilizations came in various sizes and differed in their organization. But in all early civilizations, those who managed society as a whole invariably used their coercive powers to accumulate and protect wealth. Even the nuclear family became more hierarchical and authoritarian, as it transformed itself to accord with the image of the state (Trigger, 1985). Such cross-cultural uniformity would be unexpected if the principal human wants and the goals of human life were culturally defined, either wholly or in large part.

All early civilizations, because of their large size and complexity, may have required centralized controls in order to function adequately and this in turn would have necessitated the concentration of wealth to cover administrative costs and ensure effective government (Trigger, 1976). Yet why, in addition, would ruling elites invariably have opted to accumulate private wealth and indulge in conspicuous consumption on such a massive scale? Why, moreover, would such behaviour have been universally respected and have enhanced a ruler's powers, even among subjects who may have resented their monarch's exactions? Something must have encouraged rulers and subjects alike to accept as normal the congruence of political power, social status and wealth. While I accept that all human behaviour is symbolically mediated, cross-cultural uniformity of this sort pushes the understanding of these aspects of human behaviour toward a materialist, and possibly even towards a more biologically grounded, view.

Throughout the 20th century, Marxists and other progressives have treated human behaviour as shaped exclusively by social forces and therefore maximally changeable and improveable. Ironically, as Marx and Engels also did, they further hedged their bets by assuming that human beings are basically inclined to be good, thereby following in the tradition of Confucian Chinese and Western Enlightenment philosophers. In operational terms, "good" may be glossed as meaning "socially cooperative" or "altruistic." They have generally ignored evidence that our closest primate relatives, and therefore probably our primate ancestors as well, were not only extremely sociable but also intensely hierarchical (Conroy, 1990). While sociability and competitiveness have been defined and controlled differently in different human societies (Hardin, 1968), their universal importance makes it clear that they are species-specific tendencies that every society has to channel, rather than purely cultural creations. Christian theologians may have evaluated human nature more accurately than did Enlightenment philosophers.

Viewed from this perspective, Lee's findings suggest that social and political equality in hunter-gatherer societies was not a direct expression of human nature. His evidence indicates that hierarchical behaviour was actively suppressed in hunter-gatherer societies, where economic and political egalitarianism had great adaptive advantages, as well as in some of the more mobile middle-range societies. Contrariwise, in more complex soci-

eties competitive behaviour was supported and reinforced by the state. While culturally specific values that channel these tendencies in different ways are built into all societies, support for, or opposition to, these tendencies appears to be controlled primarily by the general sorts of socioregulatory mechanisms that are able to function at different levels of social complexity.

Today we live in a transnational world that is guided by the ideas of 19th-century Liberalism that have been disinterred from the intellectual graveyard. These ideas constituted a doctrine that was discredited as a result of the economic collapse of the 1930s. If they have been altered in any way, it is in the direction of being even less socially responsible than they were in the past, at least partly as a result of the weakened constraints of traditional religious social ethics in modern Western society. Despite the triumphalist platitudes of neoconservatives, practical and theoretical problems abound. Growing worldwide industrialization and the ceaseless search for short-term profits pose major threats to global ecology, unless new, clean and cheap sources of energy can be developed. Poor societies are being exploited and destabilized as never before and the poorest members of developed societies are increasingly malnourished and diseased. A pervasive and growing psychological malaise blights the lives of ever larger numbers of people who participate in the so-called "new economy" (Trigger, 1998). How far can such societies and a world economic system be kept operating by a monopolistic information system that propagates the view that no viable alternatives to the way things are currently being done are, or ever can be, imagined?

Unfortunately, 20th-century efforts to build socialism foundered to no small degree as a result of the uncontrolled greed, corruption and self-interest of those in authority. It is no accident that some of the bureaucrats of the former Soviet Union are among the most successful capitalists of post-Soviet Russia. At the same time, the welfare bureaucracies of Western societies were widely discredited because neoconservative propagandists were able so easily to persuade the public that these services had become arrogant and were benefitting those who managed them more than they did their intended beneficiaries. The assumption that, because human beings are essentially good, as capitalist society withered a more egalitarian way of life would replace it, has not been confirmed. Socialism failed politically because it failed to create for large-scale, industrial societies mechanisms to control domination and rapacity that were equivalent to those of the hunter-gatherer anti-state.

In recent decades the anthropological left has critiqued neoconservative ideologies in Western society and elsewhere. These critiques have made anthropologists as a whole increasingly aware of the socially constituted and political aspects of their individual and collective theorizing (Patterson, 2001). Critical anthropologists have not, however, made much progress in determining how the world might be fundamentally changed. The neoconservatives have vastly outflanked both the left and the centre in not only imagining the world as they wish it to be but in actually making it that way (Marchak, 1991). The challenge of the present is for progressive anthropologists to draw on their knowledge of social behaviour to try to design societies of a sort that have never existed before in human history: ones that are large-scale, technologically advanced, internally culturally diverse, economically as well as politically egalitarian, and in which everyone will assume a fair share of the burdens as well as of the rewards of living on a small, rich, but fragile planet (Trigger, 1998). Ideally, these will also be societies that will not revert to neoconservative policies, as most social democracies have recently done, as soon as their work of repairing the injuries wrought by laissez-faire capitalism has been accomplished.

How, and to what extent, can large-scale, enduring egalitarian societies be fashioned? What control mechanisms are needed to keep societies both democratic and economically egalitarian? What forms of social control, performing the same role as public opinion in hunter-gatherer societies, might counter the elitist tendencies inherent in the state? What would be the costs as well as the benefits in terms of human happiness of deploying such mechanisms? Could such a society be justified as truly providing the greatest good for the greatest number? What limits, if any, does human biology impose on our capacity for altruism? Might a broader definition of self-interest significantly encourage the more equitable sharing of wealth in capitalist societies? Or is this Utopian and can a significant sharing of wealth occur only when its possessors fear that the alternative may be to lose all, as was the case during the Cold War?

These are issues that progressive anthropologists must address. As part of their forward planning, they must take account of the less flexible aspects of human nature and how these aspects might articulate with different kinds of societies. It is not sufficient only to consider cultural and social values. The goal of such research must also be not to produce technocratic knowledge but to encourage informed public discussion of alternative possibilities.

Hunter-gatherer societies do not provide a model for the future; they merely demonstrate that social and political egalitarianism was possible in societies that were small enough to be controlled by public opinion. Progressive anthropologists are challenged to shift from merely criticizing the more deplorable features of contemporary societies to using what they and other social scientists, as well as psychologists and neuroscientists know, or can learn, about human beings to formulate practical and attractive alternatives. A shift in this direction might also help to rescue anthropology from its current role of playing second fiddle to cultural studies and restore it to its former central position in debates concerning the future development of a viable, as well as a more humane, global society.

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Community, State and Questions of Social Evolution in Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks*

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Abstract: Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* were among the last of his writings. They comment upon class and state formation in a range of precapitalist contexts. The argument presented here is that after *Capital*, Marx turned to problems of class formation in socialism, examining the conflict between communities of producers and state agendas, on the one hand, and the entrenchment of bureaucracies and state functionaries, on the other. The commentaries distance Marx from state theories of social evolution: certain social forms may persist and change in opposition to the state, at the same time defending more egalitarian practices.

Keywords: ethnological theory, Marxism, primitive communism, social evolution, state formation, precapitalist social formations

Résumé : *Les Carnets ethnographiques* de Marx sont parmi les derniers de ses écrits. Ils commentent la formation des classes et des États dans un ensemble de contextes précapitalistes. La position présentée ici est qu'après *Le Capital*, Marx s'est tourné vers les problèmes de formation des classes dans le socialisme; il a examiné le conflit entre les communautés de producteurs et l'ordre du jour des États, d'une part, et la résistance des bureaucraties et des fonctionnaires de l'État, de l'autre. Ces textes nous font voir un Marx qui abandonne les théories de l'évolution sociale dépendante de l'État: certaines formes sociales peuvent perdurer et changer en opposition à l'État, et ainsi maintenir des pratiques plus égalitaires.

Mots-clés : théorie ethnologique. Marxisme, communisme primitif, évolution sociale, formation des États, formations sociales précapitalistes

> And yet for all its economic and military power, and its near monopoly of the ideological apparatus, the capitalist state has not succeeded in eradicating innumerable pockets of communalism, in the Third and Fourth Worlds and some in the very belly of the beast itself. (Richard Lee, 1992: 84)

> Despite our seeming adaptation to life in hierarchical societies, and despite the rather dismal record of human rights in many parts of the world, there are signs that humankind retains a deep-rooted egalitarianism, a deep-rooted commitment to the norm of reciprocity, a deep-rooted desire for ... the sense of community. All theories of justice revolve around these principles, and our sense of outrage at the violation of these norms indicates the depth of its gut-level appeal. That, in my view, is the secret of primitive communism. (Richard Lee, 1992: 90)

Karl Marx's last writings were concerned with a study of precapitalist social formations, both primitive communist and class-based. *The Ethnological Notebooks* were written during 1880-82, that is, in the period just prior to his death in 1883. Frederick Engels used parts of the *Ethnological Notebooks* in drafting his 1884 *Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (Engels, 1972). Over the years other parts have been translated, but not until 1974 was the entire work transcribed by Lawrence Krader (Marx, 1974).

Why look into the *Ethnological Notebooks* today? I was drawn to reconsider them as a result of a graduate exam in sociology, where a well-known senior social theorist was trying to drub the candidate into embracing a stage model of social evolution. The candidate, a single mother returning to school after a decade, resisted his characterization of primitive societies as passé, albeit lamentably so. I became annoyed at his badgering and intervened with a quick and intentionally silencing rejoinder about Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks*, which he had never attempted to read. Beyond eschewing the

notion of necessary stages of social evolution, I pointed out, Marx over and again pointed to the viability of communal forms as lived in particular societies. Over and again he showed how they pose inherent opposition to state forms of control and therefore are targeted in repeated attempts by state agents to prevent their reproduction as communally organized.

Walking with me after the exam, the relieved graduate student exclaimed, "I didn't know how to say it, but every day of my life I see how important creating a circle of sharing and caring is in getting by. If societies that are organized that way are no longer viable, then neither are we." Like that woman and millions of other mothers and care-engaged people, I am deeply implicated in practices at home and at work that must address on a daily basis the consequences of different ideologies of kinship and questions of transformative work versus labour.[1] Time and again students in my courses emphasize the importance of kinship and community as the most compelling dynamics that either deflect or reflect what is a terrifying insecurity; in their discussions, kinship and community are at times present the most immediate and devastating of a range of oppressive relations or pose the most sustaining resistance to them. At least a third of our students at the University of California, Riverside (UCR) are the first people in their families to attend college. These students understand the slender thread that education provides in constructing a modicum of economic security in the midst of volatile economic cycles. They rely on networks of sustaining relationships to obtain that security with the clear and present understanding that they will owe their prosperity to others.

Social evolution as a theory passes in and out of academic fashion: in the past decade it has enjoyed a resurgence, following the "triumph" of capitalism in the wake of a collapsed socialist bloc. In this new variation, social evolution is facilitated through the state and expressed in unfettered capitalist commerce across national boundaries: neoliberalism is its credo and global communications technology its metaphor of interconnection. Proponents presume that globalized capitalism in this new phase will result in higher standards of living for more people, greater democratization, and therefore, social and cultural progress. A proliferation of neoliberal economic and social policies has accompanied the post-Cold War shift in corporate accumulation strategies.

As the welfare supports of the earlier phase of industrial capitalism erode under these new policies, and as the international lending agencies force poorer countries to impose ever more austere conditions on their people, the global search for jobs appears more and more to transform citizens of one country into guest workers or in some instances, modern-day slaves. The implications of guest worker models of labour flows can be seen vividly in the rhetoric of the apartheid-era South African state. Prior to his tenure as Prime Minister, Peter Botha declared that unemployed blacks were "superfluous appendages" without a viable role to play in the country. Working blacks were defined as "labour units": categorically kinless and metaphorically robotic. With that chilling reminder of the fascist tendencies of capitalist states, more than ever before we need to appreciate what structures and practices sustain people as more than the expendable labour units that neoliberal economics would have the vast majority of us become.

Around the world grass-roots opposition to such policies takes a myriad of forms. Across the organizations and protests is a connecting thread: women and men, children and youth are demanding basic security and a rehumanization of daily life. Sometimes the call is to bolster existing communities and families: often this has a conservative agenda, disguised as family preservation, of defending patriarchal forms and practices. But sometimes the call is to remedy the conditions and ideologies that have turned intimate institutions and relations into locations of violence.

While many of these movements make demands of the state in specific ways—as for city services, educational access, cessation of militaristic repression—, none argue that either states or the corporations they serve are loci for human emancipation. Although some romanticize iconic notions of "the people" or "the community," the more feminist of these movements are keenly aware of the ways that gender hierarchies permeate familial and community structures, with injurious consequences (see, for example, the case studies in Waller and Rycenga, 2000).

From Borneo to Chiapas there are efforts to defend communal rights to land. In Kenya and South Africa, mothers exiled from their marital lineages because legal changes have converted what were lineage wives' use-rights to husband's private property (Okeyo, 1980), or dispossessed because they have been infected with HIV by their husbands, are demanding that their patterns of sharing and care giving be socially valued. These women are clear that some customary usage should be defended, but other traditions have become so distorted by the context of capitalist legal and labour policies that they compromise the very survival of the communities that espouse them.

The resilience of communal forms in the face of overarching structures of domination was a central issue

in Marx's examination of literature on precapitalist societies. The final writings of Marx's corpus focused on the relationship of communities to the state in various precapitalist contexts. Considering this continuity of concern, the Marx of the *Notebooks* appears as consistent with the Marx who authored the *Grundrisse* (1857) and other earlier efforts. Louis Althusser (1969) argued that there was an earlier, more Hegelian Marx who could be distinguished from the author of his later, supposedly more scientific and revolutionary writings, but this argument overlooks the *Notebooks*. Certainly Marx's last writings suffer from the admittedly inadequate and poorly researched sources he was forced to consult, a problem he bemoaned repeatedly in his notes. But I do not think this constitutes grounds for dismissal, particularly if we are trying to discern the trajectory of his thinking about social transformation.

We are confronting a situation where state policies and a genomic imperium in the name of scientific understanding are simultaneously exacerbating and naturalizing the racialization that accompanies the neoliberal phase of capital accumulation. Capitalism in its "globalization" dress relies on innovations in communications technology, the capacity to ravage environments on an unprecedented scale, and the strangulation of alternative political forms. In this setting we can appreciate all the more how Marx in his *Notebooks* repeatedly rejects a number of theories current in his time, notably racial ranking and social evolution in the sense of necessary and sequential stages, especially stages based on subsistence and techno-environmental sophistication. But I would like to go further and risk skittering along the razor's edge of intentionality to pose this question: Why would the author of the foremost analysis and critique of the structure and operation of capitalism turn, after completing that three-volume opus, to the examination of earlier forms of societies, when his explicit aim in undertaking the study of capitalism was its dismantling?

Marx against Social Evolutionism

Marx was not Tolstoy, with the peasantry posed as a simpler and more natural counterpoint to the alienated lesser nobility and urbanized elite. Marx was a revolutionary, not a primitivist. But we can see in his notes, letters and commentaries Marx's rejection of organic models of society and particularly of state societies. In contrast to the many of the sources he uses and subsequent characterization of Marx as a social evolutionist, there is no portrayal of peoples living in classless social formations as being backward, less intelligent, or less developed cognitively.[2] Instead, based on his critical reading of a number of evolutionist scholars, he shows an effort to associate particular forms of authority, kinship, use-rights and subsistence strategies as historically rather than evolutionarily linked configurations.

Put a different way, when he uses the term "evolution," it is couched very carefully as historical transformation and "earlier" only in the sense of temporal priority. Marx uses the term "archaic" in the *Ethnological Notebooks* to indicate temporality, not civilizational ranking. Indeed, connotations of backwardness are rejected explicitly: the "unfreedom" of the communal group is everywhere presented as security. Every instance of "freeing up"—as with the shifts in marriage rules from Mosaic to Levitical law—is tied to changing property relations, reduced authority of women, and growing social oppression (see, for example, Marx, 1974: 137).

The first part of the *Notebooks* concerns so-called primitive societies, while the second part focusses on different forms of precapitalist class societies and state formation. In the first part there are detailed sections on kinship and social organization taken from Lewis Henry Morgan (Morgan, 1963), J.F. McLennan (McLennan, 1876), and Sir John Lubbock (Lubbock, 1870), as well as a range of early travellers' accounts of the Americas and the southern Pacific Islands. Marx adopts the categories of Morgan—savagery, barbarism, and so on—but appears more concerned with particular configurations and dynamics of kinship, labour and work relations, technology and decision-making processes than with the author's typology. As a result Morgan's classification scheme becomes historically specific and analytical, rather than evolutionary in a progressive sense. Marx identifies certain transformations as possible, but nowhere does he postulate a necessary transition. One looks in vain for any "motors" or "triggers" of social change, such as population increase, pressure on productive resources, technological innovation or the like.

Marx presents certain changes marking dramatic shifts in social organization or political economy, but these are historically determined. Radical change is the result of contradictions emerging between human agency and structural processes, on the one hand, and within the structures of polity and economy, on the other. He notes, for instance, that communal property cannot coexist indefinitely with patriarchal family relations because of the fundamental opposition the latter poses to the other; similarly, "common usage" or custom cannot persist unchallenged alongside state-associated law (see also Diamond, 1974). Where archaic forms persist, Marx does not depict them as "vestiges" or cultural lags, but fundamentally as evidence of resistance to the

penetration of state-associated institutions. For example, Marx does not present the replacement of "common usage" by legal codes and judicial structures as evidence of societal evolution in the sense of progressive change. Instead, law is intrinsically repressive:

> Customary law...is not obeyed, as enacted law is obeyed....The actual constrain [*sic*] which is required to secure conformity with usage is conceivably small....[Laws, to the contrary, come from] *an authority external to the small natural group* and forming no part of it,...wholly unlike customary rule. They [laws] lose the assistance of superstition (par exemple Christian Religion. Roman Church?), probably that of opinion, certainly that of spontaneous impulse. The *force at the back of law* comes therefore to be *purely coercive force* to a degree quite unknown in societies of the more primitive type. (Marx, 1974: 335; emphasis in the original)

Marx rejects the pervasive 19th-century classification of societies by racial typologies. In his notes on works by Sir Henry Maine and John Budd Phear, time and again he rails in parentheses about the pseudoscience inherent in such racial classification schemes: "The devil take this 'Aryan' cant!" (Marx, 1974: 324) and "...Aryan (! again this nonsense!) race..." (Marx, 1974: 335). He also rejects the notion of differential intelligence accruing to those in one type of society versus another.

In several places he scorns the ideological character of most ethnographic accounts of the time. His parenthetical remarks on one passage from Lubbock illustrate the point. Lubbock refers to a friend of Reverend Lang, who

> ...tried long and patiently to make a very intelligent Australian understand (sollte heissen make him believe) his existence without a body, but the black never would keep his countenance...for a long time he could not believe ("he" is the intelligent black) that the "gentleman" (i.e., d. Pfaffen Lang silly friend) was serious, and when he did realize it (that the gentleman was an ass in good earnest), the more serious the teacher was the more ludicrous the whole affair appeared to be (Spottet Lubbock seiner selbst u. weiss doch nicht wie).[3] (Marx, 1974: 349)

The *Notebooks* underscore one central dynamic in the known historical transformations of communal societies: the emergence and persistence of non-producing classes and alienable use-rights, bolstered perforce by emerging, coercive state structures. In the *Notebooks* Marx is concerned with variations and patterns in communal societies and with variations in precapitalist state societies, read not as typologies, but as historically specific configurations that might share certain features. In the class-based social formations, he seems particularly focussed on the relationship of sovereign and state functionaries and institutions to local communities. The sections on states make distinctions with regard to property, labour, political and religious ideologies between the precapitalist states emerging from the Mesopotamian region (Assyria, Babylonia, Greece, Rome), those societies colonized by Roman-derived states (the Germanic tribes, Ireland), and what Marx calls the "great states" known in the 19th century in Asia (India, Ceylon, China) and Mesoamerica (Aztec). Marx's commentaries focus on studies by Phear (Phear, 1880), Maine (Maine, 1861), and John Austin (Austin, 1832) and use the studies to argue forcefully that, contrary to the beliefs of those scholars, the state is fundamentally parasitic. Nowhere in the *Notebooks* does Marx discuss the state as a progressive force in human evolution, or as a force in ameliorating social problems.

In his discussions of the state, Marx focusses on the local level, from daily and seasonal routines, to variations in diet and expenditures, kinship dynamics and rituals of social reproduction. These arrangements are then contrasted in content, even if forms seem similar, to the bureaucratic, religious and legal structures imposed from above. Moreover, Marx denies the integrative functions of the state, and the effectiveness of state ideologies in providing coherence to most precapitalist class societies. We find no successful propaganda machine here, no consensus of the ruled: to the contrary we find contradiction, power struggles within the elites and between state and communities, and coercion. The "tax-taking" character of most of the "great states" precluded deeper penetration by state-sponsored edicts and ideological structures. The "particular commands" of the Sovereign did not constitute law, but "...a sudden, spasmodic, and temporary interference with ancient multifarious usage left in general undisturbed" (Marx, 1974: 334). Where coherence became judicially and legislatively defined, as in the Roman Empire, Marx comments:

> ...the process was spread over many centuries...a vast and miscellaneous mass of customary law was broken up and replaced by new institutions....It (the Roman Empire) devoured, brake [sic] into pieces, and stamped the residue with its feet. (Marx, 1974: 335)

In one place Marx notes a function of a precapitalist state that at first appears to have improved local conditions. Phear discusses the intervention of the Bengali state in times of food scarcity, distributing stores to villages facing famine. Marx's commentary on this passage includes his point that, in order to make ready this distribution, all available means of transportation in the region had to be impressed into state service, sometimes weeks in advance of the projected scarcity, and thereby exacerbating the problem (Marx, 1974: 266). The other factor in periodic scarcity in this social formation was the commodification of food staples, which Marx identifies as entwined with class formation. Speculation in food grains is a consequence and a symptom of class relations. First, the cultivators (*ryots*) had to provide part of the harvest to state-associated functionaries (*Zamindaris*) to reaffirm and retain use-rights to land. These officials would either siphon off a portion of these taxes for their own use, or require labour service of subjects on their own use-plots. Harvests would then be available for sale, where sale became necessary because of exactions from the peasantry. Second, the *ryots* had to settle debts with interest; money-lenders (often petty officials) claimed portions of the harvest regardless of the cultivators' consumption needs (Marx, 1974: 256). In short, Marx dismisses Malthusian explanations of food shortages. Marx insists that the famines described by Phear as caused by nature and as occasions for state beneficence were politically caused or at the very least exacerbated by the interference of class and state dynamics.

The common assumption that Marx was scornful of the peasantry, seeing them solely as ignorant or reactionary—a decontextualized reading of the "sack of potatoes" metaphor in his and Engels' *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1852)—simply cannot be born out in the *Notebooks*. Instead, one finds a decidedly mixed reaction, keyed to the specificities of the particular society and time. On the one hand, as repository of the "customary usage" deemed by Marx to be less oppressive when associated with the absence of the state or class relations, the "local natural group" is also more egalitarian than the rest of the society. But on the other hand, it also is affected by shifts in property and labour, and can come to be ordered through "superstition." While he adopts the term "superstition" from Phear, Marx puts on it a decidedly different spin than Phear's. Judging from his parenthetical remarks, as Marx uses it, superstition refers to belief systems as they are parodied by, but do not encompass the state-promoted ideology; the formal qualities of those beliefs are presented back to the villagers as traditional religion. Superstition, in other words, reveals a powered, dialectical relationship between state and community rather than a timeless and unchanging local beliefs.

There is no essentialized "peasant" here, either as reactionary or heroic. Oppression may permeate the local group, but it is not due to traditions rooted in the communal shell of previously autonomous villages. His marginal notes on Phear's description of an essentialized and ahistorical Bengali peasant show this:

> A husbandman of the present day is the primitive being he always (!) has been....He is the greatest enemy of social reform [? wäre nicht enemy of getting himself the rent to pay the Zemindarees, old or young!] and never dreams of throwing off the trammels which time or superstition has spun around him. He will not send his son to school for fear [and a very just one, too!] of being deprived of his manual assistance in the field....The ryots *too poor* (!), too ignorant, *too disunited among themselves to effect*...improvement." (Marx, 1974: 257; Marx's emphasis)

Marx here portrays the constraints on agency posed by class relations and the state, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the constraints on collective action. Contradictions between communal ownership and private use-rights, and class formation within the community create internal disunity. The passage anticipates debates nearly a century later on the role of the peasantry in social revolution. Eric Wolf appears to adopt Phear's position that extreme poverty among peasantries is inimical to revolutionary action (Wolf, 1968). Marx's exclamation point and emphasis on disunity might have served as a cautionary note, as more recent grass-roots movements throughout the world bear witness.

In a section on Maine's 1875 treatise, Marx challenges Thomas Hobbes for assuming that human nature is inherently competitive, and the English analytical jurists Bentham and Austin for claiming as scientific what is projection. Marx criticizes Maine for casting the Roman patriarchal family into prehistory (Marx, 1974: 324). Each author presents a classification scheme that Marx argues merely echoes the reigning political ideology of the particular time (Marx, 1974: 328-329). Marx's concern with "science" can be read as needing to ground social theory in empirically informed research. At the same time, this empirical grounding demanded continuous, critical evaluation of analytical terms used. Throughout the *Notebooks* Marx deconstructs terms used by other authors, as we have seen in his deployment of "superstition" and "evolution."

The *Ethnological Notebooks* appear to some as a scholastic exercise, or as an indication that toward the end of his life, Marx was "slipping a bit," as one rather orthodox Marxist told me. Yet the *Notebooks* show the same kind of attention to historical contingencies and local dynamics that informs his response to a letter from Vera Zasulich (1881). Zasulich writes with some urgency:

> ...In one way or another, even the personal fate of our revolutionary socialists depends upon your answer to the question. For there are only two possibilities. Either the rural commune, freed of exorbitant tax demands, payment to the nobility and arbitrary administration, is capable of developing in a socialist direction, that is, gradually organising its production and distribution on a collectivist basis. In that case, the revolutionary socialist must devote all his strength to the liberation and development of the commune.
>
> If, however, the commune is destined to perish, all that remains for the socialist, as such, is more or less ill-founded calculations as to how many decades it will take for the Russian peasant's land to pass into the hands of the bourgeoisie, and how many centuries it will take for capitalism in Russia to reach something like the level of development already attained in Western Europe....You would be doing us a very great favour if you were to set forth Your ideas on the possible fate of our rural commune, and on the theory that it is historically necessary for every country in the world to pass through all the phases of capitalist production. In the name of my friends, I take the liberty to ask You, Citizen, to do us this favour. (quoted in Shanin, 1983: 98)

Marx writes several drafts prior to sending his lengthy reply two months later. In his drafts and his final reply (see Shanin, 1983: 100-126), he details the historically unique qualities of the local collective villages (*mir)* and of local communal forms elsewhere. He also discusses the process of expropriation of the peasantries and the political and social dynamics that underwrote capitalist development in countries of Western Europe. Marx weighs what would be necessary to create capitalism in Russia, without at any time saying this would be either desirable, or that the Western European countries somehow provide a model to be emulated:

> If capitalist production is to establish its sway in Russia, then the great majority of peasants—that is, of the Russian people—will have to be transformed into wage-labourers, and hence be expropriated through the prior abolition of their communist property. But in any event, the Western precedent would prove nothing at all [about the "historical inevitability" of this process]....

He goes on to eschew any notion of a necessary stage of capitalist expropriation and development in Russia:

> However, the situation of the Russian commune is absolutely different from that of the primitive communities in the West [in Western Europe]. Russia is the only European country in which communal property has maintained itself on a vast, nationwide scale. But at the same time, Russia exists in a modern historical context: it is contemporaneous with a higher culture, and it is linked to a world market in which capitalist production is predominant.
>
> [It is therefore capitalist production which enables it to achieve results without having to pass through its....]
>
> Thus, in appropriating the positive results of this mode of production, it is able to develop and transform the still archaic form of its rural commune, instead of destroying it. (I would remark in passing that the form of communist property in Russia is the most/modern form of the archaic type which has itself gone through a whole series of evolutionary changes.)
>
> If the admirers of the capitalist system in Russia deny that such a combination is possible, let them prove that Russia had to undergo an incubation period of mechanical production in order to make use of machinery! Let them explain to me how they managed, in just a few days as it were, to introduce the machinery of exchange (banks, credit companies, etc.) which was the work of centuries in the West. (quoted in Shanin, 1983: 102-103)

He talks about the historical typologies of communal forms of property, outlines how as a result of state policies and capitalist markets, the Russian *mir* has come to combine communal ownership with private use-plots and mixed labour forms, and how this set of contradictions, constructed through state intervention as well as commerce and changing production, threatens the continuity of local communities.

> What threatens the life of the Russian commune is neither a/ historical inevitability nor a theory; it is state oppression, and exploitation by capitalist intruders whom the state has made powerful at the peasants' expense. (Shanin, 1983: 104-105)

In another draft he outlines the prototype that what he calls "archaic" forms create for the removal of the more oppressive forms of private property:

> Also favourable to the maintenance of the Russian commune (on the path of development) is the fact not only that it is contemporary with capitalist production [in the Western countries], but that it has survived the epoch when the social system stood intact. Today, it faces a social system which, both in Western Europe and the United States, is in conflict with science, with the popular masses, and with the very productive forces that it generates [in short, this social system has become the arena of flagrant antagonisms, conflicts and periodic disasters; it makes clear to the blindest observer that it is a transitory system of production, doomed to be/ eliminated as soc(iety) returns to finds it in a state of crisis that will end only when the social system is eliminated through the return of modern societies to the "archaic" type of communal property.

He calls for better comprehension of historical transformations in particular locations and an appreciation of the ways the structure of the communal forms afforded less oppressive daily conditions that those of the wider feudal or later, capitalist forms:

> But at least we should be thoroughly acquainted with all the historical twists and turns. We know nothing about them. (c) In one way or another, this commune perished in the midst of never-ending foreign and intestine warfare. It probably died a violent death when the Germanic tribes came to conquer Italy, Spain, Gaul, and so on. The commune of the archaic type had already ceased to exist. And yet, its natural vitality is proved by two facts. Scattered examples survived all the vicissitudes of the Middle Ages and have maintained themselves up to the present day—e.g. in my own home region of Trier. More importantly, however, it so stamped its own features on the commune that supplanted it (a commune in which arable land became private property, while the forests pastures, waste ground, etc., remained communal property), that Maurer was able to reconstruct the archaic prototype/ while deciphering the commune [of more recent origin] of secondary formation. Thanks to the characteristic features inherited from the prototype, the new commune which the Germans introduced into every conquered region became the only focus of liberty and popular life throughout the Middle Ages. (quoted in Shanin, 1983: 107-108)

Moreover, he cautions Zasulich and her Marxist audience about the political agendas of various writers and the barely disguised colonialism associated with economic determinism and the "inevitability of capitalism arguments":

> One has to be on one's guard when reading the histories of primitive communities written by bourgeois authors. They do not shrink [from anything] even from falsehoods. Sir Henry Maine, for example, who enthusiastically collaborated with the English government in its violent destruction of the Indian communes, hypocritically tells us that all the government's noble efforts to maintain the communes succumbed to the spontaneous power of economic laws! (quoted in Shanin 1983: 107)

What, then, is the future of these village communities?

> But does this mean that the development of the "agricultural commune" must follow this route in every circumstance [in every historical context]? Not at all. Its constitutive form allows of the following alternative: either the element of private property which it implies gains the upper hand over the collective element, or the reverse takes place. Everything depends upon the historical context in which it is situated....Both solutions are a priori possibilities, but each one naturally requires a completely different historical context. (quoted in Shanin, 1983: 108-109).

The *Ethnological Notebooks* and Critical Anthropology in North America

It is in the spirit of Marx's call for careful ethnohistorical accounts that we can situate one strand of North American anthropology. Stanley Diamond (Diamond, 1974; 1975), Eleanor Leacock (1954; 1963; 1972), Richard Lee (1992), and Tom Patterson (1981) have pointed to the importance of ethnological writings by Marx and Engels, as well as their ethnographic methodology as in Engels' *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1887 [1844]) and the "Enquête Ouvrière" (1880). These authors point out that in Marx there is an abiding concern with discerning conditions and societal structures and processes that facilitate emancipation and those that underwrite and reproduce forms of oppression. Rather than dividing Marx's writings into an earlier phase more imbued with German Romantic philosophy and a later phase more focussed on political-economic transformations (see Althusser, 1969), Diamond and Krader emphasize the continuity of Marx's attention to the primitive commune as a model, at a different level of socio-economic integration, of an emancipatory future (see Diamond, 1975: 1-6; Krader, 1975: 5, 6).

This view lends itself better to an anthropology concerned with human liberation, not one that celebrates the entrenchment of neoliberal structures, anticommunist states, and a "global interdependence" that never

questions the rights of corporations, the echoes of fascism in so-called democratic forms, or the virulent effects of the normal operation of the political economy on many millions of people. What this tradition in anthropology includes is advocacy for the efforts of indigenous peoples in their efforts to defend a way of life that is structurally and in practice, deeply opposed to capitalism. Leacock and Lee, for instance, worked closely with the Innu of Labrador to oppose military overflights that wrecked havoc with hunting efforts (see Leacock and Lee, 1982).

Lee in particular has argued on the basis of painstaking and long-term ethnographic research that people living in communal societies enjoy a "safety net" of pooled resources, sharing, and widespread care-giving that ventures far beyond any dream of social welfare in state societies. In addition, Lee and Leacock reintroduced and defended the use of the term "primitive communism" to describe such social formations at a time when Cold War politics and neoliberal forms of postmodern discourse made reference to the Marxist tradition in anthropology the occasion at best for looks of tolerance for the poignantly passé (Lee, 1992; Leacock and Gailey, 1992). But despite a number of specious attacks on his ethnology, Lee remained among a handful of anthropologists who opposed South Africa's recruitment of San men in its war against the anti-apartheid forces of the Southwest African People's Organization (SWAPO) in Namibia. In the post-apartheid era, he continues to work with the San around issues of HIV, poverty in the areas subject to reservations, and generally how communal values and practices can address the face of various development agendas and the racial politics that are a legacy of apartheid. This kind of engagement is far from stubborn clinging to some ossified relic of outdated theory. As in the *Ethnographic Notebooks*, Lee's effort is to discern in local communal relations confronting powerful and sometimes coercive economic and political processes, the dynamics that might help produce or reproduce unoppressive social relations and relative health and prosperity.

Marginalization of the *Notebooks*

While in the face of experience with anti-communist forces in and outside the academy we can readily comprehend why mainstream scholars have ignored the *Ethnological Notebooks*, we nevertheless need to ask why they have attracted little attention among Marxist researchers. Some reasons are readily apparent: the commentaries are in fact notes rather than essays and therefore somewhat cryptic. Compounding this frustration is Marx's habit of conversing with himself and the authors he reads in five languages. At times reading the *Notebooks* makes one feel like the street cop in "Blade Runner," having to grapple with a "City-speak" agglomeration of phrases drawn from English, German, French, Greek and Latin in order to make sense of the surroundings.[4] Perhaps these difficulties are sufficient explanation. However, International Publishers, the provider of so many of Marx's writings translated into English, had the subsidies and infrastructure at the time of its heyday in the 1960s and 1970s to accomplish this, and yet it did not develop such a project. Another reason for delayed publication is the absence of an explicitly framed narrative argument. Nevertheless, one can discern arguments in the selection of passages, authors and commentaries, and there is ample precedent for publishing notes by major authors that can be combed by subsequent scholars.

Despite their obscurity in subsequent Marxist scholarship, we can ask more intriguing questions: Why was he taking notes on those particular sources, and those particular passages? It helps, of course, to have a certain familiarity with the volumes on ancient legal systems, histories of archaic civilizations, and what passed for ethnography in the latter part of the nineteenth century. But if we have learned anything from the last quarter century of literary criticism, it is that reading author's intentionality is at best a creative act, at worst, projective folly. So I have tried to frame the notes chronologically: they were written after Marx and Engels' commentaries on the failure of the Paris Commune (1871) and in the same period as Marx's correspondence with Vera Zasulich, working in Russia. In the *Notebooks* I think we can trace elaborations on his discussion of the fatal lack of communication between the Communards and rural areas, and the relative isolation of French peasant communities, articulated almost uniquely through state vectors. We also can see a defense of historical specificity, a multiplicity of possible outcomes for a given set of dynamics, and otherwise indications of the importance of organizing, that is, of concerted human agency in determining particular pathways of change.

Many Marxist scholars have commented that Marx never addressed the problem of the transition to socialism. I do not think of Marx as a utopian philosopher and so I would not expect him to have much sympathy with the construction of blueprints. Still, throughout Marx's works is the concept of *dialectical return*. This concept provides us with a clue to one of

the purposes of the anthropological explorations in the *Notebooks*; the letter to Zasulich underscores the point. Clearly Marx's concept of communism involves recapitulating the kind of absence of private property and classless division of labour characteristic of primitive societies while utilizing the technologies and more widespread communication capabilities developed under capitalism. The nature of the state is central, both with regard to the historical transformations from the earlier communal societies to class-based ones, and the potential obstacles to achieving communism involved in socialist transitions.

Marx's abiding scorn for the state as a vehicle for human emancipation is, I think, at the heart of the marginalization of *The Ethnological Notebooks* in 20th-century Marxist scholarship. Despite their wish to counter the vicious international politics of U.S. Cold Warriors, it was not possible for many more ethnographically grounded scholars to ignore the repressive quality of most of the socialist bloc states regarding local communities and the question of ethnicity in general. To do so did not mean that one upheld an imaginary capitalist West as less racist, less homophobic and less repressive, particularly if one conceived of corporate policies as an invisible branch of the state.

It becomes impossible, reading the *Notebooks*, to view socialism as a telos. Socialism would be beneficial only insofar as it facilitated the achievement of a dialectical return to the communal societies of the past. But as a source of taxation, conscription and surveillance it could not be defended, even as Marx vilified the imperialist policies or domestic repression characteristic of the capitalist state societies he analyzed. As he argued in relation to the Paris Commune (1871), "But the working class cannot simply lay hold on the ready-made state-machinery and wield it for their own purpose. The political instrument of their enslavement cannot serve as the political instrument of their emancipation" (196). He went on to describe the kind of representational, accountable, and democratic governance structure that the Communards devised in Paris as a model for the nation.

The sections on the "great states" in Asia focus on the dynamics in a tribute-based mode of production, although the term is not used as such (see Krader, 1975). Marx discusses the layering of use-rights, the absence of real private property, and the contrast between the assertion of ownership by the "Sovereign" (read state) and the everyday possession and use by direct producers, organized for the most part in custom-oriented communities. The basic determination of what was to be produced was shaped by demands of the state in the form of tax-goods or labour service, but the production process was largely governed by ideologies of kinship and reciprocity, better understood by the producers than by agents of the state. The state apparatus is depicted as a growth on top and at the expense of the local communities. Marx states explicitly that the state "in all forms is an excrescence of the society" (Marx, 1974: 329).[5]

The question of class formation in socialist states can be seen in a framework of dialectical return. Socialist states, where they emerged, would exhibit contradictions associated with divisions of labour, property relations, and social relations that parallel, at a different level of technical and productive capacities, earlier tribute-based states. If we consider any transition through socialism this way, the fundamentally unoppressive conditions found in primitive communism appear both as history and potentiality. Socialism would represent the rejection of private property at the root of the contradictions in capitalist relations of production. As in capitalism, in socialism the production process is largely collective, socialized.

But in socialist societies, the state claims resources on behalf of the citizenry. The state as property owner has a direct parallel in the assertions of tribute-based states throughout the ancient world. The "excrescent" state becomes, as in the "tax-taking" state societies of the precapitalist past, the basis of social contradiction. Producers in theory might own the means of production, but the degree to which they actually control the labour process and products of their labour become sites of political struggle. We have seen in the actions of the early Solidarity movement in Poland[6] that this effort to actualize the rhetoric of worker control in the face of de facto state control can lead to the collapse of the state. We also can see that this does not necessarily lead to communism, but can result in capitalist relations and the erosion of social welfare. But Marx never saw pathways of development as inevitabilities. Always we come back to the importance of organization and the values and practices of actual, historically situated people.

The class relations in socialist settings differ markedly from those in capitalist ones. Private accumulation occurs as graft or corruption, because the privileged classes are state-associated. While private accumulation is not an automatic result of state-associated class formation, it can be. The tax-farming of archaic states can find a parallel in settings where agents enjoy a degree of autonomy in their positions and a surrounding global system that provides and incentive, the skimming or extortion destined for Swiss bank accounts. In

contrast to capitalism, wealth is a result of, rather than a basis for, class formation.

Indeed, most of the 20th-century socialist states had been, prior to capitalist colonization or partial penetration, variations of the tribute-based mode of production, the "tax-taking" societies discussed by Marx as surviving in the 19th century primarily in Asia. For example, in his letters to Zasulich Marx holds that the village-community structure had not been eliminated in Russia, although commodity production was fostering rapid class formation. Capital penetration was contributing to the dissolution of what had been a community without internal class divisions, but the resilience of the older communal form was not inevitable.

If we take these so-called Asiatic states, that is, precapitalist, "tribute-paying" social formations as a model, then classes in socialist transitions derive from relative control over labour and resources, rather than ownership per se. In the tribute-paying formations, state representatives and retainers took their income from their official positions that (in theory) could not be inherited. Whatever wealth was accumulated was expended on life-style, or had extremely limited arenas of investment, since the state or sovereign claimed most venues. Over time the tendency could be seen in precapitalist China or the principalities in India, for the bureaucratic elites to reproduce themselves as such, with some mobility possible for the more prosperous levels of the peasantry, or for those linking their reproductive potential to the state (military exploits, concubinage and the like). The political dynamic between villages and the state in these societies was a struggle over the relative determination of production, including the distribution of product. For instance, Marx emphasizes that within the Bengali ruling class, "the contest for power...was mainly a struggle for command of the *kachari tabils*," that is, the regional structure that administered the extraction of products and labour service, as well as accounting (Marx, 1974: 284).

Pressures for deconstructing the state apparatus and bureaucratically defined class formation would depend not only on socialized production, but also of the communal dynamics that persist in reproductive spheres and are enacted in daily life. In other words the relations of pooling resources and technical rather than social divisions of labour, the nets of "sharing and caring" the UCR graduate student invoked, when combined with the transformed labour relations, provide an alternative to the ideology of state as collective will.

Throughout the *Notebooks*, Marx reviles in unambiguous ways the self-serving presentation of state-associated classes as necessary for societal prosperity (Marx, 1974: 329). He does not confuse the collectivities organized for purposes of extracting goods or labour—military units, work groups ordained by the state—with communal forms (Marx, 1974: 334). Reading the *Notebooks* it appears impossible to hold socialism up as a guiding light. Unoppressive conditions were presented only in the context of his discussions of "primitive" communal societies. He presents political struggle—not simply technical innovation, novel property relations, or systems of labour alone—as pressing internal contradictions in a particular social formation toward transformation. The outcome of transformation is nowhere shown as predestined or as merely a logical outgrowth of existing structures. This dependence on human agency provides another clue as to why the *Notebooks* fly in the face of Second International agendas.

Marx identifies the partial dissolution of communal relations as one consequence of emerging class differences, themselves due to a myriad of conditions involving both contradictions in structure and human action. The layered social formations, such as those in Asia or Russia, that had interfered the least in the communal relations of the "local natural group" would in Marx's view, require the least intensity of action to remove the primary sources of oppression. Fully capitalist societies would therefore be less likely to foster socialist transformations, since communities are—except as rearguard efforts and on the margins—effectively dissolved. In capitalist settings, the hegemony of state ideology is the most effective because it appears simultaneously as natural and as individual choice. For those Marxists insistent that capitalism is a necessary stage on the road to socialism, the *Notebooks* stress that it is not, and that socialism involves a different set of oppressive relations and structural contradictions that can be glimpsed through an appreciation of dynamics in precapitalist, tribute-based states.

The emphasis on forces of production as the motor of social change and the insistence on socialism as a necessary precursor to communism—major tenets of the Second International—stand in contrast to the commentaries and concerns of the *Notebooks*. While the Second International stressed the forces of production as marshalling in a socialist society, where for an indeterminate time the state would act on behalf of the working class, Marx in the *Notebooks* stressed struggle between communities and the state over control of resources and labour. Where voices of the Second International called for the need to replace forms of

community associated with earlier social stages, and the need to construct the "new man" through state agendas, Marx in his discussions of the "great Asian" states stressed the proclivity of state agents to defend state interests at the expense of local dynamism and viable kin communities, even if they had been distorted through the taxation/conscription impositions of state. Where the Second International stressed that socialism was a necessary stage prior to the withering away of the state that would usher in communism, Marx in the *Notebooks* discussed the ways in which local communities tried to retain practices despite state intervention, some of which could be characterized as communist. To develop a critical Marxism that included the *Notebooks* through the Soviet-approved publishing venues such as International Publishers would be to encourage criticism of the USSR on a non-Cold War basis. This was not feasible in the Cold War context, or in the context of Soviet state agendas. The transcription, prepared through the monumental efforts of Lawrence Krader, was published by one of the Dutch houses that subscribe so steadfastly to the need for primary texts in research.

The Ethnological Notebooks provide a final chapter to Marx's work, one that shows the importance of local community relations in shaping long-term resistance to oppressive conditions. In efforts to ensure the continuity of a net of sharing and unalienated work (including caring), we create an emancipatory vision, episodically enacted under conditions people do not control in their daily lives. In sum, it is not surprising that a complete translation of the *Notebooks* has yet to appear. The difficulties of translation are obvious, but they are insufficient to explain the 120-year silence. But Marx's characterization of class formation in state-dominated control of property might well explain the reluctance on the part of adherents to the Second International—the development of the productive forces advocates who parallel their modernization counterparts of the right—to hear the *Notebooks*' messages. Taken together, Marx's call for the empirical study of historically transformed tribute-based states and his notion of dialectical return give us a way of framing problems of class formation in postcolonial states in general, and now the neoliberal colonization of the former socialist bloc. The Cold War may have strangled almost all of the socialist experiments, but the kind of capitalist development, mafia and warlord activities, and fascist states it spawned in their wake require an appreciation of state-associated classes as a vehicle of accumulation.

Grass-roots movements throughout the world today that oppose the neoliberal policies of the post-Cold War are not for the most part linked to an explicit socialist agenda. What we can learn from the anti-militarist efforts of international feminist groups like those discussed in *Frontline Feminisms* (Waller and Rycenga, 2000), is a call for more or less egalitarian dynamics within groups pressing for sustainable and livable futures, the coordination of familial and community priorities with those oriented toward national and international claims, and the creative use of some traditions to inform practice and the subversion of other customary usage that has oppressive consequences.

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Notes

1 Ulysses Santamaria discusses Marx's notion of work as transformative activity, in contrast to labour, which was alienated (Santamaria, 1992). As such, it is much closer to the sense of work found in Richard Lee's discussions of foraging. Santamaria's careful treatment poses a powerful critique of the ways both socialist and capitalist proponents extol the virtues of labour productivity as social good. Feminists coming from Marxism as an intellectual home have eschewed the distinction of reproductive and productive labour as rendering what gets called "women's work" invisible (see, e.g., Hartman, 1992 [1981]; Sargent, 1986).

2 Indeed, Marx reserves accusations of stupidity and backwardness for those against whom he is arguing.

3 Loosely, "Lubbock makes a fool of himself without even realizing it" (my translation).

4 I do not read Greek, for instance, and perforce have skipped those passages.

5 The comment is made in a passage criticizing Maine, Austin, and Bentham:

[Maine ignores das viel Tiefere: dass d. scheinbare supreme selbstandige Existenz des *Staats* selbst nur *scheinbar* und dass er in allen Formen eine *excresence of society* is].

[Maine ignores the real difference: that the apparently paramount, autonomous existence of the *State* remains only an *appearance* and that it in all forms is an *excrescence of society*.] (my translation)

6 The initial demands of Solidarity were printed in the U.S. only in *Monthly Review* and the *Village Voice*. The demands at the outset were not anti-socialist, unless one considers demands consistent with communism to be anti-socialist. The global context of U.S. Cold War policies and the international lending apparatus that supported them played a decisive role in shaping the transformation of the movement.

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On the Politics of Being Jewish in a Multiracial State

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Abstract: The 1911 fire in the Triangle Shirtwaist factory is part of the cultural repertoire with which Jews in the U.S. constitute themselves. Its telling has changed greatly in the last 50 years. Recent tellings suggest that it is performing identity work in the constitution of a progressive Jewishness, in relationship to issues of race and gender. In particular, by portraying Jewish women's identities in ways that emphasize social justice activism as Jewish, these tellings also give men a platform from which to rethink the repertoire of alternatives of Jewish masculinity embedded in the old stories.

Keywords: Jews, political identity, historical memory, race, gender, class

Résumé : Le feu de 1911 dans la manufacture Triangle Shirtwaist fait partie du répertoire culturel à la base de la constitution de l'ethnicité juive aux États-Unis. Son message a beaucoup changé durant les cinquante dernières années. Des narrations récentes manifestent un travail sur l'identité dans le sens d'une définition progressiste de l'appartenance juive, du point de vue des questions de race et de genre. En particulier, en décrivant les identités des femmes juives de façon à ce que l'activisme en faveur de la justice sociale soit présenté comme juif, ces narrations fournissent un tremplin d'où on peut repenser le répertoire des alternatives à la masculinité juive inscrites dans les anciennes versions de la narration.

Mots-clés : Juifs, identité politique, mémoire historique, race, genre, classe

My offering to this volume honours a part of Richard Lee's commitment to social justice that we share as North American Jews. I want to consider a question we both have wrestled with as socially engaged scholars: What kind of Jewishness do Jews create when they pursue social justice as Jews in North America today?

When people come together to engage in collective political action, they also gather together to construct themselves as political agents. Part of this process involves analyzing the ways in which the particular uniting issue is important to each of them. This requires explaining the parts of one's social being or the social identities through which we make our most powerful connection to the issue. Often such connections are constructions of we-ness: racism or sexism is directed against us; homophobia hurts us, etc.

However, many who participate in various movements for social justice are not part of the obvious "we." Neither scholars nor activists any longer take ethnic identity for granted as monolithic or as a natural and primordial attachment. We are becoming increasingly self-conscious about issues of identity, memory and history. The fields most attentive to issues of social identities—ethnic studies, women's studies, lesbian and gay studies—have taken the lead in deconstructing the process of identity formation, its situationally specific dimensions, the struggles over constructions of "authenticity," and analyzing ways that they interpenetrate and constitute one another. Identity making involves more or less strategic selections, interpretations and deployments of shared stories and images in order to explain oneself to self and to others. I find Paul Kroskrity's (1993) concept of "repertoire of identities" a helpful way to think about identity making as an open process. By repertoire of identities he means the panoply of identities people are given and those they embrace, the full potential of resources they have for constructing social selves. The study then becomes one of understanding why people deploy the identities they do in any specific situation.

If constructing one's connection to an issue involves strategic construction of one's situational identities, then it is also the case that the ways participants construct their identities also shapes the way a political movement is framed and the directions it takes. For example, unions have a history of presenting their issues as class issues, ostensibly to unite workers across racial and gender lines. When non-White workers or women workers connect to such struggles, they are constrained not to deploy their racial identities and to identify through class. However, as Daniel Letwin (1995) and Mike Honey (1993) have shown for race, this meant that militant union priorities in the South were those of White workers. Strategies of identity construction were deeply implicated in struggles over issue construction. Here, a class construction of issues encouraged non-White workers to connect, but the racial specificity of the actual issues undercut that connection.

A focus on how participants who do not have a seemingly natural connection to the issue construct themselves politically can help unpack the reciprocal constitution of issues and actors. At issue here is how North American Jews, who are mainly coming from a position of class and racial privilege, construct themselves as political actors when they connect to today's movements for social justice that are centred on the priorities of low-income people of colour. To answer this question I will look at the story of the Triangle Fire and changes over the last two generations in the way it is told. My argument is that feminist tellings of the tale provide a bridge for Jewish women and men to construct their Jewishness as linking them "naturally" to struggles for social justice.

Jews have a long history of participation in progressive social movements, but quite often not as Jews. Naomi Seidman has given them a name, "vicarious Jews." By this she means Jews who enact their Jewish sense of "otherness," of being marginal and not of the mainstream in defense of the rights of others who've been othered, oppressed and marginalized. It's a long, noble Jewish tradition, she tells us, ranging from Freud and Marx to Jews in the U.S. Civil Rights movement, the feminist movement and queer theorists. Richard Lee's activism beginning in the 1960s against the Vietnam war, his work from the 1970s with anti-apartheid groups in solidarity with South Africa, and his work with the Innu of Labrador from the 1980s all make him a vicarious Jew in good standing.

Seidman argues that the reason for vicarious Jewishness, or Jewishness by other means, is that the discourse of ethnoracial politics in North America equates claims to ethnic identity with claims to racial and ethnic oppression. Jews who recognize this are understandably reluctant to present their activism as specifically Jewish. To do so, they fear, might lead others to think that they are claiming that they are oppressed because they are Jewish, or that they are claiming that discrimination against Jews in North America today is like discrimination against peoples of colour. Thus, Seidman (1998: 261) notes, "In the absence of a particularist Jewish political affiliation that could also satisfy the progressive universalist agenda with which Jewish politics has been historically linked, adopting the particularist position of another group paradoxically becomes a distinctively Jewish act."

The process of self-construction is social and performative as well as situational, so that it should be possible to look at other ways that progressive Jews may constitute their Jewishness. By what social performances do Jewish activists engage with Jewish politics? With non-Jewish activists? What do the ways Jewish activists construct themselves to each other and to others in their movement, tell us about their understandings of the movement and themselves?

Self-constructions of Jewish activists today need to be set against the backdrop of Jewish politics since the mid-1960s. Those politics, especially around Israel and around race in the United States, have become increasingly conservative, as has the public face of politics in the U.S. more generally. Most Jewish organizations that filed amicus briefs around Bakke and DeFunis in their cases against affirmative action policies at the University of California and Washington medical schools opposed affirmative action, while only two, the National Council of Jewish Women and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations filed in support of it (Greenberg, 1998: 72, 86). Caught between massive Jewish support for Israel from 1967 on, and the condemnation of "Zionism" as imperialism by activists of colour and third world activists, many Jews who, like Melanie Kaye/Kantrowitz (1996) opposed Israeli policies found themselves accused of being self-hating Jews by Jews, and racists by anti-imperialists of color for arguing that Israel had a right to exist. The social space for progressive Jewishness on these key issues was small in the 1970s, and no doubt produced a fair number of vicarious Jews (Brettschneider, 1996)). However, some Jews have struggled to articulate a progressive Jewish identity and to make space for it in the landscape of Jewishness. In recent years, that space has grown considerably larger, particularly with respect to race and racism, though it remains considerably less so with respect to Israel.[1] Today, however, grow-

ing numbers of North American Jews, Richard Lee among them, are speaking out for peace, for Israel to withdraw from the West Bank and Gaza, including the Jewish settlements, and for the establishment of a Palestinian state in those territories. In his keynote at the 2002 meetings of CASCA, Richard described Israel's systematic destruction of the infrastructure of Palestinian civil society, including its books and computers and the health and educational records they contained. He argued that willful destruction of a social infrastructure deserved to be considered a crime against humanity and for anthropologists to take that case.

In this paper I will discuss the ways North American Jews in the last decade have drawn upon a Jewish cultural heritage of collective memories—historical events, stories and images—to explain, justify, connect to or model specifically anti-racist and progressive Jewish identities. Peter Novick framed his inquiry into the Holocaust as a study of collective memory. He points out that collective memory and a historical consciousness are almost antithetical. The former expresses "some eternal or essential truth about the group—usually tragic. A memory once established, comes to define that eternal truth, and, along with it, an eternal identity, for the members of the group" (1999: 4). The collective memory of the Holocaust, as Novick shows in his book, remains a powerful organizer of a conservative Jewish identity and political performance.

Are there comparable collective memories that are shared among progressive and vicarious Jews—things by which they constitute, perform their political identities, things that at once distinguish them from and connect them to a larger palette of Jewishness? There are indeed and the story of the Triangle fire has resurfaced in recent years to perform this role. This is a story that is centred around a fire that broke out in the Triangle Shirtwaist factory on New York's Lower East Side in 1911. Many young women garment workers died from the fire or from jumping out of the windows to escape it. There were no fire escapes and the doors had been locked to prevent workers from leaving their machines. On a scale much smaller than recollections of the Holocaust, the story of the Triangle fire is a collective memory, a constituent part of many Jews' repertoire of identities. It performs identity work in its present feminist telling when it is deployed to make the claim that part of an eternal Jewish identity is progressive—or, to paraphrase Gloria Steinem, progressive is what Jewish looks like. The gendered version of this story is also part of a larger discourse of Jews as workers who suffered in sweatshops, built unions and fought for worker justice. This discourse is deployed to explain to non-Jews why American Jews, who are a pretty affluent bunch, have a "natural" solidarity with oppressed workers and with people who are racially oppressed. When American Jews perform this representation for themselves, it carries an additional prescriptive message—and therefore Jews "should" side with the oppressed.

This discourse is part of a larger conversation—often a debate—about the politics of being Jewish in a multiracial and racist society. By constructing the iconographic American Jewish subject as an oppressed woman worker, this discourse calls into question the ethnic authenticity of Jewish garment bosses, and by implication, challenges the icon of the upwardly mobile entrepreneurial Jew, and the Jews as model minorities. But it also sidesteps a confrontation with Jewish deployment of the Holocaust in support of conservative politics with respect to Israel. Jews fight it out in part with contrasting stories, contrasting representations and memories.

But not all stories and representations work equally well, and the sides are not equal—or even always clearly opposed. The struggle is a "war of position" in the sense that Gramsci used it to refer to the continual ideological struggle in which creating and deploying representations is part of a larger effort to transform a society's prevailing "common sense" into a revolutionary common sense. Images as images can be used in a variety of ways. But images have histories of use that limit the ways one can use them. For example, it is still possible to find a political mix of Jews, none of whom are working class, to identify with the image of Jewish garment workers, and to take political stands against present-day sweatshops that exploit Latina/o and Asian workers even when the bosses are Jews. But even Jews who support a Palestinian state cannot appeal to the image of homeless Holocaust survivors to persuade other Jews to support that goal (although that image may now be gaining some purchase). The Jewish worker image has long been a staple figure in progressive and socialist Jewish narratives. The homeless Holocaust survivor has already been integrated into powerful narratives in support of Israel as a Jewish state. The power of a collective representation lies largely in its ability to perform identity work—to evoke recognizable and positive forms of Jewishness—for a broader swath of American Jews than those ideologically committed to the position. It is the "work" the representation performs, or that a variety of Jews perform with it, that gives it its hegemonic position. Let me now turn to my argument that the work the feminist representation of Jewish garment workers

has been doing of late, at least in Los Angeles, has been to carve out space for progressive Jewishness for men as well as women.

The story of the 1911 fire in the Triangle Shirtwaist Company in New York City has always been an important part of my (admittedly small) personal repertoire of secular Jewish identity. Together with stories about feisty young women garment workers, I've carried it with me to explain to myself why I feel connected to progressive (in the sense of politically left leaning) causes, from the civil rights and anti-war movements in the 1960s and 1970s, to more diffuse feminist, racial and economic justice issues in the last decades.

The Triangle fire story has also loomed large in progressive and Jewish circles in Los Angeles in recent years. For example, in the mid-1990s, Jewish members of Common Threads, a women's group supporting garment worker organizing in Los Angeles, and The Jewish Committee Against Sweatshops in Los Angeles often invoked the Triangle image in a way which merged the fire with images of heroic young women garment workers and union organizing. For the latter group, that connection was especially important in its support of the Smithsonian's very controversial sweatshop exhibit hosted at the Los Angeles Museum of Tolerance. Interestingly, this was the only U.S. museum to house it as a visiting exhibition, although it did so very uncomfortably. In a similar vein, a 1998 Women's History month program by the Feminist Center of the American Jewish Congress made the Triangle fire its focus. Rose Friedman, then a 102-year-old survivor of the fire spoke. Other speakers, including me, linked it to ongoing sweatshop issues and to Jews' historic responsibility to continue fighting sweatshops now as we had when those sweatshop workers were Jews. And in 2000, the theatrical fundraiser for the Sholem community, a progressive community of secular Jews in Los Angeles, "Bread and Roses," was described as being about "one Jewish family's involvement in American labor history, including the tragedy of the 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist fire, union organizing and in the garment industry, and contemporary labor struggles" (Sholem flyer).

Since the late 1980s, there also has been something of a mini-flood of books about the Triangle fire. A far from extensive search turned up some 12 books on the subject published since 1961. Several of the authors report being told the story as children, or of survivors telling it to their children or grandchildren (Bogen, 1993: 13; Goldin, 1992: 54; Stein, 1961: 217-218). Although, beside Leon Stein's important book in 1961 and a children's story in 1971, the rest came after 1983, with seven since 1992.[2] Especially in the children's books and works of fiction that dominate the recent treatments, the heroines are feisty young women who tend to be unionists; and unions are portrayed sympathetically as workers' weapons against such tragedies (Baker, 2000; Goldin, 1992; Llewelyn, 1986: 10, 35, 48).

Embedded in these tellings is a moral lesson about American Jews' relationship to other ethnic groups in the United States: that Jews have an ethical responsibility to align themselves with the struggles of non-White peoples and peoples who are oppressed even though American Jews are not now numerous among the economically or ethnically oppressed. Jews as a people have an obligation to fight for social justice—or, this is what Jewish should look like.

This is not the same moral lesson I heard in the story when my mother and aunt told it to me in the early 1950s. The memory that sticks has my aunt Fannie or my mother taking me on a day out in the garment district in Manhattan—shopping, lunch at the Automat. They pointed out the Triangle Building to me and told me the story of the fire, the locked doors, the girls jumping and burned to death, the greed of the garment bosses; the indifference of the city authorities. It was a vivid story, as if they had been there, even though they were not. And either they showed me the wrong building or I confused the Flatiron Building at 23rd street with the Triangle fire. Nevertheless, the lesson I took away from this version is consistent with that of Leon Stein's 1961 book, that tragedy resulting from greed is the result of business left unchecked, and that poor Jews could not expect justice from the courts. Yet, despite the fact that Stein started as a garment cutter and went on to write for the ILGWU, there is remarkably little in his book about union struggles or heroic young women. This is consistent with John McClymer's observation (1998) that his documentary history was the first analysis to link fully the story of the Uprising of Twenty Thousand of 1909-10 with the story of the fire. It would appear then that the emphasis in the telling of this story has changed in the last several decades from one in which women are tragic victims of capitalist greed to one in which they are active fighters for social justice against that greed.

How do we account for the changes in the telling between the 1950s and the 1990s? And what is it about this story as it is presently told that makes it loom so large in the performance of progressive Jewishness? I suspect that the deployment of the linked stories of the Triangle fire and union justice are doing important identity work in constructing a progressive Jewish identity.

This work is done among Jews, and by Jews for a larger than Jewish audience. As an example of the former, at the formative meeting of Los Angeles' Progressive Jewish Alliance in 1999, Rabbi Steve Jacobs invoked the Triangle fire to indicate Jews' connection to other oppressed peoples and our continued moral responsibility to economic and social justice. Turning outward to an audience that was not Jewish, the Triangle fire was a prominent part of an occupational safety and health curriculum developed by progressive Jews, among others, in the Labor and Occupational Safety and Health program at UCLA for working-class African American and Latino high school students. In a Jewish context, the shared memory linked being Jewish to experiencing oppression and the "natural" or consequent obligation to fight alongside anyone being oppressed. In a non-Jewish context, the work of the image was to explain to others why Jews, who are perceived as a particularly well-off group in Los Angeles, are likely to side with those fighting oppression.

The progressive Jewish identity version of the Triangle fire story is also one answer to the "Jewish question" in post World War II America: How have Jews reconciled Jews' history of poverty and oppression with their present mainstream acceptance and affluence? What does it mean to be Jewish in a society that has accorded them the privileges formerly reserved for the white Protestant mainstream and allowed Jews extraordinary economic success in the last 50 years? I think of this tension as wrestling with whiteness, an issue of some importance in recent Jewish critical scholarship. But why should the working-classness of the Triangle fire story work for today's Jews to explain why Jews are (or should be) "naturally" progressive, especially about ethnoracial issues?

I suspect that it is the centrality of women in its telling today. More than victims, women are active subjects, fighters against their own oppression and that of others. Told this way, I believe the story makes a Jewish feminist bridge to other contemporary struggles. It is easy to understand why progressive Jewish women might embrace the identities presented in this story. Less obvious is what a story whose central characters are strong women does for the identities of Jewish men. To understand that we need to examine the background from which it emerged, namely the changing place of Jews in postwar America.

Gender and Wrestling with Whiteness

Postwar America was good for the Jews. As I've argued elsewhere (Brodkin 1998), institutionalized barriers fell in higher education, in many occupations, and in where Jews could live. Anti-Semitism fell from fashion (even as racism did not), and Jews were arguably embraced as among America's most visible and favourite ethnics. But postwar America was also deeply sexist. Its prosperity and opportunities were reserved for men. Women's prescribed access to the good life was through marriage.

Jews responded to this goodness in varied and complex ways. They seized them, but they also struggled to understand the meanings for their newfound success: Why us? How could one be simultaneously Jewish and mainstream American? In part because racial segregation in the United States remained legal and deeply institutionalized in practice, answers to the question of "why Jews," were racially charged, especially with regard to African Americans. And in part because white America in the 1950s and 1960s was deeply masculinist (more people probably actually lived "traditional" middle-class patriarchal domesticity than ever before or since), the mainstream offered very different things to Jewish men and Jewish women. The active subjects—those who spoke publicly and wrote, and those about whom they spoke—of Jewish attempts to understand the secrets of their success were men. Jewish women appeared in their relationship to Jewish men, seldom in their own right. When Jewish men pondered the causes and consequences of Jewish success, they pondered it as stories about the virtues of Jewish masculinity and the impact of worldly success on men. Even if what was good for Jewish men was supposed to be good for Jewish women, it was far from clear even to Jewish men what was good for them.

An important celebratory story was told by an influential cohort of Jewish public intellectuals, including Nathan Glazer, Norman Podhoretz, Daniel Bell and Irving Kristol. They updated and elaborated a theme in the American Jewish repertoire of identities, that Jews were better Americans than mainstream white Protestants. The version prevalent in the early 20th century stressed Jewish commitment to American ideals of democracy and social justice by pointing to Jews' anti-discrimination efforts in concert with African Americans (Diner, 1977). The version developed in the 1950s and 1960s created the concept of a model minority as an ethnic culture that has what it takes to help its members succeed in mainstream America, and Jews were it. In this case, purportedly Jewish traits of strong families, deferred gratification, hard work, and sticking together were deployed to explain—to Jews and non-Jews—the steep upward rise of Jewish educational and occupational attainments and Jewish income. Where the earlier

story of Jews-as-better-Americans highlighted Jews' cultural passion for democracy, this story emphasized the Weberian connection between the Protestant ethic and worldly success for both Jews and WASPs. The moral of both stories was to urge mainstream white Americans to embrace and emulate Jews as one of themselves. The particular irony of the post-World War II version was that it persuaded Jews and non-Jews alike that Jews were exemplary Protestants, and that Jewishness was an exemplary cultural way to be white Americans. However, the ways in which the newer celebratory story explained Jews' extraordinary success in comparison to African Americans—linking persistent African American poverty to an inferior culture rather than to persistent and institutionalized discrimination—set the stage for conflict between the two groups and for tension between Jews and other peoples of colour in the United States.

A different, less celebratory story that was deeply anxious about the negative consequences of upward mobility and patriarchal domesticity for Jewish masculinity was told by postwar Jewish writers like Phillip Roth and Herman Wouk. Were Jewish men losing their souls in the quest for material affluence and middle-class domesticity? By casting Jewish women as obstacles to Jewish men's ability to combine Jewish authenticity and mainstream affluence without pain, they ignited a gender war between Jewish women and Jewish men that continues to be a player in the construction of Jewish identities today.

Both the celebratory story and the anxious masculinist story (and the same writer might tell both stories) presented Jewish identities that were politically conservative by the racial and gendered standards of the late-1960s onward. To the extent that they were borne out in racially and gender conservative Jewish politics, they explained Jewishness in a conservative way and presented Jews to non-Jews in the same way.

The celebratory story and its invidious contrasts have been keystones of Jewish organizational conservatism, including that of opposition to affirmative action. This much bigger story is beyond my scope here. However, it is worth noting that the celebratory embrace and presentation of Jewish identity as prefiguratively white, Protestant middle class and model minority has been an impediment to understandings of Jewishness as progressive, especially when it comes to racial justice, by a non-Jewish, non-White public.

There was a gender issue as well. The virtues and rewards Jewish intellectuals claimed for themselves as good Jewish sons also depended also upon showing how similar Jewish culture was to 1950s white gender ideals. What were the ways in which Jewish identity was presented as specifically male? What baggage came with those presentations? If Jewish intellectuals and artists embraced the models of male success, they did so with a strong dose of ambivalence about the masculinity it entailed. Jewish men's ambivalence revolved around the promise and the reality of patriarchal domesticity upon which so much of 1950s white masculinity depended. Norman Podhoretz analyzed the ways his childhood construction of African American men was implicated in his anxiety and ambivalence toward his own white Jewish manhood. Even as he appreciated his good grades and his mother's solicitousness, he wished he had the tough, independent masculinity of the bad black boys and feared being called a sissy.

Riv Ellen Prell has insightfully unpacked male ambivalence in Jewish fiction as being about the rebellions of Jewish sons against the second-generation hard-working, middle-class breadwinning domestic Jewish life. Both Prell and Paula Hyman have analyzed Jewish fiction to show how Jewish men expressed their ambivalence about mainstream masculinity by projecting their anxieties onto Jewish women. In these works, Jewish women appear inadequate as women because they refuse to be self-denying mothers and deferential helpmeets. Jewish women are presented as stereotypic mothers who henpecked their husbands, made their sons neurotic. Somewhat later, they became Jewish American Princesses (JAPs), defective lovers and wives who forsook Jewishness and sensuality for unfettered materialism—the crasser the better. They are also distinctly less up to the task than Jewish men of gracefully managing to combine an authentic Jewish soul with mainstream prosperity. The subtext here is that were it not for the inadequacies of their mothers and wives, Jewish men would have it all. Hyman argues that although the tension around assimilation was not new, its particular gendering was a postwar product. As part of their responsibility for preserving Jewish culture, Jewish mothers were supposed to make sure their sons became nice Jewish boys and married nice Jewish girls. But some boys didn't want to be so nice and Jewish, and some even aspired to non-Jewish trophy wives as visible and seductive symbols of their masculinity and their success in entering the white mainstream. Prell argues that Jewish American princesses (JAPs) are Jewish men's projective nightmares about their own whiteness. Where Jewish mothers hovered and smothered and guilt-tripped their sons into forsaking the hard-earned pleasures of white mid-

dle-class masculine materialism, JAPs were the metastasizing cancer of that materialism. Perhaps they emerged a decade or two later because they reflected anxieties that came from several decades of life in mainstream consumer culture.

For Jewish women the mainstream was even more of a mixed blessing than it was for men, since the rewards and their identities were contingent mainly upon their relationships with Jewish men. Regardless of how Jewish women felt at the time about the ways they were portrayed, their available responses were limited. Before the women's movement came along, feminist perspectives that asserted a woman's right to personhood over and above her relationship to fathers, husbands and sons were not readily available. Absent the concept of a woman's entitlement to an identity in her own right, Jewish women had no social place from which to effectively critique Jewish misogyny. Instead they were constrained to talking back from within a male-centred framework. Thus, Zena Smith Blau (1969) defended Jewish mothers against negative stereotyping by inverting the stereotype: Yes, Jewish mothers controlled their sons through love and guilt; yes, this might make them neurotic, but Jewish motherly control was also responsible for teaching the Jewish virtues that made Jewish men so successful. Betty Friedan, author of the 1963 classic, *The Feminist Mystique*, from which the rebirth of the feminist movement is often dated, was among the few women who did have access to feminist ideas in the 1950s. As a labour journalist for the United Electrical Workers, she knew about left labour ideas and struggles for equal pay for equal work for women. But she wrote as a white middle-class suburban woman, not as a radical, not as a Jew. For her no more than for Blau was there a Jewish place to stand in which to engage Jewish misogyny. The anger and the desire to speak out is still there. When I spoke to a largely community audience at San Diego State University's Jewish Studies Program in 1999, women in their seventies still spoke angrily of Philip Roth's "male chauvinism," suggesting the longevity of the Jewish gender wars.

These linked stories, the celebratory and the anxious, are still with us. But the political context within which Jews are constructing their identities has changed. On the one hand, the celebratory story of Jews as model minorities has had by now a long association with conservative Jewish social politics, particularly around race. Peter Novick has argued that the story of the Holocaust and its "lessons" came to be used within this political field by conservative Jewish organizations to be players in a discourse of victim politics, and to legitimate their opposition to such "special treatment" efforts. The power of the Holocaust together with the almost canonical status of the Jewish success story scaffolded a hegemonic sense of Jewish identity that was fairly conservative and which left little space for American Jews to advance alternative politics as specifically Jewish politics, especially about race.

On the other hand, the feminist movement opened up a conceptual and discursive space for Jewish women to critique the male dominance of post-World War II Jewishness, and from there, to rethink Jewish identity more generally. Although Jewish women arguably have been overrepresented among feminists, specifically Jewish feminism has been a long time coming. It has only flowered in the last decade. Jewish feminist scholars, nurtured in Women's Studies programs and feminist committees of their professional associations through the 1970s, produced powerful critiques of postwar Jewish stories and identities in the 1980s and 1990s. They have also begun to recover and rethink the past to develop alternative stories that underpin new identities for Jewish women. Their work is restoring working-class Jewish women's personhood, agency and sexuality. It shows their central roles in Jewish community, leftist and labour politics, as well as the historical persistence of Jewish women's voices and agency in popular culture. In the process they also have produced analyses that rehistoricize American Jewish culture. By so doing, they challenge the ahistorical "lessons" embedded in the old stories. They show us Jewish identities of the past that did not conform to the timeless ones presented in the Jewish stories of the 1950s and 1960s, and they help us to understand how and why the palette of Jewish identities has changed (among others, see Antler, 1995; 1998; Ewen, 1985; Hyman, 1980; 1995; Kessler-Harris, 1976; 1979; 1982; Moore, 1981; 1992; 1994; Orleck, 1995; Prell, 1993; 1996; 1999; Simon, 1982)

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The new telling of the Triangle fire story embodies these feminist critiques, and by so doing may well be performing identity work about Jewishness in relation to the wider world, as well as about its constructions of womanhood and manhood. With respect to identity work around gender, the telling presents an alternative range of Jewish womanly virtues like assertiveness, dreams of personhood, sensuality, political entrepreneurship, left activism and political theorizing that figure most positively. As Susannah Heschel (1998: 113) has argued, Jewish women have a particular vantage

point—as a minority within a minority. Where Jewish men may well have an outsider sensibility, it is largely one of memory; but for Jewish women, their second-class gender status within the Jewish community provides them with a lived outsider vision that helps to animate a progressive politics. By opening up Jewish women's identities in ways that emphasize social justice activism as Jewish, these tellings also give men a platform from which to rethink the repertoire of alternatives of Jewish masculinity embedded in the old stories—hardworking materialist and paterfamilias or personally rebellious and somewhat irresponsible luftmensch. Neither the nice Jewish boy nor the luftmensch is an identity for changing an imperfect world. The representations and discourses of Jewishness surrounding the Holocaust and Israel present another range of masculinities. The discourse and politics of "never again" plays off anti-Semitic stereotypes of effeminized Jewish men, and docile, timid Jews being herded to the gas chamber, the ultimate victim, the ultimate non-agent. The conservative discourse of "never again" organizes a wide swath of Jews around its message of military strength and evocation of the old counter-representation of muscular and male Zionism in the service of righteousness (or self-righteousness). Until the growth of the Refusenick movement of military reservists in Israel, this story was too fully occupied by the Jewish right to have room for a progressive Jewish masculinity to retell the story. However, Jewish feminists' reinterpretations of particular pasts have made progressive social activist identities visible and again available. As such, the Triangle fire story may serve as a place for Jewish men as well as women to rethink the relationship of Jewishness to contemporary North American society. All these stories or collective memories are part of a larger dialogue within the Jewish community about the meaning of being Jewish today, about the nature of our connections, contradictions and affiliations, about our commitment to social stasis or social transformation. In that dialogue, I suggest, stories and how they are told are part of the repertoire with which we think, that we deploy sometimes strategically, sometimes unselfconsciously. They are cultural tools, the dramatic repertoire of argument and display for reshaping Jewishness to adapt to changing times and changing politics.

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Notes

1 Nevertheless, there were Jews who struggled to create a place within Jewishness to develop alternatives to the right-wing positions on Israel promoted by much of the Jewish organizational lobby and to make a place for Jewishness as anti-racist in the wider society. On the early 1970s Porter and Dreier 1973. More recently there has been much more critical Jewish scholarship on race and racism, and a rise in progressive and anti-racist Jewish activism. A few examples include works by Melanie Kaye/Kantrowitz (1996), Marla Brettschneider (1996 a, 1996b), Adams and Bracey, 1999; Satzman, Back and Sorin, 1992; Kleeblatt, 1996; Jonathan Boyarin, David Biale et al.

2 A good bibliography of garment worker unionization and the Triangle fire can be found in McClymer, 1998; 173-178. I thank Deborah Dash Moore for suggesting that I look at children's books on the fire. I conducted an on-line book search by subject and title words in OCLC, the University of California libraries, Santa Monica and Los Angeles Public libraries, and Amazon.com. Of 12 books, half were children's, five of the six published since 1989; the sixth in 1971. Two were fictional and two were poetry, leaving only two scholarly studies of the fire, one published in 1961, the other in 1998.

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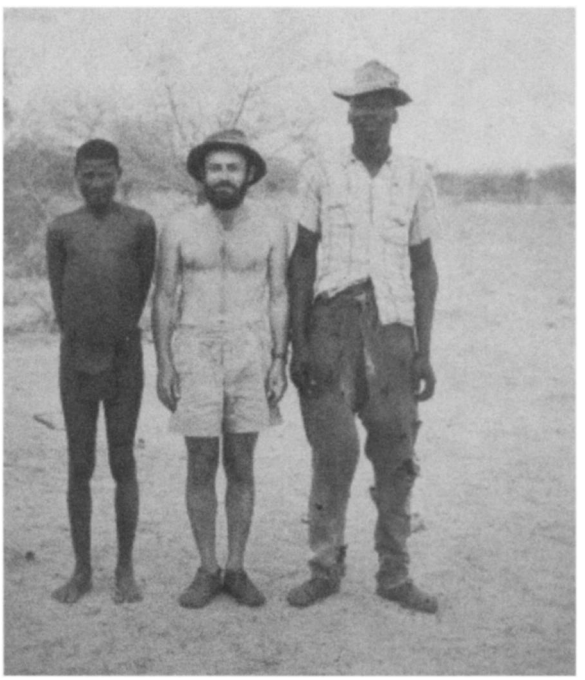

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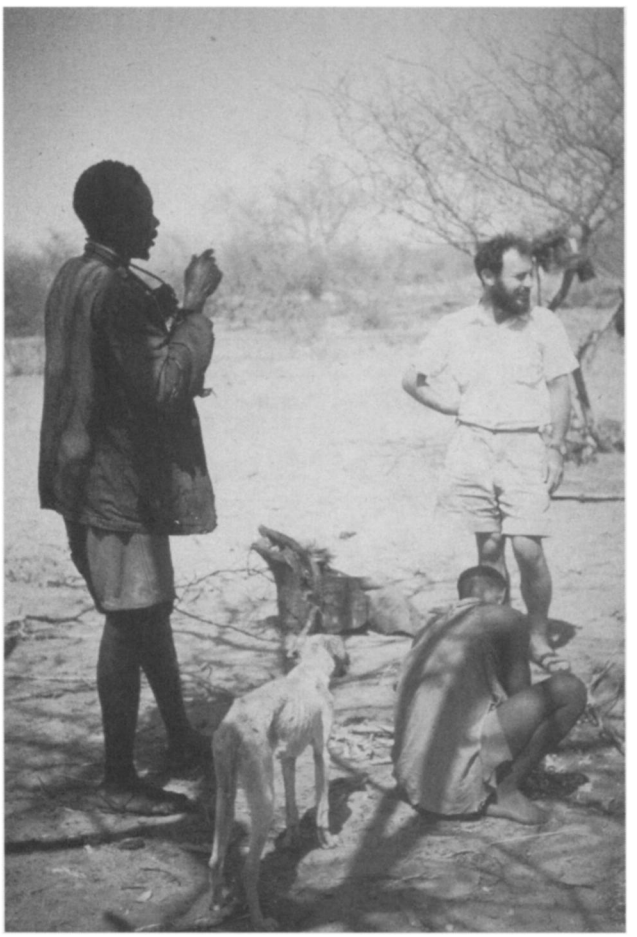

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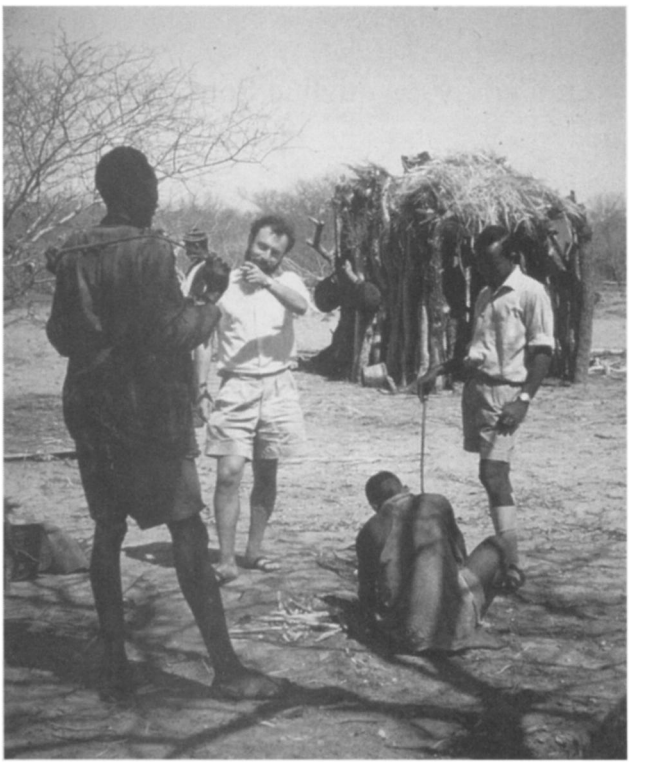

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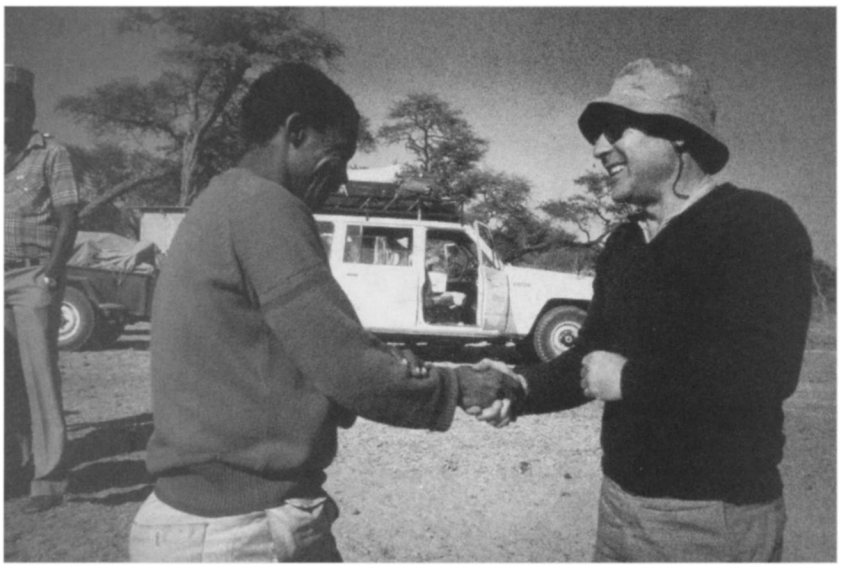

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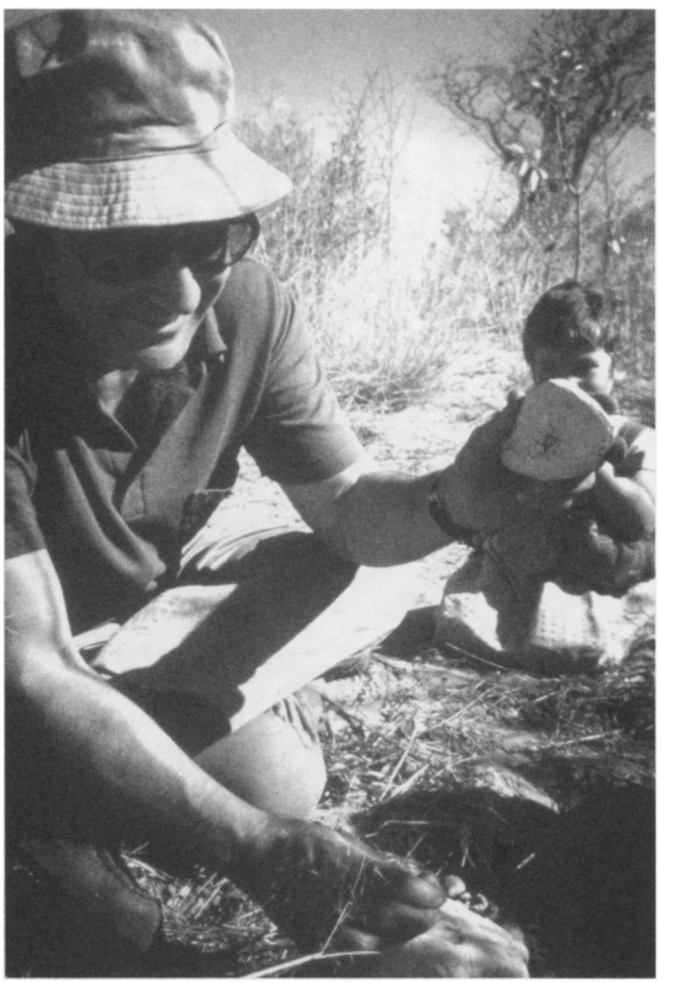

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The Lion/Bushman Relationship in Nyae Nyae in the 1950s: A Relationship Crafted in the Old Way

Elizabeth Marshall Thomas

Abstract: This paper concerns the relationship of the hunter-gatherer people of the Kalahari Desert, the Ju/wa Bushmen or Ju/wasi, to some of the predators who also lived there, the lions. The observations derive from work done in the Nyae Nyae area of the Kalahari between 1951 and 1990, but mostly between 1951 and 1956, during which time I personally was in Nyae Nyae for about 26 months. Other members of our group were there much longer. No seasonal variation in the human-predator relationship was observed.

Keywords: hunter-gatherer, Bushmen, lion, predator, ecology, hunting

Résumé : Cet article traite des relations que les chasseurs-cueilleurs du désert Kalahari, les Bochimans Ju/wa ou Ju/wasi, entretiennent avec les prédateurs qui qui vivent là, les lions. Les données proviennent d'observations faites dans la région de Nyae Nyae du Kalahari entre 1951 et 1990, mais surtout entre 1951 et 1956, période où je suis restée au Nyae Nyae durant 26 mois. D'autres membres de notre groupe y sont demeurés beaucoup plus longtemps. Nous n'avons observé aucune variation saisonnière dans les relations humain-prédateur.

Mots-clés : Chasseurs-cueilleurs, Bushmen, lion, prédateur, écologie, chasse

This paper concerns the relationship of the hunter-gatherer people of the Kalahari Desert, the Ju/wa[1] Bushmen or Ju/wasi, to some of the predators who also lived there, the lions. The observations derive from work done in the Nyae Nyae area of the Kalahari between 1951 and 1990, but mostly between 1951 and 1956, during which time I personally was in Nyae Nyae for about 26 months. Other members of our group were there much longer. No seasonal variation in the human-predator relationship was observed. The observations herein are mine unless otherwise noted.[2]

In the 1950s, as a member of the Peabody Harvard Southwest Africa Expeditions, I was privileged to observe certain groups of Bushmen including the Ju/wasi of Nyae Nyae as these people interfaced with the local population of lions. I had never before lived among either Bushmen or wild lions, and, taking the behaviour of both for granted, I assumed that it typified such behaviour everywhere.

Because the people had no protection against lions, I assumed that none was needed. The people slept on the ground, without fences or walls or large, intimidating fires, surely as our ancestors had slept ever since they moved from the forests to the savannah. If lions came to the Bushman camps at night, the people would stand up and would sometimes shake burning branches at the lions. Also they would speak to them loudly in steady, commanding tones, telling them to leave.[3] On most occasions that we observed nocturnal visits by lions, the lions stayed around for a short time, but soon enough they faded into the darkness beyond the firelight and then left, as requested.[4]

Nor did people take special precautions against lions when walking in the bush, other than to pay attention to their surroundings, as the Bushmen do anyway. If the people came upon a lion while travelling, they would move slowly away at an oblique angle, and continue unmolested, on their way. The technique of moving slowly away at an oblique angle was not confined to peo-

ple. On one occasion, a lion whom we encountered moved away from us in that manner—slowly, at an oblique angle.

In contrast to lions, leopards posed a real danger to people. Although during the 1950s none of the people among whom we worked was killed by an animal (although someone was seriously bitten by a poisonous snake) later on in the 1980s I learned of several people killed by leopards, and was present when a leopard attempted a nocturnal raid on a Bushman encampment, presumably with a dog or a person in mind as a victim. Even so, the people seemed to have no special feelings for leopards, treating them as a dangerous nuisance, but meanwhile respected lions more than any other animal, even according to lions some of the same attributes that were accorded to the //gauasi, the spirits of the dead. As during trance-dances, trancing people would confront the //gauasi, so too would they confront lions, running out into the darkness while in trance for the purpose of encountering lions whom they would then vilify verbally. It was my very strong impression that on these occasions lions were not actually present, or not very often, but were believed to be aware of the trancers, just the same.

However, although the Bushmen treated lions as they treated no other animal, they also manifested so little actual, visible fear of them that they would sometimes take their kills. I witnessed one such occasion; when attracted by vultures sitting in a tree, a group of four Bushman hunters went to investigate, and found the red bones of a lions' kill (a hartebeest) lying near some bushes. They looked around for a minute or two. The lions were resting in the bushes, and didn't seem to notice the hunters, so after brief consideration, despite the fact that the vultures were still in the tree, presumably in fear of the lions, the hunters simply walked up to the carcass and took it in an unhurried, deliberate manner.

In another instance, Bushman hunters had shot a wildebeest with a poisoned arrow and were tracking him, but when they finally caught up to him, he was so consumed by the poison that he was lying down. However, a large pride of about 30 lionesses and a black-maned lion had found him first. Although the wildebeest could still toss his horns, some of the lionesses were starting to close in on him, watched by the others, including the lion, who stayed in the background. Seeing all this, the Bushmen approached the nearest two lionesses cautiously, and very gently eased them away by speaking respectfully, saying "Old Ones, this meat is ours," and tossing lumps of dirt so that the lumps landed in front of the lionesses without hitting them. The two lionesses didn't seem happy about this, and one of them growled, but amazingly, both of them averted their eyes, and turning their faces sideways, they soon moved back into the bushes. Eventually they turned tail and bounded off. Soon, the other lions followed them, and the Bushmen killed and butchered the wildebeest. (When 20 years later I naively tried the dirt-throwing technique to try to move an Etosha Park lioness, she stared at me with real hostility, and then, far from turning her face appeasingly, she charged me.)

In later years, John Marshall and Claire Ritchie (1984) made a survey of causes of death among the Bushmen—a survey that covered about 100 years and took in about 1500 deaths. Of those, only two could definitely be attributed to lions, and one was a paraplegic girl who, because she moved by dragging herself in a seated position, was probably in extra danger.[5]

All lion populations are not the same in their treatment of our species. On the contrary, in many areas near Nyae Nyae, including Etosha National Park, the lions indulge in occasional, opportunistic man-eating (several years ago, a German tourist became the victim of two lions who found him asleep on the ground near the tourist centre). According to the Etosha Park authorities, the man-eating habits of the Etosha lions discouraged SWAPO guerrillas from entering Namibia through the park. In contrast, the lions of northern Uganda, terrorized by the Ugandan army, took pains to avoid people at all costs, to the point that they were seldom seen and were virtually never heard roaring. What then was the secret of the Bushmen and the Bushmanland lions, in their relatively pleasant relationship which might best be characterized as a truce?

Perhaps the single most important factor in this relationship was that like all the other animals present, the Bushmen lived entirely from the savannah, without fabric or manufactured items except that they were slowly replacing their bone arrowheads with arrowheads made of wire, which while being a change of material, was not a change in technology, as the form of the arrows and the ways of using them remained the same. The people had no domestic plants or animals, including cattle and dogs. The importance of this cannot be overstated, as it kept the people on a more equal footing with other species. When in later years these very people acquired cattle and dogs, the relationship with lions changed markedly, as might be expected. The lions were seen, often rightly, as threats to the cattle, and the dogs did their best to keep predators of all species far away from the villages. The people were no longer what they had once been—one of many species of mammal of the

African plain—but were an entity apart, complete with animal slaves and agricultural interests, all of which put them in direct conflict with many kinds of wild animals, but especially with the large predators.

But in the 1950s (perhaps not surprisingly, since both the people and the lions were mid-to-large-sized social animals and also hunters) the people and the lions had certain similarities, beginning with land use and group size. Bushmen grouped themselves into bands that numbered about 15 to 25 people above the age of infancy (averaging maybe 22 or 23 people) These would be the people who lived together in one place at any given time, although they would have considered themselves as members of a much larger unit (in one part of Nyae Nyae, the larger unit consisted of approximately 150 people) spread over a large area. The concepts of territorial rights as visualized by the Bushmen have been dealt with comprehensively elsewhere—suffice it to say at this juncture that these people believed themselves to control the area in human terms, so that residence rights were enjoyed by some, the "owners," but not by just anybody. On rare occasions—during droughts, for instance, when a few deep, permanent waterholes were the only source of water—large groups of people would assemble, yet all these people would have the right to be there, the right having been acquired through kinship or marriage.[6]

In Nyae Nyae, many of the people we knew were living in places to which women had the primary birthrights, or *n!ore*. For example, the *n!ore* for a certain permanent waterhole and the surrounding land with its hunting and gathering potentials pertained to an elderly widow, her two married daughters and their children, her married granddaughter, her two adult nieces (the daughters of her husband's deceased sister) and the children of these women, including the elderly widow's unmarried adolescent son. The women's husbands also had every right to live at this waterhole and were of course among the most important members of the group, but their *n!ore* was not for the same area. Their *n!ores* (pardon the anglicized plural) were for other places, which they had left to join their wives. Similarly, the elderly widow's older son did not live at this particular site, nor did her nephew—the brother of her two nieces—although these men would, like their mothers and sisters, have held the *n!ore*. These men, both adults, lived elsewhere with their wives.[7]

The lions would have had a somewhat similar arrangement. Certain aspects of lion society, not understood in the 1950s, are widely known today, such as the fact that a lion territory is held by a pride of lionesses, a pride which might be composed of related females—mothers and daughters, sisters, aunts and nieces. This seemed not unlike the human arrangement. The males of the pride also bore a certain similarity to the human hunter/gatherer males—the young males, the sons and brothers of the pride members, stay with the pride until they reach maturity, at which time they disperse to find females of their own, while any adult males who may be present are not related to any of the pride members (except to any cubs they may have fathered), but have come from elsewhere to live among the females and to help defend the territory from rivals. (Here the similarity with people ends, as the male lions of a pride can expect eventually to be ousted by other males, who battle with them for the company of the lionesses. The winning males take over the females and their territory, sometimes killing the infants of the defeated rivals. The people of course do nothing of the kind.)

In Nyae Nyae during the 1950s, lions were normally seen in groups of five or six, but in the place we knew best, the area around Gautscha Pan, approximately 30 lions evidently owned the area with respect to other lions, and on what seemed to us like rare occasions (such as the time, mentioned earlier, that the lions tried to take the hunters' wildebeest) this group of 30 would assemble in one place. No human being knew why this group of lions assembled when it did—but even when the group seemed to be scattered, the individuals appeared to keep in touch by calling and answering as they moved about at night. If strange lions had tried to occupy the territory, the resident lions almost certainly would have tried to drive them off.

Water was probably the single most important of the territorial requirements for both the people and the lions, and probably it was the water that held the people and the lions to their places. Unlike many other animals (most savannah antelopes, for instance, are water-independent) both people and lions need water to cool themselves so a water source is especially important in a hot, dry climate. However, both species can and do live without actually drinking water, as each can get liquid from other sources—a certain wild melon, the rumen of antelopes, watery roots, and the like. But if people or lions are to get their liquid from such other sources, their groups must be significantly smaller. Lions living without water per se usually live singly or at most as a pair. The only group of people we encountered who were living without water numbered only 11, about half the size of an optimal group. However, both lions and people, being social, vastly prefer the so-called optimal group-size. They have several likely reasons for this—both

species practice a certain of division of labour, including team hunting, co-operative foraging and co-operative child care. Territorial defense is also undertaken as a group activity, whereby conspecifics are repelled, probably more frequently in the case of lions, but there are historical instances where Bushmen drove off or tried to drive off strangers whom they perceived as intruders.

Lions and people preferred group life to solitary life, so in the Nyae Nyae area both species formed groups roughly similar in size. But not in number. A residential group of Bushmen would be larger in number than a residential group of lions, but more or less the same in mass. Counting everyone except nursing babies, I estimate the average weight of an individual in a group of Bushmen to be about 80 lbs., and the average weight of a lion at about 300 lbs., or in other words, taken together, each group might weigh about 2 000 lbs. And this probably pertains to the meat requirement (if not, in the case of the Bushmen, to the total food requirement) in that a meat meal big enough to satisfy a group of Bushmen would equally well satisfy a group of lions.

Probably for that reason, the hunting preferences of both species appeared to be closely related to group size. Both species hunted the same prey, with strong preference for the larger antelopes. Both species hunted in a very similar manner, the primary method being to stalk the prey, then strike. A few Bushman hunters were also able to course game—one man in particular could and often would run down an antelope, travelling very long distances just as African hunting dogs would do—yet as far as the Bushmen were concerned, stalking an animal cat-style, getting as close as possible, then shooting it with a poisoned arrow, was by far the most common method of hunting. And just as the bow hunters needed to be fairly close to the victim, so did the lions, who struck by making a short dash of lightning speed, then leaping on the victim. Not having to course the victim, gaining no special benefit from poor physical condition on the part of the victim, neither the lions nor the human hunters made a point of selecting sick, old, or weak animals as prey. For a bow-hunter, the closer the target, the better, and for a cat, (because cats get out of breath very quickly) the shorter the rush the better. Therefore, all else being equal, when stalking herd animals as potential prey, both kinds of hunters tended to select the nearest animal as victim. And the distance that a lion can effectively rush is about the same as a bow-shot.

How can two species who are so very similar, and with such similar needs, habits and methods, drink from the same waterhole and lay claim to the same territory without coming into conflict? The answer is that they lived in a manner that could sustain a truce, keeping to certain lifestyle patterns, probably quite consciously. Most notably, they used the same area at different times of day, spreading out all over the area to forage for roughly 12 hours, and then retreating to a very small, restricted area to rest for 12 hours. Because Nyae Nyae was at about 20 degrees south latitude, days and nights were about the same length, without pronounced seasonal variation. Thus, throughout the year, both species had equal time to forage. The people used the hours of daylight, and the lions used the night .

I think it safe to assume that the arrangement was intentional by both parties. It's true that people tend to be diurnal, and the Bushmen of course were no exception—they needed daylight to forage, but they virtually never went about at night for any reason, by which they were different from people in many other African communities who go about at night regularly despite lions and snakes.

As for the lions, we erroneously think of them as nocturnal. If they are, it is usually because their hunting lands have poor cover. Then, lions must hunt at night, and if the grass is very short they must hunt when the moon is down. But in the Gautscha area, the cover was such that the lions could have been active by day if they chose, just as some lions are elsewhere—in the nearby Etosha Park, for example—and also in other game parks, where lions often hunt by day. We never saw daylight hunting by lions in Nyae Nyae. In fact, although we ranged almost continuously on foot and in vehicles throughout most of Nyae Nyae where we frequently saw all the other fauna of that vast and pristine wilderness, we hardly ever saw lions in the daytime.

In any situation where animals avoid people, or where dangerous animals decline to attack or eat people, we assume that human technology is responsible. Fire and weapons, we think, will keep wild animals at bay. Not so. The Kalahari animals evolved in the presence of fires and are no more afraid of them than we are, and for an excellent reason—in the low-density growth that covers a savannah, wildfires don't get very hot and are not very dangerous. Midsize to large mammals pay little attention to them, and step casually over the flames if the fire comes near.

Even so, it is often said that campfires discourage lions and other predators. And indeed, the Bushmen attributed much importance to nighttime fires, and tried every day to gather enough fuel to last the night—something that the people did very purposefully and specifically. One of the stars was known as the Firewood Star, which, when it rose, would indicate whether or not a fuel

supply was adequate. But the role of campfires in discouraging predators was mainly to cast light. If predators came, their firelit eyeshine would betray them, and the people could immediately take precautionary steps, one of which was to build up the campfires to cast even more light so that the people could spot all the predators, not just the nearest, but any that might be lurking in the background too, and hopefully could see what all of them were up to. Sometimes, as has been said earlier, the people shook burning branches at visiting lions, but this was not so much a threat, not so much to say, "See this? I'll hit you with it," than it was a device to make the bearer seem more formidable. Virtually all other mammals, also many birds and reptiles, do something similar, such as raising the hair or otherwise puffing up to appear larger.

I believe there to be yet another reason why nighttime fires might have helped the people to avoid conflicts with predators. If the fires revealed the animals to the people, they also revealed the people to the animals. This could be very helpful to animals passing through the wide area near a camp that would be impregnated with human odour which the wind would be carrying in all directions. Odour, while giving much information in great detail, would not usually be as specific as a sharp visual impression. Hence a campfire, visible from a distance, would be more reliable than odours. Any animal who wished to mind its own business and not get mixed up with our dangerous species needed only to keep away from the firelight.

As for the weapons, the Bushmen essentially didn't have any. In places such as East Africa, pastoralists used to carry 10 foot spears and body-length shields to use against lions, but the Bushmen carried spears that were less than four feet long, perfectly adequate for their intended use—dispatching a wounded antelope who would not fight back—but very risky to use against a lion, because a Bushman's spear was about the same length as a lion's reach. A hunter could throw his spear from a distance but then what? Unless he dropped the lion instantly—not an easy thing to do—his spear would be gone, and right in front of him would be an angry, wounded lion.

Then there were the Bushman arrows, poisoned with one of the deadliest poisons ever known to humankind. A lion or anyone else shot with a poison arrow would most certainly die. Not from the arrow itself, which is basically a little dart, and is too small and lightweight to cause serious injury.[8] The poison is the lethal factor, but the process is slow—one to four days, more or less, largely depending on the size of the victim—during which time the injured party could inflict a tremendous amount of damage on its tormentors. It is hard to imagine a worse scenario than a group of relatively defenseless people, without tall trees to climb, without protective clothing, without strong shelters to get into, without shields, without guns, without long spears, trying to cope with a wounded lion for, say, 12 to 48 hours.

Bushman spears and poison arrows were surely not designed as weapons. Yes, they have been used as weapons, but so have pitchforks in the hands of embattled farmers. The Bushmen spears and poisoned arrows are essentially hunting tools, for which they are as elegant as they are perfect. As weapons, they are second rate at best, no good for launching an attack or dispatching any enemy quickly.

They are a deterrent, however, and a powerful one. One drop of poison in the blood is certain death—there is no antidote. A poison arrow says, as clearly as a hydrogen bomb, don't mess with me or you'll regret it. Perhaps this explains why, unlike so very many peoples, African and otherwise, the Bushmen had no shields, or any other item that could serve as a shield. In contrast to some of the East African pastoralists, for instance, who kept different kinds of spears and shields for different kinds of agonistic encounters (human or animal, alienated kinsmen or enemy tribesmen) the Bushmen preferred to conduct themselves in such a way that they didn't need combat weapons. Their even-tempered manner and their phenomenal deterrent were enough. Many other animals behave similarly. Most animals, particularly the carnivores, practice all sorts of maneuvers to divert and allay aggression from conspecifics, and even from other species. And in fact, the Bushmen spent much of their time and energy in peace-keeping, with an emphasis on sharing—all to keep a lid on things.

In the 1950s, the Bushman/lion truce existed only in the interior of Nyae Nyae. It exists no longer, and even in those days it did not exist at the surrounding cattle posts such as Cho//ana and /Kai /Kai, where lions hunted the cattle and where people hunted the lions, or on the South African farmlands, or in most game parks. The truce existed only under certain conditions, and these were: a hunter/gatherer people with a technology so stable that the hunter/gatherers were integrated with the other resident populations (the Kalahari animals seemed to know the charge distance of a lion or the flight distance of an arrow, for instance, but they did not know the range of a bullet, hence they fell easy prey to anybody with a rifle) and also that the people were without domestic animals. Cattle seriously interfere with

indigenous populations of water-independent antelope, thus decreasing the lions' food supply, so that sooner or later, resident lions are almost forced to prey on cattle, which invariably puts an end to any human/animal truce. The truce also requires a lion population of high stability, where the behavioural response to human beings—a response that is handed down from generation to generation in lions and is not innate or genetically programmed—can be maintained. Many animals, lions among them, learn certain responses by watching their elders, but for this to happen the teaching tool—in this case, the hunter/gatherers—must of course be physically present. In nearby Etosha Park, the human hunter/gatherers had been assiduously removed, so that a generation of lions grew up without ever experiencing human beings except for the park rangers and the tourists in their cars. The Etosha lions were incredibly dangerous. Not knowing just what you were, they would go to great pains to find out, so that in certain areas of the park they seemed to be always sneaking around behind you, trying to catch you. Mainly because of the lions, all persons not associated with the park management were absolutely prohibited from leaving their cars, in contrast to the people of Nyae Nyae who, for as long as anyone could remember, perhaps for as long as human beings had lived on the savannah, lived in continuous association with lions but walked everywhere freely, and at night slept on the ground.

In Nyae Nyae in the 1950s, the lions knew about people. The people knew about lions. Their relationship was stable, as are those of many other species, and seemed to have endured indefinitely, perhaps for many thousands of years.

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Notes

1 A word with many spellings—also Zhu/hwa, Ju/hoan, Zhu/hoan, and many more. Ju/wa is singular, Ju/wasi is plural. Some but not all of the people discussed here were Ju/wasi, so I include the terms Bushman and Bushmen, especially when implications go beyond any specific group.

2 The observations are drawn from my field notes and supported by photographs and films take by other members of our group. This paper is more or less a condensed version of Thomas (1990, 1994). I hope eventually to present the material in still greater detail in a book now in preparation, to be called *The Old Way.*

3 This, incidentally, is the recommended method for dealing with mountain lions in places such as the state parks and national forests in Colorado, where hikers may encounter mountain lions on the trails. One is advised to stand up (but never to squat or sit down) to make oneself look bigger by raising one's arms and if possible by holding aloft one's coat or camera, and to speak in a deep, commanding tone. The technique differs from the Bushmen's only in that the Colorado hikers are advised to say, "Bad cat! Bad cat!" whereas the Bushmen would address the lions respectfully, saying, "Old Lions, we respect you, but now you must go."

4 One night, however, a single lioness positioned herself between our camp and the Bushmen's camp (the two camps were about 50 feet apart) and stayed for about half an hour, roaring loudly and continuously at us all. No one knew what she wanted, so everyone kept still, awaiting developments. Eventually this lioness also left.

5 Additional lion-related incidents were mentioned in Marshall and Ritchie (1984). For example, they note that a man was killed by lions in 1980 (long after the Bushman/lion truce had come to an end). They also note a man who was mauled by a lion, supposedly in 1929, and two people who disappeared in the bush and were assumed, whether rightly or wrongly, to have been eaten by lions.

6 A detailed account of these people's territorial rights is offered in L. Marshall (1976: 71-79, 184-187).

7 N!ore is explained extensively in L. Marshall (1976: 184-187).

8 A Bushman arrow weighs about 1/4 oz and is shot from a bow with about a 25 lb. pull. To kill a deer-sized animal with an unpoisoned arrow requires a much heavier, longer arrow and a much more potent bow—one with a 50 or 60 lb. pull, minimally.

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The Kalahari Peoples Fund: Activist Legacy of the Harvard Kalahari Research Group

Megan Biesele *Kalahari Peoples Fund*

Abstract: The multidisciplinary Harvard Kalahari Research Group (HKRG) led by Richard Lee and Irven DeVore was expanded in 1973, after a decade of interlocking anthropological research projects in Botswana, to include an activist nonprofit organization, The Kalahari Peoples Fund (KPF). KPF is one of the oldest anthropological advocacy groups in North America. Now past its 25-year anniversary, KPF remains active with a newsletter, a website, and substantial ongoing projects in community-based education and natural resource management in Kalahari communities in both Botswana and Namibia. In large part the success of KPF is due to the length and depth of the ethnographic studies—by Richard Lee and collaborating colleagues—that have underwritten it throughout its history.

Keywords: San, southern Africa, indigenous peoples, social movements, anthropological advocacy, Kalahari Peoples Fund

Résumé : Le groupe de recherche multidisciplinaire de Harvard sur le Kalahari (*Harvard Kalahari Research Group*) dirigé par Richard Lee et Irven DeVore s'est étendu en 1973, après une décade de recherches coordonnées au Botswana, pour inclure une organisation activiste sans but lucratif: The Kalahari Peoples Fund (KPF). KPF est l'un des plus anciens groupes anthropologiques dédiés à une cause, en Amériques du Nord. Après plus de vingt-cinq ans, KPF demeure toujours actif avec un bulletin, un site internet, et d'importants projets en éducation communautaire et en aménagement des ressources naturelles dans les communautés du Kalahari au Botswana et en Namibie. En grande partie, le succès du KPF est dû à l'étendue et à la profondeur des études ethnographiques – de Richard Lee et de ses collaborateurs – qui ont soutenu sa crédibilité tout au long de son histoire.

Mots-clés : San, Afrique du sud, autochtones, mouvements sociaux, activisme en anthropologie, *Kalahari Peoples Fund*

Introduction: Activism as an Outgrowth of Long-Term Field Research

In 2001, Richard Lee and I completed a paper for a volume on long-term ethnographic research (Kemper et al, 2001) called "Local Cultures and Global Systems: The Ju/'hoansi/!Kung and their Ethnographers Fifty Years On." In it, we detail research over five decades, a period which has seen the Ju/'hoansi drawn increasingly into the World System. Lee's successive editions of *The Dobe !Kung* (Lee, 1984; later *The Dobe Ju/'hoansi*, Lee, 1993) outline the challenges facing the Ju/'hoansi in these decades, including the demands of the cash economy, poverty, class formation, bureaucratic and media manipulation, militarization and dispossession.

The responses of the Ju/'hoansi to these daunting challenges make a fascinating and encouraging story. By way of perspective on the changes that have occurred, I start with some recent news. On March 28, 2001, Telecom Namibia finished installing telecommunications infrastructure in Tjum!kui, Namibia, only some 50 kilometers across the border from Dobe, Botswana. Namibian President Sam Nujoma and Tsamkxao =Oma, first chairperson of the Ju/'hoansi's Nyae Nyae Farmers' Cooperative, spoke on the telephone at that time from Tjum!kui to New York. Since then it has been possible for the Kalahari Peoples Fund in the U.S. to have regular email contact with the Tsumkwe (Tjum!kui) Junior Secondary School and other entities in Tjum!kui via the Otjozondjupa Regional Council. Likewise, the world of electronic information on the Internet is now within the actual reach of Ju/'hoan students, leaders and communities. This instant communication is a far cry from at least six weeks' turnaround time for a letter from then South West Africa to North America when Richard Lee began his fieldwork in the area in the 1960s.

Starting with the Marshall expeditions in the 1950s and taken as a whole, the long-term research in the Dobe-Tjum!kui area contextualized and eventually doc-

umented the Ju/'hoan determination to take control of their resources, assert their political and human rights, and affect the way they were represented to a world largely ignorant of their way of life. As the Marshall studies were succeeded by those of the Harvard Kalahari Research Group (HKRG) and of the University of New Mexico Department of Anthropology, it became increasingly clear that integrated interdisciplinary research was the best way to encompass the complex and rapidly changing realities of Ju/'hoan life. Collaborative work on ethnography, ecological adaptation, world view and acculturation formed the backdrop to a comprehensive understanding of both traditional Ju/'hoan lifeways and their role in ongoing internal and external negotiations.

History of the Kalahari Peoples Fund

Starting fieldwork in 1970, I was privileged to work with Lorna Marshall and also to be the last in the first wave of HKRG graduate students. Believing interdisciplinary understanding must prominently include the expressive forms through which people understand and comment on their lives, I convinced Richard Lee and Irven DeVore to include me in the HKRG, along with John Yellen, Patricia Draper, Henry Harpending, Melvin Konner, Marjorie Shostak, Richard Katz, and other graduate students and associates. I have written elsewhere (Biesele, 1990; 1994b; 1997) of the way research in Ju/'hoan expressive forms led me directly to what the people were most enthusiastic about: their present problems and their future.

I discussed these problems extensively with colleagues in the field and on my return to Harvard in 1972, asking how we as anthropologists could hope to be of help. At that time I found in my graduate school few sympathizers (beyond HKRG colleagues) with my dawning activist point of view, with the exception of those who founded Cultural Survival, Inc. Luckily, many of my HKRG colleagues had feelings similar to mine during their fieldwork. We all felt that somehow we must try to equalize our exchanges with the Ju/'hoansi, that somehow we must give back some compensation for the knowledge of their culture they had so freely given us.

In 1973 an opportunity came to discuss this responsibility many of us shared. Lee and DeVore were at that time finalizing the manuscript of an anthology of HKRG work to be published by Harvard University Press (*Kalahari Hunter-Gatherers, 1976*). At the suggestion of Lorna Marshall, we decided to hold a book workshop at an inn near Peterborough, New Hampshire, and to use the workshop additionally as a retreat to discuss how our research group might redefine its role to address current Ju/'hoan issues. Out of these discussions came the idea of the Kalahari Peoples Fund (KPF), written up in *Newsweek* in subsequent years as one of the first people's advocacy organizations in the U.S. with professional anthropological expertise behind it.

Present at the 1973 meeting at which the Kalahari Peoples Fund was formed were, besides myself and Richard Lee, Irven and Nancy DeVore, Richard Katz, Marjorie Shostak, Melvin Konner, John Yellen, Patricia Draper, Henry Harpending and John Marshall. Other supporters and colleagues included Jiro Tanaka, Mathias Guenther, Stewart Truswell, John Hansen and Nicholas Blurton-Jones, all of whose work went into the *Kalahari Hunter-Gatherers* book as well. Royalties from this book have been a small but steady mainstay for the Kalahari Peoples Fund for over 25 years, continuing today, when the book is available only in electronic form.

The Kalahari Peoples Fund also received early funding from Lorna Marshall, through whose help it established itself as a U.S. 501©(3) non-profit organization in 1978. The late 1970s saw the beginning of a long series of KPF activities carried out jointly with the Ju/'hoansi, at first with those on the Botswana side of the international border with Namibia. Watchwords in KPF policy from the beginning emphasized

1. carrying out only locally-initiated (rather than top-down) projects,
2. being available when needed rather than creating "make-work" activities, and
3. using all volunteer labour, so that every penny of earmarked funds goes directly to projects in the Kalahari.

Most important in KPF's operations has been the continuous input of professional anthropologists in all phases of its activities. In recent years, as well, younger anthropologists have volunteered time to KPF, valuing the experience as part of their own training.

The Kalahari Peoples Fund and Collaborating Organizations

There has been close KPF participation through the years not only with local people's organizations such as the Nyae Nyae Farmers Cooperative/Nyae Nyae Conservancy; First Peoples of the Kalahari; and Ditshwanelo—the Botswana Centre for Human Rights; but also sister NGOs such as the Nyae Nyae Development Foundation of Namibia; the Kuru Development Trust and TOCADI (Trust for Okavango Cultural and Development Initiatives) in Botswana; WIMSA, the Working Group of

Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (Namibia and Botswana); and SASI, the South African San Institute. Documentation of the interactions among these organizations has been carried out by Robert K. Hitchcock and several co-authors (Hitchcock, 1997; 1999; 2000; 2001; Hitchcock and Murphree, 1998, etc.) and by publications co-authored by Richard Lee and myself (2001), and by Richard Katz, myself and Verna St. Denis (1997).

During the 1990s and into the new millennium a series of papers (Biesele, 1992; 1993; 1994a; 1995; 2001; Biesele and Hitchcock, 1996) given at the annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association detailed, along with the activities of collaborating organizations, the following themes in the Ju/'hoan and general San struggle to establish rights:

- Use of governmental land allocation processes to secure land, water and resource rights
- Defeat of "coercive conservation" projects such as game reserves that excluded people
- "Back to the land" movements by people who had been removed from their traditional areas
- Establishment of water infrastructure, cattle and agricultural projects to secure land tenure
- Integrated rural development projects, including ecotourism, crafts projects and other income-generation
- Promotion of community education projects in, and national policies favouring, the use of San languages
- Development of sophistication in the use of media and establishment of political voice in national context

These themes have been closely linked together in the histories of both Nyae Nyae, in Namibia, and the Dobe area of Botswana, as detailed in the following discussion.

Ju/'hoan Rights to Land, Language, and Political Representation

Like other indigenous peoples in the late 20th century, the Ju/'hoan and other San have been gaining new ground in terms of land, language preservation, and political representation in the nation-states in which they live. In Namibia and Botswana, the Ju/'hoan San (also known as Bushmen, Basarwa) have been able to establish tenure rights in fairly sizeable blocks of land and to manage these areas themselves through government-recognized, community-based organizations (CBOs). They have also been able to promote the teaching of San languages in village schools and to obtain political representation and have their political leaders recognized at both the national and the international levels. These gains have not been easy, but they do suggest that there is optimism for the Ju/'hoan and other San in the new millennium.

The Ju/'hoan (!Kung) San of northern Namibia and Botswana are some of the best-known indigenous peoples in the world. They have been the subject of numerous anthropological studies, films (e.g. *The Hunters* and *N!ai: The Story of a !Kung Woman*, both by John Marshall), popular books (e.g. *The Bushmen* by Anthony Bannister and Peter Johnson), development-oriented studies (such as John Marshall and Claire Ritchie's book *Where Are the Ju/wasi of Nyae Nyae?*), and children's books (e.g. the book I wrote with Kxao Royal /O/oo for U.S. sixth-graders, called *San*).

The Ju/'hoansi, who number some 15 000 in Namibia and 2 000 in northern Botswana, have undergone substantial social, economic and political changes over the generations. One of the most important of these changes is the establishment of locally-owned and managed community organizations that promote the interests of the Ju/'hoansi and other San.

In Namibia

The Nyae Nyae San development program in northeastern Namibia is an integrated rural development effort that began in 1981. Initiated originally as a "cattle fund" to provide Ju/'hoan San groups with livestock, tools and seeds, it has grown into a multifaceted development program that is characterized by close co-operation between a non-government organization, the Nyae Nyae Development Foundation (NNDFN), and a community-based organization, the Nyae Nyae Farmers Cooperative (NNFC), now called the Nyae Nyae Conservancy (NNC). A key feature of the program is the empowerment of Ju/'hoan communities through a bottom-up participatory development approach.

In the early 1980s, Ju/'hoansi began to move out of a government-sponsored settlement at Tjum!kui in Eastern Bushmanland in order to re-establish themselves as independent units that supported themselves through a mixed production system of foraging, pastoralism agriculture, and small-scale rural entrepreneurial activities. The local organization also represented Ju/'hoan interests at the local and national levels. In 1983-84, the Ju/'hoansi and their supporters, including organizations such as the Kalahari Peoples Fund, were instrumental in lobbying against the establishment of a nature reserve in Eastern Bushmanland.

In 1986, the Ju/'hoansi of Eastern Bushmanland (now called Eastern Otjozondjupa) formed the Ju/Wa Farmers Union (JFU), an organization that assisted local people in livestock raising and other development activities. The co-operative sought to protect Ju/'hoan land through lobbying at the local, regional and national

levels for their land and political rights. The co-operative later played a major role in the deliberations at the Namibian Conference on Land Reform and the Land Question held in Windhoek in June-July, 1991.

With assistance from a local non-government organization, the Ju/Wa Bushman Development Foundation (JBDF, now known as the Nyae Nyae Development Foundation of Namibia or NNDFN), the Ju/'hoansi were able to set up new communities based on traditional kinship arrangements. By the time of the new millennium there were 37 such communities, many of them with their own herds and agricultural fields. The Ju/'hoansi have worked closely with the representatives of the Nyae Nyae Development Foundation and various aid agencies in locating and mapping the boundaries of their territories and in coming up with rules for how the land and its resources should be managed within these areas. They have also worked out methods for discussing issues facing local communities such as agricultural labour allocation, distribution of livestock and maintenance of physical infrastructure.

The formation of the co-operative was the result of close consultation among local Ju/'hoansi, few of whom had much experience with setting up and running representational bodies. Initially, the Ju/'hoansi had open meetings in which literally hundreds of people participated in the traditional style of consensus-based decision making. Later on, the communities began to delegate some of the responsibility for attending meetings to specific individuals. Elections were held, and two representatives, known as "Rada," were chosen from each of the communities to take part in the co-operative meetings. Women's participation in the NFC leadership was encouraged actively by the Ju/'hoansi, and it was decided in the early 1990s to have at least one of the members of the Rada from each community be female. Ju/'hoan women and men alike have stressed the importance of maintaining "the health of the land" in northeastern Namibia. A potential environmental problem predicted by Namibian government planners was that the livestock owned by Ju/'hoansi would begin to have negative effects on the range in Eastern Otjozondjupa. Thus far, this has not happened, as herd sizes have been kept small through the Ju/'hoan recognition of range capacity.

The Ju/'hoansi have received assistance from various quarters, including donors in southern Africa, Europe and America. In the mid-1990s, the Living in a Finite Environment (LIFE) Project, a joint effort of the U.S. Agency for International Development and the Government of the Republic of Namibia, began providing funds and technical assistance to the Nyae Nyae Farmers Cooperative to enable them to become self-sufficient. Emphasis was placed on social and economic development as well as human resource development involving formal and non-formal education and training. The development workers used a variety of participatory development strategies, and the approaches employed have stressed communication and self-determination all levels.

Some of the activities of the Nyae Nyae Farmers Cooperative include seeking control over the land and resources of Eastern Otjozondjupa, promoting development activities, and taking part in land use and environmental planning with government agencies, non-government organizations, and people in the private sector. The NNFC acted as a corporate body in seeking to convince outsiders who have moved into the area with their cattle to move elsewhere. The Farmers Cooperative also collaborated with the Foundation in seeking ways to promote better financial and human and fiscal resource management. It took part in studies and land use planning exercises (e.g., a conservation and development planning exercise conducted in early 1991 with the then Directorate of Nature Conservation, now the Ministry of Environment and Tourism) that led to the formulation and implementation of recommendations on development and conservation.

The Nyae Nyae Farmers Cooperative was relatively successful in establishing a set of rules aimed at promoting conservation and sustainable development internally and preventing the overexploitation of local resources by outsiders. The Nyae Nyae Farmers Cooperative sought to draw attention to issues relating to land tenure and resource rights at national and regional conferences (e.g. the Regional San Conference held in Windhoek in June, 1992 and the meetings of the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa, WIMSA, which was founded in 1996).

The Cooperative operates as an independent body to consider public policy matters at its meetings. It undertakes trips to all the communities in the region in order to listen to the concerns of local people, and it provides them with information. It has made people aware of political, economic and environmental issues. It has its own bank account and it runs its own shop and handicraft purchasing operation. Over the decade and a half of its existence, the Cooperative has evolved into a flexible, generally participatory organization for internal communication and external representation. No decisions are supposed to be made without efforts being made to gauge the opinions of the entire popula-

tion. In some cases, this has meant that new projects have been held in abeyance until such time as all the communities were contacted, a process which is by no means easy in a setting in which 37 different villages are dispersed across a 6 300 square kilometer area of African savanna with only sandy tracks connecting them. The advantage of this approach is that once initiatives are agreed upon, they have the full support of the Ju/'hoansi, who then play key roles in the implementation of projects such as taking part in the construction of village schools and assisting in formulation of curricula for those schools.

The Nyae Nyae Development Foundation has had an important impact in northeastern Namibia in terms of employment creation. Some of this employment was related to the Farmers' Cooperative, which has a number of positions in the leadership and in the everyday management of the Cooperative. Other than this organization, there are few opportunities in Namibia where San could play important roles in decision making and management. This has been particularly important for the status of traditional Ju/'hoan leaders. Formerly, the Ju/'hoan *n!ore kxaosi*, oldest men or women core-group siblings in whom stewardship of resource and habitation areas were vested, maintained co-ordinating relationships with other *n!ore kxaosi* which involved balancing giving—and strategically withholding—key environmental accesses. With the independence of Namibia, both national and developmental expectations were that these leadership and resource management attitudes would vanish overnight and give way to smoothly functioning "democratic" structures and attitudes of commitment to the health of the region as a whole.

It was somewhat unrealistic, perhaps, to expect that Ju/'hoan leadership would rally without conflict to a regional or even ethnic cause. New Ju/'hoan leaders have been expected to transcend both the long-tenured social attitudes of their relatives toward non-self-aggrandizement and their own traditional altruism patterns as they forged new public selves and organizational functions. Individuals have suffered mightily in this process, and communities' early faith in the new leaders was steadily eroded by seeing the widening gap between old and new social values.

Fortunately, this situation is changing. Part of the reason for this change is that the Ju/'hoansi have collaborated with the government of Namibia and various non-government organizations (e.g., the World Wildlife Fund, U.S. and Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation [IRDNC]) in efforts to establish in a conservancy, an area of communal land where communities have control over natural resource management and utilization through a statutory body recognized officially by the government of Namibia. This conservancy, which was declared in November, 1997, was the first one established in Namibia, and has enabled the people to have greater control of what happens in their area. It has also served to instil new confidence and encourage new investment and entrepreneurial activities on the part of the Ju/'hoansi.

In Botswana

Similar changes are occurring on the Botswana side of the international border. The Ju/'hoansi of western Ngamiland realized that they needed to gain greater control over their areas if they were to be able to ensure long-term occupancy and use of the region. The way that they chose to do this was to take part in the Botswana government's Community-Based Natural Resource Management Program (CBNRMP) and to apply for rights over Community-Controlled Hunting Areas (CCHAs). In the mid-1990s, the people of the community of /Kae/kae, the largest predominantly Ju/'hoan community in Botswana, formed a Quota Management Committee (QMC) as part of their efforts to gain access to the wildlife quota for NG 4,[1] a government-designated development area which covered an area of 7 148 square kilometers. In October, 1997, the people of /Kae/kae formed the Tlhabololo Trust, which applied for and received the rights to the wildlife in the NG 4 area. This trust engaged in a variety of activities, ranging from craft production to ecotourism. It has auctioned off a portion of its wildlife quota to a safari operator, who by the end of 2002 should have paid an estimated 2 500 000 Pula (about U.S. $500 000) to the trust for the opportunity to bring safari clients to the /Kae/kae area. According to Charlie Motshubi, a representative of SNV Botswana, the Dutch non-government organization that is providing assistance to the Thlabololo Trust, the people of /Kae/kae were able to generate 40 000 Pula from hunting, 20 000 Pula from phototourism, and 20 000 Pula from craft production in the first year of operation.

It is clear that progress is being made by the Ju/'hoansi as the new millennium starts, particularly in the areas of land rights, political representation and cultural promotion. This progress can perhaps best be seen in the fact that today there are hundreds of Ju/'hoan children attending village schools who are learning their own language and hearing about Ju/'hoan customs and traditions from Ju/'hoan teachers. These activities, which were pioneered with Kalahari Peoples Fund input

in the Nyae Nyae region of Namibia, are now influencing the ways in which rural development strategies are being implemented in Botswana, where Kuru Development Trust and its offshoot, Trust for Okavango Cultural and Development Initiatives (TOCADI), both San-controlled non-government organizations, have been working with the Ju/'hoansi since 1998. Kuru, with KPF funding support, has assisted the Ju/'hoansi and their neighbours in Botswana in mapping their traditional areas and applying to the North West District Land Board for occupancy rights to blocks of land in western Ngamiland. Kuru has also assisted the Ju/'hoansi and other groups in institutional capacity building and economic development. The collaboration among the Ju/'hoansi, non-government organizations, and the international community will hopefully continue to be beneficial to all concerned.

Namibian Ju/'hoan Land Tenure and the KPF

In Namibia around Independence, highly important in the Ju/'hoans' process of establishing a national political voice was the excellent contact made between their organization, then the Nyae Nyae Farmers' Cooperative, and the South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO). SWAPO eventually became the ruling party in the new nation, and relationships promoted by KPF and other advisers with party leaders just returned from exile were key in allowing their participation in the national life. Particularly important was the Ju/'hoan participation in the 1991 Namibian Conference on Land Rights and the Land Question. As never before, the land needs and abrogated land rights of the Ju/'hoan and other San were brought before the eyes of a government in formation—one that itself was under scrutiny as never before by the world. Gains made by the Ju/'hoan at that time laid the groundwork for the eventual Conservancy they were able to establish in 1998.It also made provision for the safety of their range when, early in the life of the new nation, Herero pastoralists and their herds were repatriated into Namibia via Nyae Nyae. Today there are 37 or more "outstation"-like communities in Nyae Nyae, forming the basis for local governance via the Nyae Nyae Conservancy. Presidential and Parliamentary awareness and respect of San land rights all over Namibia was given a great boost by the efforts of the Nyae Nyae Ju/'hoan. This entire process, spanning the decade following 1988, was perhaps the single most important contribution of the Kalahari Peoples Fund in Namibia.

Botswana Ju/'hoan Land Tenure and the KPF

In both Botswana and Namibia, conservancy-like bodies have been established and are acting as models for further community bodies. At /Kae/kae, Botswana, the Thlabololo Development Trust was established, and the success of this comprehensive community project has been an inspiration for similar efforts at Dobe, some 20 miles to the north.

Dobe, of course, is the area so well studied by Richard Lee and his students and colleagues. The KPF has been deeply involved in land-securing activities in Dobe since the mid-1970s, when KPF supporters and activists, including Polly Wiessner, myself, Richard Lee, and Carl and Dr. Kathleen O. Brown, gave strategic help to the Dobe community to develop water infrastructure. Through the Botswana Government's Basarwa Development Office (BDO) in its Ministry of Local Government and Lands, funds and hands-on help was given towards the hand-dug well that was to help the Dobe people establish security of tenure in the area. More recently, due to a "window of opportunity" in Botswana land allocation, as well as to unprecedentedly generous international donations, KPF has been able to collaborate with Kuru Development Trust and TOCADI to advance the land and resource control of the Dobe community as never before.

The project at Dobe today involves land use documentation, genealogical work and *n!ore* (resource territory) mapping, and makes direct use of several decades of anthropological research stemming from the original Lee and DeVore team in the area. It also uses the successful Nyae Nyae, Namibia example from the NNDFN originally set up by John Marshall and Claire Ritchie as a "sister project" to the KPF. The success of Nyae Nyae in holding land was based on establishing water infrastructure as evidence of active land use and occupancy. As of April, 2001, two successful boreholes had been drilled, and two more were in planning phases. In October, 2001, Kabo Mosweu, Kuru's Team Leader in NG 3 (the Dobe area, Ngamiland), reported that consultations, permissions, and plans had been completed for deepening two more boreholes during 2002, and for beginning the same process for three more boreholes in the G!oci (Qoshe) area. Finally, a Representative and Legal Entity will eventually be established over NG 3. A large part of the support for this ambitious, but critical and timely, project came from the Kalahari Peoples Fund, with major funding from the Austin, TX high-tech

community. In December, 2002, a well at Shaikarawe, Ngamiland, one critical to land-rights efforts in the surrounding area, was brought in by TOCaDI thanks to KPF support.

KPF, Mentoring and Publications

Best of all the news on this water-and-tenure project, perhaps, is that the two technical reports it has produced were written by local staff. There is in fact a number of reports and papers by Ju/'hoan and other San individuals which have come out of the development mentoring and training supported by KPF and its sister organizations. KPF considers that publicizing these written resources and spreading knowledge of the conferences and other international venues at which San people have presented them is an important part of its work. These papers may be found in the bibliography under these names: Arnold, Gaeses, Naude, /Useb, and =Oma.

There is also a growing number of publications co-authored by San with academic colleagues (Biesele and /O/oo, 1996; Lee and Daly (eds.), 1999; etc.). Again, KPF has taken a lead role in this desirable development, as well as in encouraging colleagues to designate San people or organizations as beneficiaries of publication royalties (Katz, Biesele and St. Denis, 1991; Lee and DeVore (eds.), 1976; Schweitzer, Biesele and Hitchcock (eds.), 1999; etc.).

KPF Projects and Consultancies

Many of the Ju/'hoan efforts to establish rights and to control resources were supported partially by Kalahari Peoples Fund contributions and volunteer efforts. Further, KPF's Ju/'hoan projects have successfully inspired neighbouring communities in both Namibia and Botswana to start similar projects, and to apply to KPF for funding and advice on them. A listing of KPF projects and consultancies related to land and community development includes the following:

Some Highlights of KPF Projects, 1975 to Present

- Ngamiland Research-Liaison Officer for Basarwa Development, Botswana
- Ngamiland Agricultural Extension Officer, Botswana
- Brukaros Irrigated Gardening Project, Berseba, Namibia
- Rural Development Project, Manxotai, Botswana
- Women's Handicraft Grants, Central District, Botswana
- Community-Based Educational Projects:
  - Epako San Pre-School, Gobabis, Namibia
  - Oenie School, !Xoo Community Marienthal, Namibia
  - Namibian College of Education Secondary Extension For Ju/'hoan San of Nyae Nyae, Namibia
  - Gqaina School, Omaheke Region of Namibia, San Language Curriculum Development
  - Moremogolo Trust, Bana ba Metsi School, Maun, Botswana
- Equipment and Uniforms for Nyae Nyae Soccer Team (Gift of Yo-yo E. Ma)
- Training for /Ui /Oma, Archaeology Laboratory, National Museum of Namibia
- Dobe Land-Mapping Project, Ngamiland, Botswana
- Okavango Sub-District Council, Community Action Planning, Dobe, Botswana
- Digital Photography of Lawrence Northam San Artifact Collection, College Station, TX
- Shipping costs for vehicle for Regional Education Coordinator

Some Highlights of KPF Personnel Research and Consultation

- Impacts of the Tribal Grazing Land Policy (TGLP) on Peoples of the Kalahari
- Impacts of the Special Game License (SGL) System on San Peoples, Botswana
- Provision of Technical Assistance and Information to Local-Level Resource Management Projects, Namibia and Botswana
- Documentation of the Formative Years of the Nyae Nyae Conservancy, Namibia
- Village Schools Project, Ju/'hoan Orthography, Curriculum Development, Nyae Nyae, Namibia

Current Activities of KPF

The current mission of the Kalahari Peoples Fund, stated broadly, is to benefit the San and other peoples of the Kalahari region. It works through local NGOs in Botswana, Namibia, and the semi-arid regions of surrounding countries, responding to locally initiated requests for development aid. KPF raises funds and provides technical and advisory assistance, principally in the areas of community-based education and land and resource rights. Most critical in its mission are progress in education, human rights, development, land use planning, and institution building, all with professional anthropological input, on the local, national and international levels.

One current project, promotion of community-based, San-language education initiatives, is rooted in work begun by KPF anthropologists and linguists over 15 years ago. KPF is currently developing and helping to implement an interlocking set of proposals for comprehensive coverage of projects requested by San communi-

ties, ranging from preschools to help develop a culture of literacy to collaborative development of appropriate and effective curriculum materials in San languages. Both preschool and literacy materials development in the Ju/'hoan-speaking areas of Nyae Nyae, Namibia, and Omaheke are proceeding with the close co-operation of the Namibian National Institute for Educational Development (NIED).

Since 1999 KPF has a website at www.kalaharipeoples.org. This website acts as a channel of communication between rural southern African peoples and the wider world, bringing information about their cultures and their needs to interested individuals, groups and agencies who are able to help them. It also acts as an online resource for students, researchers and the general public who wish to learn more about the San and their neighbours. It contains an extensive outline of scholarly articles, maps and recent updates about the people, along with information about current projects, needs and volunteer opportunities.

Since 2001 KPF has had a newsletter, available by writing for a subscription to KPF at the address at the end of this article. The newsletter features headline sections of late-breaking news on the situations of indigenous peoples in the several countries of the Kalahari, information about progress and needs for KPF projects, updates on regional organizations and listings of books and films.

KPF Sponsorship

Starting in 2001, KPF gained two corporate sponsors, each manufacturing and distributing a Kalahari-related product. The first was The Redbush Tea Company, based in London, which made a corporate decision to dedicate a portion of its income from its organic herbal tea, native to southern Africa, to KPF for its projects. The second is Kalahari, which makes a number of flavours of rusks, familiar to all who have spent time in the Kalahari as a most durable and delicious form of desert bread, as well as the rooibos tea now being successfully marketed as "Red Tea" in the U.S.

Through the years KPF has been sustained financially by a few grants and by donations from individuals. Several individual donors must be recognized for their outstanding generosity, some contributing over $50,000. They include Lorna J. Marshall, Carl and Dr. Kathleen O. Brown, Lawrence W. Northam, and Steve Smaha and Jessica Winslow. Such donations have enabled KPF to invest a portion of its funds to ensure ongoing support to Kalahari projects, which is particularly important in the case of community education initiatives.

KPF volunteers have centred their activities in recent years on the day-to-day work at the organization's current U.S. base in Austin, TX. Volunteers have included anthropology students, electronic engineers, teachers, free-lance editors, human rights activists, a nurse and an accountant.

Affiliated projects include The University Centre for Studies in Namibia (TUCSIN); The Windhoek International School (WIS); Monday's Child Productions (promoting international storytelling); the Pilgrim Society (development projects in Nyae Nyae); Mobile Outreach Ministry (transport for indigenous projects); and Deep Roots (local language survival and literacy).

New KPF projects and those with ongoing needs include:

- Epako San Pre-School and Hospital Play-Group, Gobabis, Namibia
- Gqaina School, San Language Curriculum Development, Omaheke Region of Namibia
- Strategic Support and Infrastructure for Land Claims, NG3 (Dobe Area, Botswana)
- Development of Elementary Ju/'hoan Readers for Tjum!kui School, Otjozondjupa, Namibia
- Provision of Computers for Tjum!kui School, Otjozondjupa, Namibia
- Second International Storytelling Conference, August, 2002, Cape Town, South Africa
- Addressing Problems of San in Formal Education Systems (Conferencing and Publications)
- Youth Community Theater Project in Nyae Nyae

Conclusion: An Activist Legacy

In the 1950s the Marshall family, and in the 1960s the Harvard Kalahari Research Group carried out research with San peoples which has become part of the ethnographic canon. These scholars joined the mass media in documenting what in those decades seemed a remote, exotic way of life. Today, the indigenous peoples of the Kalahari are remote and untouched only in our dreams (and in bad books and films). The achievement of organizations like the Kalahari Peoples Fund has been to bridge two worlds that a quarter of a century ago seemed impossibly distant from each other: the world of representation "about" these anthropological Others and the world of hands-on involvement in their own bid for autonomy and human rights. The challenge in making this bridge has been to bring the two halves of the San image together, the "romantic" with the "revisionist," for a centred, contemporary picture of real people "just living their lives."

The Kalahari Peoples Fund has found that the best way for anthropologists to help centre the image is to find ways for Ju/'hoan voices themselves to speak to the public. KPF's long-term work, based in its professional beginnings as a research group, has demonstrated the ability to contextualize San voices for public comprehension—to give faces and nuanced descriptions to the attempt to communicate contemporary San issues. As the Ju/'hoan and other San have come to political consciousness, groups like the KPF have been able to observe and document their emerging determination to take hold of their destiny. It has been possible to see, from HKRG and KPF work, how the imperatives and assumptions of their earlier lifeways have shaped both their assertion of rights and some of the problems they have experienced in assuming them.

Most recently, KPF members, like other activists the world over, have been met with the challenge of letting go of helping roles once they are no longer necessary. In this the anthropologists can take precious pages from the notebooks of development workers, many of whom faced this challenge earlier. Believing that "letting go" does not mean ceasing to pay attention, KPF's activism strives to create a more centred image for anthropologists as well, one in which they themselves are people "just living their lives," collaborating now for global understanding with the San people they have come to know through joint endeavors as well as through study.

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Note

1 NG 4 stands for the 4th Community Controlled Hunting Area in Ngamiland, North West District, Botswana. Each district in Botswana is divided into zones for planning and wildlife utilization and conservation purposes. NG 4 has been designated as being community-controlled, one of seven such Controlled Hunting Areas (CHAs). Other CHAs are designated for purposes of (1) safari hunting, (2) photographic safaris, (3) citizen hunting, (4) multipurpose, (5) conservation (e.g., the Tsodilo Hills, which has been proposed as a World Heritage Site, and which is a national monument under the National Monuments and Relics Act). NG 5, to the south of NG 4, does not have a village in it. The community of /Kae/kae has rights to make decisions in both areas, although there is pressure to turn NG 5 into a multipurpose area that will allow the expansion of livestock (and ranches) into the area.

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Land, Livestock and Leadership among the Ju/'hoansi San of North Western Botswana

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Abstract: In Africa, indigenous peoples have had difficulties in gaining secure legal rights to land and resources. The Ju/'hoansi San of the Republic of Botswana have had to contend with governmental decisions that have not allowed groups to claim land on the basis of customary tenure or long-term occupation. This article examines some of the innovative ways in which the Ju/'hoansi have dealt with the issues of land and resource rights, including carrying out detailed mapping of their ancestral territories and using Botswana government policies on community-based natural resource management to their advantage in gaining greater control of land, water and wildlife resources.

Keywords: indigenous people, land rights, Ju/'hoansi San, community-based natural resource management

Résumé : En Afrique, les Autochtones ont eu de la difficulté à obtenir des droits stables à la terre et aux ressources. Les San Ju/'hoansi de la République du Botswana ont eu à lutter contre des décisions gouvernementales qui ne permettaient pas à des groupes de réclamer des droits territoriaux sur la base de coutumes ancestrales ou d'occupation prolongée. Cet article examine quelques façons ingénieuses dont les Ju/'hoansi se sont servi dans la question des terres et des droits aux ressources, y compris faire un relevé détaillé de leurs territoires ancestraux et se servir des politiques du gouvernement du Botswana sur l'administration des communautaire des ressources naturelles pour gagner un plus grand contrôle des terres, de l'eau et des ressources de la flore et de la faune.

Mots-clés : peuples autochtones, droits territoriaux, San Ju/'hoansi, gestion communautaire des ressources naturelles

Many of the problems facing indigenous peoples today are the result of global processes, especially the expansion of economic development and the international trade of goods and services (Bodley, 1999; Gedicks, 2001; Maybury Lewis, 1997). In the face of competition for land and resources and, in some cases, lack of recognition by nation-states of minority peoples' rights, indigenous peoples in various parts of the world have sought to claim ancestral territories and assert what they see as their basic human rights (Anaya, 1996; Durning, 1992; Hitchcock, 1994; Hodgson, 2002). In some parts of the world, such as Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, indigenous peoples have made some progress in recent years in obtaining land and resource rights (Fleras and Elliott, 1992; Young, 1995).

In Africa, peoples who define themselves as indigenous, such as the San of southern Africa and the Pygmies (Batwa) of central Africa, have generally had difficulties in obtaining legal rights to land and resources (Barnard and Kenrick, 2001; Veber, Dahl, Wilson and Waehle, 1993).

The indigenous peoples of southern Africa have utilized a variety of means to obtain land and resource rights that include lobbying government officials, often to little avail, and engaging in direct action. Their efforts to lay claim to ancestral territories on the basis of "indigenousness," the notion that San peoples were "first comers" or were "native to the areas where they lived," have often received negative responses from the governments of nation-states in Africa (Barnard and Kenrick, 2001; Saugestad, 2001). In 1997, the Hai//om San of Namibia blockaded the entrance into Etosha National Park in Namibia in 1997 in order to bring national and international attention to their desire to reclaim their ancestral lands which they had lost in the late 19th and 20th centuries (Dieckmann, 1997: 142). The only indigenous peoples in Namibia who have been able to obtain some degree of control over a portion of their ancestral lands are the Ju/'hoansi, who in 1998 were able

to establish what in Namibia is known as a conservancy, an area of communal land within which residents have the rights to resources and the economic benefits that derive from those resources (Biesele and Hitchcock, 2000; Hitchcock, Yellen, Gelburd, Osborn and Crowell, 1996). The approximately 1 800 Ju/'hoansi San of Botswana, on the other hand, have not been able to obtain secure land and resource tenure rights. The reasons for this situation are complex, but they are due in part to the fact that the Botswana government (Africa's oldest democracy and the home to some 47 675 people who define themselves as San or Barsarwa [Suzman, 2001]) has been unwilling to grant land rights to groups who make claims on the basis of customary rights and traditional livelihoods (Hitchcock, 2002a; Wily, 1979).

This article examines the recent and contemporary ethnographic and political situations of the Ju/'hoansi San of Botswana, and it addresses the complex issues surrounding land and resource rights. It draws upon the detailed work of Richard Lee and the Harvard Kalahari Research Group and other social and natural scientists and development personnel who have worked with the Ju/'hoansi in north western Botswana (Hitchcock et al., 1996; Lee, 1979; 2003; Lee and DeVore, 1976; Wilmsen, 1989). I pay particular attention to the Ju/'hoansi residing in two communities in the North West District (Ngamiland) of Botswana, XaiXai (/Ai/Ai) and Dobe. The article concludes that although the Ju/'hoansi of Botswana have yet to obtain secure *de jure* legal rights to land and resources, they have made some progress toward gaining *de facto* control over the areas in which they reside. The Ju/'hoansi have been able to do this through the use of some innovative strategies and through building coalitions with other groups and organizations.

The Ju/'hoansi San of North Western Botswana

The Ju/'hoansi (San) have been described in the past as hunters and gatherers. Today, the Ju/'hoansi live in settled lives usually near water points and have diversified economic systems that combine some foraging with food production, cash earned through jobs and the sales of crafts and other goods, and, some cases, dependence on food relief and cash provided by the nation-states where they reside. While some Ju/'hoansi reside on freehold (private) farms belonging to other people, there are others who live in villages and in small decentralized communities spread across portions of the northern Kalahari savanna (Biesele and Hitchcock, 2000; Lee, 2003). In Botswana, virtually all of the Ju/'hoansi reside in communities that include people from other groups, notably Herero (Mbanderu), Tawana[1], and Hambukushu, all of whom are agropastoralists who speak Bantu languages. These communities range in size from several families to several hundred people. The Ju/'hoansi spend the majority of the year in these settlements, ranging out for brief periods in the rainy season to stay at places where water has accumulated so that they can collect wild foods and, as they put it, "get away from all the noise of the settlements." Some of this noise, they note, derives from the lowing of cattle and the sounds of goats, donkeys and chickens that people keep near their homes.

In the past, the Ju/'hoansi lived in bands—groups of people who were tied together through kinship, marriage, friendship and reciprocal economic exchange systems that numbered between 25 and 50 people (Lee, 1979; 2003; Marshall, 1976). Leadership of these bands was relatively diffuse, and decision making was based on consensus. In recent years, Ju/'hoan headmen have begun to be recognized in Botswana, and Ju/'hoansi have become part of Village Development Committees and other local community institutions.

A relatively small proportion of the Ju/'hoansi in north western Botswana have been able to build up sufficient livestock numbers to be self-sufficient. And even these people have faced major constraints, one example being outbreaks of livestock diseases, the worst being the spread of Contagious Bovine Pleuropneumonia (CBPP) (Hitchcock, 2002b; Hitchcock et al., 1996) that led the government to slaughter all cattle in the North West District in 1996. Since that time, the Ju/'hoansi and their neighbors have attempted to re-establish their herds, but most of them have yet to reach the numbers that they had prior to the government's action. Today, the Ju/'hoansi have relatively high rates of unemployment, and those that do have jobs generally receive relatively low wages, such as those males who herd cattle on the cattle posts of other people (Hitchcock et al., 1996; Suzman, 2001).

One of the problems faced by the Ju/'hoansi and other San is that the Land Boards of Botswana, set up in the 1970s as a replacement for traditional authorities (chiefs), have generally been reluctant to grant rights over blocks of land for grazing to San, arguing that they have no need for such land since they are, in their view, "mobile hunters and gatherers" (Tawana Land Board members, personal communication, Maun, Botswana, 1995; see also Wily, 1979). The Land Boards sometimes grant rights to residences (homesteads) and to arable land, but thus far in North West District the Land Board

has been unwilling to grant grazing and water rights to San communities.

Since the 1970s, some Ju/'hoansi have sought to obtain *de facto* control over land and resources through the establishment of wells, which, under Tswana customary law, are considered improvements on the landscape and thus deserving of recognition as investments. It was not until the early part of the new millennium, however, that the Ju/'hoansi were able to obtain a formal water right from the Land Board. This achievement would not have been possible were it not for the efforts of many Ju/'hoansi and the assistance of San support groups such as the Kalahari Peoples Fund and other non-government organizations, notably the Trust for Okavango Cultural and Development Initiatives (TOCaDI) (see Biesele, this volume).

The Land and Resource Tenure Systems of the Ju/'hoansi San

In the past, Ju/'hoansi sometimes gained access to land through approaching individuals in their own communities who had stewardship over that land. These people were often elderly Ju/'hoansi, both males and females, who were recognized as having long-standing rights to an area and who were considered land managers. Known among the Ju/'hoansi as *kxai kxausi* or *n!ore kxausi* (Marshall, 1976: 184-195), the territory "owner" has the responsibility for organizing and managing natural resource related matters. The *n!ore kxausi* made their decisions on the basis of whether or not it was felt by the community that there were sufficient land and resources available to sustain additional people. Such decisions were usually taken on the basis of public consensus, or, as one Ju/'hoan man put it, a "big talk."

The land use system of the Ju/'hoansi was seen by them and by outsiders as being flexible and adaptable to change. The problem that arose, however, was that the Ju/'hoan land authorities were not recognized as such by other peoples who moved into their areas and established occupancy rights. Over time, therefore, the authority of the Ju/'hoan *n!ore kxausi* was eroded, leaving many Ju/'hoansi in the position where they had to seek help from non-Ju/'hoan leaders, some of whom tended to give preferential treatment to members of their own groups.

At XaiXai in 1973-74 and in Dobe in 1975, some Ju/'hoansi dug wells and attempted to apply for water rights from the Tawana Land Board, but they were unsuccessful in getting these rights, and the water points eventually were taken over by other people along with their livestock. By the 1980s, the Ju/'hoansi were frustrated and angry and felt that they were being discriminated against on the basis of their ethnicity. The Botswana government, for its part, took a position that allocations of land and development assistance should not be based on ethnicity but instead should be based on need (Hitchcock, 1980; 2002a; Wily, 1979). As one Botswana government official said to me in 1988, "We give land and development assistance to people regardless of their ethic background; we help all people as citizens of the nation-state of Botswana."

The problem faced by the Ju/'hoansi and their neighbours was that most of them lived in remote communities that did not contain sufficient numbers of people as to be considered above the threshold (500 people) where development assistance was provided by the North West District Council and the government of Botswana.

The Ju/'hoansi of XaiXai and Dobe decided to take matters into their own hands and lobbied the Botswana government for recognition of their rights. They attended district-level and national meetings, some Ju/'hoan leaders visited Namibia and one Ju/'hoan representative attended a meeting of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP) of the United Nations which was held in Geneva, Switzerland. The Ju/'hoansi built coalitions with San from other parts of Botswana, and in 1996 they joined with San in neighbouring countries to establish the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA), a regional San networking and advocacy organization.

In the 1970s, the Ju/'hoansi, with the aid of anthropologists and wildlife biologists, were able to obtain a Special Game License for subsistence huntering (Hitchcock et al., 1996). Individual Ju/'hoansi also wrote letters to the president of the country and to Members of Parliament, seeking recognition of their rights as citizens of Botswana to land and resources (Megan Biesele, Axel Thoma, personal communications, 1992, 1995, 2001).

In the 1990s the people of XaiXai, both Ju/'hoansi and Herero, were assisted through a program involving community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) and institutional capacity-building funded by SNV, the Netherlands Development Organization. They were able to establish and run a community-based organization that became known as the XaiXai Tlhabolo Trust. In 1995-96 the XaiXai people established a governing body and wrote up a constitution for the trust. Once the constitution was agreed upon, the XaiXai Trust applied to the Botswana government for permission to receive the wildlife quota for the area from the Department of Wildlife and National Parks. The trust council then

decided how they wished to allocate that quota, giving some of it to community members who were allowed to hunt for purposes of subsistence, and setting aside some of the quota for lease to safari companies that placed bids to oversee hunting and photographic safaris at XaiXai.

At Dobe, the Trust for Okavango Cultural and Development Initiatives, which was founded in 1999, began to assist the 100 or so Ju/'hoansi and Herero residents to dig wells and to seek water rights for those wells (see Biesele, this volume for a discussion of the KPF). In so doing, the Ju/'hoansi were hoping that they could get rights not only to the water but also to the surrounding grazing for their livestock, which were beginning to increase in number after having been decimated in 1996.

TOCaDI conducted participatory rural appraisals and did community-based needs assessments at Dobe, and worked with the members of the community in establishing and enhancing community institutions. Local people from Dobe and other Ngamiland communities were employed by TOCaDI to work at the grassroots level. At the same time, TOCaDI and the Ju/'hoansi worked with district authorities and other non-government organizations in working out strategies for establishing community organizations and getting land and water rights.

An objective of the Ju/'hoansi in Dobe was that they have the same degree of control over their area as did the people of XaiXai. They approached this problem by digging wells in the areas surrounding Dobe where Ju/'hoan families visited during the wet season. Without rights over the area surrounding Dobe, a community-controlled hunting area (CCHA), the community could not legally charge fees to tourists for camping there. As one Dobe Ju/'hoan woman put it, "We want to *own* the land around Dobe, not just have access to it." By 2002, water had been struck in boreholes in several of the areas near Dobe, and Ju/'hoansi had filed requests with the Tawana Land Board for allocation of water rights. Progress was being made in the establishment of community trusts at Dobe and in some of the areas nearby.

There were efforts in the late 1990s to map the *n!oresi* in the Dobe area using local Ju/'hoan informants working in conjunction with personnel trained in the use of Geographic Positioning Systems (GPS) instruments. The maps that were created from this work were used in Land Board and other district-level meetings in order to argue for the efficacy of the traditional Ju/'hoan land use and tenure system as the foundation for an innovative decentralized system of resource control and management.

The impacts of the community mapping efforts in the Dobe area have been profound. They helped awaken a sense of collective identity among the Ju/'hoansi. They also helped instill in local community members the desire to learn more about past land use and resource management patterns. The Ju/'hoansi understand very well the fact that maps are far more than flat representations of landscapes that enable people to orient themselves on the ground; instead, as they put it, "Maps are power." They can be used in a variety of ways, not least of which is to legitimize claims over land and resources. They have been useful in generating donor interest and obtaining support in the international arena.

In December, 2002, a water festival was held at Shaikarawe, another community in which San predominate in northern Botswana. It was this community where, only a few years before, the Tawana Land Board and the North West District Council had ruled that the land on which the San lived was no longer theirs but rather belonged to a non-San man who had taken over the water point there. The San appealed the case and, with the help of Ditshwanelo, the Botswana Center for Human Rights, they were granted the right to return to Shaikarawe, where they immediately began to dig a well. Eventually, with the support of San community-based development organizations, Ditshwanelo, and outside donors, the San of Shaikarawe prevailed, and today they have *de jure* rights over the water point and surrounding grazing, and they are in a position where they can control their own lives. As one man put it, "Without land, livestock, and leadership, we would still be living on the fringes of someone else's cattle post."

Conclusions

In the latter part of the 20th century, the Ju/'hoansi of north-western Botswana employed a multi-pronged set of strategies in their efforts to gain control over land and natural resource rights. They have used their traditional system of land use and management, the *n!ore* system, as a foundation for managing their land. At the same time, they have been quick to seize on opportunities offered by new Botswana government policies involving land and natural resource management, engaging in well-digging efforts and making formal claims to government land management institutions for land and water allocations. Unlike some other San groups in Botswana, they have not tied their claims to indigenous identity but rather have co-operated closely with non-San groups in seeking land and resource rights. They have built coalitions and formed alliances with Ju/'hoan groups and other San groups in neighbouring countries.

The Ju/'hoansi of north western Botswana have been careful about the ways in which they have asserted their collective identity. On the one hand, they have proclaimed their identity as Ju/'hoansi in struggles for recognition and rights at the community level, but they have been careful not to make such claims at the national level in Botswana, realizing full well that the idea of indigenousness does not sit well with government officials in the country (Hitchcock, 2002a; Saugestad, 2001; Sylvain, 2002). The Ju/'hoansi have accepted the government's classification of them as Remote Area Dwellers in order to access government programs and they have utilized other government programs to their advantage such as those aimed at providing livestock and agricultural inputs. As one Ju/'hoan woman at Dobe put it, "We know that the government wants us to have livestock and crops and to live like other people, so that is why we get these things whenever the Ministry of Agriculture offers them."

The Ju/'hoansi of Botswana have learned a great deal from their interactions with other groups involved in the larger world indigenous rights movement. They have learned about new ways to negotiate with nation-states, and they have put this knowledge to use at the local level, the national and in the international arena. They have also benefited from collaboration with international NGO's, donors and researchers.

Finally, the Ju/'hoansi and their neighbours in north western Botswana have purposely linked their systems of governance with conservation and development efforts. They have established multiethnic community-based institutions that have sought and received government recognition. These community-based bodies have been able to generate income for their members, sometimes in substantial amounts, as was the case with the XaiXai Tlhabololo Trust who in 2001-02 made some $200,000 and were able to generate over a dozen jobs for local people (Bernard Horton, Charlie Motshubi, personal communications, 2002). Without having participated in Botswana's community-based natural resource management program and the work of the various non-government organizations engaged in integrated conservation and development programs, the Ju/'hoansi would not have been able to obtain the rights to land and resources around communities in north western Botswana, and they would still be marginalized minorities, living in, as one Ju/'hoan woman put it, "a sea of poverty."

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Note

1 The Tawana predominate politically but not numerically in the North West District of Botswana. They are a Setswana speaking group for whom the district Land Board is named.

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Contemporary Bushman Art, Identity Politics and the Primitivism Discourse

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Abstract: In recent years artists from two San communities in Botswana and Namibia have been producing paintings and prints which have become sought after by Western collectors, as instances of African "primitive art." The art is produced in a context of intense identity politics, which in recent years have awakened the San politically and placed this hitherto passive ethnic minority on a course of political action. The art is especially relevant to the issues of identity and self-representation, and holds the potential for exposing and displacing the colonialist, and still cherished, icon of the timeless hunter-gatherer of the far-away veld. The paper will show how this potential is thwarted by the Western perspective on the art, which, blind to its decolonizing images, sees it as reinforcing, rather than challenging, primordialist stereotypes.

Keywords: Khoisan studies, art, cultural politics, Post-foraging hunter-gatherers, Post-colonialism (southern Africa)

Résumé : Ces dernières années, des artistes de communautés San au Botswana et en Namibie ont produit des tableaux et des graphismes qui sont recherchés par les collectionneurs, comme produits de «l'art primitif» africain. Cet art est produit dans un contexte d'intenses activités politiques identitaires qui ont récemment réveillé politiquement les San et ont placé cette minorité ethnique jusque-là passive sur une trajectoire d'action politique. L'art est particulièrement pertinent à la question de l'identité et de la présentation de soi et il recèle le potentiel d'exposer et de remplacer l'image colonialiste, et toujours chérie, de chasseurs-cueilleurs intemporels du veld lointain. L'article montre comment ce potentiel est ignoré par la vision occidentale de l'art qui, aveugle à ses images de décolonisation, le voit comme témoignage des stéréotypes primordialistes plutôt que le contraire.

Mots-clés : Études Khoisan, art, politiques culturelles, Chasseurs-cueilleurs post-nomades, Post-colonialisme (Afrique du sud)

> I like to paint because I like to show other people the customs and the manners of life of my own people. I like to go forward and to show other people that they [the San] might do something on their own.
>
> — Thamae Setshogo, D'Kar, fieldwork interview, June 15, 1995

> The San believe that their cultural practices form the backbone of a healthy and socially intact community. Injustices such as land and resource dispossession are so disruptive that affected communities are often unable to uphold their traditional consensual decision-making processes. But the memory of once-strong and unified communities keeps alive the longing for the revival and reconstruction of culture and identity.
>
> — Kxao Moses =Oma and Axel Thoma (2002: 39)

An exciting development on the cultural front of contemporary San[1] has been the production of a body of easel art and prints, by over a dozen artists at two centres in southern Africa. The art is of the type of non-Western, Fourth World, "tribal" art that Nelson Graburn would call "assimilated fine art,"[2] that is, its aesthetic sources, its epistemology, materials and techniques, and its intended audience are all external to the culture and community of the artists (Graburn, 1976: 8). Contemporary San art also has no connection to the rock art San in other parts of the sub-continent and from other linguistic groupings produced in the recent and remote past (from as early as 30 000 years ago, until the turn of the last century, when the art and its creators disappeared altogether). While loosely connected to such other traditional forms of decorative art as bead work and the etched or burnt patterns on ostrich eggshells and wooden objects (see note 2), the new art is sufficiently different in form and content to be considered an altogether new art form. Being essentially free of cultural precedents, the art is immensely innovative in style and content, both from artist to artist and, to varying degrees, also within the oeuvre of each individ-

ual artist. It has found much favour with Western collectors, who cherish it for its alleged primitivism and its "eery echoes" with rock art of yore, and the art has become an important source of income to the artists and their families and revenue for the Non-government Organization-operated art projects at their respective villages.

Concurrent with the appearance of the art, in 1990, was the political awakening of the San, who until very recently had been a politically passive and oppressed minority group. They are that no longer; having become embroiled in the cultural politics of the southern African region that were generated by the dismantling of Apartheid, the San, along with the other hitherto disenfranchised, disadvantaged and dispossessed non-White ethnic groups, are staking out long-denied political, civic and territorial rights and claims. The issues and buzzwords of the day, or the decade, are "ethnicity," "identity," "authenticity," "heritage" (Barnard, 1998) and it is to these issues that the images produced by the San men and women today are especially relevant.

The connection between these two recent developments in the lives of the San, politics and art, is the principal concern of this paper. A second concern is to examine the effect on this connection of the primitivism discourse that surrounds the art, from the perspective of its non-San consumers. It is a perspective that is at variance with that of the San producers and San viewers as it takes the art into primordialist channels that are detrimental to the ethnic and political goals of contemporary San.

The Setting

There are two centres in southern Africa where San produce paintings and prints, for sale to outsiders, galleries and a growing number of individual collectors. They are at the village of D'Kar, in the Ghanzi District of western Botswana, and the tent city of Schmidtsdrift, near Kimberley, in Northern Cape Province. In this paper I deal primarily with the D'Kar project, the site of my field work. D'Kar is a village of about a thousand people, two-thirds of whom are fourth- or fifth-generation farm Bushmen, primarily belonging to the Nharo (Naro) linguistic grouping. D'Kar is the site also of a large San development agency, the Kuru Development Trust,[3] as well as of a Dutch Reformed church congregation engaged in mission work among the region's San. Schmidtsdrift, consists of two communities of !Xun and Khwe Bushmen from northern Namibia, the former group having fled there from Angola in the 1970s. They had been drafted into the South African army, during the anti-guerilla wars against SWAPO in the 1970s and 1980s, when South Africa was the immoral (and arguably illegal) occupant of Namibia. When Namibia gained her independence in 1990, more than 4 000 San people, soldiers along with their dependants, received the offer from the South African military to go back "home" with them to South Africa, that they "would look after them". So, to this day they are living in a sprawling settlement of close to 2 000 large military tents, waiting for the government to place them into jobs and onto land, or to clear the way for them to go back to Namibia.[4]

These two San communities, like many others all across southern Africa, have recently begun to set up local, regional and interregional community organizations or advocacy groups, usually with expatriate involvement, through the agency of such NGOs as the Kuru Development Trust or the !Xu and Khwe Communal Property Association , at D'Kar and Schmidtsdrift, respectively (Godwin, 2001: 112-117; Hitchcock, 1996: 81-82; Lee, Hitchcock and Biesele, 2002; Robins, Madzudzo and Brenzinger, 2002: 13-25; Smith, Malherbe, Guenther and Berens, 2000: 88-89). An especially promising initiative is the Ghanzi-based Kgeikani Kweni group, or the First People of the Kalahari, which is run solely by San, without any expatriate involvement (Gall, 2001: 171-235). In 1995 these diverse groups became consolidated, forming the well organized, highly effective inter-regional organization Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA). WIMSA's expatriate and local staff are well trained and are accountable to an all-San board composed of elected representatives from a number of San villages and regions. Its aims, as that of the regional organizations, are such things as community development, mobilization and leadership, the realization of the San's minority's political rights and their informed participation in the nation's political process, and their recognition as a distinctive ethnic group with rights, especially to land (Broermann, 2002). These political stirrings and initiatives began in the late 1980s and gained much momentum in 1993 (the United Nations Year of Indigenous People, which, in 1995, was extended to the decade of Indigenous People). This momentum has been maintained to this day, all the more so as complex human rights and land issues reared their heads at numerous fronts during the century's last decade, which galvanized WIMSA, as well as other groups, into action (Gall, 2001; Godwin, 2001; Hitchcock, 1996; Lee et al., 2002: 34-55; Smith et al., 2000: chap. 9-10).

The two contemporary San art projects in southern Africa arose during the same period. Art exhibitions

were a component of a number of conferences dealing with San identity and political rights; for instance, in 1993, the afore-mentioned Year of Indigenous People, the D'Kar artists held as many as 13 exhibitions, most of them abroad, in England, Holland, Denmark, Finland and Norway. The artists were part of a number of delegations of Ghanzi San who, along with their expatriate spokespersons, went to Europe that year, on exhibition, fund-raising and networking trips (the latter with indigenous Greenlanders and with Sami). In 1997 a delegation of artists and other Kuru people went to Australia, on an exhibition and networking tour, where they met Aboriginal counterparts and compared notes on matters political.

The Artists and the Art

A total of 15 artists work, or worked at Kuru, nine of them men and six women.[5] The majority are Nharo San; one of them (Qãetcao Moses, or Olebogeng) is not a San, but a Nharo-speaking MoTswana. Prior to their artists' careers the men and women had been farm labourers and domestics for White, largely Afrikaans-speaking Boer farmers and two of the older Kuru artists (one a man, the other a woman) were trance dancers in their younger years. The artists have been with the art project for varying lengths of time, since its inception in 1990. Six women and nine men are members of the art project at Schmidtsdrift,[6] which was founded two years after the Kuru project. The joint output of paintings and prints of these thirty San artists has been vast and its exposure to the world extensive, especially that of the Kuru artists, which has been shown on four continents. Their art provides the men and women with sorely needed income, which for some may be substantial[7] and which they keep in bank accounts at Kuru, enabling them to accumulate stock animals (or, the more likely scenario, to provide for unemployed and needy kin).

Two things should be noted about the artists, both of them observations that expose Western-held, erroneous and hegemonic notions about "tribal artists" in general. One is that they are each highly individuated men and women, each with his or her own life history, temperament, artistic vision and skill. This I note in order to counter the reprehensible Western tendency, when dealing with tribal art, of obliterating the artist and treating the work as deriving from an ethnic collectivity or tribal tradition, rather than from an individual artist with his or her own creative intentions and stylistic idiosyncracies (which, in the case at hand, are exceptionally developed). The second point about the artists is that they are acculturated, Westernized, widely travelled fourth-generation erstwhile farm labourers or domestics, some of whom have attended school, speak Afrikaans and are members of the Dutch Reformed Church. About half of them are also politically alert and astute. They are decidedly modern people, as well as modern-looking ones, rather than leather loincloth-clad and semi-naked, as some Western newspaper articles on exhibitions of their work may lead one to believe. Nor are they tribal rustics unversed in Western ways, as reported in another newspaper account, of an exhibition in London in 1993, that commented on how lost the Bushman artist and her San companion were in the big city, and how cold the two African desert dwellers felt—notwithstanding London's early summer heat wave, at the time—and how it amazed them "that there were no thorns on our pavements" and how they missed their mealie porridge, yet "rather enjoyed the variety of berries at Kew Gardens" (*The Independent on Sunday*, May 1993: 23). The primordialist depiction of the artists in some of these Western newspaper reports is in line with the primitivist discourse that surrounds their art, to which I will turn below.

Of the two projects, the art at Schmidtsdrift is decidedly more political. The experience of some of the artists, as soldiers in the highly volatile region of north-eastern Namibia during the pre-independence guerilla war, has evidently left its mark on some of the pictures. Here, in a small proportion of pictures, one comes across such motifs as rifles and bayonets, army tents and trucks and depictions of soldiers. A few pictures deal quite stridently with such political, or military themes as soldiers recruiting or abducting San from their veld camp or of a soldiers' raid on a tent city. A number of the many pictures that are not explicitly political contain such Western elements as houses, kitchens, cups, bottles, chairs, jeans, radios, trucks, minibuses, numbers and letters, as well as one each of a soldier's ID card, ricksha man and a dinosaur (which the artist had seen a picture of on the back of a telephone book on a visit to Durban). These new, "foraged" motifs are juxtaposed with old ones, antelopes, veld plants, vines and trees, in compositions that balance the world of the present with that of the past.

Returning to the Kuru art, we find very few pieces that are explicitly political, that is, that deal head-on, as do the Schmidtsdrift pictures, with social and political issues faced by the San today. What their art depicts for the greatest part are nostalgic veld scenes from the past, which the older artists—such as Dada and the late Qwaa and Qgoma Ncokg'o—remember from their childhood and the middle-aged and younger ones from the

stories their parents or grandparents told them. The favourite topic of the men is large veld animals, especially antelopes, as well as the large mammals that once roamed the Ghanzi veld, elephants, rhinos, giraffes, eland, as well as lions and herds of wild dogs. (Fig. 1 provides an example.[8]) These have now all disappeared from land that has become grazing ranges for cattle. The men also like to paint mythological themes, especially Qwaa, who, as a one-time trance dancer, has had the mystical experiences of altered states of consciousness, outer body travel and encounters with spirits. These themes inform some of his art. He was wary about depicting some of them on his pictures and did so cryptically; for instance, by using the concealment technique[9] of tucking the supernatural element away in one of the nooks and crannies of busy scene showing things that were uncharged mythologically (and had "no *huwa* [story] in them," as he pointed out to me). Another mythic theme, also of Qwaa's nephew Thamae Setshogo as well as of the late Qgoma, are were-animals that conflate animal with human features, or those from other species or phyla, creating bird- or insect-headed humanoids, bird-antelopes, crocodile-hippos and like concoctions. These figures may be depictions of transformation, a mystical process of trance ritual, which appears as a motif on a few of the men's pictures.

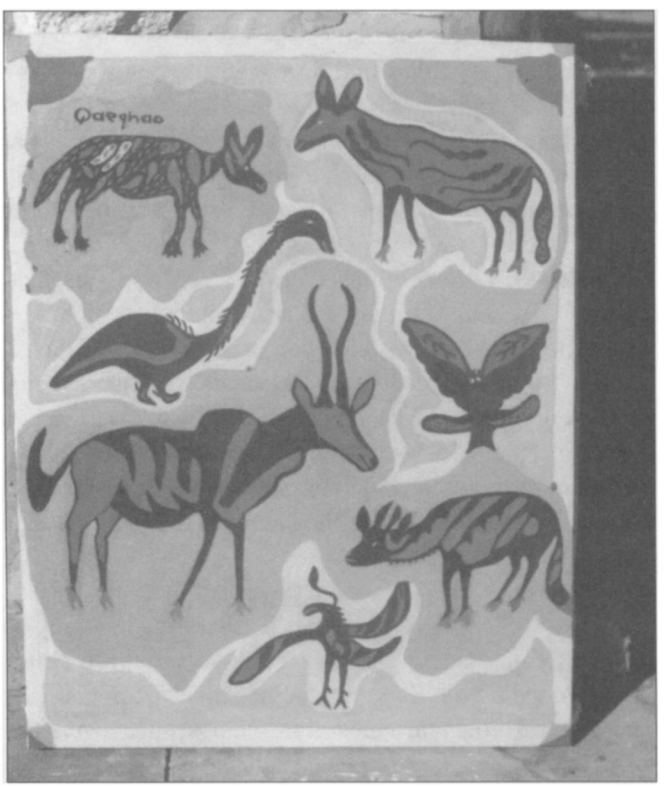

Figure 1: Untitled, oil on canvas, Qãetcao Moses, ca. 1995

Women's pictures, too, deal with *veld* scenes or with every-day domestic or ritual events. They are frequently also pictures that have explicit narrative content. The artist may reveal the latter to her children, using her picture as a visual aid to accompany a story or memorate, perhaps about a woman and a man out gathering in the veld who are happen on a leopard which chases them, or a circle of women chanting the trance dance for the dancer-men, the event interrupted by two white farmers who appear on the scene. By so drawing a picture into the expressive form of story telling, which in San culture is highly individuated (Biesele, 1993; Guenther, 1999: 126-145), the art's element of individual creativity is the more enhanced. Instead of mammals, the women's favourite motif tends to be plants, especially veld foods, each of which the artist will identify by name, as well as flowers, vines and trees. (See fig. 2 for an example.) Birds, along with insects—Ncg'abe Eland's best-liked motif—and butterflies, worms and caterpillars, scorpions, spiders and snakes, tortoises, lizards and frogs, all of them part of a traditional San woman's store of gatherable foods, likewise appear on the woman artists' canvases. So do the bags that they used and still use, as all of the woman artists still gather plants, whenever they are in season and their busy artists' schedules allow it. Other such feminine motifs are aprons, skirts and headdresses, all decorated with glass beads. Cg'oise Ntcox'o and Coex'ae Bob are especially fond of this exclusively set of female motifs (fig. 3). Another gendered aspect of the art pertains to style: the women's art tends to be more abstract than the men's art, and may be altogether non-representational, depicting geometric or fluid patterns.

It should be noted that this stylistic feature, as well as the substantive element—birds, as well as bugs and reptiles—are not the exclusive domain of the women. Very little is in San society, in which gender roles have always overlapped and gender equality prevailed (Biesele, 1993; Guenther, 1999: 146-163). Some of the men (especially Qwaa and Thamae Setshogo, as well as Qãetcao Moses) make use of these motifs. Here, one bird, the Kori Bustard, in particular stands out, perhaps because of its prominent role in San mythology (Biesele, 1983: 124-133, *passim*). Likewise, women will paint antelopes and other game animals, including domesticated ones—goats, cattle, hens—which appear on the women's canvases with somewhat greater frequency than on the men's.

Figure 2: "Veld Birds and Plants," oil on canvas, Cg'ose Ntcox'o, 1995

Figure 3: Untitled, oil on canvas, Coex'ae Bob, 1995

The last motif brings up a significant feature of the art: while the majority of pictures depict such culturally idiosyncratic themes as veld animals and old-time lifeway scenes, not all of the Kuru art bears the stamp of tradition. Some artists also depict the things that today surround and intrigue them, and that are useful to them, that derive from the modern world: items of western clothing, watches, radios, guitars, trucks, bicycles, helicopters, tables, chairs, pots and pans, cupboards and cups, Boers and Blacks, cattle and goats, horses and donkeys, mealie fields and European houses. (See fig. 4 for an example.) One can even come across angels, which the artist, Thamae Setshogo had heard about at a church service and which, unversed in Western sacred iconography, he depicted with insect-like wings, oval in shape and held at a stiff angle, like a mayfly at rest. Also in the unusual category, in content and presentation, is Dada's whimsical picture of a beauty contest. AIDS is another contemporary motif, which appears with disturbing poignancy on the canvases of a couple of the artists.

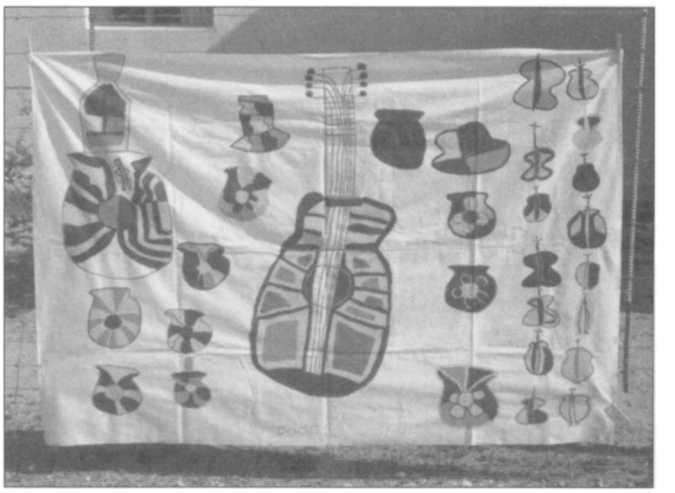

Figure 4: "Guitars and Shapes," acrylic on cloth, Coex'ae Qgam (Dada), ca. 1990

Some pictures are not just modern but post-modern, juxtaposing or conflating, sometimes with wry irony and droll or poignant incongruity, old motifs with new ones—such as pants and watches with the spirit being //Gãuwa, who points to the latter objects with insect claws and whose huge, baleful eyes recapitulate the watches' dials (fig. 5). The artist, Qwaa, was especially fond of this sort of picture, which, in addition to humour, at times also had a political edge.

One is his self-portrait, which blends his modern and traditional occupational roles, of farm labourer and trance healer. We see him wearing European work boots, socks and T-shirt, and standing in the posture of trance: erect stance, intent gaze, entoptics whirring about his head (which, he told me, enigmatically and wryly, were buttons!). As a commentary on a modern farm Bushman's experience with modernity, the picture seems to suggest that while contradictory and disjunctive, the old and the new can also somehow be cobbled together and bridged.

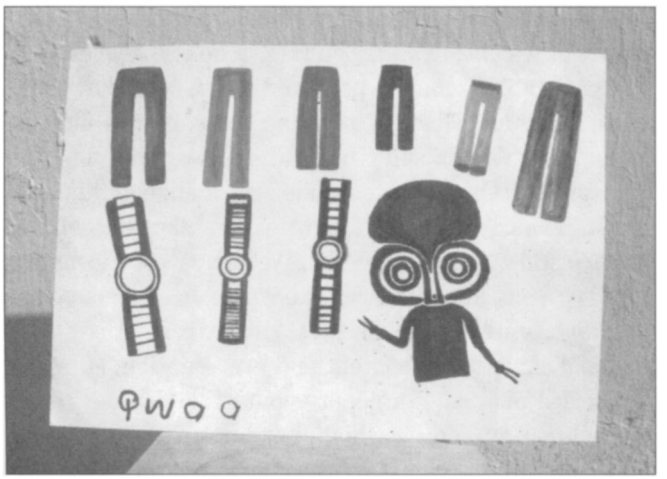

Figure 5: Untitled, acrylic on paper, Xg'oa Mangana ca. 1994

Another politically cast picture is Qwaa's painting of a Boer elephant hunt (fig. 6). When he showed me the picture, he also offered a lengthy narrative that dwelt on the serious and the hilarious elements of the portrayed scene. The first, the serious, was its depiction of a painful and signal event in the local history, that is part of people's oral tradition: the infamous slaughter, by Boer ivory hunters, of the elephants of the Ghanzi veld back in the last century, leading to their local extermination. The hilarious touch is that one of the three Boers is scared out of his wits, his legs are shaking and he is squatting down, ready to loosen his bowels!

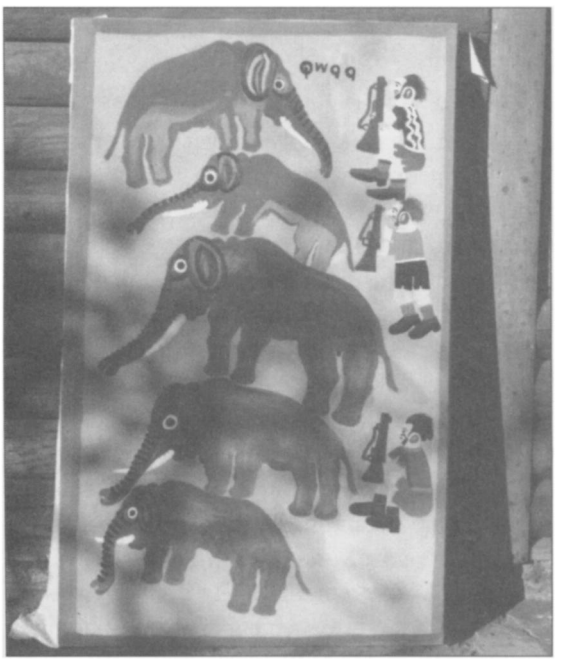

Figure 6: "Boers hunting Elephants," oil on canvas, Xg'oa Mangana (Qwaa), 1994

Qwaa was fond of lampooning the Boers, the farm San's paternalistic bosses, as in the picture of two Boers in a fist fight, with four birds looking on bemusedly. This sort of picture is an instance of the time honoured technique in traditional San politics, of bringing an uppity person in line through ridicule (Guenther, 1999: 34-37). In the context of the acculturated farm Bushmen it may perhaps be regarded as an instance of passive resistance or subversion (or the deployment of one of the "weapons of the weak," *à la* James Scott).

Another example of the same is Qwaa's picture of the helicopter game warden, hovering above and in amongst an array of animal tracks (fig. 7). He is after the mounted hunter, who has just demonstrated his outstanding skill by throwing a spear through the neck of a kori bustard. He is equally adept at evading the warden—the bane of the contemporary San hunter, now that the government has made hunting a perilous protocriminal activity—whose helicopter, on the picture, becomes just another animal track, a thing the hunter is as eminently competent to evade as to pursue.

Figure 7: Untitled, felt tip on paper, Xg'oa Mangana (Qwaa), ca 1993

Finally, we get to the picture Qwaa regarded as his masterpiece (fig. 8): on a green veld laze and graze eight elands, the San's center-fold meat (and spirit) animal (Lewis-Williams, 1981; Vinnicombe, 1976), because of its

bulk and fat (and healing potency) and its tractability as a prey animal. Each bears the artist's "brand"; he has laid claim, by means of this Western device for ownership demarcation, to the eland; they are "Bushman cattle," as he put it to me.

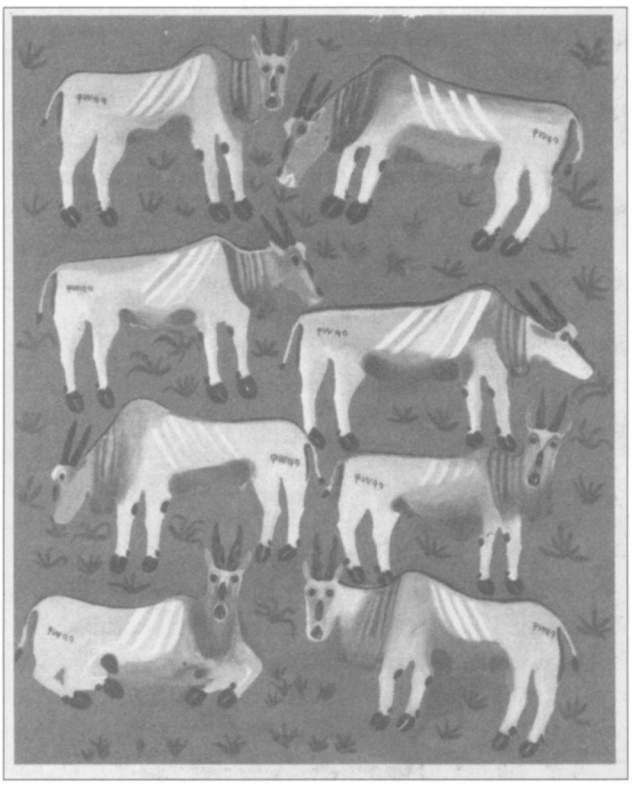

Figure 8: "Eland," oil on canvas, Xg'oa Mangana (Qwaa), 1995

The Political Dimensions of the Kuru Art

While not as explicit as in some of the Schmidtsdrift pictures, there nevertheless is a political dimension to the Kuru art. It is subtle in almost all of the Kuru works; in fact, at the face of it, the Kuru art, for the greatest part, does not strike one as being at all political. For one thing, many, at least half, the artists are themselves not all that aware, or engaged politically. For another, the preferred motifs of the artists—bucolic veld scenes—are the preferred motifs also of the Western buyers. This sort of correspondence may lead a cynic to dismiss any contention that political, rather than market-driven economic considerations are what lie behind the art.

However, there is more to it than that. Beyond an artist's personal intentions when he or she paints a picture, and transcending the same, are the group-wide issues of self-representation and self-identity. These envelop the lives of San today, including the artists and their art, both of which become drawn into a political trajectory. Pictures that are in themselves innocent of politics, but instead, depict nostalgic veld-set scenes of a somewhat other-worldly past, become political in an environment that draws such scenes into an identity discourse. Turn-of-the-century politics of the San of South and southern Africa give center-stage to the issue of identity (sharing that spot with two other issues, political rights and land). Concern over identity is evidenced, for example, in the Kuru Development Trust's Chairman's recent statement that "a nation without a culture is a lost nation" (the nation the speaker, Robert Morris, is referring to here are the *ncoa khoe*, the "red people," the Ghanzi Bushmen's term of self designation). The motto of the Kuru Cultural Center, that operates a museum and library at D'Kar and to which the Art Project is linked, is "*/au ba kg'oe dim dao me e*" (which literally translated means "the people's lives' ways is the path"). Such is the message also of the First People of the Kalahari, expressed in the group's slogan "survival through cultural revival," and its logo of a circle of dancers' feet surrounding the trance dance fire and flanked by a digging stick and an archery set.

The art and artists produce visually striking images which are displayed locally, nationally and internationally (at over 60 exhibitions, between 1990-99, in 14 countries on four continents), and which can be called up on the internet (see note 8). At times artists may accompany an exhibition, to take questions from outsiders about what the art means. Their answers are given significance to by the outsiders. These may be media persons who will report on the pictures and the artists and their deportment and comments—in edited form, as we will see below—in next day's newspaper or weekend edition's cultural supplement. In this fashion the artists are drawn into the identity discourse and, irrespective of their own intentionality, they and their art become political.

The art constructs identity in three modes, each corresponding to one of the three sets of motifs delineated in the section above. One is past and tradition-oriented, the second and third engage the present, one by depicting elements from the new economic and political reality, the other by juxtaposing these with traditional ones. Regarding the first mode, the self-identifying and self-representing functions of the pictures here could be seen as instances of "autoethnographic expression" (*á la* Mary Louise Pratt, 1992: 7); another manifestation of the same process are the half-dozen "traditional villages" and cultural performances San present to tourists at various places in the region (=Oma and Thoma, 2002; Guenther, 2002). What these "traditional"

pictures depict are veld scenes, especially animals, especially the large ones that have now vanished from the Ghanzi veld and that were around, and hunted, at a time when "Bushmen only" lived in the land. Veld plants are next, the kind that only San women know. Another highly idiosyncratic set of cultural traits that appears in a few of the pictures is drawn from the culture's inner core or sanctum: the myths and spirit beings, therianthropes and animal transformation and the ritual of the trance curing dance. To this day, the latter is practiced and stands as the most salient feature of San ethnic identity (Katz, Biesele and St. Denis, 1997), recognized and acknowledged as distinctive and significant by non-San (Lee, 2003: 201-205).

However, the pictures are not merely of an iconographic, static, "traditional" and ever more irretrievable past. Quite a few also depict those elements of the new economic and social order that are useful and desirable to contemporary San—jeans, watches, radios, pots, tables, stock animals and the like. While some pictures depict just these new things—consumer or capital goods from the Western cash economy, of which the modern San have become a part—the pictures are more than just a shopping list of coveted goods (a San Sear's catalogue, as it were). Most of the images that depict Western things or themes juxtapose the same to select elements from the past, in an exercise either of confrontation or negotiation. This enhances the artists' grasp of the modern world that has encapsulated them for over a century and which they now have begun to enter, on their own initiative. By blending, in their "hybrid"[10] pictures, old with new, the artists engage the new economic and social order, while also keeping in check its hegemonic impact. By juxtaposing elements of modernity with those of tradition they refer the former back to the latter and thereby embrace the new post-foraging order on their own terms. Counter-hegemonic brakes are placed on too rapid a process of absorption of this ethnic minority of erstwhile hunter-gatherers into the economy, society and polity of the nation state which stands at opposite ends to the nomadic, loose and egalitarian lifeways they all followed until recently.

These processes, of self-identification and self-representation, confrontation and negotiation, are happening not just at exhibitions in far-off centres. They occur also within their own community, as the production of the art, at D'Kar's little studio building or at home, in front of the artist's hut or in his or her courtyard (on the door, wall or fence of which may hang one of his canvases), is very much in the open and public and noted and watched by all. Works selected for major exhibitions may be displayed in the village prior to being shipped off; thus they, too, gain local public exposure, before being lost to far-away galleries. Some of the works may actually stay within the community, as works acquired by Kuru for D'Kar permanent collection to be displayed at the museum of the village's Cultural Centre. Copies of the annual Kuru art calendar hang on Kuru office walls and one or another separated page may also hang on the inside wall of a D'Kar resident's hut. Another type of art to be exhibited in the community are the works of children who are encouraged to draw and paint at the Kuru-run pre-school. The latter is itself a huge open-air canvas, as its four walls are decorated with close to 400 images, with veld and farm motifs of every description, the result of a day-long paint-in that involved all of the people of D'Kar, young and old, artist and non-artist. In such ways the art, even though destined for the outside world, also enters the artist's community and within it plays out its identity-constructing, modernity-engaging effects.

San Art and the Primitivism Discourse

These effects are in danger of being undermined by the outside world, however. The galleries that exhibit the art and the catalogues and media articles that report on it appear to hold their own distinctive artistic vision about "Bushman art," which is at variance, to a significant extent, with that of the artists and their cultural community.[11] The outside exhibitors, buyers and writers all are part of a distinctive and distinguished, urban and urbane "taste culture" (Lee, 1999), that has cultivated its own exclusive *connaissance,* (Price, 1989: chapter 1) and rarified *amour de l'art* (Bourdieu, Darbel and Schnapper, 1969), and its own exchange sphere and "discriminating classifications" on the value and worth of African art (Kopytoff, 1986: 78-79). It has its own elitist notions and preferences on "the Primitive" as it manifests itself within the connoisseurs' guarded aesthetic domain, as "Primitive Art," or, with respect to the case at hand, a sample of "African art" (which, to some collectors and art critics, is, in fact, synonymous with "primitive art" [Price, 1989: 54-55, 131]). These preferences are for the nostalgic, bucolic stuff: the *veld* scenes—of beads and bags, hunts and dances, trees and flowers, as well as for ritual and mythological scenes. More than anything, they are for the animals—to them the ideational and aesthetic core of San pictures—the bucks, as well as the birds and butterflies (but not the scorpions and spiders and centipedes—"nobody wants to hang bugs on their walls," one commercial gallery owner told me). They also do not much care for the pictures that

show modern scenes and, true to the maxim that "the essentialist discourse hates a hybrid" (Phillips, 1999: 35), they care even less for the "post-modern" pictures, that, in the spirit of pastiche, combine, conflate and juxtapose old and new and negotiate the new in terms of the old, and that are especially meaningful for some of the artists and contemporary Bushmen, as I suggested above. For the Western collectors, though, they are pieces that are largely "indigestible," "unnatural" and "inauthentic" (Clifford, 1985: 177).

What Western buyers seek are images of the Bushman of yore, and of the distant veld, which he—the Bushman, in the iconic, composite singular—shares with the animals. This was made clear to me when I went through my scrapbook of exhibition catalogues and press releases and newspaper and magazine articles about exhibitions, with a deconstructionist eye. Of the 33 pieces of writing on exhibitions in southern Africa, Europe and Australia from 1991-98, over half reveled in primitivist, primordialist rhetoric (while the rest offered more or less sober, sensitive and politically contextualized reportage). In addition to the rock art trope and its "eery echoes" discussed at the beginning, writers found resonances not only with hunter-gatherers, but also with Australian Aborigines (and generic "aboriginals" generally), with the Stone Age and other "distant ancestors." Others were struck by the art's connection to animals—the most common observation—and to nature and to the earth. The last is evidenced by the artists' alleged special affinity for "earthen colours" (which is quite an inaccurate characterization, in view of the artists' general preference for primary colours). As common as the zoomorphic trope is the element of childlike, untutored simplicity, expressed in such *bon mots* as "lack of sophistication and appealing innocence," "clumsy yet magical," "primitive charm," "innocence of vision," "unselfconscious immediacy." In the same discursive vein, "uncanny similarities" to Western art are noted, to such unlikely figures as Miró, Chagall, and the surrealist Alan Davie, as well as Cézanne and Gaugin (a case, it would seem, of the Modern in the Tribal, or Fauvism in reverse). Yet others commented sententiously on the art's "ancient power" and "dark mystery"; indeed, two articles, to underscore the darkness trope, made allusions to the "Dark Continent," using this colonialist baggage-laden sub-trope unselfconsciously, devoid even of the conventional, if not obligatory, quotation marks.

Another way of placing the contemporary art into the primitivism trope is to link it, in terms of style, content and aesthetic evocativeness, to San rock art of the past. Its echoes in the contemporary corpus are either hinted at by Western commentators, or they are explicitly drawn out by a curator, through side-by-side exhibitions of the two bodies of art. While a certain similarity in style and content can be noted in some of the paintings—in part, because some of the artists have taken Kuru-sponsored trips to far-away rock art sites that may have left an impression on some works[12]—for the most part these eery echoes collectors and viewers detect in the contemporary art are romantic ringings in their Western ears. They are transmitted through eyes that look at the pictures selectively and through glasses that have the tinge of primitivism. The rock art is altogether dissimilar: it is from a different time—centuries and millennia in the past—and a different place—the mountain regions of southern Africa, the locale for most of the sites, hundreds and thousands of kilometers from the Kalahari plains, a region quite devoid of boulders and shelters (and rock surfaces to paint on). It differs in style, content and function, primarily in that rock art was for the most part ritual, mystical and metaphorical, whereas the contemporary art is commercial and political, and largely perceptual. And such mystical and ritual motifs as we do find—the occasional portrayal of a mythological beings and mythic or ritual events, such as human-animal transformations and depictions of trance dancing—are largely narrative and symbolic (of San identity). They are not, as in rock art, central themes of a body of "shamanic art"that arguably has trance and transformation as its principal concern (Lewis-Williams, 1981; Lewis-Williams and Dowson, 1988; 1989). The key difference is that rock art was embedded in the San's own expressive, cosmological and ritual culture, while the contemporary art has no roots within the San artists' culture, being externally derived, through the actions of Western, NGO-funded art instructors.

Tribal, feral, childlike, primal, ancient and archaic, dark, at one with nature and kindred to animals: here we have all of the ingredients of primitivism (Price, 1989; Torgovnick, 1990), which revitalized Western art at the turn of the twentieth century (Rubin, 1984) and which was held to be especially pure and vibrant in pieces of "African art," in which these traits are held to vouchsafe the authenticity of an African art piece (Bascom, 1976). They are looked for and found, in a body of art that patently transcends the primitivist slot, in creative and subtle ways to which so many of the Western commentators have evidently chosen to blind their art critics' eyes. It should be noted that of the exhibitions here reported on in this manner about half of these actually did fall in line with the primitivist trope writers reported or projected on them. It is in evidence in the bias—in

favour of bucks, birds and beads—that guided the selection of paintings to be exhibited, the florid and romantically tribal title or sub-title for the exhibition—"Return of the Moon," "Eland and Moon," "Rise with the Sun," "Mongongo," "!Kung"—and the tenor of the galleries' press releases and exhibition catalogues announcing and reporting on the exhibitions. The fact that in a number of cases rock art was actually exhibited alongside the contemporary corpus further underscored the exhibited art works primitivist aura.

Why this almost compulsive penchant for Western collectors to place what is in many ways so patently modernist art into the primitivist slot? The reason can be found in the common tendency for non-Western, tribal or "ethnic" art to be identified not with the individual artist, who works as a creative agent in tune with his or her own personal aesthetic vision, but with the artist's ethnic provenance (Graburn, 1976: 21-23)—which, deriving, ideally, from Africa, or New Guinea, Australia or the Canadian Arctic, bears the stamp of the tribal. The maxim at work here, as noted by Sally Price (1979: 100), is that "if the artist isn't anonymous, the art isn't primitive" (also see Berlo, 1999: 183, Steiner, 1994: 92-93). The art and artist are viewed not as individual and singularized, freely expressive, idiosyncratic but as collective, traditional, culturally uniform, tribally ethnic. Mediated through art, an expressive form of culture that conveys visual images and evokes an aesthetic response, that collectivity gains special salience and potency in the Western viewer. What (s)he will look for, and find, in a body of tribal or ethnic art—and, in the case of a curator, select for public display—are those features that define the art's collective, or tribal/ethnic dimension, overriding and obliterating in the process such individually conceived, extra-ethnic, idiosyncratic or modernist elements as there may be found in the art (and in the process also putting brakes on the artist's creative agency and integrity).

We see just that process at work to a significant extent in the body of art at hand: "Bushman art," along with its valorizing rock art cousin and alleged predecessor, is seen as an exemplar of Bushman culture and ethnic identity. And the qualities ascribed to the San ethnic minority—of timeless, history-less pristineness and primordialism—are ascribed also to their art, all the more so, in view of its visual salience and its evocativeness. Bushman (rock) art becomes the embodiment of "Bushman-ness," as noted by the South African art historian Barbara Buntman (2002: 75-77), and it stands in a feedback relationship to the essentialist, primordialist discourse that surrounds this ethnic minority in the countries of southern Africa, especially South Africa, the country in which the art is most frequently exhibited. Of all such minorities, the San, notwithstanding their numerical minority, are the most visible, the most mythic and iconic, either within academe, where, at one time, they stood as the paradigmatic, anthropology textbook case of "the hunter-gatherer" (Wilmsen, 1989), or outside academe. There, in South—and southern—Africa, we find a bowdlerized variant of the academic alterity Bushman figure, in the form of a crassly, unselfconsciously profiled archaic hunter-gatherer of the distant veld, "digging roots in bleached landscapes" (Landau, 1996: 141).

This figure has been appropriated and manipulated by government and corporate agencies, to various ends. One is to promote national unity, with reference to South Africa's "First People": so cast, as a "baseline monoculture" who precede and thus transcend all of the other divided groups of the land, the Bushmen are seen, by post-Apartheid intellectuals, as having the capacity to bridge the past and the future and to bring together divided communities by symbolically decentering competing nationalisms (Blundell, 1998: 155; Douglas, 1994: 73; Lewis-Williams, 2000: 41; Masilela, 1987; Tomaselli, 1993; 1995). This idealistic notion has also been fastened on by the new nation builders, as evidenced in South Africa' s Olympic flag design depicting rock art figures, and the Republic of South Africa' new national crest, which bears a mirror-imaged human figure in the centre that is based on a San rock art painting from South Africa's Eastern Cape province, along with the motto, in the extinct /Xam language, *!Ke e:/xarra //ke*, which means "people who are different join together"(Lewis-Williams, 2000: n.p.; Smith et al., 2001). Less loftily and commendably, the purpose of the co-opting and manipulation of San cultural elements may be to advertise a company or its products, by means of a salient, iconic image, for which the Bushmen, in their splendid Otherness, provide all of the right stuff. One finds them, or elements of their culture (especially rock art), on stamps, specially minted precious-metal coins and telephone cards, or as logos for museums or Cape wine labels. A new product for the jaded Western palate is the cordial "Kalahari Thirstland Liqueur," which invites the buyer to "experience the unique Kalahari" and underscores the point with advertisements that depict pristine loin clothed Bushman hunters and generic rock art figures (which are quite out of place in the Kalahari) (Buntman, 2002: 74). Crown and private corporations use rock art or other traditional Bushmen motifs for advertising; for instance the South African Broadcasting

Corporation and the South African Railways (Spoornet), or Mazda and Lemontwist, in television commercials (Blundell, 1998; Dowson, 1996). Instead of television commercials, there may be documentaries, such as Paul Myburgh's "The People of the Great Sandface" dripping with primordialist primitivism (Gordon, 1990; Guenther, 1990; Wilmsen, 1992), or feature films, such as the bizarrely pristinist block-buster "The Gods Must be Crazy," parts I and II, which has become famous—and infamous (Lee, 1985; Volkman, 1988)—internationally.

As the most photographed human subject, since the 1880s, in the early travel and tourism literature on southern Africa and the genre's ultimate "coffee-table book people" (Landau, 1996: 141), the Bushmen are especially prominent within the tourism industry (which, as ethnotourism, has become one of the industry's most important branches during post-Apartheid times, as well as a significant element of the politics—and economics—of identity[13]). Souvenirs with San cultural and rock art motifs abound—coasters, beer mugs, T-shirts, place mats, fridge magnets, key rings, decks of playing cards and the like (Buntman, 2002: 75-77). Such motifs appear on post and greeting cards and on tourist boutique signs. The British Airways' jumbo jets taking the tourist to his South African destination may have a contemporary San art painting—which the corporation bought from one of the Kuru artists (Cg'oise)—gracing its tail, as well as the coasters, serviettes and sugar packets handed out to the passengers. The tourist heading to Sun City resort and casino near Johannesburg, will come across rows of walking rock art women and men, some with antelope heads, heading purposefully towards the washroom, directing the visitor to his or her toilet facility (Dowson, 1996; Hall, 1995). The ultimate "Bushman experience" awaits the international tourist at one of the two "cultural villages," Kagga Kamma in South Africa and IntuAfrika in Namibia (Buntman, 1996; Crowe, 1996; Guenther, 2002: 47-51; Isaacson, 2002: 78-92; Whyte, 1993), where, in the context of an up-scale and pricey safari-style lodge, with swimming pool and sun-downers, loin-clothed Bushmen take tourists on bush walks or perform dubious trance dance numbers, bare-breasted Bushwomen, squat in front of grass huts drilling and stringing ostrich eggshell beads and half-naked Bushchildren, frolic about, offering to the tourist a highly photogenic *tableau vivant*.

A number of South African cultural critics (Blundell, 1998; Buntman, 1996; 2002; Dowson, 1996; Tomaselli, 1995) have decried this process of (mis)appropriation and manipulation of San cultural elements, which has deep roots in the country's history and collective consciousness (Skotnes, 1996). They see this process to be a mechanism of increasing reification of the Bushmen ethnic minority as tribal stereotypes, as well as isolates and innocents, and as "marginalized others" excluded from "from the political, economic and cultural centres" (Buntman, 1996: 279) of the modern society and nation state. "Primordialism," notes the South African social anthropologist Stuart Douglas, "lends itself to being a function of oppressive power relations" (1994: 10), indeed, to ideologies of ethnic cleansing, as ominously hinted at by Ed Wilmsen (1995: 19). Its attributes of cultural backwardness and stasis are counterproductive to the change and betterment contemporary Bushmen are striving for.

In sum, through a barrage of crass, commercial measures of this sort, the ethnic identity of the Bushmen gets distorted and essentialized, into a primordial primitive, a hunter-gatherers *par excellence*, the agro-pastoral, urban-industrial world's quintessential tribal Other. That otherness is projected by the Western viewer also onto "Bushman art" (*via* rock art), which, through this projection, becomes replete with primitivism and primordialism. Inescapably, the latter become the aesthetic mystique of the art, through a process of stereotypical attribution of primordial ethnicity that is deeply rooted within the culture and collective mentality of the non-San consumers of the art, especially in southern and South Africa.[14]

Conclusion: Keeping Primitivism in Check

As yet, the Western aesthetic predilection for the "primitive" pieces in the contemporary San oeuvre—the bucks, birds, plants and beads motifs—has not become a canon, however, as it seems to have in other bodies of "ethnic art"[15] and as yet, it does not appear to have placed aesthetic fetters on the artists or subjected them to any form of aesthetic hegemony, as has happened elsewhere in the world.[16] At Kuru the artists are enjoined by the project supervisor to create pieces that are in accordance with their own creative dictates. The individual style, vision and talent of each artist is recognized and fostered, and in marketing the Kuru art, the fact that an individuated artist stands behind each painting and print is emphasized (for example, by applying prominent signatures to each picture and placing biographical sketches and photographs of the artists into the Kuru art brochure and annual art calendar). Presenting the art in this way to the outside world can be expected to counteract the tendency to place the art within a generic ethnic slot. Sometimes a theme might be set for the artists, such as a certain folktale or myth, or such

modern issues as building a house, keeping cattle or the problems of alcohol or AIDS. This encourages artists to turn their creative talents towards modern subjects and acts as a countermeasure to such externally derived primitivism aesthetic as may be imposed on the artists. Some artists continue to produce primarily "traditional" motifs, in part because they are most adept at this sort of picture, enjoy doing such paintings or prints the most and, in some instances, do so also because these pieces are most likely to be sold. Thus, while some artist have become and are becoming attuned to market preferences, most of them paint what they like, including pictures of bugs, of modern and post-modern scenes.

If the latter pieces should turn out not to sell as readily but, instead end up staying at D'Kar village, that is just as well. These pieces, with their wry commentary on the modern life situation of the post-foraging Bushmen, their conflation—and at times deflation—of things old and new, engage modernity and try to work out its ambiguities and contradictions, and subtly subvert its economic and hegemonic hold, through juxtapositioning, conflation, bemusement, irony. Such hybrid art is as meaningful the San artists and their community as it is "indigestible" to the outside collector.

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I gratefully acknowledge the feed-back I received on this paper from two anonymous referees, which, in the one instance, was exceptionally insightful, germane and comprehensive.

Notes

1 Breaking with previous practice (Guenther, 1986), I have in this paper adopted the term "San" as the overarching designation for the click-speaking, erstwhile hunting-gathering Khoisan people known also as "Bushmen" (along with a number of other designations; see Hitchcock and Biesele n.d.). The question—"San" or "Bushman?"—is still not entirely settled, however, neither amongst scholars, nor the people themselves, amongst whom we can find members of the same family in disagreement over the matter, one brother opting for "Bushman," the other for "San" (as was the case at a 1991 community meeting in the Nyae Nyae region of north-eastern Namibia [Hitchcock and Biesele, *op. cit.*]). Yet, it seems that amongst the people themselves, including Khoisan and Coloured of the Cape in South Africa, who lay claim to a Khoisan heritage, San is becoming the preferred term of self-appellation. It was agreed upon in 1996, by delegates from various San groups, at a meeting in Namibia, as the designation for the people as a whole, *vis à vis* the outside world. Amongst themselves, the group also decided, specific groups should be referred to by their own specific designations, maintaining thereby regional cultural diversity (one of the hallmarks of San people and culture). At the 1997 "Khoisan Identities and Cultural Heritage" conference in Cape Town, a land-mark event in Khoisan identity politics (Bank, 1998), that position was re-confirmed. Possibly, the reason San received endorsement from this group is its gloss as "original people" (Gordon, 1992: 5-6). The term sits well with the current claim made by or for the San of South and southern Africa as the region's or country's "First People" (Masisela, 1987; Tomaselli, 1995). Deliberations of this sort—no longer by scholars, for reasons academic, but by the people themselves, out of political considerations—reveal just how important this issue is to them, as a symbolic acknowledgment not only of their identity but of their struggle for empowerment and land.

2 This—"fine art"—and its opposite, "applied art," have not appeared in San culture as a conceptual type and pair, let alone as one whose members are unequally valued, with the "applied art" (or its cognate forms, "crafts" or "artifacts"), generally associated with women, held as the inferior form (Faris, 1988; Phillips and Steiner, 1999: 5-7). In the San case, the fine art, the easel paintings and prints, receive some of their motifs from traditional ostrich eggshell and glass bead work and the decorations that are etched or burnt onto ostrich eggshell water containers or wooden vessels or pipes or spoons. Some of the print images appear, as new "applied art," on T-shirts and greeting cards sold to tourists at the Kuru craft shop. Half of the "fine" artists are women and a number of them also make "applied" crafts. Because of such overlap between the fine and the applied art forms, the questions and issues this conceptual pair elicits in the art complex of Western and other societies are largely irrelevant in the San case.

3 As a result of a massive restructuring of the Kuru organization, the Kuru Development Trust is now called the Kuru Family of Organizations (KFO), consisting of seven smaller organizations, one of which, the D'Kar-based D'Kar Kuru Trust, administers the art project, while another, the Ghanzi-based Kalahari Crafts, markets the art works (Kuru Staff Members, 2002). What I report in this paper describes the situation as it existed during the time of fieldwork (1994-97), before KDT's restructuring.

4 In 1999 the !Xu and Khwe at Schmidtsdrift were officially awarded title deeds to three farms the South African government had purchased, on which they are to be resettled, once housing has been built at the new sites (Robins et al., 2002: 13-14). Today, the process of resettlement is expected to be complete by the end of 2002, at which time the Schmidtsdrift tents will be dismantled.

5 Their names are, for the men, Xg'oa Mangana (Qwaa, deceased), Qgoma Ncokg'o (Qmao, deceased), Thamae Setshogo, Xgaoc'o X'are, Thama Kase (Thamae Kaashe), Sobe Sobe, Qãetcao Moses (Olebogeng), Gamnqoa Kukama and Xgaiga Qhomatca and, for the women, Nxaedom Qhomatca (Ankie, deceased), Coex'ae Qgam (Dada), Cg'ose Ntcox'o (Cgoise), Ncg'abe Taase (Nxabe Eland),

Coex'ae Bob (Ennie), X'aga Tcuixgao. It should be noted that the artists's names are transcribed by means of the "official" Nharo orthography, as developed by the linguist by Hessel Visser at D'Kar. In lieu of click symbols its uses consonants, in the following manner: "c "for " /" (dental click), "tc" for = (alveolar click), "x" for "//" (lateral click) and "q" for "!" (alveo-palatal click).

6 In 1995, when I visited the community, their names were, for the men, Joao Wenne Dikuanga, Fulai (Flai) Shipipa, Carimbwe Katunga, Steffans Samcuia, Freciano Ndala, Alouis Sijaja, Monto Masako, Bernardo (Tahulu) Rumau, Manuel Masseka, and, for the women, Zurietta Dala, Madena Kasanga, Andry Kashivi, Bongi Kasiki, Donna Rumao, and Julietta Calimbwe.

7 For example, at D'Kar over 152,300 Pula (or $50 000) were earned by the artists from 1993-95. About 75% of the proceeds went to the Kuru artists, each getting different sums, proportionate to his or her sales. Incomes of this magnitude put most of the artists into the relatively affluent sector of the D'Kar village residents, the majority of whom are poor and unemployed and live in hovels (Guenther, forthcoming).

8 In its conference version (at the 2001 CASCA meetings in Montreal) this paper was a slide presentation (consisting of close to 30 pictures). Because of practical constraints, the printed version can only offer a few pictures, a regrettable circumstance, given the subject matter. Samples of the art, by artists from both communities, can be viewed on the internet (at such sites as http:/www.kalaharicraft.com/cgoise_text.htm, http://www.sanart.com/editione.htm and http://www.africaserver.nl/kuru/). The art of the !Xun and Khwe artists is showcased in a recent book by Marlene Sullivan Winberg (2001).

9 This technique is also used by Australian Aboriginal artists (Krempel 1993; Morphy, 1989).

10 Formally, these pictures very much pictures fit Bakhtin's classic definition of hybridization: "...a mixture of two social languages within the limits of a single utterance, an encounter, within the arena of an utterance, between two different linguistic consciousnesses, separated from one another by an epoch, by social differentiation, or by some other factor" (1981: 358).

11 Valda Blundell (1989) has described the same process—of ethnic art primordialization through media reportage—for the Canadian Inuit art scene.

12 As noted by one of the anonymous reviewers of this paper, one of the N/u men at Kagga Kamma has recently started creating rock engravings "in the spirit and form of the original rock engraving tradition." The same was reported by Rupert Isaacson–two men painting small gemsboks and hunters onto smooth slabs of rock, with a pigment of powdered red rock and animal fat mixed in a tortoise shell, all for tourist consumption (2002: 84).

13 Ethnotourism draws in a number of the country's and region's other ethnic groups, especially such photogenic groups as the Zulu, Pedi, Sotho, Ndebele or Himba (Crowe, 1996).

14 One of the anonymous referees felt that my paper presents primitivism in an "overwhelmingly bad light." As mitigating factors s/he points to such positive aspects as the San finding gainful employment through their involvement in cultural performance schemes and using these as an advocacy base for reclaiming ancestral land (as exemplified by the celebrated, successful Khomani case in South Africa's Kalahari Gemsbok National Park). The point is also made that the San themselves (for instance at Kagga Kamma) are not dupes in such schemes, that display, market and exploit their heritage, but willing and astute participants. Another point made is that the San themselves are not infrequently "dominantly conservative," in contrast to the "people researching them [who] are often more left-leaning and tend to be made uncomfortable by things that do not always cause concern to the Indigenous people themselves." Finally, the referee points out that in South Africa the Primitivism movement "found root," amongst White artists (such as Walter Battiss, Pippa Skotnes and others) who found inspiration in San art, aspects of which they incorporated into their own work. This is presented as a positive instance of cultural appropriation, because it raised the profile of the San and made Whites aware that "both 'they' and 'us' make 'art'." While I appreciate these points (to some of which I have addressed myself elsewhere [2002, forthcoming]), I remain troubled by what I see as the dark side in the primitivism trope, as applied to contemporary, "modern" San art: its penchant for reifying stereotypes and the damaging implications this has for the post-foraging San people's political struggle.

15 For instance Australia, where Judith Ryan (1993) has noted an "ochre canon" in modern Aboriginal bark paintings, which constrains the Aboriginal artists' range of artistic expression.

16 For instance, on artists amongst the Ainu (Low, 1976: 221), Australian Aboriginals (Lüthi, 1993: 26-29; Ryan, 1993: 61-63; Williams, 1976: 278), Baule (Steiner, 1994: 108) and Inuit (Berlo, 1999: 190-192; Mitchell, 1998; Seagrave, 1998).

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Class, Culture and Recognition: San Farm Workers and Indigenous Identities[1]

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Abstract: This paper examines the processes of identity formation among contemporary Namibian San. I survey the topic from two perspectives. First, I consider features of the political economic and cultural context that shape the recognition and misrecognition of the San by others; second, I argue that the situation of San generational farm workers in the Omaheke Region present important challenges to received definitions of "class," "culture," "authenticity," and "autonomy," and therefore highlight critical limitations to the fields of recognition for indigenous identities in southern Africa.

Keywords: San, Namibia, rights, class, identity, recognition

Résumé : Cet article examine le processus de formation de l'identité chez les San de Namibie. J'analyse ce phénomène selon deux perspectives. D'abord, je relève les caractéristiques des contextes politiques, économiques et culturels qui permettent que les San soient ou non reconnus par les autres. Ensuite, je montre que la situation des fermiers héréditaires san dans la région Omaheke présente des difficultés sérieuses par rapport aux définitions courantes de «classe», «culture», «authenticité» et «autonomie», et donc fait ressortir des lacunes importantes dans le domaine de la reconnaissance des identités autochtones en Afrique du Sud.

Mots-clés : San, Namibia, droits, classe, identité, reconnaissance

Introduction

Over 30 years ago ethnographic research on the San challenged deeply held beliefs about "human nature." The work of Richard Lee, and other Kalahari researchers influenced by Lee, was especially important because it debunked Hobbesian stereotypes about "primitive people" that served to justify race, class and gender inequalities, both within Western societies and in colonial contexts. Today, the challenges presented by the San to western philosophical and political presuppositions go beyond exploding myths and stereotypes. Their current activism as indigenous peoples and their current engagement in identity politics requires activists and academics to rethink received definitions of "culture," "class," "autonomy," and "authenticity."

Meanwhile anthropology, and Kalahari hunter-gatherer studies in particular, has undergone a philosophical shift away from trying to uncover a universal human nature to examining what goes into the local production of distinct identities. The Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor highlights the distinction between "human nature" and "identity" in the following way:

> Herder put forward the idea that each of us has an original way of being human...This idea has burrowed very deep into modern consciousness...There is a certain way of being human that is *my* way...this notion gives a new importance to being true to myself. If I am not, I miss the point of my life; I miss what being human is for *me*. (1994: 30)

Two key presuppositions provide the basis for contemporary identity politics. First, identity is predicated on what Taylor calls "the ideal of authenticity"; that is, an "authentic" identity cannot be imposed, but is something that only autonomous agents can articulate and define for themselves (Taylor, 1994: 31; see also Hall, 1997a; 1997b). This ideal sets the standard for cultural authenticity as well: "Just like individuals, a *Volk* should

be true to itself, that is, its own culture" (Taylor, ibid). The second presupposition is that identity requires recognition. As Taylor notes: "[O]ur identity is partly shaped by recognition or by its absence...Nonrecognition or misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being" (1994: 25).

In this paper I address these two theses—that identities rest on an "ideal of authenticity," and that identities require recognition—in light of the situation of the farm San in the Omaheke Region of Namibia. I first examine some of the ideological causes, and material consequences of misrecognition. I then outline how current San struggles for political recognition reveal important assumptions surrounding the terms "authenticity" and "the invention of tradition." Finally, I examine expressions of identity among the San in the Omaheke, a context in which the idea of San culture (as an autonomous creation) is in tension with their highly dependent underclass status. This is a tension which expressed itself in the field of hunter gatherer studies as the central question of the Great Kalahari Debate: that is, should the San be seen as creations or as casualties of colonization and global capitalism? (see Gordon and Spiegel, 1993: 89).

Invisible and Indigenous Identities

Disappearing Bushmen

When I first arrived in Namibia, a researcher with the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation who had grown up in the Omaheke informed me that there were no Bushmen left in the region—they had disappeared years ago. It turned out that Bushmen were conspicuously present in the Omaheke, and that what the NBC researcher had meant to say was that there were no *real* or *authentic* Bushmen left in the region. This was a widespread and historically deep attitude among non-San in Namibia.

The "real" Bushmen have disappeared, first, through intermarriage with other ethnic groups. A white resident of Gobabis told me: "There are no pure Bushmen left anymore. They've been intermarrying with other ethnic groups far too long." Boldly tying group authenticity directly to its male members, he explained: "Real Bushmen have semi-erections all the time." More importantly, however, the San have "disappeared" because they have been forced to abandon their traditional hunting and gathering lifestyle. Once they become incorporated into a modern political economy and state system, they cease to be "authentic" Bushmen. This view is not confined to Namibia. A missionary in Ghanzi, Botswana, told me: "Once they get an education, they are no longer Bushmen...when they go to look for work they are Basarwa."[2]

I initially treated stories about disappearing Bushmen as ill-informed stereotypes that contributed to the general neglect of the San by the state. But the more often I heard such stories, the more I was forced to acknowledge a deeper problem, and one that bore on larger issues of identity politics. During the first year of my field work (1996), the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA) was established to assist the San in their claims for rights as indigenous peoples in national and international forums. It suddenly began to matter a great deal whether the underclass of farm labourers I studied in the Omaheke were "real" Bushmen. The class status of the Omaheke San—and doubts about cultural authenticity engendered by that status—was becoming increasingly linked to their prospects for political empowerment, and to the form such empowerment might eventually take.

Exclusion and Exploitation

To understand how the Omaheke San became invisible, we need to take a brief glance back. Two very different historical trajectories of colonial rule and identity formation were followed in the case of the Namibian San. For those San living in what is now the Otjozondjupa Region, colonial rule, and later apartheid, took the form of geographical, economic and political segregation and containment on reserves and an ethnic homeland (Bushmanland), where they were able to maintain a foraging lifestyle until fairly recently. But other groups—such as the Omaheke San—experienced colonial rule and apartheid as a process of complete land dispossession and eventual incorporation into the lowest stratum of a racialized and ethnically hierarchical class system. These two historical trajectories were reflected by the colonial distinction between the "wild" hunting and gathering Bushmen, and the "tame" farm labouring Bushmen.

The distinction between "wild" and "tame" Bushmen was never part of an internally coherent ideological scheme. But it did provide opportunistic justifications for exploitative labour relations—justifications that are echoed by the Omaheke farmers today. For example, many farmers still do not see their San employees as workers (which, since independence, would imply rights to certain standards of housing and remuneration); the Bushmen are still considered "wild" enough to have no need for a living wage or for decent housing (see also Suzman, 2000; Sylvain, 1997; 1999).

But, while their inherent "wildness" excludes them from cash transactions and state politics, the loss of their foraging lifestyle prevents their recognition as "real" Bushmen. Too conspicuously Bushmen for participation in the "modern" world, but too obviously farm labourers to claim an "authentic" Bushman identity, the Omaheke San have fallen from sight between our categories of class and culture.

Three connected assumptions in popular discourse influence how Bushmen identity is recognized (or misrecognized): first, Bushman identity is pegged to a unique relationship with the land;[3] second, this relationship is crucial to a pre-modern lifestyle and identity; and third, class relationships—by alienating the San from their land and incorporating them into "modern" social relationships—dissolves their cultural identity. As the San struggle for recognition by participating in international forums, we should ask whether, and to what extent, the prospects for recognition of indigenous peoples in southern Africa is tied to these neo-colonial assumptions about racial "Others."

Two main goals of the international indigenous peoples' movement are to secure land rights and to achieve local self-determination.[4] San struggles around these issues have so far been impressive. For example, the ǂKhomani San in South Africa won an important land claim victory in 1999 and, in 1998, the Ju/'hoansi in the north of Namibia were granted rights to what is now the Nyae Nyae Conservancy (Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Sothern Africa, 1998). Even in cases where the San have not yet been successful in their struggles over land rights—such as in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve—connections with the global indigenous movement and broader NGO networks have helped lend international support to their cause. Nonetheless, some aspects of international discourse on indigenous identity resonate uncomfortably close to the three assumptions I outlined above.

First, much of the rhetoric surrounding land rights invokes the ontological premise that what *distinguishes* indigenous peoples from the masses of the world's impoverished marginalized minorities is a unique (often spiritual) relationship with the land. For example, in a speech celebrating the ǂKhomani victory, the South African Minister of Agriculture and Land Affairs (Hon. Derek Hanekom) stated: "We are here celebrating more than just the settlement of a land claim: we are here celebrating the rebirth of the ǂKhomani nation" (cited in Brörmann, 1999: 43). The ǂKhomani San's lawyer (Mr. Chennells) told the *Globe and Mail* that "a return to their land will give them back their identity" (Saturday March 20, 1999). However, if the formerly landless ǂKhomani nation is being "reborn," if their cultural identity is being "given back," then to whom were land rights given, if not the cultural community of the ǂKhomani San? This conceptual inconsistency provides as much room for the denial of rights to land and political representation as it does for the recognition of these rights.

Second, as Will Kymlicka (1999) points out, legal distinctions between indigenous peoples and stateless nations (or "national minorities") rest on the notion that indigenous peoples are defined by radical "Otherness." New international norms regarding the status of indigenous peoples are based on the belief that

> Indigenous peoples do not just constitute distinct cultures, but...entirely different forms of culture...rooted in a pre-modern way of life that needs protecting from the forces of modernization.... (Kymlicka, 1999: 289)

The third (and related) assumption is found in the exclusive nature of the distinction between culture and class. For example, Anti-Slavery International and the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs describes a consequence of slavery and other forms of unfree labour as the "loss of cultural and political identity as Peoples" (1997: 19).

Each of these three assumptions magnifies the distinction between indigenous peoples and impoverished minorities. This is worrisome for two reasons: first, it effectively isolates indigenous peoples' issues from class issues, making the two mutually exclusive concerns; and secondly, by essentializing the identities of indigenous peoples it risks "deculturating" those indigenous people who were dispossessed of their land by colonization. Much like the popular discourse on the "disappearing Bushmen," international discourse on indigenism risks defining those San who happen also to be an underclass as casualties of colonization and capitalism.

Rights and Recognition

The Invention of Tradition and Traditional Authorities

An alternative to defining the farm San as casualties of colonization and capitalism is to describe them as creations of these same processes, which is the approach that Kalahari "revisionists" adopted (see Wilmsen, 1989; Wilmsen and Denbow, 1990). The revisionists' "invention of tradition" approach appears, superficially at least, to recommend itself in cases where the San live in conditions of extreme dependency and are subject to the

stereotypes that more powerful groups impose on them. But despite the commendable historicism of the revisionists' approach, they remain wedded to a deeply essentialist view of ethnic identity: their claim is that if we do not find the Bushmen of "traditionalist" ethnography, but instead find slaves, serfs, or rural proletarians, then, first, the category "Bushmen" is merely a creation of capitalism and colonization and, second, if the category is "created" or "invented," then it is a Western *fiction*. As Robert Gordon says, in *The Bushman Myth*:

> The term Bushman is thus a "lumpen" category into which all those who failed to conform or acquiesce were dumped. It is not an ethnic group but a sociopolitical category derived from a wider setting. (1992: 6)

Here the implication is that if an identity has been constructed—if it is a product of history—it must be fictitious (or in Gordon's words "a myth"). Either ethnicity and culture are primordial, ontological categories, or they are nothing at all. A second problem with the revisionists' use of the "invention of tradition" approach—one that has been emphasized in Richard Lee's work—is that it attributes too much power to "the system" (see Lee, 1992; Solway and Lee, 1990). This perspective obscures San agency in the dynamic relationships between the San and their significant "Others," whether those Others are the agents of colonialism, capitalism, or newly independent governments.

After the Namibian government passed the Traditional Authorities Act in 1995 (amended 1997), San groups in Namibia began petitioning for government recognition for their community leaders (see Felton, 2000).[5] Government recognition of community leaders may mean a seat on the Council of Traditional Leaders, which would give the San a voice in discussions about land reform (Felton, 2000: 5). San struggles for recognition under this Act are shaped by the three assumptions outlined above: that is, Bushmen identity is pegged to the land, it is premodern, and it is incompatible with class relations. At the same time, however, their struggles for political recognition are also shaped by assumptions surrounding the term "invented": that is, invented traditions are "made up" and "fictitious." I will address each assumption in turn.

First, the obstacles some San communities have confronted are associated with making landedness a precondition for recognition. The Traditional Authorities Act defines a "traditional community" as (*inter alia*) one "inhabiting a common communal area" (i.e., living in a former homeland). According to this definition, those San who live as a farm labouring underclass on land owned by others do not qualify as a "traditional community," and so have been unable to gain official recognition. However, the minority of San who retained at least *de facto* land rights (that is, those most clearly "tribalized" by colonial rule and put into a homeland) are also those who are most unproblematically entitled to political recognition.

Second, the recognition of San traditional leaders is also hindered by a static definition of "pre-modern" and "primitive" San culture. A common view holds that the San traditionally lived in foraging band societies, and so did not own land, nor did they have formal leadership structures (Felton, 2000: 6).[6] Introducing leadership structures and modern property relations would compromise their cultural authenticity. Finally, San struggles for political recognition under the Traditional Authorities Act are shaped by tensions between class status and cultural identity. Silke Felton notes that the San are generally regarded as "different" by other ethnic groups, but they "are not usually credited with characteristics of distinct tribes"; instead, they are seen by others "as a socially inferior, mainly cattleless *class*" (2000: 6, emphasis mine). The implication of this attitude is that the San are more appropriately placed under the jurisdiction of the Bantu-speaking Traditional Authority for the area in which San "serfs" are found.

In light of static definitions of "authentic" Bushmen identity—as inherently premodern and uncontaminated by class—San struggles for recognition are troubled by the question whether "...traditional leadership [is being] copied or 'invented'?" (Felton, 2000: 4). Where continuity with the past is taken as the standard for measuring cultural authenticity, any form of activism that appears to involve "inventing" becomes questionable, because "invented" is taken to mean "fictitious," "made up," and therefore "inauthentic" (Lee, 1992: 36; Li, 2000: 150; Linnekin, 1991; Solway and Lee, 1990: 110). The assumptions underlying common conceptions of "authentic" and "invented" put pressure on indigenous peoples, in particular the San who are still struggling for recognition, to conform to what are often stereotypical definitions of their cultural identity.

The Ideal of Authenticity and the Problem of Autonomy

Since the "invention of tradition" approach to ethnic identity is often seen to undermine the claims to cultural authenticity of indigenous peoples, some have suggested that promoting an essentialized identity is a politically effective strategy for indigenous peoples to adopt (see,

for example, Lattas, 1993). However, strategic essentialism can also leave the San open to accusations that their own expressions of identity are merely opportunistic, and therefore "inauthentic" (Li, 2000: 151). Furthermore, strategic essentialism may not help us avoid the problem of misrecognition. The case of the ǂKhomani San at the Kagga Kamma Bushman ecotourism scheme provides an important lesson here.

Public reaction to Kagga Kamma invoked rhetoric that contrasts "authentic primitives" with a "detribalized" underclass. One letter to the South African newspaper, the *Argus*, expressed the hope that "the local authorities in Ceres will not allow [...] these happy child-like people [...] to be used for 'exhibition' purposes" (cited in White, 1995: 16). Another letter claimed:

> There are in fact no Bushmen today who still live in the traditional way as hunter-gatherers...Dressed in rags and on the edge of starvation, [the little people at Kagga Kamma] were happy to accept the chance *to act like Bushmen.* (cited in White, 1995: 16, emphasis mine)

The distinction between "authentic," happy "child-like" Bushmen and impoverished people who merely *act like* Bushmen is important for the following reasons: first, the stereotype of "happy child-like Bushmen" provides a common justification for denying the San the status of modern citizens and for their continued economic exploitation as an underclass; second, if cultural rights are meant to redress historical injustices and inequalities, and not merely create a space for the preservation of fossilized cultures, then it is counter-productive to deny cultural identity to those people most in need of economic and social justice.[7]

As public response to the Kagga Kamma ecotourism project and the case of the Traditional Authorities Act in Namibia both indicate, the San are struggling for rights on a very narrow and contradictory field of recognition: they may be denied rights as an ethnic group on the grounds that their underclass status dissolves their cultural authenticity; and they may be denied rights as modern citizens on the grounds that their "authentic" cultural identity is defined by premodern, prepolitical primitivism (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1999; Garland, 1999).

The assumptions about "cultural authenticity" and "invented traditions" make an invented, but authentic culture a contradiction in terms, equivalent to a fictional, but real culture. They leave no room to acknowledge San agency in the creation ("invention") of their own identity. Solway and Lee have convincingly argued that "foragers can be autonomous without being isolated and engaged without being incorporated" (1990: 110). We can take this important point about autonomy further, and apply it to the case of the farm San to challenge the view that underclass status (as a condition of dependency) is incompatible with a cultural identity (as an autonomous creation). Autonomy is never perfect and absolute—it is always partial, and is usually negotiated and compromised, without being altogether lost. My own research found that the Omaheke farm San, despite their conditions of dependency, still exercise considerable autonomy in the creation of their own cultural identity—they have a hand in the invention of their own traditions. If we want to find the "authentic" San, we must look to the world the San made for themselves, and not let our search be hobbled by an overdrawn contrast between class and culture.

Class versus Culture

Colonization and Class Formation

In the Omaheke Region, class relations both shape and are shaped by local cultural systems. Afrikaner settlers did not introduce an acultural global economy into the Omaheke when they established their cattle ranches, but brought with them their own culturally unique method of organizing the Omaheke political economy. Since the system of farm government in the Omaheke enjoyed (and still enjoys) considerable autonomy from state interference, the settlers were able to give expression to their culturally distinctive views of race, class and gender. A central feature of this cultural political economy is the principle of farm government known as *baasskap*, which organizes race, gender and class relations according to the model of an extended patriarchal family (see Sylvain, 2001). In the Omaheke, the settlers' complex and contradictory racial mythology of the "Bushman" relegates the San to the bottom rung in an ethnic labour heirarchy where, under the *baasskap* system of family and farm government, the San are placed in the position of perpetual childhood. ("I am the Papa," an Afrikaner farmer will say of "his Bushmen," even if "his" Bushmen labourers literally helped to raise him from childhood on his father's farm.)

In the Omaheke, the San are subject to powerful stereotypes that shape their material conditions and their cultural context. Given the farmers' economic dominance and the hegemonic status their world view enjoys, we might expect to find that the cultural identity of the San has been imposed—that is, that they have come to understand themselves according to the farm-

ers' terms (see, for example, Suzman, 2000). But this view of San cultural identity is far too simplistic.

Cultural Identity and Class Consciousness

The Omaheke San do have a cultural identity, and it is one which they have forged for themselves in relation to and in opposition to the definitions the farmers' try to impose upon them. Their culturally unique ways of coping with and resisting class exploitation are an essential part of what it means for them to be San today. I will offer a few examples to illustrate the nature of the dynamic culture the Omaheke San have created for themselves.

The most significant challenge to the Afrikaners' paternalistic ideology and patriarchal "family-based" farm government is the vitality and adaptability of the San's own kinship ties. The San kinship system I encountered on the farms was remarkably similar to those described by Lee (1986; 1993) and Marshall (1976) among the foraging San in Dobe and Nyae Nyae, but with a few features that reflect their class situation.[8] In the past, farmers gave San servants European names.[9] Over the years, the San appropriated these Afrikaner names and assimilated them into their own naming system so that specific "Afrikaans names" are now linked with specific San names. Thus, if a child is named after a grandmother who has the San name "N≠isa" and the Afrikaans name "Anna," then that child will also be called N≠isa-Anna. The San take their naming system very much to heart and get quite upset when, as sometimes happens, a farmer presumes to give a San child an "Afrikaans" name. They get upset for good reason: a name also marks a location in a kinship system. Their kinship system is crucial to their existence as a community, and to their sense of who they are as a "people" (*nasie*). Kinship provides the basis for ordering a whole world of social interaction that is not directly under the farmer's control.

Beyond providing the basis for ordering social relationships, kinship ties, together with their very strong sharing ethos, also forms the infrastructure connecting the widely scattered farm San community and enabling elaborate systems of mutual support and assistance. The San confront their conditions of dependency and exploitation by mobilizing their kinship system to provide a social safety-net that helps them to cope with scarce resources, unemployment and "homelessness" (Sylvain, 1999; 1997). This social infrastructure is especially important as men travel great distances from farm to farm seeking work, and for San living in conditions of extreme marginalization far from geneological kin. In such cases, non-kin who have the same name will assume the kin relations of their namesakes, "making family," and thus form bonds of mutual assistance and support.

Despite the fact that the Omaheke San live in conditions of extreme poverty, their cultural resources provide for more than just bare survival; they also provide a sense of identity and unity. San expressive culture in the Omaheke reflects both a cultural identity and a class consciousness. For example, San healers ritualistically incorporate money into their healing ceremonies (trance dances), which are now often conducted in order to combat the psychological distress of poverty, exploitation and alcoholism. The healers, who are also known for their ability to transform themselves into "dangerous" animals (lions, leopards, etc.) now purport to use this power to gain advantages in stock theft as well as hunting. Their menstrual (Besu) ceremony includes some recently invented symbols, such as dressing the initiate in the garb of a Herero woman—a symbol of higher class status—to signal her "upward" transition to "womanhood." Today the menstrual ceremony marking the transition to "womanhood" means not only that the young initiate is marriageable and ready for domestic duties, but also that she is ready for domestic service in white households.[10]

I can here only hint at the dynamic culture that the San have made for themselves in the Omaheke. But I suggest that what a closer examination will show is that, in the Omaheke, class and culture are mutually constituting: the unique culture of the Omaheke San would not exist as it does today if it were not for their class experiences; and the class system in the Omaheke would not exist as it does today if not for the culturally unique responses and modes of resistance on the part of the San people themselves.[11]

Conclusion

The linguistically and culturally diverse San groups throughout southern Africa are only now building the institutional infrastructure necessary for gaining rights and recognition. The question of whether or not the San are merely *creating* a "distinct identity" or "traditions" will nag us only so long as we assume that whatever is forged by historical processes and political economy cannot be a *real* cultural identity. Current San activism self-consciously reflects their colonial and post-colonial experiences of dispossession, marginalization, exploitation and stigmatization (see, for example /Useb, 2000; Gaeses,1998; Thoma and ≠Oma, 1999). The recognition of this historical, contextual and emergent identity is critical to the empowerment of the San, and to the improvement of their material conditions.

Andrew Spiegel (1994) notes that the invention and manipulation of tradition have the potential to either legitimate or, alternatively, to challenge dominant power asymmetries. However, the emancipatory potential of manipulating traditions or asserting cultural identity is linked to the form that cultural rights rhetoric takes. The challenge facing rights activism is that of minimizing the extent to which claims for cultural rights sustain unequal power relations in other areas of social and economic life (see Bond and Gilliam, 1994: 4; Stammers, 1999: 1005). Critics of identity politics have rightly noted that an overemphasis on representation and "discourse" distract us from pressing problems of poverty and economic inequalities (Craig and Tiessen, 1993; Nystrom and Puckett, 1998; Rorty, 1998). Lee suggests that "focusing [...] on the social construction of current indigenous realities" has led anthropologists to neglect "indigenous peoples' still precarious position in the political economy and class politics of their respective nation states" (2000: 20). Lee's point highlights the need to recognize that indigenous issues are inseparable from class issues.

San activism also represents a deeper challenge to post-colonial, neo-liberal political categories since "rights are not just instruments of law, they are expressions of [a] moral identity as a people" (Ignatieff, 2000: 12; see also Stammers, 1999). San struggles are therefore also efforts to articulate and legitimate an alternative identity, one which challenges us to rethink conventional categories (such as class and culture) as well as the philosophical and anthropological concepts (such as "authentic" and "invented") that sustain postcolonial inequalities.

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Notes

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2 In this context, the missionary meant that the San are "serfs" when they become "Basarwa."

3 The relevant relationship is more profound than mere territoriality. The implicit claim is that they have a unique *way of being* in the natural environment.

4 For a discussion of the debates surrounding "self-determination" in indigenous peoples' politics see Kymlicka (1999).

5 This act defines a "traditional community" as:

> ...an indigenous, homogeneous, endogamous social grouping of persons comprising families deriving from exogamous clans which share a common ancestry, language, cultural heritage, customs and traditions, recognizes a common traditional authority and inhabits a common communal area; and includes the members of that community residing outside the common area (cited in Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa, 2000: 13, ft 7).

The use of the term "indigenous" here is problematic because it defines all Africans as "indigenous," and so has the potential to diminish the significance of San peoples' claims to indigenous status, and/or the application of international legal instruments on indigenous peoples' rights to the situation of the San people in Namibia (ibid).

6 Joram /Useb, a Hai//om community facilitator and researcher, reports:

> Nowadays my San colleagues and I have to listen to government officials and others making statements to this effect: "You people never had leaders. Why do you need leaders today? (2000: 1).

7 The importance of genuine recognition was expressed by /Useb in the following way:

> [San community leaders] are convinced that if they all acquire the status of an officially recognized leader, they will be able to invalidate the prevailing stereotypical notion that all San live in former Bushmanland, speak one language, are unable to farm cattle and crops, live a nomadic lifestyle, have no roots in their ancestral lands and thus have never had leaders (2000: 7).

8 Widlok (2000) offers a similar analysis of Hai//om kinship and naming systems.

9 Many of these European names carry the diminutive suffix "tjie"—for example, Vaetjie, and especially "Mannetjie" (boy or small man)—which serves to perpetuate the San's "childlike" status and reinforce the farmer's paternalistic role (see also van Onselen, 1992: 141-142). Other "European" names given by farmers are actually nicknames, such as "Grootmeid" (Big Maid) and "Boesjman" (Bushman).

10 Two important points Guenther has raised are useful to recall here. First, Guenther notes that Nharo identity must be understood in terms of their experiences of class exploitation, racial discrimination and ethnic marginalization. In this context, a highly politicized San identity was expressed through cultural revitalization movements (1979, 1986). Second, Guenther argues that the Nharo can be described as "cultural foragers" who are capable of creatively incorporating new items and influences into their own cultural practices, without losing their cultural identity (1997 and 1996).

11 For more ethnographic detail on the mutual construction of class and culture in the Omaheke see Sylvain (1999, 2001, 2002).

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Ju/'hoansi Survival in the Face of HIV: Questions of Poverty and Gender

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Abstract: Both the debate around poverty among the Kalahari San and the discussions of gender autonomy are significant for identifying possibilities for prevention of HIV/AIDS among contemporary Ju/'hoansi. This paper discusses fieldwork with respect to HIV/AIDS conducted by Richard Lee and myself in Ju/'hoansi villages in Namibia and Botswana in 1996, 1997, 1999 and 2001. Our findings suggest variation in the experiences of both poverty and gender among the different villages which may have implications for the prevention of HIV/AIDS. In the villages where people still constructed simple, moveable homes from clay and branches and foraging was still a possibility, women and men expressed more stable views of their relationships and women seemed to maintain a degree of power and independence in marriage. In contrast, poverty and the disintegration of households seemed markedly manifest in villages which served as administrative and market centres and where most of the population lived in brick houses and had little access to a foraging subsistence.

Résumé : Le débat sur la pauvreté chez les San du Kalahari et les controverses au sujet de l'autonomie des genres sont pertinents pour signaler des possibilités de prévention de VIH/SIDA chez les Ju/'hoansi. Cet article rapporte des observations reliées au VIH/SIDA recueillies par Richard Lee et moi dans des villages Ju/'hoansi en Namibie et au Botswana en 1996, 1997, 1999 et 2001. Nos données indiquent des différences selon les conditions de pauvreté et de genre dans les différents villages qui pourraient avoir des implications pour la prévention de VIH/SSIDA. Dans les villages où les gens construisent encore des maisons simples et déplaçables, faites de branches et de terre, et où la cueillette est encore possible, les femmes et les hommes expriment des vues plus stables de leurs relations et les femmes semblent garder un certain degré de pouvoir et d'indépendance après le mariage. À l'opposé, la pauvreté et la désintégration des ménages semblent évidents dans les villages qui sont des centres administratifs et des marchés et où la majorité de la population vit dans des maisons de briques et n'ont pratiquement pas accès à la cueillette.

Ju/'hoansi Survival in the Face of HIV: Questions of Poverty and Gender

Since 1996, Richard Lee and I have been working in Namibia and Botswana to contribute to the struggles against HIV/AIDS: the most serious contemporary threat to the newly independent southern African nations. Since the prevalence of HIV/AIDS in Namibia and Botswana is among the highest in the world, clearly a crucial immediate intervention has to be to provide treatment to save the lives of those already infected. Nevertheless, since currently no cure exists, treatment has to be accompanied by prevention and to be successful both forms of intervention have to take into account the social relations of particular groups.

The research among the Ju/'hoansi was possible only because of Richard's decades of work in the area, knowledge of the language and deep familiarity with the local issues. I had been focussing on the social context of HIV/AIDS and the significance of gender inequalities in addressing the spread of the epidemic in South Africa when I asked Richard if he was interested in research on HIV/AIDS in Namibia and specifically to consider the impact of the disease among the Ju/'hoansi. This article builds on what I have learned from Richard. Here I want to address two historic debates that have arisen with respect to the Ju/'hoansi from the perspective of our research on HIV in the 1990s: the question of poverty and the issue of women's autonomy. Although we did not have the opportunity to conduct extensive research, I hope that outlining these preliminary and suggestive findings may assist in further research and also help anthropologists and others consider useful expedients to protect local people from the AIDS epidemic.

As the question of poverty is crucial to the spread of HIV infection (Farmer, Connors and Simmons, 1996; Parker, 2002; Schoepf, 2001) we need to examine when people are poor. Although poverty is self-evident within capitalism, it is less easy to define among groups with a

long history of autonomous subsistence or at least, subsistence outside capitalism. In fact, in order to understand the dire costs of poverty within capitalism, it has always been salutary to examine different kinds of societies. As is well-known, Richard's 1960s fieldwork among the still-nomadic Ju/'hoansi provided confirming evidence for or possibly even inspired Marshall Sahlins theoretical argument that hunters and gatherers did not have to work as hard as wage earners in industrial societies. In their ability to feed themselves well, house themselves adequately and still find many hours of leisure, the Ju/'hoansi constituted an early affluent society, according to Sahlins (1972). Others have pointed out that the Ju/'hoansi have long interacted with the surrounding settlers and colonial administrations and that the Ju/'hoansi nowadays cannot be understood separately from their negotiations with the neighbouring pastoral groups, (Gordon, 1992; for a review of these issues see Solway and Lee, 1990). The association of HIV/AIDS today with patterns of inequality led us to re-examine these contrasting perspectives. As Richard's lifetime of fieldwork powerfully demonstrates, the Ju/'hoansi have managed to create unique patterns of subsistence, sharing and ritual that partially protect them from being destroyed by the encroachment of surrounding groups and allow them to survive as a people. We needed to understand the particular ways in which the Ju/'hoansi might be protected from the exigencies of "poverty" by an ongoing degree of autonomy as well as the ways they currently might be categorized as the underclass in the encompassing regional political economy.

Poverty has always been understood to be a relative phenomenon. Studies in international health have convincingly demonstrated that it is not the lack of material wealth such as manifested by the Ju/'hoansi but relative inequality and the widening gap between rich and poor which contributes to higher rates of disease among the poor in contemporary societies (Pappas et al., 1993). The underclass in capitalist societies have little access to formal employment and are frequently deprived of nutrition, education, health benefits and decent housing. This, in turn, undermines the efforts of the poor to provide for their families and support the next generation. Societies with less material wealth, such as the Ju/'hoansi villages, may have their own sources of subsistence and sharing of resources which allow them to maintain kin connections and reproduce supportive social relations from generation to generation. In the examination of a continuum of independence from capitalism towards marginalized dependence on capital, our work suggested that the degree of Ju/'hoansi autonomy as opposed to comparative poverty within a wider society appeared to have a direct effect on the spread of HIV infection.

The question of women's power, status, independence and economic autonomy is also basic to the prevention of the spread of the HIV epidemic in southern Africa, and, indeed, many other regions of the world (Cook, 1999; Farmer et al., 1996; Freedman, 2000; Piot, 2001; Preston-Whyte, Varga, Roberts and Blose, 2000; Schoepf, 1997; 2001; Susser, 2001; 2002) In southern Africa today, young women from age 14 to 25 are three times as likely to be infected with the HIV virus as young men of the same age. In Botswana, the prevalence of sero-positivity for young girls is 34%, in Namibia, 20% (UNDP, 2000). Gendered inequality is fueling the epidemic, as women, marginalized in the informal economy and responsible for supporting themselves and their children, are often forced to depend on men with more resources in the struggle to survive.

In the light of HIV/AIDS , the arguments initiated by Eleanor Leacock(1972) and Kathleen Gough (1971) and further developed by feminist anthropologists since the 1970s (Gailey, 1987) become newly and tragically significant. From her archival work with respect to the Algonquin of North America, Leacock (1972) argued that while women maintained autonomy in hunting and gathering societies, such autonomy was undermined as people in these societies came in contact with missionaries, traders and other mercantile influences and as the relations of production shifted towards capitalism, women lost their previous independence. Based on fieldwork among the Ju/'hoansi in the 1960s, Richard Lee's (1979) path breaking ethnography, *The !Kung Ju/'hoansi* stands as a classic benchmark in providing powerful, systematic contemporary evidence for women's autonomy in a foraging society. His later co-operation with Leacock (1982) in research on the relations between men and women in hunting and gathering societies takes on new meaning in the face of the current threat. The ensuing work by Marjorie Shostak (1981), Patricia Draper (1975) and others, documenting the life experiences of sex, work and family among the Ju/'hoansi provide us with a rich history on which to base our current efforts with respect to HIV.

As Richard and others have documented extensively, much has changed among the Ju/'hoansi over the past 40 years (Lee, 2002; Lee and Hurlich, 1982). As a result of colonialism, wars, agricultural incursions by both settlers and African farmers, much of their way of life has disappeared and some aspects have been retained or recreated. In addressing the HIV/AIDS epi-

demic, we need to understand the extent to which Ju/'hoansi women may still be autonomous or in what ways they are able to control their sexuality and their life choices. Our ethnographic research sheds some light on contemporary Ju/'hoansi women's autonomy and sexual authority and the particular ways in which their history may protect them from HIV as well as their current vulnerabilities.

Funded by a Fogarty Award for Training and Research with respect to HIV/AIDS in Namibia and Botswana (the only Fogarty Award yet targeted for training in ethnographic research), Richard and I trained local researchers in the ethnographic method, and, simultaneously, with the help of our trainees, conducted research among many groups, urban and rural. As part of this project, Richard and I made trips to interview men and women in the Namibian Ju/'hoansi villages, including Tsumkwe and Baraka in 1996 and 1997. In 1999 and 2001 we conducted exploratory fieldwork with respect to AIDS at Kangwa, Dobe, and /Xai/Xai, villages on the Botswana side of the border. Although still remote and inaccessible in comparison to other rural settlements in southern Africa, Tsumkwe, Namibia and Kangwa, Botswana, initially small Ju/'hoansi villages, now each houses a clinic, a few stores and a boarding school. Brick houses have been constructed and many people from other groups live there. Although even more remote, /Xai/Xai has a school, a clinic and a store and Baraka, constructed as a co-operative centre, has some rustically built rondavels. The other Ju/'hoansi villages in both Namibia and Botswana, are now largely clusters of clay rondavels and brush shelters surrounded by bush and sand. In Dobe and /Xai /Xai, I went with Richard in 1999 and 2001 as he conducted censuses house to house. He asked in each village about births, deaths and marriages and using an intricate knowledge of past kin relations, was able to trace children to grandparents and identify relationships among the various households. At each hut Richard asked whether there was anyone not well or lying inside the rondavel and whether people knew about HIV/AIDS. Most people mentioned that they had heard about AIDS on the radio. On only one occasion, at Dobe, were we told that a woman was lying sick in the hut. Also at Dobe, there were two occasions when people came to us for help with medical problems. Once a family messenger came to ask us to help a young man who had broken his leg and on another occasion a mother asked us about her sick child. Such events suggested that people were not hiding illness from us, but rather regarded Richard and our van as a resource to help them seek medical care. In addition, to visiting households and sitting talking with men, women and children outside their rondavels, we also informally interviewed some of the young unmarried women of the village, in small groups of two or three, about their relationships. The girls seemed more willing to talk in little groups than one at a time, as they teased each other and giggled and helped the conversations along. In 2001 at /Xai /Xai, I went around the village with Richard as he interviewed folk healers and sat and talked with them, among much else, about their knowledge and experience of HIV/AIDS. In 1999 and 2001, we also assembled several larger groups, of young men or young women. Richard, accompanied by both his son, David, and my teenage son, Phil, talked to the young men who congregated after the informal nightly soccer game about their views of women, sex, condoms and HIV/AIDS. The group included local Ju/'hoansi boys and young men, Herero youth who also lived in the village and some visiting Ju/'hoansi. The local Herero youth seemed much more knowledgeable about condoms than the local Ju/'hoansi, although one of the Ju from Tsumkwe (Namibia) seemed familiar with them. Richard, David and Phil gave out boxes of condoms to the young men, which they all took eagerly.

The Dobe preschool teacher, born in the village of a Herero father and Ju/'hoansi mother, spoke English and Ju/'hoansi and helped me to gather and talk several evenings with a group of young married women about condoms, female condoms and HIV/AIDS. We sat on the sandy ground, outside the huts and away from view of the men, who were meeting with Richard at the soccer game. I brought female condoms which always interest people and have been a conversation starter all over the world and we talked about their usefulness. I also gave out boxes of condoms to the women.

Although we did more fieldwork at Dobe, a main site of Richard's long term work, we also met with groups of men and women at /Xai/Xai and Kangwa in Botswana and Baraka, Tsumkwe and other villages in Namibia. While staying at Baraka, in 1996, we met with a mixed group of men and women to discuss condoms, female condoms and HIV/AIDS.

We were able to make some comparisons among the experiences of women in different groups, since as part of our ethnographic training workshop at the University of Namibia, we took Ovambo-speaking students with us to conduct fieldwork among other populations in Namibia (Lee and Susser, 2002; Susser, 2001: Susser and Stein, 2000). Findings which emerged from this fieldwork are clearly only suggestive, but do serve to highlight certain issues with respect to gender and poverty.

Poverty

In 1996, Richard and I initiated our discussions of HIV/AIDS at Baraka among the elected representatives of the Nyae Nyae Farmers Cooperative, a local group created among the Ju/'hoansi for self-government. In the meeting which the representatives called at Baraka, all the participants were men. When we asked about their knowledge of HIV/AIDS, the representatives told us that they knew about AIDS. A visiting linguist had, in fact, translated a handbook on AIDS into Ju/'hoansi a few years earlier, before he, himself, died of the disease. The men at the meeting implied that they expected AIDS was brought among the Ju/'hoansi by Ju/'hoansi women who had sexual relations with men from other groups and that they disapproved of this. We were told that at Tsumkwe there were many men who were not Ju/'hoansi who came to buy beer from the numerous temporary grass shelters set up as bars and then met with the Ju/'hoansi women. Drinking was widely discussed and seemed a major problem both to the local people and the anthropologists.

On the Namibian side, Tsumkwe was once a Ju/'hoansi village centred around an ancient baobab tree but since 1960 has been the site of a government resettlement station with many social problems. It is now the administrative centre for the Tsumkwe District, a Ju/'hoansi region. Before Namibia won its independence in 1989, the South African government built a clinic, a store and rows of cement houses similar to those that were constructed under the disreputable Bantustan policy in South Africa (Lee, 1994). There is also a co-eduactional boarding school at Tsumkwe where we watched soccer games on Sundays. This is where the film *The Gods Must Be Crazy* was filmed and where the star of that film still lives in one of the few small brick houses next to the store. His wife died in the early 1990s of a long illness said to be tuberculosis. By 1997, a Safari Lodge was operating in Tsumkwe to provide a base from which tourists could visit the Ju/'hoansi villages and witness Ju/'hoansi dancing and healing rituals staged for their consumption.

In 1996, in Tsumkwe, we interviewed two health workers employed by Health Unlimited, a Scandinavian NGO. They visited the Ju/'hoansi villages monthly to provide some medical assistance and health education. These two health workers were aware of HIV and beginning to discuss it on their monthly rounds to the villages. This was the extent of AIDS prevention in the Namibian Ju/'hoansi area at that time. Testing and diagnosis were not yet readily available and treatment at that time was not even considered. Although, tuberculosis had long been epidemic in the Kalahari, the fact that it was sometimes resistant to treatment suggested that AIDS may have been present, if not recognized. By 2001, AIDS had been diagnosed by doctors who served the Ju/'hoansi region. Health Unlimited had initiated a program to train Ju/'hoansi grade school teachers, who worked in the villages, about AIDS prevention. In 2001, we met one of the teacher trainees, who spoke excellent English, visiting his relatives in Dobe (on the Botswana side). He was extremely well-informed and helpful in discussing AIDS with his kin in the community suggesting that such training has important implications for knowledge and prevention beyond the confines of the school.

Throughout our research in the last 6 years, Tsumkwe has emerged as a main centre for the spread of HIV for a variety of overlapping reasons. Firstly, the South African army was based there in the 1980s and the local soldiers, from many populations, may have introduced new diseases among the Ju/'hoansi. Secondly, the border guards and other administrative personnel spend many lonely nights in the region and some frequent the local nightlife. Thirdly, nowadays, there are passable gravel roads from Namibian towns into Tsumkwe (although the nearest non-Ju/'hoansi village is about 200k away) as well as a nearby air strip. The Ju/'hoansi who live in Tsumkwe and those who live elsewhere but have visited the area, talk about the incidence of drinking and sexual exchange as different from the surrounding villages. In fact, on one occasion, Richard and I drove through the back reaches of Tsumkwe in our four-wheel drive and were met by drunken men and women clustering outside clay rondavels.

In 1999, at Dobe, a young teenage girl who had spent several weeks staying with kin at Tsumkwe, said: "There is no AIDS here, but I know they have it at Tsumkwe. The girls over there told me not to sleep with the boys because they have that disease there. I am afraid of AIDS at Tsumkwe."

In 2001, a discussion with an older couple and two younger men in a village at Dobe led to their naming three women who they believed had died of AIDS. All of them lived at Tsumkwe although they were near kin to the people at Dobe. We were told that one young woman died, unmarried, at age 20. The ages of the other two were estimated at 35 and 40. The two older women had young children, but there was no knowledge of children's deaths. No sense of shame or stigma seemed to be expressed in this conversation.

In contrast to Tsumkwe, among the Ju/'hoansi villages at Dobe in Botswana and also the Ju/'hoansi villages in Namibia outside Tsumkwe, there was no centre of liquor shops and fewer outside visitors. Possibly due to a lack of diagnosis, but more likely because couples appear more stable, there were not yet any clear cases of HIV/AIDS known to the local people.

The Ju/'hoansi village populations have been interacting with the surrounding populations for at least 150 years and they have not been living by hunting and gathering for decades. Nevertheless, people do still gather berries and nuts. Men still set snares for small animals—we saw the snares, the mongongo nuts and the berries as we walked through the villages of Dobe in July 2001. However, we also observed men and women stringing beads, making twine, and carving wooden spoons, drums and other objects for sale to eco-tourism traders as well as missions. In Botswana, both men and women also participate in work groups to clear brush and other tasks and are paid through government supplements. Contrary to the expectations of the wider society, men and women labour equally side by side, despite the fact that men are paid almost twice as much as women reflecting the institutionalized discrimination of the state. Although households congregate in proximity to the bore holes constructed and maintained by the government and external funding agencies, the Ju/'hoansi still move their families from place to place and rebuild their grass and clay shelters to reflect kin relations. I would suggest that these strong manifestations of earlier patterns allow couples to maintain some stability in their households.

In another manifestation of the strong continuity of family relations in the face of adversity, in Dobe, Richard and I noted an older daughter in a family where her mother had died of unknown cause, was breastfeeding her own new born baby as well as her infant sister. Since HIV can be transmitted through breast milk, such customary practices might offer a potential opportunity. If a woman had been tested in pregnancy and knew she was HIV positive, she could ask another pregnant woman, who had tested HIV negative, to take over the nursing of her new born. Such practices could be implemented in villages with extensive supportive kin relations.

Although the few current known HIV/AIDS cases are concentrated in Tsumkwe, there are many sources for future infection. Tswana and Herero cattle farmers, border guards and construction workers pass through the Ju/'hoansi villages. Indeed, an improved gravel road into the heart of the Dobe area is fast nearing completion, heralding new forms of tourism, economic development and, as well, new possibilities of infection. Among the mothers living in the remote Ju/'hoansi villages, most were married. However, we interviewed a Ju/'hoansi woman who lived along the paved road to a Botswana rural town. She was not married and she told us that her daughters too had children but no husbands and she was afraid they were at risk for HIV.

It would appear that the patterns of inequality so evident at Tsumkwe, the Ju/'hoansi with few possessions and the people from other groups, soldiers, border guards, construction workers with money to attract or pay for sexual partners, was fuelling the transmission of HIV/AIDS. Although the Ju/'hoansi have a long history of both economic and sexual negotiations with outside men and women, the increasing relative inequality and the disintegration of household reciprocities and couples' relations that it precipitates might be one useful definition of poverty as opposed to subsistence. This is certainly the case at Tsumkwe, and also possibly in many similar settlements, such as Kangwa and Sehitwe in Botswana. Perhaps, although they travel frequently to Tsumkwe and Kangwa, the people living in the more stable Ju/'hoansi villages should not be seen as poor in the same way. Inequality does not threaten their conjugal relations so dramatically and for this reason, they are, in fact, more protected from HIV infection.

Next, I would like to highlight our observations with respect to gender and HIV transmission.

Women's Autonomy and HIV/AIDS

Preliminary findings suggest that Ju/'hoansi women differ in their sense of autonomy from other women whom we interviewed in Namibia. Our conversations with women and young girls among the Ju/'hoansi revealed a greater degree of confidence in sexual negotiation with men, than Ovambo women in the rural homesteads of Northern Namibia. In 1996, we asked young Ju/'hoansi women at Baraka whether they would ask their husbands or boyfriends to use a condom. They insisted, without apparent doubt, that if the men did not do as the women and young girls asked, the women would not hesitate to refuse sex. This might be usefully compared to our interviews in the same year with a group of Ovambo women in a rural homestead, who said they would not dare to ask their partners to use a condom.

In 1996, Ju/'hoansi women whom we interviewed saw no particular advantage to the female condom, as they said if they wanted a man to use a male condom they would ask him to. In contrast, Ovambo and Kavango women were extremely enthusiastic about the possibilities of the female condom as they saw it as an

alternative strategy which would be under the woman's control and acceptable to men (Susser and Stein 2000) In a group discussion with young married women in Dobe in 2001, I asked the women if they would be able to use a box of male condoms. "Give us some and we will teach our husbands how to use them" they said. Athough this does not indicate whether behaviour would be different, the remarks of Ju/'hoansi women expressed a sense of entitlement and straightforwardness with respect to sexual decisions, which was not evidenced among the Ovambo women with whom we spoke.

When Richard interviewed the young men in Dobe in 1999, their responses seemed to corroborate the women's views. They talked as if women had the power to turn down sexual advances and they said that if a young woman were to accept such advances, they would see that as representing the opportunity to marry her. Ethnographic findings by one of our research associates, Pombili Iipinge suggested that, in contrast, Ovambo men expected to have sexual relations with more than one woman and did not say they expectd to marry a woman if she agreed to a sexual relationship.

However, this picture is complicated by the many relationships between Ju/'hoansi women and Ovambo, Herero and Tswana men. The availability of relationships with men from surrounding populations who have more money and resources in general than the Ju/'hoansi may allow women more negotiating power with men from their own village. Nevertheless, the terms in which Ju/'hoansi women speak, for example seeing the opportunity to "teach" their husbands about condoms, suggests a different kind of autonomy.

Unfortunately, Ju/'hoansi women seem to have less leeway in their relationships with men from the surrounding populations. Women we spoke to mentioned that their Tswana or Herero boyfriends might give them presents but were, in fact, married to other women. As noted above, a woman visiting Dobe said she lived far from the Ju/'hoansi villages near the road to Sehitwe, where men worked in highway construction. She was afraid her daughter might be at risk for HIV.

As the men at the first meeting at Nyae Nyae pointed out, it may be the women who have broader outside contacts and in fact may be the first to come in contact with HIV/AIDS and also more likely to be the first to die from the disease. As we were told in 2001, three women were known to have died from HIV/AIDS at Tsumkwe. Another woman, whose family had just returned to Dobe, had died from an unknown cause. Her husband, who had been taken from Dobe as a young boy and spent decades in farm labour, had stayed on in Dobe with the rest of his family. No deaths among men were reported to us.

Conclusion

Both the debate around poverty and the discussions of gender autonomy are significant for identifying possibilities for prevention of HIV/AIDS among contemporary Ju/'hoansi. When the Ju/'hoansi leave their villages, around the newly dug boreholes, and work along the roads, and on the cattle ranches, they are clearly transformed into the underclass or the poor of the new African states. As a result, they become vulnerable to HIV/AIDS. Men work far from home and seek sexual partners elsewhere. Poor Ju/'hoansi women no longer protected from the sexual discrimination of the surrounding capitalist society, are seldom hired for construction or farming, and are forced to earn money through casual sex work or simply seek sexual relations with men who will provide gifts for themselves and their children.

In villages such as Dobe, where foraging was still a possibility, women and men expressed much more stable views of their relationships and women seemed to maintain a degree of power and independence in marriage. Certainly, to supplement their subsistence, people earned small sums of money in government work groups and both men and women worked at a variety of crafts, such as beading and carving. However, such partial incorporation into wage labour combined with market exchange did not lead to the destruction of sturdy, long-standing strategies of survival. As Richard's ethnographic work has extensively documented (Lee, 2002), if people were poor, in terms of their clothes and their shelter, they did not seem to suffer the poverty of an underclass in which family and household relations are undermined. The historical autonomy of women seemed to offer the opportunity for forthright sexual negotiations and mobilization to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS.

Clearly, none of the villages are isolated from ecotourism and development efforts today. Our research suggests that every small outpost of development, whether it be sending men from a nearby town to dig the foundation for a new store, or developing a trust to allow tourist hunting from safaris, also introduces the threat of HIV. Mobilization for HIV prevention among the Ju/'hoansi will have to take different approaches in different villages, but might well be able to build upon the autonomy of the women and the respect of the Ju/'hoansi men. However, every new development

effort, will have to be immediately associated with HIV education and strategies, such as male and female condoms, testing and treatment, to prevent the spread of the disease.

As Solway and Lee (1990) argued, the resilience of the foraging societies in the Kalahari Desert has protected people, so far, from many of the exploitative incursions of capitalism. However, this too is a historical phenomenon and as other populations are forced to impinge on the lands of the Ju/'hoansi and as global capital brings tourism, safaris and development plans further and further into the centres of their territory, their survival strategies are drastically threatened. In Tsumkwe, Kangwa and other villages that have been torn apart by the invasion of capitalist relations, and where the Ju/'hoansi clearly constitute a poverty stricken, demoralized underclass, the women too have become more dependent on cash from men and especially susceptible to HIV. In villages such as Dobe and /Xai /Xai which continue to centre around a foraging way of life where families can sustain their households and women maintain aspects of their historic autonomy, the spread of HIV infections appears to have been limited if not prevented.

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Frank Speck and the Moisie River Incident: Anthropological Advocacy and the Question of Aboriginal Fishing Rights in Quebec

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Abstract: This article examines Frank Speck's role as a mediator of Aboriginal resource rights in early 20th-century Canada. I examine how Speck's role as an ethnologist was deeply informed by his role as an advocate. Similarly, I will show how the work he carried out as an advocate was informed by the ethnological data he collected. I explore an incident that occurred while Speck was working in the field in 1912, within the context of the development of colonial regulations to control and administer a national fisheries policy in Canada and Quebec during the 19th century. I illustrate why traditional Aboriginal patterns of land-use and conservation were in opposition to the increasing presence of colonial regimes and their administration and regulation of a growing salmon fishery in Quebec. I draw connections between the history of this conflict and the emerging science of anthropology in the early 20th century, exploring the relationship between ethnology and advocacy during the early years of anthropology in Canada.

Keywords: Frank Speck, anthropological advocacy, 19th century Quebec salmon fishery, Aboriginal fishing rights, history of anthropology

Résumé : Cet article examine le rôle de Frank Speck en tant que médiateur dans le domaine des droits des autochtones au début du vingtième siècle au Canada. Je démontre comment son rôle d'ethnologue a été profondément marqué par son rôle d'intervenant. Parallèlement, je veux montrer comment le travail qu'il a accompli en tant qu'intervenant a été influencé par les données ethnologiques qu'il a recueillies. J'utilise un incident qui est survenu alors qu'il était sur le terrain en 1912, dans le contexte du développement des règlements coloniaux pour contrôler et administrer les pêcheries au Canada et au Québec au dix-neuvième siècle. Je montre pourquoi les modèles traditionnels d'utilisation des terres et de conservation étaient à l'opposé de la présence croissante des régimes coloniaux et de leur contrôle d'une industrie des pêches grandissante au Québec. J'établis des liens entre l'histoire de ce conflit et la science naissante de l'anthropologie au début du vingtième siècle, en approfondissant les relations entre l'ethnologie et l'intervention politique durant les premières années de l'anthropologie au Canada.

Mots-clés : Frank Speck, intervention et anthropologie, pêche au saumon au 19ième siècle au Québec, droits de pêche des autochtones, histoire de l'anthropologie

Introduction

> The Moisie River...one of the great tributaries of the St. Lawrence has always been considered one of the best salmon rivers in the world. It is especially celebrated for the size of its fish, some of which weigh from 30 to 45 lbs. (Anonymous, 1895)

> The renown acquired for years by our splendid salmon and trout rivers and our lakes so lavishly scattered over the whole surface of the province of Quebec has had a twofold result: it has attracted an ever increasing number of foreign sportsmen and has raised the leasing value of our rivers. (Anonymous, 1895)

This article examines one particular incident that occurred in 1912 at Moisie River on the north shore of the St. Lawrence River in the province of Quebec, Canada. When Frank G. Speck travelled to the north shore during the summer of 1912 to collect ethnological "specimens" for Edward Sapir and the newly opened Victoria Memorial Museum in Ottawa, Canada, his credentials as an anthropologist and his connection with a government department in Ottawa enabled him to help mediate a long-standing dispute between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples While highlighting Speck's role as an advocate, this incident provides a backdrop for an analysis of the development of Federal and Provincial fishing regulations in the province of Quebec and the subsequent effect of these regulations on the Aboriginal peoples of the area. The incident at Moisie River ultimately foreshadows Speck's future work on issues of Aboriginal territoriality and resource rights in eastern Canada, northern Ontario and the northeastern United States, highlighting the history behind the shaping of anthropological advocacy practices in Canada during the 20th century.

An examination of Speck's role as a mediator of Aboriginal resource rights helps to challenge the extreme theoretical positions that currently portray

anthropologists and anthropological practices as contributing factors to the overall colonial suppression of Aboriginal peoples in Canada and elsewhere in the world (see Asad, 1973; Kulchyski, 1993; Livingstone, 1992; Trask, 1993; Tuhwai Smith, 1999). This article provides a specific account of how Speck worked in many capacities to intervene in the ongoing colonization of Aboriginal lands in Canada. I ultimately suggest that Speck's role as an ethnologist deeply informed his role as an advocate; simultaneously how the ethnological data he collected informed much of the work he carried out as an advocate.

Anthropology and Advocacy: (Re)-considering the Theory of Practice

Since the early 20th century anthropologists have been struggling with issues involving the adoption of advocacy positions (La Rusic, 1985: 22). Perhaps the best-known example of anthropological advocacy in Canada stems back to 1914, when a handful of anthropologists, including James Teit, Edward Sapir and Franz Boas, actively advocated against the strict enforcement of an anti-potlatch clause in the Canadian *Indian Act.* The Anthropology Division at the Victoria Memorial Museum in Ottawa openly criticized this initiative of the Department of Indian Affairs, (Cole, 1990: 101). Invoking understanding, tolerance and justice, Harlan Smith, head of the Archaeological Division at the Victoria Memorial Museum in Ottawa, argued that the Canadian government failed "to even try and understand the other fellow's point of view and the real working of his customs" (Cole, 1990: 130). Edward Sapir, Chief Ethnologist of the Anthropology Division at the Victoria Memorial Museum in Ottawa, pointed out to Duncan Campbell Scott, the Superintendent General of the Department of Indian Affairs, that enforcement of an anti-potlatch law would prove to have a very negative effect on those Aboriginal people on the Northwest Coast of British Columbia who practiced the tradition. Sapir felt that it "was high time that white men realized that they are not doing the Indians much of a favour by converting them into inferior replicas of themselves" (Cole, 1990: 131). Sapir stressed that any attempts to force adherence to an anti-potlatch law would result in "maladjustment and unhappiness for the worthier members, degeneration for the less worthy" (Cole, 1990: 131). Franz Boas also pointed out that an anti-potlatch law would bring about extreme hardships for those Aboriginal peoples who practised the tradition. The anti-potlatch law, Boas argued, would result in a "complete demoralization of their business system" and Aboriginal peoples would be paralyzed by the sudden valuelessness of their blankets, coppers and other material goods (Cole, 1990: 130). Although sections relating to the strict enforcement of the anti-potlatch law were written into the *Indian Act* in 1918, and subsequently dropped in 1951, it is clear that those anthropologists closely associated the practitioners of the potlatch tradition attempted to have the law revoked, or at least to mitigate its enforcement.

The early anthropological works of Erasmus (1954), Barnett (1956), Foster (1962), Paul (1955), and the Berreman-Gough-Gjessing (1968) debate of the 1960s, all foregrounded some of the contemporary issues surrounding the questions of anthropological advocacy, including the effects of technology on traditional life-ways (Gough, 1968) and the moral and ethical responsibilities of the social scientist (Berreman, 1968; Gjessing, 1968). In the United States, the work of Sol Tax and the Fox Indian Project in Tama, Iowa, from 1938 to 1962 and the American Indian Chicago Conference in 1961[1] are excellent examples of some of the contemporary advocacy work initiated between anthropologists and Aboriginal peoples. Similarly, the work of Harry Hawthorn et al. (1966) and the McGill-Cree project[2] of the 1960s, reflect some of the types of sociopolitical support anthropologists have actively offered Aboriginal peoples in Canada. Robert Paine (1985) has suggested that the role of "concerned" advocacy in anthropology is in fact contradictory. Although advocacy may situate the anthropologist in a position "damaging to the academic canons of the discipline," Paine argues that it may also be liberating, forcing the discipline to "reflect upon the philosophical and moral canons behind the academic ones" (Paine, 1985: iii). The role of the advocate, Paine suggests, is to handle information, "making things explicit that have been left vague, interpreting what has not been understood or even propagating what has not been heard before" (1985: xiv). Georg Henriksen (1985) argues that the impetus behind anthropological advocacy is not merely handling information but processing and presenting the information. The role of the anthropologist as advocate, Henriksen argues, is therefore to "deliver sound social-scientific arguments that can be used to support the people and societies we study" (1985: 121). David Maybury-Lewis (1985: 147), however, suggests that advocacy also requires the "ability to study our society (or other 'modern industrial societies') with a detachment similar to that we strive for in studying the exotic." Such an analysis of one's own society, Maybury-Lewis contends, "requires the ability to analyze

national policies, development ideologies and the workings of bureaucracies with a detachment that enables us to see beyond their familiar obfuscation and self-deceptions" (1985: 147). The role of advocacy, according to Maybury-Lewis, is to, in some manner, influence the complex ideological processes that work to subsume and suppress the "underprivileged" of society. Yet, as Robert Paine notes, the anthropologist as advocate is faced with a task of brokering between contending parties—one dominant and one underprivileged—or, in other words, working as "a mediator of an issue between them" (Paine, 1985: xv).

In contrast, K. Hastrup and P. Elsass (1990) argue that to be advocates, anthropologists have to step outside of their professions, because no "cause" can be legitimated in anthropological terms. Hastrup and Elsass suggest that although ethnographic knowledge may provide an important background for individual advocacy, the rationale for advocacy is never ethnographic—and hence never anthropological. Advocacy, they believe, always "remains essentially moral in the broadest sense of this term" (1990: 301). Thus, advocacy would rely on and, in fact, be born out of the subjective norms and values of the advocate. This poses a threat to the perceived objective stance of the anthropologist as observer. Hastrup and Elsass note that the concept of advocacy therefore immediately acknowledges the position of the anthropologist as an intermediary—a position in which anthropologists may find themselves more by circumstance, than by scholarly plan, and "the involvement may be a simple corollary to engagement in the fieldwork of dialogue" (1990: 302). According to Hastrup and Elsass, advocacy is therefore a "personal obligation in the local and social context" (1990: 302-303).

In response to Hastrup and Elsass, Merill Singer (1990: 548) suggests that anthropological advocacy is possible, ultimately "putting knowledge to use for the purpose of social change." Unlike Hastrup and Elsass, Singer contends that advocacy within anthropology recognizes the dialectical relationship between culture and history, stressing that "all action, including inaction, unfolds in a world...of 'open veins'" (1990: 548). Singer ultimately recognizes that culture is not a driving, determinate force, but a product of ongoing social interactions and that "knowledge generation and knowledge utilization are inseparable" (1990: 549-550). In this sense, the product and process of sociopolitical experiences hold the potential to deeply affect and implicate anthropologists and the work that they produce.

To Strike a Good Blow or Catch a Good Fowl: Aboriginal Peoples and the North-Shore Quebec Salmon Fishery

During the spring and summer of 1912, Frank Speck, a young anthropologist from the University of Pennsylvania and former student of Franz Boas, planned to return to the north shore of the St. Lawrence on his way to Newfoundland and Labrador to resume the ethnological work he had started with the Innu two years previously. The timing of Speck's excursion[3] to the field coincided nicely with Edward Sapir's desire to complete the Victoria Memorial museum's collection of Aboriginal material from northeastern Canada (see Sapir, 1911). Both students of Boas, Sapir and Speck had maintained a good friendship throughout their years as graduate students at Columbia University in New York. Sapir's appointment to Ottawa as Chief Ethnologist of the newly established anthropology division at the Victoria Memorial Museum, provided Speck with a chance to fund his return to the north shore. On March 6, 1912, Sapir wrote to Speck that "it would be highly convenient for you to pick up some museum material for us when up at Lac. St. John" (Canadian Museum of Civilization [CMC], Frank Speck correspondence [FSC] Box 634 F1, March 6, 1912). In response to Sapir's request, on March 28, Speck was hopeful that he could "get [Sapir] a representative lot of stuff." However, he noted to Sapir that acquiring such a representative lot of Aboriginal material culture from northern Quebec, Labrador and Newfoundland would require more time, for "a reconnaissance is necessary for such a large area" (CMC, FSC, March 28, 1912).

Before leaving to Newfoundland, Speck travelled to the Innu communities of Sept-Iles, Moisie River, Lac St. Jean and Natashquan, along the north shore of the St. Lawrence River. While visiting these communities Speck hoped to collect ethnological specimens for the Victoria Memorial Museum. One of the Innu communities Speck visited was at the mouth of the Moisie River, and while there he was shocked to discover that the Innu were forbidden to fish salmon for either sustenance or livelihood. The situation at Moisie River in 1912 was the cumulating of more than 50 years of jurisdictional and administrative measures that effectively excluded the Innu from participating in the salmon fisheries on the north shore in Quebec. Since the mid-19th century, the Innu at Moisie River and Sept-Iles were entangled in a web of federal and provincial regulations and fisheries resource policies that prevented Aboriginal involvement in the use and development of the Quebec salmon fisheries.[4]

The importance of salmon and the traditional role of fishing for the Innu cannot be understated. It is crucial to understand the critical significance of the lakes, rivers and coastal waters in relation to the land—a position that is not subordinate to hunting and trapping, but mutually supportive. The consequences of prohibiting Aboriginal peoples from utilizing the salmon resources they had traditionally depended on were disastrous. By disrupting and forcefully changing the traditional lifestyles and land-use patterns of the Innu at Moisie, the provincial and federal governments had detrimentally and negatively impacted the well-being of the Inuu.

A comparable set of circumstances was simultaneously developing in British Columbia, in the Fraser River Valley in 1913. As Andrea Laforet (1998: 100) points out, the construction of a Canadian National Rail (CNR) line through the Fraser valley in 1913 caused a rockslide that effectively blocked the Fraser River and stopped the upriver passage of sockeye salmon. In 1914, regulations were set in place that denied the Aboriginal residents access to the much-needed salmon stocks of the Fraser River. The consequences of one year without fishing were severe. In 1914, the Chief of the Spuzzum people, James Paul Xixnez, explained the seriousness of the situation to a Royal Commission on Indian Affairs:

> Whose fault was it that I hadn't sufficient food to eat this year? Who was the cause of our poverty—it was not my fault that to-day we are poor—I was stopped from providing myself with food—Noone should be stopped with providing themselves with food—When they came to stop me they told me if I did not obey I would be put in gaol. (quoted in Laforet, 1998: 100)

Laforet points out that the decline in fish stocks was drastic: from the usual hundreds formerly dried by each family for the winter, in 1914, each family had no more then 40 fish per household (1998: 100).

Since time immemorial, a group of Innu peoples fished the Moisie River, principally for salmon during the spring and early summer months. The traditional pattern of land-use was cyclical. In the fall, Innu families would return to the bush to hunt and trap game, depending upon the meat and furs to survive through the long cold winters. When the spring came, melting the lake and river ice, families would return along the inland waterways to their summer encampments on the coast. On their way to the coast, many stops would be made to fish the plentiful spring salmon runs in the Moisie River. The salmon caught during these periods would provide enough food to live comfortably on the coast during the spring and summer months. As well, during the midsummer months groups of Aboriginal fishermen would frequent the river to fish the midsummer salmon runs. The salmon caught during the last salmon run would be smoked or dried, providing enough food for families to return to the bush and begin preparations for the winter hunt (Clément, 1993: 87-89; Parenteau, 1998: 4).

From as early as 1844, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) was actively involved in salting and shipping Moisie River salmon from the Sept-Iles post on the north shore of the St. Lawrence River to Quebec City. It is unclear whether the HBC employed Aboriginal peoples in these fishing operations. Since 1836, the Hudson's Bay Company shared a monopoly on the fishing privileges of the north shore of the St. Lawrence with the Labrador Company. In an 1844 report on the Hudson's Bay Post at Sept-Iles, HBC factor Alexander Robertson wrote, "The extension of the fisheries [to Moisie River] has thus been attended with success, and much indication of the returns of fish, at a comparative trifling expense" (National Archives of Canada [NAC], 1844). By 1850, the HBC Post at Sept-Iles had established active and prospering salmon fisheries at Moisie River and, by mid century, the HBC occupied all the fishing posts from Tadoussac to Olomanshipu, averaging an annual haul of 500 barrels of salmon from the Moisie River (NAC, July 24, September 4, 1850) and 300 barrels from the St. Jean, Mingan and Natashquan rivers (Panasuk and Proulx, 1979: 204). Due to the large catches in 1850 and prospects for increased yields in the salmon harvest of 1851, the HBC post at Sept-Iles commissioned, in the spring of 1851, the building of salmon sheds on the banks of the Moisie River to hold the catch of 1851. In August of that year, the HBC fishery on the Moisie was bustling. In a letter to the post at Sept-Iles, HBC Factor, George Henderson wrote, "I went down to visit the fishing stations and found them all taking from 50-60 salmon pieces, and every thing that could contain salmon was full....There will be about 200 pieces of salmon here this summer" (NAC, August 1, 1851).

In 1845, the Innu on the north-shore of the St. Lawrence petitioned the colonial government of Lower Canada for recognition of their hunting and fishing rights. The petition was spurred on by the increasing monopoly of hunting and fishing privileges granted to the Hudson's Bay and Labrador Companies. The Innu petitioned to have their hunting and fishing rights assured and guaranteed under the provisions of the Royal Proclamation of 1763 (Panasuk and Proulx, 1979: 204). Four years later, in 1849, Father Flavien Durocher, an Oblate missionary also petitioned the colonial government on behalf of the Innu at Moisie River and the

other Aboriginal peoples on the north shore, demanding that the Governor of Lower Canada recognize and affirm the Aboriginal rights of the Innu on the north shore. The Honorable L.H. Lafontaine, a representative of the colonial government, promised Durocher that the government of Lower Canada would do everything in its power to grant land next to the Bersimis and Outardes rivers to the Innu on the north shore land for hunting. However, no land or water was ever granted for hunting and fishing and the demands of the Innu fell ultimately on deaf ears (Panasuk and Proulx, 1979: 204).

In Upper Canada a similar situation with regards to Aboriginal fishing rights was also unfolding. From as early as 1829, Aboriginal peoples in Upper Canada had been asserting their Aboriginal fishing rights in petitions to the government of Upper Canada.[5] Although petitions of these sort would fail to yield results 10 years later in Lower Canada, in Upper Canada, the petitions helped to persuade the government to pass legislation in 1829 protecting Aboriginal fishing rights. In 1829, the government of Upper Canada made it unlawful for any person or persons to fish in "any mode or manner" upon the lands and waters reserved for the Mississauga First Nation on the Credit River, "against the will of the said Mississauga people, or without the consent of three or more of their principal men or chiefs" (Hansen, 1991: 3). By 1840 the government of Upper Canada passed further legislation to control the quality of fish caught for commercial purposes. This legislation enabled the governor and Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada to appoint fish inspectors in "every district of the province to inspect and grade all fish that was packed in barrels" (Hansen, 1991: 4). Subsequently, in 1845 restrictions on salmon fishing in Upper Canada were increased, making it illegal to fish any rivers or creeks emptying into Lake Ontario. Notably, however, this early legislation placed no restrictions on Aboriginal fishing rights in Upper Canada.

In 1857, the first *Fisheries Act* was enacted and the Department of Crown Lands gained the responsibility for fisheries in Upper and Lower Canada. The legislation "created a single set of regulations and set in place the structure for modern fisheries administration" (Hansen, 1991: 6; Parenteau, 1998: 6). The new laws regarding the fisheries in Upper and Lower Canada laid out specific regulations for closed seasons on salmon fishing, gear restrictions on stationary net fishing in estuaries and the requirement of providing a fish-way on mill dams. As well, a regulatory framework was established to provide for the administration of the new laws by fishery Overseers. The Overseer's role was to ensure that Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal anglers obeyed the new fishery regulations. In a letter to the federal Minister of Marine and Fisheries the Overseer for Moisie River noted that "an Overseer must be like the Fox in its den, perfectly recluse, in order that he may be enabled to strike a good blow when necessary or catch a good fowl" (NAC, 1894).

In response to the new *Fisheries Act*, in 1858 the Innu of Quebec twice petitioned the government of Lower Canada. In one petition, two Oblate missionaries, Louis Babel and Charles Arnaud, on behalf of the Innu at Moisie demanded that the government grant the Innu the exclusive right to fish the salmon runs in the Moisie River. The Innu felt that although the new regulations outlined in the *Fisheries Act* may have been sufficient to regulate the fishing activities of non-Aboriginal peoples, the provisions would effectively discriminate against the role fishing played in the traditional Innu lifestyle (Panasuk and Proulx, 1979: 206). In another petition that same year, a government official from Lower Canada, Hector Langevin, attempted to obtain the exclusive rights for the Innu to fish the Moisie over a 21-year period (Panasuk and Proulx, 1979: 206). Subsequently, the findings of a 1858 special report on Indian Affairs commissioned by the colonial government questioned the effect of the increasing number of non-Aboriginal peoples fishing in the rivers traditionally used by Aboriginal peoples on the north shore of the St. Lawrence. In the report, the commissioners detailed the importance of salmon in the lifestyle of Aboriginal people and argued that,

> since the catching of salmon has begun to be very important in the waters off the north shore of the St. Lawrence River, the Indians find that their average existence is gradually being disrupted by the modes of fishing employed by the whites who are helping themselves without any remorse or scruples, in any way to steal the fish. (*The Journal of the Legislative Assembly of Canada*, 1858: 16: 21; my translation)

Clearly, the Commissioners' report understood the need of the government of Lower Canada to recognize the traditional importance of fishing in the economic existence of the Innu and the detrimental effects the fishing practices of non-Aboriginal peoples were having on this economy. However, the regulations set out in the new *Fisheries Act* of 1857 gave no room for traditional Aboriginal subsistence and trading activities (Panasuk and Proulx, 1979: 206).

In 1859, an amendment was attached to the 1857 *Fisheries Act* which provided the provinces of Upper

and Lower Canada with the power for licensing "fishing stations on estuaries and the leasing of fluvial portions of rivers where the adjacent lands remained ungranted by the Crown" (Parenteau, 1998: 6). This new amendment ultimately provided the government with a method to derive a source of income from the fishery resources. Deriving such a financial resource was seen as critical for the administration of the ever expanding colonial fisheries in Upper and Lower Canada (Hansen, 1991: 6). By 1859, a blueprint for future federal fishery regulations was in place—a framework that combined both a regulatory apparatus for the administration of the fisheries and a leasing and licensing system to extract a much needed source of revenue from the fisheries, to the detriment of an Aboriginal fishery.

The fishing technologies of Aboriginal peoples were seen as impeding and, in fact, destroying the development of the ever-expanding fisheries in Canada. It was felt by some that not only did Aboriginal peoples not pay for their right to fish through leases and licences; their traditional methods of fishing were largely to blame for the decline of Atlantic salmon stocks in Lower Canada. The government of Lower Canada believed that experiments in Ireland and Scotland proved that when rivers were leased to sportsmen, the stocks of salmon increased "most wonderfully" and "the fisheries of rivers flowing through ungranted wilderness lands, which are now being destroyed in the most wasteful and reckless manner, might be preserved and rendered profitable" (Perly in Parenteau, 1998: 7). Although there was no scientific evidence suggesting that the selective fishing economies in Scotland and Ireland were effective in conserving fish stocks as well as providing revenue, in Lower Canada, it was regarded as safe and profitable to lease out the fishing rights to those rivers abundant in salmon stocks (Panasuk and Proulx, 1979: 206). The new policy of leasing out parts of rivers to sports fishermen made it virtually impossible for Aboriginal peoples to continue using the rivers as a source of much needed food and trade goods. Certain provisions outlined in a fishing lease made the lessee responsible for providing "guardians" who would "prevent the spearing of salmon" in the waters of rivers, a veiled oppressive act against the Aboriginal fishery (NAC, May 9, 1895). Although the 1857 and 1859 *Fisheries Acts*, along with their subsequent amendments, attempted to foster greater control and regulation over the fisheries in Upper and Lower Canada, the Atlantic salmon stocks in Lower Canada continued to dwindle. The rapid decline of Atlantic salmon stocks in Lower Canada by the early 1860s was blamed largely on Aboriginal peoples and their traditional fishing patterns. However, Section 17(8) of the 1865 amendment to the 1859 *Fisheries Act* permitted Aboriginal peoples in Upper and Lower Canada the use of traditional methods to fish (An Act to provide for the better regulation and protection of fisheries. 29 Vict., Chapter XI, S. 17[8]). While these amendments addressed some of the Aboriginal concern over access to their fishery, the amendments also created resentment among the growing elite fraternity of non-Aboriginal sports fishermen in Canada (Parenteau, 1998: 9). This resentment is reflected in a statement made by J.E. Alexander concerning fishing in New Brunswick,

> That the Indians must suffer starvation by being deprived of the "native liberty" to ruin our salmon fishery, is a very flimsy apology on the part of those who still desire to perpetuate so flagrant an abuse.... Were there not another salmon to be caught between Quebec and Labrador, the extinction could not occasion to Indians one tithe of Misery. (Alexander in Parenteau, 1998: 9)

As Bill Parenteau (1998: 7) points out, however, the accusations directed at Aboriginal peoples by the sporting fraternity were unwarranted. The decrease in Atlantic salmon was not due to over-fishing by Aboriginal peoples, but directly tied to the increasing establishment of natural resource exploitation by non-Aboriginal peoples on the north shore—specifically the increase in forestry and mining activities along the rivers and inland freshwater lakes. By the early 1860s natural resource exploitation and the increase of sports fishing in Upper and Lower Canada, combined with the quickening pace of the commercial fishing industry initiated by the HBC ultimately facilitated the near extinction of Atlantic salmon in Quebec rivers (Parenteau, 1998: 7-8).

Shortly after the 1859 amendment to the *Fisheries Act* was passed, an agreement was reached between the Indian Department and the Department of Crown Lands, establishing that Aboriginal peoples were subject to the provisions of the *Fisheries Act*. However, the agreement stipulated that Aboriginal peoples in Upper, not Lower, Canada were exempt from paying fees for fishery leases. The agreement stated that "in cases where the purport and object of title is to secure to the individuals and families of each tribe exclusive use of such fisheries for *bona fide* domestic consumption" Aboriginal peoples would not have to pay fishing fees (Hansen, 1991: 6). There is no indication why Lower Canada was exempted from these new provisions.

Subsequently, in 1865, two years before Confederation, a more detailed regulation regarding Aboriginal fishing rights was appended to the 1859 *Fisheries Act*. This was mainly due to incidents which had occurred in Ontario between Aboriginal fishermen and provincial and federal fisheries officials. As early as 1862, Aboriginal peoples at Manitoulin Island had successfully resisted attempts of the government to lease out the fishing rights to portions of the waters surrounding the island. The 1863 mysterious death of a federal fishery agent at Manitoulin (see Leighton, 1977; Lytwyn, 1990), ultimately persuaded the Federal and Provincial governments to focus more attention on the question of Aboriginal fishing rights in Upper Canada (Lytwyn, 1990: 22). In 1865, section 17(8) of the *Fisheries Act* was amended to allow the Commissioner of Crown Lands to

> appropriate and lease certain waters in which certain Indians shall be allowed to fish for their own use as food in and at whatever manner and time are specified in the lease and may permit spearing in certain localities for bass, pike and pickerel between the fourteenth of December and the first of March. [6]

Following this amendment to the *Fisheries Act*, in 1866 the Commissioner of Crown Lands directed that, subject to section 17(8) of the Act, "all fisheries around Islands and fronting the mainland belonging to Indians be disposed of by the Fisheries Branch of the Department" (Lytwyn, 1990: 23). The new fishing regulations vested the ultimate authority over the question of Aboriginal fisheries in the hands of the Department of Crown Lands, furthermore it was clear that the Department had no intention to provide Aboriginal peoples with free leases to their traditional fishing grounds (Lytwyn, 1990: 23).

By the time of Confederation in 1867, the colonial governments had entrenched Aboriginal fishing rights within the context of a colonial regulatory scheme that restricted the ability of Aboriginal peoples to regulate and maintain their own fisheries. With virtually no consultation with Aboriginal peoples, the colonial government effectively constructed policies to restrict traditional Aboriginal lifestyles. The introduction of an arbitrary administrative system of licences, leases and closed seasons, and a regulatory apparatus for the enforcement of this system came into direct conflict with the traditional aboriginal fishing economy. The development of such a system was effectively established to provide Upper and Lower Canada with an ever-increasing source of revenue as well as the power to regulate and control the rapidly developing commercial fishing industry.

After 1867 Canadian fisheries became the responsibility of the Federal Government. In 1868, the Federal Government passed the first national *Fisheries Act*. The initial purpose of the *Act* was based on the conservation of Atlantic fish stocks, with the "overlapping objectives of rehabilitation, regulation and enforcement" (Parenteau, 1998: 9). Federal fishery regulations and conservation principles were enacted in order to control access to fish through similar measures outlined in the prior colonial fishery regulations of Upper and Lower Canada—closed seasons and times, bans on certain types of nets and fishing practices (namely Aboriginal) and the licensing and leasing of fishing rights (Parenteau, 1998: 9). Ultimately, the new federal fishery regulations were virtually identical to their colonial precedents. The Department of Marine and Fisheries merely fine-tuned a pre-existing regulatory apparatus to effectively further exclude Aboriginal peoples from the salmon fisheries in Lower Canada.

Central to the functioning of this regulatory apparatus was "the licensing of fishing stations in the estuaries of salmon rivers; the leasing of fluvial portions of salmon rivers to sportfishing clubs; and the setting in place of an administrative regime capable of enforcing salmon fishing regulations" (Parenteau, 1998: 9). The development and entrenchment of conservation principles in the 1868 *Fisheries Act* were chiefly due to the affinity between government officials and the elite male sporting culture in North America. The Federal Government responded to the elite sporting culture's "push for increased funding and an expanded management bureaucracy," and in return, the sporting culture "counted on a regulatory régime favorable to recreational hunting and fishing" (Parenteau, 1998: 9-10). The political clout of the sporting culture was strong. The Federal Government could rely on the sports fishermen for key political support for the development of programs such as fish hatcheries, and the sporting fraternity could rely on the government to expand fishing laws and regulations, at the turn of the 20th century, that directly favoured the "rod and reel" approach to fishing (Legislative Assembly of Quebec, 1906; Parenteau, 1998: 10).

An immediate effect in 1868 of the relationship between the elite sporting culture and the Federal Government was the ban on the use of Aboriginal fishing technology in the provinces of Quebec and Ontario (Parenteau, 1998: 10-11). The 1868 *Fisheries Act* made it illegal to "fish for, catch, or kill salmon, trout (or 'lunge') of any kind, Maskinonge, bass, barfish, pickerel, whitefish, herring or shad by means of spear grapnel hooks, negog, or nishigans" (Canada, 1868). However, an exemption

was included in the clause, allowing the Minister of Fisheries to "appropriate and license or lease certain waters in which certain Indians shall be allowed to catch fish for their own use in and at whatever manner and time are specified in the license or lease, and may permit spearing in certain localities" (Canada, 1968).

The Moisie River Salmon Fishery

By 1860, a large portion of the net fishing rights to the Moisie River were leased out to a Mr. Holiday, a business man from Montreal. Holiday had "established, at his own expense a fish hatchery on the Moisie River which he uninterruptedly maintained" (NAC, no date). Subsequently, in 1869, there were approximately 100 families engaged in the fishing industry at Moisie River (Annual Report of Department of Marine and Fisheries, 1869: 27)[7] and the Holiday fish hatchery was eventually expanded into a commercial industry. In fact, in his 1870 annual report to the Department of Marine and Fisheries, the Overseer for the St. Lawrence fisheries described the success of the Holiday operation on the Moisie: "I must say to Mr. Holiday's credit that he is the first Canadian who originated this enterprise, and the country owes him thanks for his endeavors to improve salmon fishing, and give us this fish in a fresh state and at a cheap figure" (Annual Report of Department of Marine and Ficheries, 1870: 229). By 1871, Holiday's commercial salmon industry on the Moisie River hauled in more than 800 barrels of salmon in one season (Annual Report of Department of Marine and Ficheries, 1872: 42). Holiday's "success" however relied heavily on the enforcement of the federal fisheries policy and the surveillance of the Aboriginal populations who traditionally fished the salmon runs of the Moisie river.[8] In a letter to the Federal Minister of Marines and Fisheries in 1898, Holiday's sons recounted the secret of their father's success

> we have taken the same precaution for the protection of the fisheries as our late father did during his life time, and have hitherto appointed, each season, guardians to prevent the spearing of salmon by the Indians in the upper waters. This together with the preserving endeavors of the lessee in enforcing the regulations by maintaining private guardians and in other ways conserving the interest in the fishery, continued to effect a permanent improvement in the fish supply of the river. (NAC, May 9, 1898)

In his 1867 annual report, the fishery Overseer for the Quebec Division, Théophile Tétu, noted to the Department of Marine and Fisheries, that provisions outlined in the 1868 *Fisheries Act* banning the spearing of fish by Aboriginal peoples on the north shore of the St. Lawrence river were going to have a very detrimental effect on the Aboriginal population. By preventing Aboriginal peoples from spearing salmon and trout, "by the use of which hundreds of families supported themselves during summer," Tétu stated that "these poor people, particularly on the North Shore, find themselves in a very precarious position." The increase of non-Aboriginal settlement on the north shore and the subsequent disappearance of seal and duck, made it even harder for Aboriginal peoples to rely on a subsistence resource. Tétu pointed out that the Aboriginal person "has only the produce of his winters' hunting to support his family with, and often, unfortunately, it is insufficient;—and what happens then?" Tétu stated that it is only on the brink of starvation that "the idea of spearing fish takes possession of [the Aboriginal person]." Tétu suggested that the only way to prevent the Innu from spearing fish was "to grant the Indians on the North Shore a larger sum of money annually, and to those on the Bay of Chaleurs agricultural implements and seed grain." He further suggested that such assistance would enable those Aboriginal peoples on the north shore "to understand that the Government is friendly to them and only forbids them the use of the spear for the purpose of allowing salmon to increase, and [they] would no longer indulge in the use of that weapon." In concluding, Tétu predicted that "the increase of fish in our rivers would repay the expenses incurred for the attainment of the desired object" (Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, 1867: 26).

By 1874, the effects of federal fishery regulations banning Aboriginal peoples from fishing salmon in the Moisie and other rivers in Quebec were apparent. The lack of fish resources, combined with the growing competition for game with non-Aboriginal hunters and settlers and the waning fur trade had a devastating effect on the Innu of the north shore of the St. Lawrence (Parenteau, 1998: 14). In a 1874 letter to the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, the Minister of the Interior wrote, "the Winter hunt has been a failure and the tardy spring season threatens to bear with unusual severity on these poor people who are at present depending for a scanty substance on the proceeds of wood-cutting for the Moisie Iron Company" (NAC, April 30, 1874). Furthermore, that same year, a fishery Overseer for the Quebec division noted to the Minister of Marine and Fisheries that "it will be difficult to make a complete submission to the fishery laws for these Indians next summer, should they be exposed to the same privations as this year and left to

compare the utter state of destitution with the luxurious mode of living of the [leaseholder] who fed his dogs on food which would have kept them alive" (Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, 1872: 44-45). In subsequent years, the condition of the Aboriginal peoples on the north shore slowly deteriorated. From 1875 until 1878, starvation was a direct result of fisheries policies and increased non-Aboriginal settlement on the north shore. In a 1878 report to the Department of the Interior, fishery Overseer Napoleon Lavoie, stated that the Aboriginal peoples from Mingan to St. Augustine were "scattered all along the coast asking for food from all comers and unable to reach the winter hunting grounds for want of provisions...it is certain that death will make a sweep through them before the middle of winter" (NAC, August 11, 1878).

The total lack of fish provisions, which traditionally would have helped to sustain the Innu on the north shore through the summer months and provide a healthy food alternative to rely on if the winter hunt was scarce, forced the Innu at Moisie and other areas along the north shore, to further rely on the Department of the Interior and the Department of Marine and Fisheries. This is illustrated in a letter to the Minister of the Interior from the Chief of Moisie River. In 1874 Minpartermismemiik Innutsimibu wrote,

> ...as we leave the coast, about the beginning of August to pass the winter in the Interior, we would earnestly entreat of you to extend again your goodness towards us by sending us a small supply of flour about the end of July to enable us to pass the winter without dread of starvation, it would be great relief with my own endeavors to reach the Coast with our families safely in Spring. That it would please us very much would you be agreeable to let us know your intentions towards us by the latter end of July. (NAC, May 25, 1874a)

Ironically, in 1875, due to the failure of the winter hunt, the Department of Indian Affairs authorized the Minister of Marine and Fisheries to send money to John Holiday at Moisie River to procure and provide provisions for the Innu as they made their way to the coast and their summer encampments in the spring (NAC, March 3, 1875). However, the distribution of provisions was not so fairly handed out. The policy adopted by the Department of the Interior was to give provisions only to those Aboriginal peoples who "from old age, or owing from their having many small helpless children, would require such assistance." The Department of the Interior stressed that "it would not be advantageous to extend aid" to those "who [could] earn their subsistence by the work of their hands" (NAC, May 5, 1874b). The Department of the Interior's attempt to aid the starving Innu at Moisie and Mingan was almost a complete failure. This is illustrated in the spring of 1876 when, due to the inadequate distribution of provisions, Joseph Fournier, an Innu man from Moisie, broke into Holiday's store to take a barrel of flour to feed his family. In a letter to Holiday, the guardian at Moisie noted,

> [Fournier] had made up his mind. He had nothing and eat he must. It was the 24th of March that Fournier broke open the store. I was gone for two days....The same day others came for assistance and they broke open the store also. If they were not assisted, but having been earnestly requested to wait for my return. They did so—I was much surprised on my arrival.... I took it upon myself to give them a little flour for I feared that they would take the whole of it, there were several families who had nothing and they intended to come together. (NAC, May 1, 1876)

Furthermore, in 1878 Aboriginal fishermen at Mingan were forced to break fishery regulations in order to feed themselves and their families. In a report to the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, O.B. McGee, Fisheries Overseer for the Mingan division wrote,

> On this river the Indians went up and speared in presence of Mr. Molson [the lessee] and the Guardian they took 36 salmon. The guardian wrote to me and I went up and forbid them to fish. They said they would not fish anymore and that they were starving and could not get anything to eat and that they asked Mr. Molson to give them something and he would not, and that they had to take fish to save their lives. Mr. Scott corroborated what they said that they were actually starving and that his orders from the Hudson's Bay company were not to give them anything. (NAC, 1878)

In 1875, Ontario, Aboriginal fisherman from Manitoulin Island were lifting non-Aboriginal nets they believed were "in trespass of their fishery" (Hansen, 1991: 11). In response to the growing tension in Ontario surrounding the question of Aboriginal fisheries, the Department of Marine and Fisheries, on December 7, 1875, published a circular that attempted to clarify "the exact legal status of Indians in respect to fishery laws." In the circular, the department stated,

> ...Indians enjoy no special liberty as regards the places, times or methods of fishing. They are entitled only to the same freedom as White men, and are

> subject to precisely the same laws and regulations. They are forbidden to fish at unlawful seasons and by illegal means, or without leases or licenses. But regarding the obtainment of leases and licenses the Government acts towards them with the same generous and paternal spirit with which the Indian tribes have ever been treated under British rule. (NAC, RG 10 vol. 423: 265)

Despite the "generous and paternal spirit" of the Federal Government, the starvation of the Innu at Moisie and the other surrounding Aboriginal communities on the north shore of the St. Lawrence continued on and off for years. In fact, to feed themselves and their families Aboriginal fishermen would endanger their lives by fishing salmon. However, by the end of the 1870s, the Department of Fisheries attempted to compensate Aboriginal peoples for the loss of their salmon fisheries by licensing net-fishing stands to the Innu on the tributaries of the St. Lawrence (Parenteau, 1998: 15). By the 1880s the Department of Fisheries adopted yet another new policy that authorized non-Aboriginal settlers to operate the net-stands licensed to Aboriginal communities. Unfortunately for the Aboriginal people, the department felt that they could not be trusted to efficiently run the net-stands (Parenteau, 1998: 15).

The ideology behind the department's new policy is reflected in Lavoie's 1887 annual report to the Minister of Marine and Fisheries. Lavoie wrote that, "three or four years ago, when these Indians were nearly starving on the coasts of Labrador, after experiencing an unsuccessful hunt in which they nearly all perished, parties who took an interest in them made representations on their behalf." Through this representation, the parties had "succeeded in securing them assistance in money as well as in provisions, and the privilege of fishing a salmon stand in the immediate neighborhood of Mingan River." However, Lavoie lamented, the Innu could not "muster sufficient energy to fish this station, a proof that any other labour than that of hunting or spearing is repugnant of their tastes. When they had caught a few salmon, they allowed the nets to be washed to shore, and had it not been for Mr. Scott, the HBC Agent, these would have been left to rot on the beach." In order to remedy the situation, and "derive some advantage from the special favour granted them by your department," Lavoie took it upon himself "to hire a man who will fish this station for their benefit next year" (Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, 1877: 53).

The Changing Face of Fisheries Jurisdiction in Canada: *R. v. Robertson*

In 1882, the Supreme Court of Canada helped clarify what was becoming an increasing jurisdictional headache between the Federal and Provincial governments. In the case of *R. v. Robertson*, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that the "ownership of the soils or beds of freshwater rivers did not pass to the federal government under the BNA Act." Ultimately, the Supreme Court ruling in *R. v. Robertson* shifted the responsibility and jurisdiction of the fisheries. As a result of the Robertson ruling, the Federal Government became responsible for legislation that regulated and protected the fisheries, and the provinces now had the right "to pass any laws affecting the property in those fisheries, or the transfer or transmission of such property" (*R. v. Robertson*, 1882).[9] The responsibility of issuing fishing licences and leases now effectively lay with the provinces. However, throughout the 1880s and even into the early 1890s, the federal Department of Marine and Fisheries continued to enact fisheries legislation that contained enforcement provisions and provide fisheries Overseers to enforce these provisions (Van West, 1990: 44). In 1894, challenges by the Ontario provincial government to the continued efforts of the Federal Government to pass and enforce fisheries regulations and legislation were finally referred, by the Governor General in Council, to the Supreme Court of Canada. The following year, the Supreme Court ruled that the Federal Government retained their responsibility, as outlined in the BNA Act, to legislate for the protection of the inland fisheries. The Supreme Court also affirmed that provinces retained all proprietary rights to the fisheries, including the exclusive right to issue licenses for their fisheries and to enforce existing fisheries statutes [Canada (Attorney General) v. Ontario (Attorney General) [1895] 26 S.C.R. 444 (S.C.C.)]. The Supreme Court of Canada's 1895 ruling was subsequently appealed by the Federal Government but upheld in 1898 by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council [Canada (Attorney General) v. Ontario (Attorney General) [1898] A.C. 700 (P.C. Ont.), on appeal from (1895) 26 S.C.R. 444 (S.C.C.)].

With their new found jurisdictional powers, in 1895 the government of Quebec passed legislation establishing provincial fish and game laws in the Province of Quebec [Revised Statues of the Province of Quebec as amended by the acts 52 Vict., chap. 19, 53 Vict., chap. 20, 58 Vict., chap. 21, 59 Vict., chap. 20 and 60 Vict., chap. 21]. These laws allowed fishing "with rod and line in lakes

and rivers under the control of the Quebec government." Authorization from the provincial Commissioner of Crown Lands was required for any other kind of fishing. The new laws stated that the right of fishing in any salmon rivers in Quebec could "only be purchased at sales by public auction [and were] granted for a period of ten years." As well, the laws stipulated that any fisherman who was not an inhabitant of the province of Quebec was "obliged to have permits for fishing in the waters of our [Quebec] lakes and rivers. The price of these permits is determined by the Commissioner of Crown Lands but it cannot be less then $10.00." Residents of the province were not required to purchase such permits and were allowed to fish in any lake or river belonging to the Crown which was not leased to an individual or to a club. With respect to the lessees of lakes or rivers, the new provincial fishery laws stipulated "only one obligation of any importance viz: to send into the Department, at the close of each fishing season, a statement of the quantity and kind of fish taken" (Anonymous, 1895). A closed season was also enacted in the new fishery laws that regulated the times in which certain types of fish could be taken.[10] As well, a closed season was enacted on game in which "no one (white man or Indian) has a right during one season's hunting, to take alive—unless he has previously obtained a permit from the Commissioner of Crown Lands for that Purpose—more than 2 moose, 2 caribou and 3 deer" (Anonymous, 1895).

The shifting jurisdictional boundaries on issues relating to fish and game in the 1890s had an amplified effect on the Aboriginal peoples of the north shore of Quebec. Now Aboriginal peoples on the north shore not only struggled over the question of their rights to their traditional fisheries, they also struggled with provincial game laws. Fifty years prior, Aboriginal people on the north shore were forced to fall back on scanty game resources when they were prohibited to fish their traditional fishing grounds. However, during the 1890s, the Provincial Government prohibited access to those scanty game by Aboriginal peoples. As a result of these new provincial game laws, the province of Quebec on December 21, 1895 issued a five-year moratorium on the hunting and trapping of beaver, a resource many Aboriginal peoples relied on for their livelihood (NAC, July 20, 1896). This moratorium reflected the new found powers of the province to regulate and control Aboriginal hunting and fishing activities—a struggle that continues to this day.

Due to the lack of any recognized treaties between the Federal Government and Aboriginal nations on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, neither the Provincial nor Federal governments would recognize Aboriginal traditional hunting and fishing rights. This was compounded in 1897, when the province of Quebec set apart some three hundred miles of forest land on the southeast side of the Quebec and Lac St. Jean railway as a "Parc national" in which non-Aboriginal peoples could hunt and fish with a licence. In 1897, P.L. Marcotte, the Indian Agent at Pointe Bleue, Quebec, wrote to the Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs to inform him of the effect of this newly established park on the Aboriginal peoples of the area. In the letter, Marcotte stressed that,

> ...many of our Indians who were in the habit to frequent that part of the country have been left in a great distress when they saw their traps taken away from them by the government-guardians and chased off their hunting ground. This and the forbidding of the beaver trapping up to 1900 leaves to the poor Indians a very poor show to sustain their future existence. (NAC, January 4, 1897a)

By 1898, the province's new hunting and fishing legislation was having an increasing detrimental effect on the Aboriginal peoples of the north shore. On October 7, 1898, six Abenaki men wrote to Prime Minister, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, stating that they

> are troubled with a great number of Canadian hunters who have taken up our best hunting grounds, and moreover, we are forbidden the right of killing beaver and cariboo during the month of march. The close season established by law is all right as regards the Canadians as they have their livelihood, whilst the Indians, the aborigines of the country, have no other way than hunting to obtain their livelihood; therefore we pray you obtain justice for us by making an exception in our favour in the hunting regulations so as to give us a permit to hunt game everywhere from 1st of September to the 30th of April each year, which is the best season for taking these skins which are more saleable. Your game warden will agree with us that there are a hundred Canadians to ten Indians who are engaged in hunting. (NAC, 1897b)

In response to their plea to have the Federal Government recognize their Aboriginal rights, the Secretary for the Department of Indian Affairs replied to the six men that "these are matters in which the Department [of Indian Affairs] has no power to interfere as the licencing of hunting and making of regulations for the preservation of game are under the control of the provincial authorities." Furthermore, the Secretary reiterated the Federal Government's position with respect

to Aboriginal fishing and hunting rights on the north shore,"the Department is not aware that there was ever by Treaty or otherwise any agreement, made to reserve any of the public domain as hunting grounds for the Indians, although the same right to hunt as the rest of the community might enjoy were assured to them" (NAC, October 18, 1898).

In contrast, by 1890 the government of Quebec was generating tens of thousands of dollars annually from riparian salmon leases. Approximately 48 fishing clubs were leasing out portions of rivers in Quebec, and "at least ten of them [were] entirely composed of American citizens from New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Springfield, etc." (Anomymous, 1895). The money laid out by these clubs and by private individuals, "both for the erection of houses and other buildings and for opening and improving the roads leading to the fishing places" amounted to a very respectable sum. As well it was felt by the provincial government of Quebec that "those who come to spend some part of the summer in their fishing places spend large sums of money in various ways and the inhabitants of the surrounding locations are the first to benefit by the money expended on these works" (Anonymous, 1895: 42). By August 1895, 60 salmon and trout rivers and a little more than 1 000 lakes in the province of Quebec were leased out to approximately 110 clubs and private individuals (Anonymous, 1895: 44). The Moisie River, in particular, was seen as "a large and handsome stream producing immense quantities of salmon of a very large size." In 1898, the net fishing rights in the upper waters of the Moisie were still leased out to the Holiday brothers and the riparian rights to the lower portion of the river were leased out to D. Fitch and Veasey Boswell, of Quebec and Mr. Toland, of Philadelphia, "who purchased them for $2,500" (Chambers and Davies, 1898).

The Moisie River Incident: Frank Speck and the Question of Aboriginal Fishing Rights in Quebec

Only one year prior to Frank Speck's 1912 trip to the north shore, sports fishing in Quebec was thriving so much that W. Wakeham, Inspector of Fisheries for the Inland Section of the Gulf Division reported in his annual report that "when such an enormous return is derived from the advent to the region of these sporting clubs, no commercial fishing whatever should be allowed." The virtues of sports fishing were extolled far and wide and the government of Quebec stressed that where there was sports fishing, the waters were well protected from "poachers," "and little illegal fishing [was] done." As well, sports fishing infused very large amounts of money into the provincial and local economies: "Outfitters, suppliers of all kinds, guides, guardians, boat and canoe builders, railroads and hotels, all reap a considerable harvest from the presence of the sportsmen and their families"(Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, 1910-1911: 226-227). When Speck arrived at Moisie River in the summer of 1912 to collect material culture for the Victoria Memorial Museum in Ottawa, the tension between Aboriginal peoples, elite fisherman and government officials surrounding fish and game resources was highly volatile. Aboriginal peoples had become entwined in a web of provincial and federal regulations that worked to restrict and limit their involvement in the control and care of their traditional fishing economy—a web that was maintained by provincial and federal government officials and influenced by Canadian and American elite sports fishing fraternities. It was in this web that Speck became entangled at Moisie River in the summer of 1912.

Speck first raised the question of Innu fishing rights to Edward Sapir in a letter posted from the community of Lac St. Jean on June 26, 1912. Speck informed Sapir that the Aboriginal people at Moisie River "crowd around [him] asking to make an appeal for them" on the "grave injustices" taking place on the north shore of the St. Lawrence. He also related that chiefly due to a "prohibition to fish for salmon in the Moisie River," the "north shore Indians...are starving off through the neglect of their officials." Thus, as a favour, he asked Sapir to use his influence with the Department of Indian affairs, "to get some help for these north shore Indians." More specifically, Speck requested Sapir to secure " the medical attendance the Indians so badly need and the privilege to fish in the Moisie for salmon" (CMC, June 26, FSC, 1912).

While at Moisie, Speck had learned that the Quebec government had leased the salmon rights to the river out to several rich American sport fishermen, "without consulting the poor Indians." He told Sapir that the consequences of any Aboriginal person caught fishing were severe—they would be arrested and fined (CMC, June 26, 1912). The practice of leasing out portions of rivers rich in salmon stocks had been a common practice in the provinces of Canada for many years. However, in 1906, Quebec was the only province in Canada leasing out fishing and hunting territories. The province of Quebec felt that such a policy ultimately aided the government in the protection of fish and game resources. The participation of numerous high-ranking federal and provincial fisheries officials in the clubs that leased out hunting and fishing territories, reinforced measures for

the control and regulation of the salmon industry (Parenteau, 1998: 11). As well, the scores of private fishery guardians supplied by lessees, many vested with magisterial powers, "provided an immense boost to the chronically underfunded department in its effort to control the salmon harvest" (Parenteau, 1998: 10). The province's leasing policy also provided the provincial fisheries department with their largest source of revenue, bringing in an annual amount of $45 769.39 in 1906—the "principal lessees [coming] from among our friends on the other side of the line 45" (Legislative Assembly of Québec, February 22, 1906). However, as a direct result of the province's fisheries resource policy, the Innu at Moisie were starving and the tensions between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal fishermen surrounding the use of the river were intense. Speck stressed to Sapir that if the Innu at Moisie were "pressed to starvation they may cause trouble, as they are fairly numerous and the white few" (CMC, FSC, June 26, 1912).

In response to the growing tensions surrounding the salmon fisheries on the north shore and his own outrage at the injustices faced by the Innu at Moisie, Speck decided to travel to Quebec City to file a formal complaint "at the department of fisheries against selling the salmon fishing monopoly and letting the Indians at Moisie starve (!)." Speck wrote to Sapir that he had "registered a big kick with Mr. Dufault, the Minister of Fisheries and he was glad I saw him (I was backed by some 'wise ones' in Quebec)." Speck also stated that he convinced the Minster of Fisheries to send "a telegram to the fish warden at Moisie...and if the conditions were bad to allow them to take fish." However, not happy with the promise of the Minister, Speck stressed that "if they don't do something for these poor devils, I'll threaten to let the whole thing out in the Beaver and papers and that, as I happen to know from friends of the Indians in Quebec, is what some of the political groups are afraid of." At the end of the letter, he added "You didn't know I had developed into a sort of (political) missionary" (CMC, FSC, July 7, 1912).

On July 13, 1912, Sapir replied to Speck and his concerns about the condition of the starving Aboriginal people at Sept-Iles and Moisie River. He wrote that "as I do not know Mr. Pedley personally, I am having a carbon copy of my letter sent to Mr. D.C. Scott, who is Chief Accountant and at the same time Superintendent of Indian Education, and also to Mr. C.A. Cooke, a Lake of Two Mountains Iroquois in the Indian service. Both of these I know personally." In response to Sapir, Duncan Campbell Scott forwarded a telegraph from the Indian agent at Moisie River and Sept-Iles to Sapir at the Victoria Memorial Museum. In the telegram, the agent, Mr. McDougall, stated that there was "no destitution" and that the "conditions [were] exaggerated." However, in the letter attached to the telegram, Scott informed Sapir that, "whatever he [the Indian agent] says I'm sure the Indians of the Lower St. Lawrence are in an unsatisfactory state and it is extremely difficult for the department to relieve them. We have attempted during the last few years to get them to fish in the Gulf and have supplied nets" (CMC, FSC, July 13, 1912).

In response to the situation at Sept-Iles and Moisie River, Speck wrote to Sapir and Harlan Smith that he was not at all surprised at the conditions the Aboriginal peoples on the north shore of the St. Lawrence were forced to endure (CMC, FSC, July 19, 1912). Ultimately, he concluded that the problems the Aboriginal people faced were due to the neglect of the Indian agent. Speck referred to the Indian Agent as "evidently a good enough Indian Agent, a typical one, in the job for whatever he can get and the devil with his wards" and "a bad egg [who] takes no responsibility for his Indian charges according to their testimony. Liquor and women is [*sic*] his chief interest it seems" (CMC, FSC, July 21, 1912). The biggest problem at Moisie River, Speck observed, had to do with the laws restricting Aboriginal peoples from fishing in the leased waters of the river. He stated that "as long as they cannot support themselves fishing while at the coast they have no recourse but to go inland and to hunt and starve if the game fails" (CMC, FSC, July 21, 1912). As a consequence of the lack of food, the Innu then "end up contract[ing] or fall[ing]-prey to so much disease."[11] Speck noted, "the greatest faults lies in the fisheries resource policies, which prevents natives from fishing in leased territories (leased to outsiders)" (CMC, FSC, July 21, 1912).

It is unknown whether Speck took any further overt action on the political front on behalf of the Innu at Moisie River. However, Speck did stress to Sapir that working as an advocate on behalf of the Innu peoples at Moisie River and Sept-Iles "is a very deserving piece of work, better than a whole lot of this institutional charity work" (CMC, FSC, July 21, 1912).

Speck's experience at Moisie River and his frustration with the treatment of Aboriginal people by the Federal and Provincial governments in Canada, inspired him to begin writing academic pieces concerning Aboriginal resource rights. In 1912, after his visit to Moisie River, Speck published a small article entitled *Conservation for the Indians* (1912) in the *Southern Workman* and, in 1913, he published two articles in the *Red Man*,

reflecting his increasing interest in issues of Aboriginal title and resource rights. Speck's brief article in the *Southern Workman* (1912), stressed that "while certain phases of [non-Aboriginal] economic life must be adopted by the Indians, that they may continue to exist...it is just as vital for them to retain...a number of cultural and mental traits which are characteristic of them" (1912: 329).

As a follow-up to the *Southern Workman* article, Speck published an article in *Red Man* entitled "Conserving and Developing the Good in the Indian" (1913a). In this article he emphasized the need for

> Well-directed philanthropy toward the Indians, not to eradicate the advantageous sides of their life for the purpose of supplanting this with a made-over white man's ideal, which he himself cannot achieve, but to provide conditions for the Indian physically and economically favorable for his own self-gained prosperity and welfare. (1913a: 464)

In response to this article, Harlan Smith, head of the Archeological Division of the Victoria Memorial Museum, wrote to Speck, "I suppose some people might say that the idea was not new, I know I have thought some things along similar lines, but just the particular twist you give it struck me as entirely new and I believe it is a big thought and one well worthy of being pushed." Smith ended the letter lamenting to Speck that "it is too bad there is not a man in every state of the United States and every province in Canada with such ideas who will fight for [the Indians]" (CMC, HSC, June 19, 1912a).

In a subsequent article in *Red Man*, Speck defended the hunting practices of "the northern Ojibways and the Montagnais of the Province of Quebec." He argued that the non-Aboriginal accusations against Aboriginal peoples regarding the "thoughtless slaughter of game" were "grossly incorrect, the Indians being, on the contrary, the best protectors of game" (1913b: 21). By introducing the concept of the "family hunting territory," Speck maintained that Aboriginal people were successfully able to regulate the killing of animals in their territories "so that the increase only is consumed, enough stock being left each season to ensure a supply the succeeding year" (1913b: 22). Thus, unlike the "white man who, instead of regarding the game supply as a heritage, treat it as a source of sport to earn credit among their friends," the Aboriginal hunters follow a "natural law of conservation, which is worth more than any written law to him" (1913b: 22). Although the emphasis of Speck's argument was on hunting, it could easily be extended to include Aboriginal fisheries.

Conclusion

The development of colonial regulations to control and administer a national fisheries policy in Canada ultimately failed to recognize and incorporate Aboriginal needs and involvement. The failure to address Aboriginal needs and involve Aboriginal people on a policy level subsequently led to a dramatic shift in the everyday realties of the Innu living on the north shore and a drastic decline in their standard of living. Traditional Innu patterns of land-use and conservation could no longer be sustained without coming into conflict with an increasing presence of colonial regimes for the administration and regulation of the growth of salmon fisheries in Quebec.

The resulting conflict exacerbated tensions between Aboriginal peoples, government officials and non-Aboriginal fishermen. As an advocate on behalf of the Innu at Moisie River, Frank Speck was able to successfully dispute provincial regulations limiting Aboriginal use of their traditional fishing economy. Speck's actions also helped to raise awareness regarding the implicit use of power in the regulation and use of fishery resources in Quebec. It is clear that Speck's role as an advocate deeply informed his role as an ethnologist and that the ethnological data he collected informed much of the work he carried out as an advocate.

Speck's pro-active involvement and lasting contributions to the areas of Aboriginal resource use and territoriality challenge current extreme theoretical positions that characterize anthropologists and anthropological practices as contributing to the overall colonial suppression of Aboriginal people in Canada. There are no data to support the claim that Speck in any way worked in the "service of the state." What the data do suggest is that Speck worked in many capacities to intervene in the ongoing colonization of Aboriginal lands in Canada. Through additional research and analysis of Speck's work, I continue to unpack the connection between ethnology and advocacy in Canada. In particular, I am working to develop a closer analysis of the relationship between Speck's anthropological work and his critique of government Aboriginal policy in Canada and the United States.

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Notes

1 The 1961 conference brought approximately 700 Aboriginal people from more than 80 different First Nations from across the United States to the University of Chicago to prepare a "Declaration of Indian Purpose." The Declaration sought for the first time to present a unified Aboriginal position statement on the relations of native peoples to the federal government of the United States. In the declaration, the various First Nations requested that the government respect aboriginal customs and aboriginal peoples in economic and social development projects.

2 The McGill-Cree project was a research group that analyzed the impact of natural resource development and social policy on the Crees of north-central Québec between 1964 and 1968. The project was headed by Norman Chance, then Director of the Programme in the Anthropology of Development at McGill University in Montréal, Canada. The work of the McGill-Cree project was subsequently used by the Cree of Northern Quebec to successfully negotiate the first modern comprehensive land claims settlement—the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, 1976-77—with the federal government and the province of Quebec.

3 Speck's professional relationship with the Anthropology Division at the Victoria Memorial museum was on a freelance basis only. No copies of contracts or written agreements could be found in the archives at the Canadian Museum of Civilization, which would denote that Speck was never an "employee" of the Museum. Speck's practice as "freelance" collector would seem to be extensive, as the existence of his collections at various museums around the world would attest.

4 A strong argument can be made, I believe, relating to the central importance of salmon as a trading commodity and the active role Aboriginal people played in developing and sustaining the salmon fisheries in Quebec during the 17th, 18th and early 19th centuries (see Panasuk and Proulx, 1978: 204; Parenteau, 1998; Ray, 1999). Arthur Ray, for example, points out that the development of inland trading posts relied heavily on the establishment of local fisheries—without the fish resources posts would not survive. Crucial to the establishment of these local fisheries, Ray argues, was the traditional knowledge and labour of the Aboriginal peoples of the area (1999: 84). As well, in the 1867 Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, the Overseer of the Quebec Division, details that Aboriginal people in Quebec "not only gave salmon they had speared in exchange for goods, but also sold such salmon to traders for money" (1867: 26). However, more research needs to be done in order to fully explore and analyze the history of Aboriginal involvement in the Quebec salmon fisheries.

5 I am referring here to the legislation passed by the colonial government of Upper Canada in 1829 in response to a petition of the Mississauga of Credit River to the Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada. The petition stressed the concern of the Mississauga about the "many unwarranted disturbances, trespasses, and vexations, practiced by diverse idle and dissolute fisherman, and others, upon the...parcel of land and fishery" reserved for them in 1805 (Hansen, 1991: 3).

6 This is illustrated in the 1867 annual report of the Fishery Overseer for the Quebec Division. In his report, the overseer writes, "For Some Years past, the Government has been doing all it can to protect salmon and trout against the use by Indians of that destructive weapon the fish spear. At first, out of kindness, the Montagnais and Micmac tribes of Indians were allowed the use of the spear, and were permitted to spear both of the above kinds of fish, but on the express condition that they should kill fish in that way for their own use only, and should not sell any to white people" (Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, 1867: 26).

7 This statistic does not indicate whether these 100 families were Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal or both. I would assume that it comprised of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal families.

8 This policy was so effective that the provincial government extended it into the early 1900s. "As a general rule, the lessee of lakes and rivers protect their own territories, but it is more particular waters situated in the domain of the crown which have the greatest need of watchfulness against the operations of poachers" (Legislative Assembly of Quebec, February 22, 1906).

9 *R. v Robertson*, (1882) 6 S.C.R. 52,2 Cart. 65 (S.C.C.)

10 "Bass shall not be caught, sold or had in possession from 15th April to 15th June; Maskinongé from 25th May to 1st July; Pickerel (Doré) from 15th April to 15th May; Salmon from 15th August to 1st February; Speckled Trout from 1st October to 30th April; Grey Trout, Lake Trout or Lung from 15th October to 1st December; Ouananiche from 15th September to 1st December; Whitefish from 10th November to 1st December." Revised Statues of the Province of Quebec as amended by the acts 52 Vict., chap. 19, 53 Vict., chap. 20, 58 Vict., chap. 21, 59 Vict., chap. 20 and 60 Vict., chap. 21.

11 During the summer of 1912 when Speck was in the community of Moisie River, the Innu were suffering badly from Fox Measles. This is revealed in a letter Speck wrote to Sapir informing him to "disinfect all this stuff [material culture] before exposing yourselves to it..." (CMC, FSC Box 634F2, Speck to Sapir, June 26, 1912).

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Upside-Down and Backwards: Time Discipline in a Canadian Inuit Town

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Abstract: Time discipline is a potent, but often hidden social force. This paper considers issues of time discipline and temporal regulation in a small Canadian Inuit community, and examines the techniques by which time discipline is enacted and enforced. In the recent past, it was common for people in Inuit communities north of the Arctic Circle to become turned-around or "backwards" in their temporal orientation during mid-winter and mid-summer. New local norms of time discipline have marginalized this practice. Furthermore, current local norms support adherence to an arbitrary clock time, that while consistent with traditional values in favour of industry and activity, tend to discourage participation in traditional subsistence activities.

Résumé : La discipline reliée à au traitement du temps est une puissante force sociale, quoique souvent cachée. Cet article examine des questions de discipline et de régulations temporelles dans une petite communauté inuit du Canada, et analyse les techniques par lesquelles la discipline dans le domaine temporel est inculquée et renforcée. Récemment, il était fréquent que les gens des communautés inuit au nord du cercle polaire de se trouver «à l'envers» ou «sens devant derrière» dans leur orientation temporelle au milieu de l'hiver ou au milieu de l'été. De nouvelles normes locales de rapport au temps ont relégué cette pratique à l'arrière-plan. De plus, les normes locales amène l'adhésion à un temps mécanique arbitraire, qui tout en étant en accord avec la valorisation traditionnelle de diligence tendent à décourager la participation aux activités traditionnelles de subsistance.

On April 1, 2001 the government of Nunavut abandoned its efforts to operate the new Canadian territory within a single time zone and returned to its previous three time zone arrangement. The time zone changes had required legislative action by the Nunavut Assembly and the assent of the Canadian federal government. Nunavut, which is nearly 2 million square kilometers in area and comprises one-fifth the landmass of Canada, is home to only 28 000 people living in 28 widely dispersed communities. Eighty-five percent of the population is Inuit, and the Nunavut Territory was created in 1999 to satisfy self-government demands of this indigenous group. Newspaper accounts[1] concerning each of the time zone changes (there were three changes in an 18-month period) suggested that the Nunavut government's goal in the single time zone plan was to unify the territory by having all of the government offices operating on the same schedule. Citizens of Nunavut resisted the project, and several communities refused to comply. The result was that there was no single Nunavut time zone, and even within some individual communities there was no standard time. Objections to the single time zone ranged from difficulties created by having a different time from suppliers, business contacts and relatives outside of the territory to complaints that hunters who tried to keep in synch with town rhythms found themselves working in less daylight and that children in some communities were forced to walk to or from school in the dark. One letter-to-the-editor writer went so far as to suggest that in a region that extends across the Arctic Circle and thus has long periods of mid-winter darkness, one effect of a single time zone would be to increase the incidence of seasonal affective disorder and, hence, worsen the already high rate of suicide in the territory (Pitsiulak, 1999).

The discourse, which ensued in Nunavut over the single time zone issue, is evidence of the enormous social stakes attached to the matter of temporal regulation. Anthropologists and other social scientists have long

been interested in the relationship between temporal regulation and other forms of social regulation. Inuit Studies, in particular, has paid attention to calendrical issues to the point that a description of seasonal variations in subsistence and other social patterns is often a standard feature of Inuit ethnography (cf. Briggs, 1970; Condon, 1987; Dahl, 2000; Jenness, 1970 [1922]; Nelson, 1969; Vanstone, 1962).

A century ago Marcel Mauss suggested that social structure, or social morphology as he put it, follows from temporal morphology (Mauss, 1979). Referring to the already significant ethnographic data amassed about Inuit culture and society, Mauss argued in his "Essai sur les variations saisonnières des sociétés Eskimo" that Inuit social structure differed dramatically from summer to winter. These differences, which Mauss saw as quite uniform across space, were taken to be the direct result of ecological factors and social habits that led Inuit to congregate in the winter and disperse in summer. The result was supposedly seasonally distinct practices of social regulation. Mauss managed to avoid any effort to identify the historical social basis of Inuit seasonal regulation with the statement that the regulation must have "happened in the course of historical development that was probably quite long and during a migration of extraordinary scope" (Ibid: 53). In Mauss' formulation there was no agency.

Because Mauss' analysis concerned "traditional" Inuit society, which was perceived as egalitarian, it bolstered more recent treatments that regarded seemingly arbitrary temporal regulation in the modern world as the result of modern political and economic stratification. Nowhere is this argument made more explicit than in E.P. Thompson's "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism" (1967). The regulatory processes Thompson sought to expose, however, were quite different from those that Mauss described. In his classic essay, Marxian historian Thompson argued that not only is widespread adherence to clock-time a consequence of the European industrial revolution, but that the creation of modern states could not have proceeded without the simultaneous imposition of new forms of time and work discipline associated with industrialization. This new form of economic regulation supposedly removed from the collective society the choice of how to pass the time. Temporal regulatory power was instead vested in Capital.

Drawing on the work of several anthropologists, Thompson argued that pre-industrial peoples made no distinctions between work and leisure time, and that older task-oriented forms of labour derived from nature. Time usage, in this previous era, was determined by the demands of the tasks, rather than arbitrary political decision. Although Thompson was undoubtedly mistaken in his assumption that pre-industrial modes of time regulation were based in nature rather than culture, he was correct that, in modern societies, temporal regulation comes from a social need to regulate the activities of large numbers of people. According to Thompson, task-oriented forms of work discipline were replaced by an invented, rationalized (but arbitrary) order that designated some periods for work and others for leisure. He showed how, during the industrial revolution in Britain, churches, schools, commerce, government and industry all participated in changing the way that people experienced the passage of time. And as Mauss had asserted for the establishment of Inuit seasonal social division, Thompson argued that industrializing peoples, by the force of repeated practice, came to think of arbitrary designations of work time and leisure time as natural or at least morally correct. Within a short period of time, older task-oriented temporal regimes were seen "to be wasteful and lacking in urgency" (1967: 60).

Time has been the subject of a long discourse in anthropology including such varied but often interrelated domains as cosmology, calendar systems, time reckoning, cross-cultural differences in the metaphysical experience of the passage of time, and time as an object of social or political control. Munn (1992) has made a fairly complete review of this literature. Over the last decade or so, anthropological treatments of time have concentrated mainly on matters of temporal regulation and time discipline in modernity. The common theme of this work is that temporal regimes are an outcome of contestations over economic and political resources (cf. Birth, 1996; Bock, 1966; Bourdieu, 1963; 1977; 1990 [1980]; Burman, 1981; Rotenberg, 1992; Rutz and Balkan, 1992; Verdery, 1992). Greenhouse (1996) takes a somewhat different tack, and presents time not as a site of social control, but a resource that political actors manipulate to legitimate their authority. Few, however, have examined changes in time discipline under conditions of colonialism or other forms of cultural imperialism (exceptions are Hallowell 1937; Halpern and Christie 1990; Wilk 1994). Nor have few since Thompson documented the process by which a new temporal regime is adopted and institutional changes become naturalized so that "control is redistributed" to those being controlled (Nader, 1997), and hence, internalize a new time discipline.

In this article, I trace changes in temporal regulation in the Canadian Inuit community of Holman. The

current residents and their ancestors are well documented ethnographically (Collignon, 1996; Condon, 1983; 1987; 1996; Jenness, 1970 [1922]; Stefansson, 1962 [1913]; Stern, 2001; Usher, 1965) and I draw on this literature as well as my own long-term fieldwork in an effort to understand these changes. It should be no surprise that, in the modern community, changes in temporal organization occurred alongside changes in economic structures, religious practices, social groupings, health and fertility, values, leisure activities, and so on. Explication and analysis of the manner in which externally imposed time regulation generally associated with the modern state has been internalized is the major goal of this paper. In doing so I consider how Inuit in Holman both regulate and contest the present temporal regime. Time discipline in Holman is not something introduced from outside along with snowmobiles, television and wage labour, but rather is actively created and contested by Holman Inuit themselves. Surveillance, by self and by others, is a critical force in the contestation over time. For all periods that have been described ethnographically, Inuit social life was conducted within an unambiguous temporal regime. The temporal discipline apparent in the Arctic today is very different from that of earlier periods. My data, however, challenge the popularly held belief that temporal discipline and contestation are simply the consequences of modernity (Mumford, 1934).

Ethnographic Context

The community of Holman is located 300 miles north of the Arctic Circle on the west coast of Victoria Island in Canada's Northwest Territories. Its approximately 400 residents are descended from the two northernmost groups of Inuinnaat (Copper Inuit) and several Inuvialuit families originally from the Mackenzie Delta region. There are also approximately 25 mostly temporary Eurocanadian residents who serve in a variety of administrative capacities. The nearest communities, Kugluktuk (formerly Coppermine) on Canada's arctic coast and Cambridge Bay on southeast Victoria Island, are generally reached only by scheduled air service. Travel to and from Kugluktuk, Inuvik, and the territorial capital of Yellowknife is, nonetheless, relatively common. Holman Inuit residents are beneficiaries of the Western Arctic (Inuvialuit) land claims agreement. English is the dominant language of ordinary conversation, and is the first language of most residents under the age of 40.

The town of Holman began in 1939 as a mission and trading post, but it was not until the early to mid-1960s that it began to develop as a community. Prior to that time, the majority of the regional population lived in outlying camps, coming into "town" for brief periods to trade or seek medical attention or for Christmas or Easter celebrations. The composition of camps was flexible, but generally consisted of several related nuclear families. People organized their time around seasonally dependent subsistence activities. These included hunting, trapping, fishing, sewing, making and repairing tools, ice collecting, tent making, butchering and processing the catch, scraping hides, berry picking, sled construction, and caring for sled dogs. In the 1960s, after several decades of discouraging Inuit from settling at trading posts or other non-Native installations, the Canadian government reversed its policy and created towns throughout its arctic territories (Vallee 1962). Initially, this meant only the provision of housing, but eventually the new Inuit towns came to possess a variety of "urban" amenities such as electricity, schools, health centres, airports, recreation centres, roads, municipal government, wage labour jobs, telephones, television and public safety officers (see Condon, 1996; Usher, 1965 for a history of the Holman community).

Over the last several decades, Holman Inuit have become increasingly committed to town lives that include wage labour jobs, service on local and regional committees, church and school attendance, local sports leagues, and the consumption of imported goods and services. The local economy today depends primarily on wage labour and social transfer payments, and only a small number of Holman families engage full-time in subsistence work. However, despite their town-based lives, Holman Inuit continue to espouse an emotional and social attachment to the land, and while not all Inuit participate in subsistence hunting and fishing, country food continues to be an important cultural and nutritional resource.

My first ethnographic fieldwork in Holman occurred over a six-month period in 1982 when I assisted Richard Condon with a study of Inuit adolescence (Condon, 1987). Satellite television service, consisting of a single, broadcast channel, had arrived about a year earlier. At that time there were few organized civic events. Social activities consisted largely of informal visiting, card games, and spontaneous sports play. While adults were occasionally idle, children and teenagers had little apart from school to keep them occupied. I returned for 11 months in 1987-88 and again in the summer of 1993. Each time the town was larger, more established, and offered a wider range of activities, but while spontaneous sports were replaced by organized league sports, basic social visiting patterns among adults remained. I

found that the habit of dropping by unannounced for a cup of tea and conversation suited me and my research well. Thus, when I returned to Holman in 1999, I was startled to discover that it was no longer acceptable for me to visit most homes without an appointment. Typically the conversation went something like,

PS: I should come visit you sometime (*a culturally appropriate phrasing of my desire to visit*).

Inuk adult: Okay. I'm home most evenings, unless they're playing hockey at the arena.

PS: Good, I'll drop by later this week.

Inuk adult: What time do you want to come?

Or alternatively,

Inuk adult: Come by and visit. I'm living in house #__ now.

PS: Is that near _____'s house?

Inuk adult: No, it's just below that new, little playground, the house where David's [family] used to live. You should call first...just to make sure I'm home.

Most people also waited for an explicit invitation to visit me, and I observed that the habit of spontaneous, unannounced visiting had largely stopped except among very close kin.[2] I will argue below that these seemingly superficial changes in social activities reflect a new concern with scheduling, and are evidence of much deeper changes in the local temporal regime that governs the settlement routine. In addition, adherence to the temporal regime has come to have meaning apart from the activities it directs.

Indigenous Inuit Temporal Concepts

Prior to contact with Europeans at least some Inuit accurately reckoned seasons using lunar phases and chronological time from the positions of certain stars (MacDonald 1998). Names of months were usually associated with natural phenomena or seasonal subsistence related events (such as the spawning of fish or the calving of caribou), and thus varied considerably by locale and latitude. The indigenous calendrical system enabled Inuit to count days and lunar months, and to accurately predict a number of annual astronomical events such as the winter solstice and the return of the sun above the horizon.

The Inuit year began with the winter solstice, and the word for winter (*ukiuq* in Inuinnaqtun [Lowe, 1983: 61]) was also used to refer to a full year. Months began with the new moon, and days were calculated according to the age of the moon. In order to keep the lunar calendar synchronized with the photoperiod cycles that regulated floral and faunal cycles, the calendar had a 13th intercalary, or leap month that was omitted whenever the winter solstice coincided with the new moon. The complex calendrical system developed by Inuit renders meaningless the assertion of some early ethnographers that Inuit historical memory blended together all events which occurred more than two years earlier (Amundsen, 1908: 46; Boas, 1964 [1888]: 240; Simpson, 1875). Rather, it is probable that European explorers and ethnographers, socialized to a different set of values, marked different types of events as worthy of historical memory and future planning (see Briggs, 1992).

In addition to lunar months, the year was divided into six seasons (not two as Mauss had asserted). The names of the seasons referred to the landfast ice conditions that affected travel and subsistence activities. Before the arrival of Europeans/Eurocanadians, Inuinnaat and other Central Inuit followed a seasonal cycle of activities in which winters were spent in large snowhouse communities on the ocean ice. Men, in particular, co-operated at seal hunting. Although it was the darkest and coldest period of the year, it was the time of greatest social interaction. These included shamanic performances, drum dancing, games and contests, marriages and the general sharing of news that occurs when people, previously separated, come together. As the year progressed, people moved from the ocean ice to the land and turned their subsistence focus to migratory birds, caribou and fish. Summers were the time of greatest food scarcity, and Inuit often dispersed into nuclear family groups. During fall families began to aggregate again to fish, to hunt caribou and to prepare clothing for the return to the ocean ice. While the Inuit calendar was tied to natural phenomena, cultural choices and technologies determined which resources people pursued when and how.

The temporal regimes of traditional Inuit society were reflected in moral injunctions against laziness. Industriousness or being hard-working was highly valued and was part of the constellation of behaviors that defined an individual as both mature and intelligent or *inummarik* (a genuine person). This did not mean foregoing all leisure, but rather using time productively—keeping hunting equipment in working order, clothing mended, house tidy, and dogs fed. Older Inuit report that their earliest instruction on moral behaviour was connected to this desirable trait. Hubert Amarualik, an Igloolik elder, recalled as a child being sent outside early each morning to observe the weather. "We had to go out-

doors immediately after dressing in the morning. We would observe the sky conditions, note the types of clouds, and the position of the stars" (cited in MacDonald, 1998: 193). A number of Holman women told me that as small children they also were made to rise quickly from bed and go outside, never linger in doorways, and to respond quickly and obediently to the requests of elders. Young and older women in Holman, almost uniformly, told to me that their mothers had advised them to "stay active" during pregnancy and to avoid any impulse toward laziness. They explained that this was to assure both a fast and easy childbirth and to help the growing fetus develop as an active, hard-working individual (Stern and Condon, 1995). These patterns of activity inculcated in children were intended to be lifelong, and according to Guemple (1986: 15), individuals hoping to marry worked hard at appearing busy even when there was no actual work to do. Additionally, as it was "necessary to show the souls of the animals that one [was] eager to capture them" (Rasmussen, 1929: 181), rising early was believed critical to successful hunting and thus survival.

The calendrical sophistication alone suggests that organization of time was important to Inuit. There is little information concerning how temporal discipline was enforced or who enforced it. Under the traditional temporal regime, however, it was generally the outcome of particular activities rather than the time devoted to them that marked individuals as hard working, intelligent and mature. It seems likely that as long as individuals remained productively engaged they may have had a great deal of latitude regarding the specific disposition of their time. Yet, fear of others' disapproval (see Briggs, 1970; Brody, 2001 concerning the Inuit emotion glossed as *ilira*) carried enough moral weight to prevent most from flagrant displays of inactivity. The traditional values favouring activity and industry remain a potent moral force in the contemporary community.

Whalers, Traders and Missionaries

Beginning in the middle of the 19th century, whalers and then traders became a regular presence in the North American Arctic. At first, these newcomers were new resources to be exploited—resources that followed a consistent calendrical cycle—and many Inuit adjusted their seasonal activities in order to include these desirable resources in their subsistence round. Whalers, who arrived when the ice went out and remained until freeze up or wintered over, altered customary subsistence cycles of Inuit, but did not require Inuit to abandon their co-operative work patterns.

In contrast, involvement with fur trading resulted in changes in both the seasonal subsistence cycle and work group composition. Fox pelts reach their highest commercial quality during mid-winter—the season traditionally spent in large sealing communities on the ocean ice. Unlike sealing, fox trapping is a solitary activity, most efficiently accomplished by a single individual or a pair of individuals. In order to obtain the trade goods that could only be gotten through fox trapping, many Inuit groups abandoned their traditional mid-winter gatherings on the ocean ice. The transition from a hunting economy to a hunting and trapping economy occurred at different paces in the various parts of the Arctic with some Inuinnaat in the Holman region maintaining winter snowhouse communities into the 1940s.

Despite changes in the secular calendar, productive activities remained imbued with Inuit values regarding hard work and generosity. The temporal changes brought about by whalers and traders were largely byproducts of their economic interventions. Missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, however, actively worked to alter Inuit uses and apprehension of time. Some of their earliest efforts among indigenous peoples were directed at teaching them to observe the Sabbath (Sunday). Among the Inuit, missionaries introduced western calendars and day counters to teach them to reckon the days of the week. A variety of these calendars have survived in museum collections. Danish cartographer Gustav Holm reported that his assistant Hanserak, a West Greenland native missionary, taught an Ammassalik (East Greenlander) man use a seven-holed peg calendar so that "during the winter, when he lived far from us, he might be able to know when it was our Sunday." A year later the man was still accurately using the pegboard calendar (Holm, 1911 [1888]: 105).

Once Inuit had a need to reckon days of the week it also became necessary to name those days. There is no uniformity across regions in the new words Inuit created to name each day of the week. In some places the days were given numerical appellations, while in others the day names applied were related to the requirements of Christianity as presented by missionaries. This is particularly the case for Sunday, which was widely designated the "forbidden to work day." In areas under the influence of Catholic missionaries, meatless Fridays were also incorporated in that day's name.

A number of writers noted the seriousness with which Inuit accepted missionaries' commandments to cease working or travelling on the Sabbath, a practice continued by contemporary Baffin Island Inuit residing at outpost camps (Searles, 1998: 160). Corporal Wall of

the Royal Canadian Mounted Police noted in the report of his 1932 patrol of western Victoria Island that the Inuit at Minto Inlet "observe Sunday very closely and will not do a thing, spending most of the day singing hymns even if the camp is out of meat" (RCMP, 1933: 7). Stefansson remarked on a similar experience in the same general region even earlier.

> It was on Friday that we came [to an encampment in the Coronation Gulf region]....I had therefore to stay for several days to talk over old times. There was so much rejoicing in camp over our visit that...all [their] occupations were suspended in honor of our coming, and we feasted so energetically that by Saturday night we had eaten up all the food that was in the camp. This did not seem serious to me in the evening, for there were ptarmigan on every hillside and rabbits in every bush, and doubtless a good many fat fish under the ice right in front of our tent door. But on Sunday morning, as I might have known would be the case had I thought of the matter, no body [*sic*] was willing to do anything toward getting food, for it was now the Sabbath and the Sabbath must not be broken...
>
> ...Monday morning bright and early every one was out hunting and fishing, and long before noon we had plenty to eat. This entire community had been heathen to a man when I lived with them in 1906. (1962 [1913]: 373)

The first Anglican missionary to the Inuit near Coronation Gulf noted this passage from Stefansson's memoir with delight. It provided the proof to him that his efforts to save Inuit souls had been successful (Girling, 1920). MacDonald (1998) argues that conversion to Christianity and the observance of a single predictable day of taboo likely relieved Inuit of some of the burdens of indigenous, but less regularly imposed taboos. "They found that it was much easier for them to observe [this] one day. So on that account they fully respected Sunday" (Noah Pinugaattuk, cited in MacDonald, 1998: 204).

In the period leading up to the establishment of permanent settlements, two distinct ways of dividing time—one Christian, the other economic or secular—seem to have been in operation. Inuit values concerning the importance of industry continued to guide the secular, seasonal organization of activities, while the new Christian regime imposed a pattern of weeks. It appears that there was little or no connection between these two temporal regimes. The same dichotomy existed among Northern Ojibwa around the same period (Hallowell, 1937: 659).

Time Clocks and Town Clocks

1960–mid-1980s

In many ways the move to permanent government towns was a dramatic break from the previous structure of Inuit outpost camps. In particular, settlement life presented a new temporal regime based, in part, on the operational schedules of the southern bureaucratic institutions that constituted the town. Within a short period, the new temporal regime regulated not only the way Holman residents organized their seasonal and weekly activities, but also governed daily activities within the new town. Just as in southern Canadian cities, the economic and the religious calendars became mutually reinforcing. Not just the Sabbath, but the *weekend* took hold. Weekdays became the time to work, shop, and handle bureaucratic matters, while weekends were reserved for leisure activities. The move to permanent settlements further reinforced the distinction between the work week and the weekend. Although very few Holman Inuit participated in full-time wage labour initially, the bureaucratic structure (the school, the clinic and the administrative offices) and the retail institutions operated on an astoundingly rigid five-day "business week" including a 9-to-5 type schedule with fixed coffee and lunch breaks which served to discipline many local activities. Even casual participation in wage labour committed an individual (and a family) to a particular routine.

> Another important factor in summer activities is the ready availability of casual wage labour, which many hunters take advantage of. This requires their presence in the settlement every day. For the wage labourer, hunting must take a secondary role, and can be indulged in only in the evenings and on weekends. This is the main reason that Coppermine people do not make long boat journeys in summer. (Usher, 1965: 157)

Although there was a clear temporal organization of bureaucratic life, the settlement provided few organized activities. Social activities largely consisted of visiting, card games and spontaneous sports play or dances. Even after the arrival of television in 1980, children and teenagers spent much of their time "hanging out." Their constant complaint was that Holman was "a so boring town [with] nothing to do." Apparently, even much larger arctic towns were characterized by this seeming absence of purpose. Writing about communities on Baffin Island, Brody (1975: 208-209) noted that "time weighs heavily on the young. Those who feel unable or disinclined to hunt and trap must spend hours trying to amuse themselves, by meandering here and there in the

villages, visiting, gossiping, sitting, dreaming." It was not the case that adolescents lacked a sense of temporal order. Our ethnographic observations indicated that teenagers were quite keenly aware of time (see Condon, 1987). Rather, it appears that in the social context of the town many adolescents found themselves disconnected from the social relations that inhere in tasks (Ingold, 2000: 323-338; Sorokin and Merton, 1937).

Perhaps the most striking temporal anomaly of the early settlement era was the phenomenon of becoming "turned around" or "backwards" in wake-sleep cycles. During the periods of mid-winter darkness and mid-summer daylight, children, teens and many adults slept during the daytime hours and were awake at night. The natural human circadian rhythm is slightly longer than an actual day. Consequently, human societies develop social mechanisms that help regulate daily rhythms. Both the school and the primary employer, the Holman Eskimo Cooperative, closed or cut back operations during summer and mid-winter. All night community games held between Christmas and New Years and during the Kingalik Jamboree (a summer festival centred around duck hunting) in June lent legitimacy to the habit of becoming turned around. This has changed in recent years. While it is still acceptable (and expected) for teenagers to become turned around, it is not seemly for adults to do so. During the 1999 Jamboree the festivities for adults ended each night around 11:00 p.m. Teen dances continued into the wee hours of the morning. The week between Christmas and New Years, however, remains a period of all night games for the entire community. The process of becoming turned-around during mid-summer or mid-winter occurs quickly and without effort. Reversing the process can be difficult.

Interestingly, in the pre-settlement period when there were no non-Inuit temporal regulators, wake-sleep cycles were slightly altered in summer (Jenness, 1970 [1922]: 131-132),[3] and winter activity rhythms did not become desynchronized at all.

> On a normal mid-winter day the Eskimo hunter never stirs till about eight o'clock. His wife usually rises a little earlier to kindle the lamp, which usually expires during the night. Sometimes she lights it from her bed, but an energetic woman will always rise early and occupy herself with some task or other. (Jenness, 1970 [1922]: 112)

One explanation for the seeming absence of "temporal discipline" in the first decades of settlement is that within the town, the routines and daily purpose associated with life on the land, were no longer appropriate, and despite being subject to a new bureaucratic time regime, the activities associated with the new regime also lacked meaning for most Holman Inuit.

During springs and summers throughout the 1970s and 80s, many Holman adults with wage labour jobs took leave from work in order to spend time at seal hunting or fishing camps. Those who continued to work often stayed up all night sealing or fishing and then went to work exhausted the next day (Condon, 1983: 143). Children and teens, especially, appeared impervious to any sort of regulation—temporal or otherwise. They fixed their own meals when hungry, slept where and when they chose, attended school irregularly, and spent much of their time wandering around the community visiting and playing. It was common to see quite young children playing in the schoolyard in the wee hours of a summer morning. Seasonal temporal disorientation remained the norm through the early 1980s.

1984–present

Several critical events in the mid-1980s reinforced the social importance of town life and town temporal rhythms. A number of new wage labour jobs were created with the establishment of Holman as a hamlet or municipality and with the settlement of land claims in 1984. At the same time, the collapse of the international fur market forced many would-be hunters and trappers or their spouses, or both, into the wage economy with its demands for temporal co-ordination. Given new options, few adolescents and young adults considered subsistence hunting as a career option. A new school building with a gymnasium was constructed in 1985, bringing a significant decrease in truancy. The gym became a hub of community activity and the site of nightly games. These ran on an inflexible schedule established by the non-Native recreation manager in consultation with a local recreation committee. Separate activity times were designated for children, teenagers, women and men. At 10:00 p.m. all school-aged children were sent out. Some, though not all, went home.

The construction of a large, indoor hockey arena in 1990 serves as another marker of community development. The hockey arena is the most important site in a community recreation program that includes the school gym, two baseball diamonds, a nine-hole golf course and a beach volleyball court. The community recreation program also consumes the largest part (approximately 1/3 in 1999) of the Hamlet budget. By the early 1990s, the spontaneous sports and games that had predominated in earlier years gave way to a seemingly never-ending cycle of community and regional sports tournaments in

which most young men and many young women participated. Ice hockey season was followed by the softball season, then golf, volleyball and finally basketball—each with its own teams, trophies and banquets. During the early 1990s young people often spoke about the difficulty making time to hunt or engage in other "traditional" activities, but managed to find both time and money for sports. Several older community residents expressed the opinion that young adults' involvement in sports was at the expense of subsistence activities, but the prevailing view was that sports contributed to community solidarity. Through the 1990s recreational sports became an important temporal regulator, and unlike the other bureaucratic forms of time regulation, is one in which many in the community saw the activities themselves as socially valuable.

More important than the infrastructure and economic changes were the political changes associated with the establishment of a hamlet government. The new governmental structure of the town for the first time placed responsibility for the administration of the town in the hands of local Inuit. They were not, however, given free reign to operate the town according to purely local sensibilities. Rather, the town is run according to the norms and protocols deemed proper by Canadian standards that the Hamlet Council neither questions nor challenges. To the contrary, local government in Holman operates with a formality that seems out of place in a town of only 400 people. This is, at least in part, because the hamlet government system is not of local origin, but rather imposed from the outside. The Inuit Hamlet Councillors adhere to formal rules because they are uncertain which ones, if any, can be legitimately discarded. One outcome has been to emphasize the value of modern institutions at the expense of traditional ones.

The current temporal regime is not uniformly accepted, however. Many children, teenagers, and others without wage labour jobs continue to keep "irregular" hours interfering with the sleep of wageworkers. In response, the Hamlet Council passed a by-law to limit late night noise by regulating the hours during which snowmachines and all-terrain vehicles can be used. They also established curfews for children and teenagers. Initially these curfews were enforced year round, and during the summer of 1993 many parents complained to me of sleep deprivation resulting from keeping their wide-awake children in the house at night and then trying to get to work on time in the morning. The curfew by-law was subsequently amended to apply only to the periods when school is in session, but in 1999 several Councillors expressed interest in re-extending the curfew period.

Although the temporal regime in Holman remains contested, except for the week between Christmas and New Years when all-night games are held at the gymnasium, summer and mid-winter seasonal desynchronization or becoming turned around is primarily limited to the young (for whom it is acceptable) and the unemployed (for whom it is not). During the summer of 1999, while most households kept hours similar to southern Canadian norms, a significant minority was either partly or fully turned-around. As an ethnographer, I found this situation difficult to negotiate. During each of my previous visits to Holman, I visited homes without appointments and could be reasonably certain of finding the adults awake according to a generalized community schedule appropriate to the season. In order to visit people in 1999, I first had to inquire into the sleep-wake habits of the household and make an appointment to drop by. The phrase "upside-down" had replaced "turned-around" as the local expression for reversed sleep-wake cycles, and people who were not turned around described themselves as being "right-ways."[4] Quite a few of the adults who were turned-around were defensive about the matter. One unemployed and turned-around woman, who had apparently been getting grief from her parents, nearly exploded at me when I asked if people in another household whom I wanted to visit were turned-around. At the same time the institutional rhythms of the town rigidly adhered to southern schedules, so that those who were "upside-down" had a great deal of difficulty buying food or accomplishing even minor bureaucratic matters. When I asked the non-Native manager of one of the two local retail outlets if he ever modified the store hours to accommodate seasonally altered sleep-wake patterns, he replied categorically that he would not dream of such a thing. Solely external changes and pressures do not create the personal unease of being turned around. For example, a participant in Condon's 1992 Harvest Effort Study declared that he did understand "those guys who don't have jobs and stay up all night and don't do anything and live off social assistance" (Condon field notes, November 1992). In 1999, this man and several others who had previously held full-time wage labour jobs were among the Holman residents staying up all night and collecting social assistance. For whatever reasons they become turned-around, for the 50% of Holman adults without jobs it is likely that becoming "upside-down" may be simply one more reminder that they do not measure up to expectations.

Work as a Temporal Regulator

The story of Inuit communities in the 20th century has been one of increasing economic, social and political articulation both within and outside the Arctic, although the way this articulation has occurred has varied across the North. In Holman, as in much of the Canadian Arctic, sedentization was accompanied by increased demand for manufactured goods. There were very few wage labour opportunities during the first few years of settlement, and almost all cash was derived from trading fox and seal pelts, temporary construction work, and social transfer payments. This began to change during the 1960s with the establishment of the Holman Eskimo Co-op.

Local producers co-operatives, such as the Holman Eskimo Co-op, were part of a Canadian federal government program to create employment in the new towns and to teach employment and financial skills to unschooled Inuit (Iglauer, 1979). Like many of the northern co-ops, the Holman Co-op's earliest products were arts and crafts produced primarily by women. Men, for the most part, continued to be primarily engaged in subsistence hunting and trapping which they combined with seasonal construction work. By the mid- to late-1970s, however, approximately half of Holman adults had regular, if part time, wage employment either at the Co-op or in some form of municipal services.

How is wage employment related to changes in the temporal regime in Holman? In the ethnographic literature on Inuit society, wage employment is often regarded in opposition to subsistence work (Condon, Collings and Wenzel, 1995; Irwin, 1989; Wenzel, 1983; 1991). This is largely a result of the very different temporal orientations of the two kinds of work. Unpredictable weather conditions and animal movements mean that trapping and subsistence hunting, in particular, are difficult to schedule, and in Holman there have been no serious efforts to tailor wage work schedules to accommodate subsistence work.[5] It is not unusual for an Inuk to plan a weekend outing only to have the weather turn bad or to be delayed on the land by weather or a snowmobile breakdown. This temporal incompatibility between wage work and subsistence exists even for activities that can be done without leaving town. Dried arctic char is a particular delicacy of late summer, and many families like to set nets for the fish. A few families, particularly ones committed to wage employment, set their nets within a few steps of their front doors. However, during the brief periods when the arctic char are running it is possible to catch several hundred fish at one time. The fish must be retrieved, gutted and filleted for drying irrespective of other demands. During the char run in July, 1999 one couple, who had chosen *the* prime spot for their single net spent their days at wage jobs and their nights retrieving (the husband) and cleaning (the wife) fish with little time left for sleep or other tasks. Other people periodically stopped by to chat and the women often filleted (and carried away) a few fish, but events like this are sharp reminders of the temporal conflict that exists between town life and subsistence life. While the issue of temporal incompatibility is not insignificant, for many Holman residents the alternative to wage labour is not subsistence work, but the dole. In order for temporal relations associated with subsistence work to survive there must be an active group people maintaining a subsistence-oriented temporal regime. Without one, it is easy to see how it is that the temporal relations associated with 9-to-5 wage labour and other town-oriented activities have come to dominate quotidian affairs.

The proportion of working-age Holman Inuit with permanent wage labour jobs has remained roughly constant at around 50% since at least the late 1970s, but the distribution of these jobs has changed quite a bit in the last two and a half decades.[6] During the 1970s and early 1980s, most of the permanent wage employment in Holman was with the Co-op. Since the mid-1980s, government, especially the Hamlet, has been the largest employer accounting for more than three-quarters of all full-time jobs in 1999. Casual wage work continues to be more abundant in the summer and early fall, but it is also considerably more prevalent now than it was in the past. In the recent past Inuit who were employed on a casual basis would likely identify themselves as hunters, seamstresses or homemakers. Today, in keeping with the labels assigned by the government bureaucrats responsible for doling out social assistance, they tend to refer to themselves as "casual workers."

Since the establishment of Holman as a hamlet in 1984, the municipal government, in order to fulfil its mission to improve living conditions in the community, has actively sought to increase the levels of both permanent and casual employment. In this regard they have been successful and the number of public sector jobs in Holman have increased. In fact, employment levels have increased faster than the amount of work to be done to the point that some public employees have little or no actual work to do, and struggle to find tasks to occupy their time at work. Their employer, the Hamlet of Holman, nonetheless expects them to be present at work. Yet, employee absenteeism is common, and there is social friction in the community around this issue. For

wage workers time spent at work, rather than the work accomplished, is now taken as the measurement of productivity. This remains in marked contrast to the way in which subsistence worked is evaluated.

Other Modern Temporal Regulators

In addition to work, other institutions reinforce the town mode of organizing time in Holman. These include formal coffee and lunch periods for those with jobs. Paydays, the arrival of airplanes and hockey games are all anticipated and planned for. For example, in March 2000 the Holman Elders' Committee strategically scheduled a fund-raising bake sale to coincide with the Hamlet's payday. Additionally, medical appointments must be scheduled, and those who need social assistance must make appointments for that as well. A school bus was put into service at the start of the 1999/2000 school year in part to help children get to school on time. Community social activities are also scheduled, so that people know that Wednesdays are reserved for women's sewing night at the Anglican Church, while on Tuesdays there is sewing at the Elders' Center, and on Fridays there is drum dancing at the community hall. The existence of a variety of activities in Holman means that people can choose how and when to participate in civic life. None of the foregoing is at all surprising unless one considers the contrast with the first decades of settlement living when there were few scheduled activities, and those that did exist rarely began at the hour specified. The shear number of competing activities reinforces the logic of scheduling according to the clock.

Television

Broadcast television was introduced to Canadian arctic communities beginning in 1973 following the deployment of the Anik communications satellite a year earlier. The Anik (meaning "brother" in Inuktitut) satellite broadcasts, consisting of approximately 14 hours a day of American and Canadian programming in English, reached Holman in the fall of 1980. As was the case when television first arrived in U.S. and southern Canadian homes, it was mesmerizing. People watched everything that was broadcast.

> I have been informed that the impact of television has been so great that settlement council had to turn off the satellite dish at Christmas time in order to get people up to the community hall for games and dances. (Condon field journal, February 15, 1982)

By that summer some of the novelty of television had worn off. People kept their televisions turned on whenever they were home, but other than making a special effort to watch a few particular shows (notably *Dallas* and *Hockey Night in Canada*), most people seemed to go about their activities as normal. Television programming increased from a single channel broadcasting approximately 14 hours a day in 1980 to 24-hour multichannel cable and satellite packages in 2000. Television's role in the internalization of "clock time" must not be underestimated.

> It [television] is so attractive, especially to the younger half of the population, that most have self-imposed the awareness of clock time, not only for schools and jobs when in the settlements, but for their whole lives even when away from the settlement, camping, hunting and fishing...
>
> Thus not only do people arrange much of their social life in the settlement around TV programming, but *they may plan their hunting trips to fit in between TV shows*. It is common to hear young men say, "I'll go seal hunting out at the island, but I'll be back in time for the 'Waltons' on Thursday" or "We haven't caught many fish through the ice yet, but we've all got to be ready to go back to the settlement by 3 p.m. if we're going to be able to watch 'Mannix' at 7 p.m." Thus watches, though previously worn by most Inuit, have come to be heavily used even when they are far from the *qallunaq's* (whiteman's) sphere of influence, the modern settlement. (Graburn, 1982: 11, emphasis in original)

Graburn (personal communication) notes that as soon as they became available videocassette recorders allowed Inuit to schedule their television watching to accommodate other activities. Nonetheless, the temporal logic of television programming with its 30 and 60 minute time slots broken up by 30 and 60 second commercials is easily internalized.

Family planning

The first two decades of settlement life were characterized by pronounced seasonal differences in activity rhythms, work and consumption patterns, illness and fertility (Condon, 1983). However, an examination of births to Holman women between 1980 and 1987 showed that birth seasonality had disappeared (Condon, 1991). Following this finding, Condon and I (Stern and Condon, 1995: 27) argued that in Holman contraceptive efficacy increased dramatically with greater adherence to a wage labour economy. This was the case even for individuals not employed in the wage sector, and we felt that the increase in overall wage employment helped reduce the irregular sleep/wake cycles that previously made the

use of oral contraceptives (which must be taken on a schedule) difficult. Up-to-date fertility data from Holman show that the mean birth interval increased from 25.9 months in the 1960s (n=73 births) to 50.5 months (n=45) in the 1980s, and was 44.7 months (n=66) for women who gave birth in the 1990s. Injectable contraceptives, such as Depro-provera, are currently popular among young Holman women. Use of these also requires attention to a particular temporal model albeit a different one than The Pill.

Fertility reductions associated with increased contraceptive use has helped reinforce contraceptive use. In addition, having smaller families reinforces town-based temporal norms. Young women in Holman today expect to bear far fewer children than their mothers and grandmothers. The generation of women who completed their childbearing in the 1970s (n=6) had a mean of 9.2 children. Those who completed childbearing in the 1990s (n=12) had access to contraceptives for most of their reproductive lives and gave birth to a mean of only 5 children. While it is not possible to know how many children women still in their childbearing years will have, no Holman woman currently under the age of 50 has given birth to more than five children, and three or four appears to be the norm.

With fewer children to care for, women are able to take wage labour jobs or enroll in vocational training programs. In fact, there is a great deal of institutional encouragement (and pressure) for individuals without regular wage work to enroll in vocational training courses, which may or may not lead to actual employment. Single women with children are especially encouraged to participate in "higher education" and financial support includes airfare and living stipends to support a family. Nonetheless, women with more than a few children may find it extremely difficult participate in a program that requires them to relocate away from their extended families.

Calendars and Clocks

Calendars and clocks are a noticeable feature in almost every Holman home. The living room walls in many of the homes I visited held two wall clocks and two or three calendars alongside photographs of deceased relatives and other memorabilia. One of the most common calendars was an annual gift from the Inuvialuit Game Council and the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation. This calendar came with instructions for recording the harvest of subsistence foods for a harvest effort study. I was not aware if any of the calendars were used for this purpose. The prominence of the clocks and calendars in Inuit homes provided constant reminders of the modern temporal regime.

These subtle, but nonetheless pervasive, institutions—television, contraceptives, calendars and clocks—have served to accustom people to a particular time discipline. The bureaucratic temporal regime introduced along with the other aspects of town living is now seen by many as normal or natural even by those who are unwilling or unable to adhere to that norm.

Surveillance, Temporal Discipline and the Contestation of Institutional Power

Temporal discipline is not simply a benign by-product of activity patterns, but rather comes about through surveillance or the expectation of surveillance (Foucault 1977). For example, virtually everyone in Holman stops work between noon and 1:00 p.m. Offices and stores close, children leave school, and mechanics drop their tools and head home for lunch. Towards the end of the lunch hour people begin moving around again, and it is literally possible to set one's watch by the renewed sounds of snowmobiles and ATV's at the end of the lunch break. Often, a few people may gather on the steps of the Northern or Co-op stores in hopes of making a quick purchase before returning to their own jobs. A clerk at one of the shops repeatedly told me of the discomfort she feels on the days she is supposed to reopen the store after lunch. Although she is always "on time" returning to work, she nonetheless imagines disapproval from the waiting shoppers whom she believes she has kept waiting. I am not sure whether she worried that the customers would think that she was late for work or she felt that she was inconsiderate if customers had to wait for her. Either way, it was dependence on clock time that caused her stress.

Surveillance, or rather the avoidance of surveillance, is also implicated in people's efforts to discourage unexpected visitors. I believe this is at least partly related to attempts to conceal drug (marijuana) and alcohol use. Alcohol use, which follows a pattern common in other Inuit communities (Matthiasson, 1975), frequently occurs during the work week and contributes to high rates of employee absenteeism. This absenteeism is a source of tension in the community—as are alcohol and drug use themselves. Gossip was one of several traditional mechanisms of social control (Briggs, 1970; Chance, 1990; Condon, 1983; Rasing, 1994), and it remains one—though one utilized against non-kin. Although there are few secrets in a community of 400 people, people who are violating social norms may feel that they are targets of gossip. This expectancy is real,

and while substance abuse is the actual issue of concern, much of the social commentary about substance use has a temporal focus—"that guy drinks *too often*" or "that guy drinks *when* he should be taking care of his family." Insisting that social visits be scheduled according to the clock is quite possibly an effective strategy to avoid actual surveillance which, in turn, reinforces the anonymous time surveillance by the clock.

Historically, Inuit time was socially regulated, and it is still socially regulated. New mechanisms of regulation operate alongside more traditional mechanisms such as gossip and fear of others' disapproval. These new mechanisms to regulate time are public, formal institutions—including imposed government bureaucracy, growing importance of wage labour, and locally organized community recreation. Holman Inuit continue to value industry and co-operative work, but for many of the bureaucratic wage labour jobs it is difficult to define productivity. Thus, adherence to clock time has become a measure of work. Traditional attitudes about the appropriate uses of time are interwoven with external mechanisms in such a way that they are mutually reinforcing. In the past, time regulation was purely local. Today it is national and global. But time regulation is not simply imposed by institutions—there is a moral dimension to time regulation as well. In other words, people generally learn to exercise self-discipline regarding the organization of their time and they do this, in part, because they want to avoid the disapproval of others. At the same time there has been an increased bureaucratization and depersonalization of social life so that moral authority over time discipline resides in arbitrary bureaucratic structures.

The transition to town residence and the subsequent adoption of wage labour in Holman has favoured a particular temporal regime associated with industrialization and modernity at the expense of traditional subsistence activities. Yet for most Holman residents, wage work does not yet have the same emotional salience as traditional subsistence work. One result is that the time when one is seen engaged in particular activities has become as important as the activities themselves; hence the fear of disapproval experienced by the store clerk. This is consistent with Focauldian analyses of discipline and surveillance in which the power of modern society to control its members socially is enacted through the regulation of their time and labour (McHoul and Grace, 1997: 69). Though some of their practices contest it, the residents of Holman have accepted the legitimacy of an arbitrary and bureaucratically imposed temporal regime.

The contestation of the temporal regime may be a particular feature of modernity, and the ways the conflicts play out are rooted in the differential power of the competing institutions (Bock, 1966). At present, half of working-age adults in Holman do not and cannot have regular employment. Yet, there is moral pressure to appear active. Despite the fact that both traditional Inuit and modern models of time discipline value industry, few of those without wage jobs are active in the subsistence economy. Balancing the temporal demands of wage labour and subsistence work is extremely difficult. For those committed to the wage economy, the time defined as work time has required greater and greater amounts of co-ordination. The organization of work time demands that hours defined as non-work time also be organized. Until recently, the churches were able to define non-work time. Currently in Holman, town-based activities, especially recreational sports, fill this time. Involvement in organized sports is an important coping mechanism for young, unemployed Inuit men that allows them to define themselves as active (Condon, 1995). Many of those with wage jobs have come to view subsistence activities as not work, but leisure (Stern, 2000). Furthermore, most town-based activities are scheduled in ways that are compatible with a 9-to-5 workday. By encouraging the growth of activities that follow the temporal norms of southern Canada, community leaders are complicit in the regulation of people's time. Thus, the existence of organized activities to fill evenings and weekends makes it less likely that an individual will choose to go out hunting or fishing during his or her "free" time.

The modern temporal regime remains contested. This is most apparent in the tensions associated with alcohol-related absenteeism from work. The very question of whether or not it is acceptable to get drunk on a work night reveals conflicting models of the appropriate uses of time. These conflicts are also revealed in struggles between employees and supervisors over work hours, in the defensiveness of adults who become turned around, and in the need for the Hamlet Council to pass by-laws concerning late night noise. Christie and Halpern (1990) suggest that acculturation stress caused by the imposition of a Eurocanadian temporal model is responsible for the increases in other social stresses, such as drug and alcohol abuse, suicide, and spousal assault, which have occurred alongside modernization in the Arctic. There is disjuncture between earlier temporal regimes and the current ones and this gap contributes to the difficulties that young Inuit, especially, have in participating in socially valued activities, but I

doubt if the new temporal regime can be blamed for all of the social ills afflicting Inuit communities. Furthermore, the local institutions and practices that reinforce the new temporal regime must be acknowledged.

Conclusion

The alteration of the temporal regime reported here is not merely a story about the commodification of time; nor is it merely a story about the transformation of power with modernity. It is instead a story of the manner in which traditional values of industry and traditional mechanisms to regulate time have been recruited to support a new, arbitrary, and often inappropriate temporal regime. Indigenous self-government and other forms of local control do not necessarily result in creative or culturally appropriate solutions to problems. This is at least part of the issue of the Nunavut time zone conflict. If having all the Nunavut government offices open at the same time was indeed the intent behind the single time zone scheme, a simpler solution would have been to stagger the business hours across the three time zones. Why should 9-to-5 be sacred? One could ask the same question about business hours and coffee breaks in Holman. Why do Hamlet employees drop whatever work they are doing at 10:00 a.m. and 3:00 p.m. and break for coffee? The cause is not rooted in local class-consciousness, but rather in habit and an unquestioning acceptance of arbitrary work rules.

Traditional Inuit society had a clear temporal discipline that rewarded with prestige those who worked hard at whatever work needed to be done. Today, the *output of work* often seems irrelevant and too often it is the *time at work* that has become morally important. The new temporal regime not only governs the settlement routine, but also appears to have meaning apart from the activities it directs. As Inuit came in contact with traders, missionaries and other agents of colonialism, they adapted their activity rhythms to new resources and new demands, but by and large, continued to stress traditional values of time and work discipline. Indigenous time discipline, which had been modified by missionaries and traders, broke down with forced sedentization in part because it was unaccompanied by any external temporal regulator such as factories to discipline labour. Time regulation in the contemporary settlement is created and enforced by a variety of factors besides work, some of which Holman residents themselves "conspire" to create. Despite contestation, the actions of Holman residents reinforce these new ways of organizing years, seasons, weeks and days.

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Notes

1 Stories and editorials about the Nunavut time zone matter appeared in the territorial weekly *Nunatsiaq News* most heavily during October 1999, October 2000, and March 2001. Back issues of that newspaper can be found at www.nunatsiaq.com. Southern Canadian news outlets gave the story brief play in October 2000 when the Nunavut government tinkered with its time zone policy in an effort to appease citizens living in the easternmost communities.

2 In the modern settlement, visiting (and hospitality) have been important social markers of Inuit-ness (see Kuchyski, 2001). Not all visitors to Inuit homes are equally welcome, and people's closest relationships of trust and friendship tend to be among kin. Nonetheless, this does not negate my point that spontaneous social visiting has diminished in both frequency and scope.

3 Briggs (personal communication) and Brody (2001), however, both point out that during the warm days of spring, Inuit often used the nighttime hours for hunting because the ice and/or snow were more likely to be suitable for travel. According to Briggs, children and adolescents found the anomaly of staying up all night exhilarating.

4 As I noted above, English is the primary language of conversation in Holman, and is spoken by all but a few Elders. In fact the specifically Inuit variant of English, which was spoken in Holman during my earlier fieldwork, has been largely replaced by idiomatic Canadian English. Unfortunately, I did not collect Inuinnaqtun terms for these phrases and cannot be certain that "turned around," "backwards," and "upside-down" would be glossed differently in Inuinnaqtun. I have no doubt that Holman Inuit use these different English language terms to imply subtle differences in meaning.

5 Alaska's North Slope Borough, which also has a primarily Inuit local government, enacted employment policies to accommodate traditional male subsistence activities, but not female ones.

6 Not all of these jobs are full-time, and an inelastic job market is a serious concern of Northern residents.

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From Our Archives / De nos fonds d'archives

La salle de classe comme théâtre : une recherche de terrain chez les Sioux oglala[1]

Murray L. Wax *Washington University*

En 1959 et 1960, Rosalie H. Wax, Robert K. Thomas, et moi-même avons enseigné dans un atelier d'été s'adressant à des étudiants de premier cycle universitaire appartenant à la population amérindienne. Ce que nous fûmes capables de réaliser semble après coup extraordinaire, car les étudiants parvinrent à se constituer (et nous avec eux) en une communauté tournée vers l'apprentissage. Cette communauté était remarquablement disciplinée, étant donné que la plupart des étudiants n'avaient qu'une petite vingtaine d'années. D'autres groupes d'étudiants du même âge disposant de la même autonomie auraient été d'insupportables chahuteurs. C'est seulement maintenant, en réfléchissant à cet atelier dans le contexte de ce que nous devions apprendre ensuite à propos des écoles des réserves indiennes, que je réalise la signification de ce que nous avons fait ensemble. Le simple fait que de cet atelier sortit la génération suivante de leaders politiques indiens témoigne de son importance[2].

À l'époque, toutefois, nous étions frappés en tant qu'enseignants de ces ateliers de l'instruction insuffisante et défectueuse, notamment en anglais, qu'avaient reçue ces étudiants vivants et intelligents, dont la culture était originale; ils semblaient avoir été victimes d'idéologies pernicieuses et dégradantes, dont témoignaient une certaine passivité et leur timidité face à nos questions. Ces expériences m'incitèrent à entreprendre une recherche sur les écoles s'adressant aux Indiens. Je voulais en particulier observer ce qui se passait à l'intérieur des écoles, tout en essayant de comprendre comment les écoles étaient liées à la communauté indienne dans laquelle elles se trouvaient.

Je présenterai ici mes recherches sur l'éducation dans les réserves indiennes, et plus particulièrement mes recherches de terrain des années soixante parmi les Sioux oglala de la réserve de Pine Ridge, dans le Dakota du Sud[3]. Je porte plus précisément mon attention sur ce premier travail de terrain parce qu'il permet aussi d'illustrer les difficultés que rencontre un chercheur

inexpérimenté, et que, par ailleurs, il fait apparaître les dynamiques sociales des systèmes scolaires.

J'exposerai d'abord quelques caractéristiques de la démarche de terrain telle qu'elle m'a été enseignée à l'Université de Chicago. J'indiquerai également les éléments utiles pour comprendre la situation des Sioux au moment de mon enquête. J'analyserai ensuite la scolarisation des Sioux oglala, en suivant pour une part le fil chronologique de mon enquête parce qu'il permet d'accéder, à travers les difficultés rencontrées, aux caractéristiques centrales des comportements des Sioux et de leurs familles à l'égard de l'école.

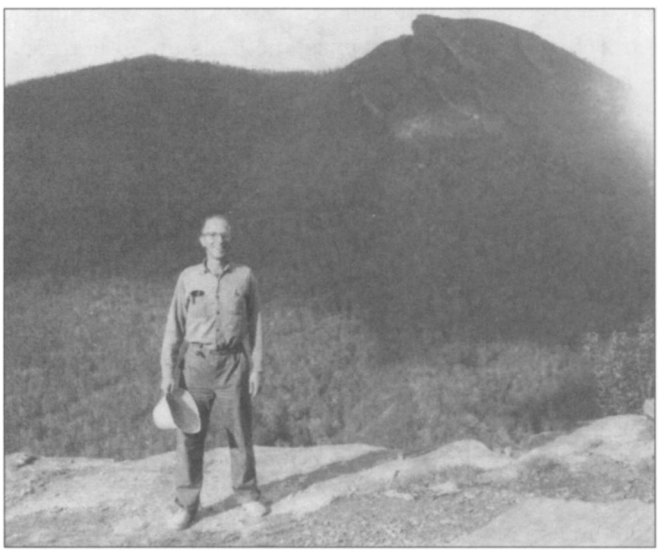

Photo 1: Murray L. Wax, 1963

Le travail de terrain dans l'esprit de la tradition de Chicago

Au cours des années cinquante, j'avais fait des études de troisième cycle à l'Université de Chicago, dans le département de sociologie, mais aussi dans celui d'anthropologie. Sous la direction à la fois d'Everett C. Hughes et de Robert Redfield, j'ai travaillé à une thèse sur les transformations des conceptions du temps, plus particulièrement des conceptions eschatologiques du temps que l'on trouve dans les mouvements radicaux et révolutionnaires[4].

Dans un véritable travail sur le terrain, tel qu'on nous l'enseignait à Chicago, le chercheur tente de se mêler à la vie sociale de la communauté qu'il étudie et d'accéder aux perspectives personnelles des différents membres de celle-ci. Il cherche à comprendre leur langage, les formes de leurs discours, les concepts de base de ces discours, et ainsi leur vision du monde. Un historien suit la même démarche en s'immergeant complètement dans les documents d'archives. Ceux qui font des recherches de terrain possèdent une méthodologie plus riche, mais plus contraignante. Ils vivent au sein de la communauté qu'ils étudient et participent aussi activement que possible à l'existence de ses membres. C'est pourquoi le travail de terrain est parfois décrit comme «observation participante» : ceci signifie que, d'un côté, le chercheur participe aux activités sociales, mais que, d'un autre côté, en dépit de cette participation, il observe, recueille des témoignages et prend des notes sur les événements en tant qu'observateur extérieur.

Pour le chercheur en tant qu'être humain, le moyen le plus efficace de comprendre et interpréter le monde de ses hôtes est double : écouter, noter et comprendre les histoires qu'ils racontent, ainsi que leur histoire personnelle, et, mieux encore, faire passer une partie de cette compréhension dans son propre corps, dans ses propres façons d'agir et de réagir.

Dans le travail de terrain, l'accent est mis sur la prise de notes, la tenue d'un journal de bord. Ce dernier fait apparaître que le chercheur affronte en permanence une tension intérieure : il s'efforce de forger un lien entre le petit monde qui l'accueille et le monde académique qui l'a formé. Il cherche à apprendre et à comprendre la vision du monde et le système conceptuel de ses hôtes en même temps qu'il tente de relier ce système aux systèmes conceptuels et théoriques des sciences sociales, ainsi qu'au vaste monde académique.

Ce processus est d'autant plus ardu que les concepts locaux les plus significatifs sont également ceux qui sont les plus sujets à des changements et à des controverses. Ceux qui possèdent une culture classique peuvent penser aux questions de Socrate sur la signification de concepts critiques tels que *dikaiosynê*, communément traduit par «justice». Les questions de Socrate témoignent du statut incertain de ces concepts cruciaux au milieu de profonds changements sociaux qui prenaient place alors dans la société grecque. Remarquons que pour que Socrate puisse définir *dikaiosynê*, il lui faut situer son propos dans une communauté organisée, une *polis*.

Les publications issues de recherches de terrain les plus suggestives sont sans doute des monographies, elles-mêmes à double fonction : d'un côté, elles familiarisent le lecteur avec les concepts de base du discours des populations étudiées et elles insèrent ces données dans un récit; de l'autre côté, elles proposent une interprétation des attitudes et des comportements en recourant à des catégories et à des idées relevant des sciences sociales.

Ainsi, pour expliquer les pratiques religieuses des Sioux, il faut d'abord présenter le concept de *wakan*, un

mot qui est parfois connu à cause de la formule *wakan-tanka*, souvent traduite par «Grand Esprit», et par là même qui est associé à l'idée spirituelle de Dieu. Mais il faut aussi indiquer que les Sioux parlent du cheval en tant que *shunga-wakan*, dont la traduction littérale est «chien spirituel». Ceci surprend jusqu'à ce que l'on fasse le lien avec, d'une part, des changements connus du mode de vie des Sioux lié à l'utilisation du cheval et, d'autre part, des concepts voisins comme celui que désigne le grec *areté* – talent et capacité accordés par un dieu – ou ceux que l'on trouve dans certaines ontologies polynésiennes (on peut comparer avec la notion de mana, telle que la présentent Codrington 1891, Firth 1940, Lévy-Bruhl 1928). On s'engage ainsi dans la dialectique, présente dans tout bon ouvrage issu de recherches de terrain, entre les concepts locaux, en permanente évolution, et des concepts plus généraux, orientés vers l'universalité.

Photo 2 : Atelier dédié à la question des Indiens d'Amérique en 1960 sur le campus de l'université du Colorado. Photo de trois professeurs et de deux étudiants. De gauche à droite : Murray L. Wax (directeur associé); Bernadine Eschief (étudiante Shoshone-Nannock); Rosalie H. Wax (directrice); Robert K. Thomas (professeur, Cherokee); un étudiant dont le nom a été perdu (Lumbee).

Les Sioux oglala et la scolarisation

À la suite des ateliers évoqués au début, j'ai rédigé un projet de recherche pour le ministère de l'Education américain. Je proposais d'étudier les problèmes rencontrés par les enfants indiens à l'école. Parmi les différentes tribus indiennes, j'avais choisi les Sioux oglala parce qu'ils satisfaisaient aux critères suivants :

1) leur nombre était relativement élevé;
2) ils vivaient dans des communautés raisonnablement concentrées et denses;
3) géographiquement, ils étaient restés à l'écart des principaux centres urbains des Etats-Unis;
4) pendant plusieurs dizaines d'années, il y avait eu des écoles dans les réserves dont la fréquentation était obligatoire pour les enfants oglala.

Vers 1960, lorsque j'ai commencé mes recherches, on comptait environ dix mille Sioux oglala. Ils appartenaient à de petites communautés dispersées le long des rivières et occupaient toute une réserve («Short Grass Prairie») de plusieurs milliers d'hectares.

Ce qui a été considéré comme «la grande nation sioux» est en réalité formée de sous-groupes ou tribus, qui parcouraient au dix-huitième siècle les prairies de l'Ouest, mais qui résident dorénavant dans des réserves séparées. Les Sioux oglala constituent la branche de cette «grande nation», qui s'est installée dans la réserve de Pine Ridge, dans le Dakota du Sud. La langue maternelle des Sioux est le dakota. Dans leur petite enfance, les Oglala parlent un dialecte du dakota que l'on nomme lakota. Au milieu du vingtième siècle, la langue usuelle de la plupart des Oglala était le lakota, mais la majorité comprenait et parlait un peu l'anglais. L'anglais qu'ils parlaient se trouvait d'ailleurs linguistiquement influencé par la langue lakota et devenait presque un dialecte particulier, parfois désigné comme «dialecte de Pine Ridge».

D'un point de vue culturel, sous bien des rapports, ils étaient restés des Sioux, des Indiens des Plaines, mais en même temps, ils avaient été en contact avec des Européens ainsi qu'avec des Euro-américains pendant plusieurs siècles. La chasse au bison et à d'autres gibiers des prairies de l'Ouest ne constituait plus leur mode primaire de subsistance, mais les restes d'une vie nomade subsistaient encore.

Je rappelle en passant qu'aux seizième et dix-septième siècles, les explorateurs français faisaient du commerce avec les Sioux. Certains, d'ailleurs, s'étaient établis, et même mariés, parmi eux, et avaient organisé des comptoirs commerciaux. Si certaines familles oglala portent des noms traditionnels lakota, d'autres noms indiquent une évidente origine française (comme Merrival, Peltier, ou encore Roubideaux). Le mot sioux pour «commerçant» (*iyeska*) était d'ailleurs le même que pour «métisse».

Vers le milieu du dix-neuvième siècle, des missions catholiques s'étaient implantées parmi les Sioux en même temps que des pensionnats. Puis, vers la fin du siècle, le gouvernement fédéral avait instauré un système d'écoles. Ce système fut amélioré dans les années trente sous l'impulsion réformatrice de John Collier, délégué aux Affaires Indiennes pendant le New Deal du

Président Franklin D. Roosevelt. Les écoles à classe unique dispersées parmi la population furent regroupées en écoles constituées d'une série de classes ordonnées, confiées à un corps d'instituteurs fonctionnaires (la plupart étaient des institutrices blanches); ces écoles étaient logées dans des bâtiments modernes, que les élèves devaient rejoindre en empruntant des bus scolaires.

Pendant plusieurs décennies, les Oglala avaient été en contact avec une éducation scolaire et, au dix-neuvième siècle, dans la majorité des écoles, l'utilisation de leur langue maternelle leur était interdite. Malgré leur fréquentation durable des bâtiments scolaires et de la langue anglaise, au moment où commencèrent nos recherches de terrain, les petits Oglala réussissaient mal à l'école, si on en jugeait par leurs résultats à différents tests de connaissance. Par comparaison avec les autres écoliers du Dakota du Sud, selon ce qui avait été remarqué à la fin de l'école élémentaire, vers 14 ans, les enfants sioux représentaient les dix pour cent d'élèves ayant les résultats les plus faibles. Étant donné les conditions de vie au sein de la réserve ainsi que le dur labeur et la pauvreté des familles, ces mauvais résultats scolaires ne surprenaient personne. Cependant les performances des écoliers sioux suivaient une évolution déroutante : quand ils étaient testés pendant les premières années de leur scolarisation, leurs résultats étaient similaires à ceux de leurs homologues «blancs»; puis, d'année en année, leurs performances déclinaient, par comparaison avec celles de leurs «voisins». Paradoxalement, il semblait que plus ils fréquentaient l'école et moins ils apprenaient. Mais cette évolution restait incomprise.

Ce n'était pourtant pas (en 1963) la première fois que des recherches sur les écoles et les écoliers sioux étaient entreprises. J'ai compris plus tard comment ces recherches étaient organisées. Un chercheur du département d'éducation d'une université voisine élaborait un questionnaire à choix multiples. Ce questionnaire était reproduit et envoyé à l'administration responsable des écoles de Pine Ridge. Les enseignants étaient chargés de distribuer les formulaires puis de les renvoyer dûment remplis. Les réponses étaient ensuite soumises au chercheur, qui effectuait une analyse statistique et en publiait les résultats. Ceux-ci ne variaient pas : les petits Sioux représentaient les 10% d'élèves dont les résultats étaient les plus faibles. Il s'agissait en quelque sorte de recherches par procuration, dans lesquelles le chercheur s'intéresse peu à ce qui se passe.

Par opposition à cette méthode, notre projet se situait dans le droit fil de la tradition des recherches de terrain de l'Université de Chicago. J'avais recruté une petite équipe de chercheurs qui comprenait des Sioux et d'autres Indiens des Plaines. Il y avait également ma femme Rosalie, à présent décédée, également titulaire d'un doctorat en anthropologie de l'Université de Chicago; Robert V. Dumont, Jr., un Indien assiniboin qui avait reçu une éducation de niveau universitaire; Walter Goodhorse, un Sioux également pourvu d'une éducation universitaire; et enfin Roselyn HolyRock, une Sioux ayant achevé le premier cycle primaire. Roselyn était une mère de famille; elle était la fille d'Harry JumpingBull et de sa femme, Cecelia BlackElk, qui appartenait à une famille sioux célèbre, les BlackElk.

Les comportements des Sioux oglala

Je commencerai par relater deux incidents survenus au début de notre séjour parce qu'il donnent une idée du décalage...

Deux interactions survenues au début de notre séjour donneront une idée du décalage entre certaines conduites ordinaires des Oglala et les catégories de perception et de jugement qui sont celles du chercheur extérieur.

Peu après notre arrivée à Pine Ridge, les Sioux ont entamé une danse du soleil. Traditionnellement, les danseurs sont volontaires. Ils passent quatre jours sans boire ni manger et dansent autour d'un poteau sacré. Certains se font percer la peau de la poitrine ou du dos. Le dernier jour, le prêtre chargé du bon déroulement de la cérémonie enfonce une broche sous la peau du danseur. La broche est attachée par une corde à un poteau sacré; le danseur tente alors de se libérer et de se défaire de la broche en tirant sur la corde tout en continuant sa danse autour du poteau.

Les missionnaires avaient jugé cette cérémonie démoniaque et le gouvernement fédéral l'avait interdite. Cependant, au milieu du siècle, les Sioux ont retrouvé leurs droits et ont pu en reprendre la pratique[5]. C'est ainsi qu'il nous fut possible d'assister à l'une de ces cérémonies. Par une chaude journée du mois d'août, je me tenais donc sous les arbres, parmi les spectateurs indiens, à regarder la cérémonie. Je me comportais comme un chercheur en sociologie, attentif à ne pas perturber le bon déroulement des choses, quand un Indien de ma connaissance, Harry JumpingBull, s'approcha de moi et se mit à commenter ce qui se passait sous nos yeux. C'était un Indien traditionaliste d'une cinquantaine d'années. Il me dit avec mépris : «Cette cérémonie n'est pas effectuée dans les règles. Les danseurs ne conviennent pas. Autrefois, les danseurs mangeaient du bison et étaient bien plus forts. À présent, ils se nourrissent de radis et de salades et n'ont plus aucune force». À

ce moment, j'aurais sans doute pu apprendre de la bouche d'Harry des choses fascinantes sur le plan ethnographique, concernant par exemple les dissensions au sein de la communauté. Mais je n'y ai même pas songé. Au lieu de cela, j'ai été choqué par ce qui m'apparaissait comme un sacrilège de la part d'un homme qui semblait renier ses origines, et je n'ai pas su quoi dire.

Harry s'était permis de s'entretenir avec moi en ces termes parce que nous avions créé des liens avec certains des siens. J'avais en effet, peu de temps auparavant, engagé son neveu, Walter, comme assistant pour le projet de recherche. Plus tard, durant la danse du soleil, la mère de Walter, Beulah GoodHorse, s'est approchée de moi et a engagé la conversation. Elle semblait croire que je tenais à être accepté au sein de la communauté sioux, et elle se proposait de m'instruire. Mais le message qui ressortait de son discours devenait progressivement de plus en plus clair : mon droit de passage dans la communauté passait inévitablement par son lit. Quand j'ai compris ce qu'elle me proposait, j'ai été choqué : je dois avouer qu'en tant que chercheur de terrain fraîchement sorti des bibliothèques et des salles de cours de l'université de Chicago, j'étais bien naïf sur le sujet. Mes lectures ne m'ayant pas préparé à répondre à ce genre d'invitation, j'ai quitté Beulah. Mais celle-ci devait par la suite renouveler plusieurs fois son offre.

Même bien préparé intellectuellement au travail de terrain, un chercheur débutant risque ainsi toujours d'être pris au dépourvu car les limites des engagements dans la situation ne peuvent être maîtrisées.

Les entretiens avec les mères

L'incident avec Beulah GoodHorse et les conseils donnés par d'autres avaient montré que les femmes des villages ne devaient et ne pouvaient être interrogées que par des chercheurs de sexe féminin. La tâche d'interroger les mères des petits Sioux scolarisés incomba donc à Rosalie H. Wax, qui s'en acquitta avec l'aide de Roselyn HolyRock.

Rosalie et Roselyn rendirent visite aux mères chez elles, dans leur foyer, et les interviews ainsi réalisées se révélèrent très riches. Au début, les mères parlaient de la fréquentation des écoles, du fait que leur enfant allait à l'école régulièrement et n'avait jamais manqué un jour de classe. Ceci reflétait leur docilité par rapport aux encouragements à mettre leurs enfants à l'école. À mon plus grand regret, j'appris que l'administration recevait des fonds des agences gouvernementales en fonction du nombre des inscrits : plus il y avait d'enfants inscrits et plus les écoles recevaient d'argent. L'administration académique était ainsi directement intéressée à la fréquentation de l'école.

Il était évident que les mères – de même que les pères – n'avaient aucun intérêt ni aucune expérience des choses scolaires, de ce qu'on enseignait à leurs enfants. En ce qui les concernait, ils espéraient que leurs enfants pourraient acquérir des connaissances suffisantes pour accéder à des emplois locaux. Mais puisque ces offres correspondaient avant tout à des emplois de travailleurs manuels, les attentes scolaires s'en trouvaient limitées. Ainsi, quand on demandait aux mères ce que leurs enfants avaient appris à l'école, la première réponse était souvent en rapport avec les tâches ménagères : «Elle sait à présent balayer».

Quand Rosalie et Roselyn poussaient l'interrogation plus avant, sur la question des aspects négatifs de l'école, un certain nombre de mères répondaient que leurs enfants s'étaient plaints des moqueries que leur infligeaient leurs camarades de classe. Plusieurs mères racontèrent des cas où leurs enfants avaient souffert amèrement de ces moqueries. Des mères ajoutèrent que leurs enfants avaient appris des mots grossiers sur les bancs de l'école. Une petite poignée de mères était allée se plaindre auprès des autorités administratives, mais celles-ci n'étaient pas intervenues pour enrayer les moqueries et les insultes.

L'ethos des Sioux

Avant d'examiner les comportements des élèves eux-mêmes, je donnerai quelques indications sur la philosophie des Sioux en ce qui concerne leurs façons d'élever les enfants. En anglais, chez les anthropologues on utilise le terme *ethos*.

Je me trouvais un jour parmi un groupe d'Indiens des Plaines, enfants et adultes d'âges variés, lors d'un pique-nique dans les Rocheuses du Colorado. Nous étions à environ 1 500 mètres d'altitude, la montagne d'un côté et un précipice de l'autre. À distance de sécurité du précipice, il y avait un mur de pierre d'un mètre de haut et de 50 cm de large. J'étais assis parmi des Indiens à une table, regardant en direction de la montagne. À un moment, je me suis retourné et ce que j'ai vu m'a laissé pantois : les petits Indiens couraient sur le mur de pierre. Pas seulement les adolescents, les petits d'environ quatre ans s'en donnaient aussi à cœur joie. Dans mon jeune âge, si je m'étais risqué à ce genre d'exercice, j'aurais certainement reçu une fessée. Pourtant les parents indiens étaient parfaitement calmes. Bien entendu, ils ne quittaient pas des yeux les mouvements de leur progéniture, mais ils étaient loin de penser à intervenir, encore plus de chercher à imposer leur autorité.

Photo 3 : Réserve *Pine Ridge* des Sioux Oglala en 1964 devant la résidence de JumpingBull. À l'extrême gauche : Cecilia BlackElk, épouse de Harry. À l'extrême droite, Harry JumpingBull, époux de Cecilia. À la gauche de Harry, leur fille Roselyn et son fils, puis une autre fille et son enfant. À l'arrière (la tête seulement), Rosalie H. Wax. Harry était une personnalité influente dans la communauté. Quelque dix ans plus tard, ce fut sur cette propriété que les deux agents du FBI ont été tirés, et la maison fut alors criblée de balles.

Un autre témoignage illustrera cette même attitude. Dans la réserve Pine Ridge, il y avait une église à laquelle était annexé un pensionnat, Holy Rosary, tenue par des Jésuites. Rosalie Wax et moi-même avons demandé à nous entretenir avec le principal de l'école, le Père Bryde. Celui-ci nous a parlé des difficultés qu'il rencontrait avec les familles sioux. Pour lui, la réaction suivante était typique : quand les parents amenaient un enfant pour l'inscrire à l'école, il avait l'habitude de demander : «Souhaitez-vous que votre enfant soit vacciné contre la variole»? Invariablement, les parents se tournaient vers l'enfant, qui avait autour de six ans, et réitéraient la demande, généralement en lakota : «Souhaites-tu être vacciné»? L'enfant demandait alors de quoi il s'agissait et les parents répétaient les explications formulées par Bryde. Informé, l'enfant refusait le vaccin et les parents abondaient dans son sens. Le Père Bryde interprétait ce type d'incident comme la marque d'un manque évident de sens des responsabilités de la part des parents. Il finit par instituer une règle qui imposait la vaccination des enfants avant leur acceptation à Holy Rosary.

De même, quand Rosalie et Roselyn se renseignaient auprès des parents d'un adolescent, demandant si leur enfant avait l'intention de se rendre à l'Université, la réponse était invariablement la suivante : «Il (ou elle) ne m'a pas encore donné son avis là-dessus». Ceci voulait dire qu'ils n'avaient pas l'intention d'influencer la décision de leur enfant concernant son avenir : cette décision devait venir de l'adolescent.

En résumé, la communauté sioux nourrissait avant tout un profond respect pour l'autonomie de chaque individu, même quand il s'agissait de la vie, de la maladie ou encore du choix d'une carrière. La langue lakota ne possède d'ailleurs pas de forme impérative. Si un Sioux ressent le besoin d'exprimer son autorité sur un de ses compatriotes, il recourt à présent à l'anglais.

Lorsqu'une personne ou un système ne faisant pas partie de la communauté allait à l'encontre de la liberté individuelle de l'un de ses membres, il lui fallait ensuite en assumer toutes les conséquences. Dans le domaine scolaire, par exemple, le choix de se rendre ou non à l'école ainsi que l'attitude à adopter à l'intérieur des bâtiments scolaires relevait de la responsabilité de l'enfant, de sa décision propre. Cependant, si le gouvernement insistait pour que l'enfant soit scolarisé, la responsabilité de prendre soin de l'enfant, de lui donner la meilleure éducation possible et de lui imposer une certaine discipline incombait alors au gouvernement. Inutile par ailleurs de préciser que ni les Pères Jésuites ni les autorités gouvernementales n'appréciaient ni ne comprenaient cet ethos.

Dans la salle de classe

Dans les écoles élémentaires fédérales de la réserve étudiée, le cursus allait de la première à la huitième classe, et les âges théoriques des élèves correspondants, de six à quatorze ans (mais les enfants indiens avaient en majorité un âge supérieur à l'âge théorique, surtout dans les dernières classes : en huitième, un tiers des élèves avaient de 16 à 18 ans).

Quand notre équipe de recherche commença à travailler à l'intérieur des écoles, en observant les attitudes dans la salle de classe, nous avons remarqué qu'il se produisait d'intéressantes transformations avec l'âge et le niveau de scolarisation.

Dans les classes pré-élémentaires et élémentaires inférieures (jusqu'à la 3e, de quatre à huit ans), les enfants étaient dociles et montraient un vif intérêt pour l'enseignement. Dans les années soixante, la plupart de ces enfants parlaient mal l'anglais, mais cela ne les empêchait guère de participer activement à la classe, même si l'enseignant se trouvait souvent confronté à une barrière linguistique.

Dans les classes élémentaires intermédiaires (de la 4e à la 6e, de neuf à onze ans), l'atmosphère se transformait de façon radicale. Les élèves devenaient bruyants et per-

turbateurs. Plutôt qu'une opposition à l'autorité de l'enseignant en elle-même, ils semblaient délibérément montrer une incompréhension des instructions qui leur étaient données, et ils le faisaient d'une manière difficile à comprendre. Si un élève était appelé à réciter sa leçon devant la classe, il (ou elle) pouvait murmurer sa réponse, qui, bien entendu, n'était pas exacte. Il en découlait une sorte de réaction en chaîne, et si d'autres élèves étaient ensuite interrogés, aucun ne donnait une bonne réponse. Ces réactions nous étonnaient beaucoup, puisqu'au sein des familles qui nous accueillaient, nous nous rendions compte que ces même élèves savaient faire ce qui leur avait été demandé, alors qu'en classe ils feignaient l'ignorance.

Dans les classes élémentaires supérieures (7e et 8e, douze ans et plus), l'atmosphère était de nouveau complètement différente. Elle se caractérisait par un silence de marbre, une passivité et une indifférence apparente des élèves, comme si les enfants portaient un masque de cire silencieux. Après avoir visité ces classes, Roselyn remarqua avec le plus grand étonnement que ce qui s'y passait était encore plus troublant que ce qu'elle avait vu un jour dans une école pour Indiens sourds-muets. Non seulement les commentaires de Roselyn étaient pertinents et évocateurs, mais ils révélaient également l'isolement de l'école par rapport à la communauté sioux, qui ne savait absolument rien de ce que faisaient ses rejetons dans l'enceinte de l'école.

Ainsi, la seule tranche d'âge qui était intéressée par les études était celle des 4 à 8 ans environ. Autour de 10 ans, les élèves étaient très turbulents; ils avaient des comportements jugés stupides et faisaient tout pour saboter le travail en classe. Quant aux élèves de 12 ans et plus, ils étaient totalement silencieux, impassibles et désintéressés. Pendant plusieurs semaines, ces comportements, qui recoupaient les résultats aux tests évoqués plus haut, furent pour nous très difficiles à comprendre.

Une société de pairs

L'indication la plus suggestive nous a été donnée par une femme sioux qui travaillait dans la cafétéria d'une école et qui avait observé les élèves pendant des années. Elle avait remarqué que c'était les moqueries qui transformaient l'ambiance au sein des classes. Par exemple, dans les classes intermédiaires, quand la maîtresse d'école appelait un élève pour réciter une leçon et que cet élève était tenté de répondre, ses petits camarades commençaient à le menacer dans sa langue maternelle pour le dissuader de participer au bon déroulement de la classe. Ils pouvaient faire des commentaires désobligeants et obscènes sur sa famille ou encore le menacer de représailles physiques dans la cour de récréation. Comme ces remarques étaient prononcées en lakota ou dans la langue des signes propre aux Indiens des Plaines, l'enseignante ne pouvait comprendre la situation. Menacés, la plupart des élèves feignaient l'idiotie ou la distraction pour éviter d'être interrogés.

On pourrait être tenté de se focaliser sur ces menaces et sur leurs effets négatifs sur l'apprentissage des enfants. Pourtant, si on oublie un instant les buts de l'école et les concepts de sociologie appliquée pour se concentrer sur les procédés utilisés par les petits Sioux, on aperçoit alors qu'on a sous les yeux un cas normal de tentative pour créer un groupe dans le groupe, un «clan» de semblables, une société de pairs. Par le biais des menaces, le clan consolide son pouvoir sur ses membres à travers une opposition silencieuse, parce que résolue, à l'autorité de la maîtresse et de l'administration de l'école.

Une fois que l'on a compris le fonctionnement de la société formée par les petits Sioux à l'école, l'analyse peut être prolongée dans deux directions différentes. La première correspond à la relation entre le rôle de ces moqueries dans la formation du groupe des pairs et la vie traditionnelle des Indiens des Plaines et d'autres tribus indiennes, comme les Inuit. Quiconque vit et agit au sein d'une communauté indienne se trouvera rapidement traité comme «le dindon de la farce». En effet, c'est par la moquerie qu'un «intrus» se rend compte qu'il fait dorénavant partie intégrante de la société, bien que ce type d'accueil puisse parfois mettre mal à l'aise ceux qui sont habitués à un mode de communication différent. Quand la moquerie est intégrée au processus de formation des petits groupes, elle nous aide à comprendre les dynamiques à l'œuvre dans la société des Indiens des Plaines, où les hommes chassent et se battent en petits groupes soudés, montrant un courage et une endurance à toute épreuve devant les obstacles.

J'ai cité ci-dessus des cas concernant la societé des pairs qui s'évertuent à troubler le travail de classe. Or, il existe d'autres cas lors desquels cette societé aide l'instructeur et lui est par conséquent bénéfique. Les membres de notre équipe ont visité bon nombre de salles de classe dans la réserve. Dumont a été assigné à une classe dans laquelle les élèves se rendaient parfaitement compte de la valeur de leur instructeur. Ils ont perçu que Dumont était un visiteur et il s'intéressait à leur éducation. Ils se sont imaginés qu'il était un observateur envoyé par l'administration des écoles. Ils ont ensuite décidé de venir en aide à leur instructeur. Ainsi, quand ce dernier posait une question, les petits élèves se poussaient du coude les uns les autres pour en forcer au moins un à répondre, et par-là même éviter à leur instructeur un embarras certain.

Par la suite, entre 1965 et 1967, notre équipe a travaillé parmi les indiens Cherokee de l'Oklahoma de l'Est. Une fois de plus nous faisions des recherches au sein des écoles : les élèves et leurs instructeurs. Dans la réserve Pine Ridge, le gouvernement fédéral administrait la plupart des écoles. Au coeur de la partie rurale de l'Oklahoma, les écoles publiques sont sous l'égide du comté, et les instructeurs sont par la suite choisis parmi la population locale. Dans la salle de classe, nous pouvions encore observer la présence de sociétés de pairs, mais dans ce cas-ci, par opposition à ce que nous avons découvert chez les Oglala, les sociétés de pairs des Cherokees s'organisaient pour manipuler l'instructeur. Un des élèves était souvent pris au hasard pour être le bouc-émissaire présupposé aux questions de l'instructeur, questions auxquelles il ne répondait par ailleurs que quand cela s'avérait nécessaire. Rien n'empêchait alors cet élève de déranger le professeur et de perturber le bon déroulement de la classe pour le reste de la session (Dumont et Wax, 1969).

D'un autre côté, ces découvertes mettent en lumière un fait qui prévaut dans les écoles américaines, ainsi qu'en France (voir Pitts 1963) : la classe s'organise en une petite société. Ce n'est pas une agrégation d'individus, mais elle devient une collectivité soudée; ceci est particulièrement visible par rapport au maître ou aux représentants de l'autorité académique. Dans les écoles qui réussissent le mieux, les autorités et les petits élèves arrivent à un modus vivendi. Les enseignants les plus capables parviennent à encourager une certaine compétition productive entre les élèves et à atteindre leurs buts sans détruire les bases sur lesquelles reposent les petits «clans» – les sociétés de pairs.

Par ailleurs, le développement de ces petits «clans» au sein de l'institution scolaire représente un exemple d'un phénomène social général. Quand une institution acquiert une certaine autorité, ses membres se regroupent en effet souvent pour lui faire face. Un des exemples les plus connus est celui de l'armée traditionnelle : les enrôlés créent un code qu'ils imposent aux officiers, et par là même les soumettent.

À plusieurs occasions au cours de ses recherches, Sigmund Freud a montré que ce qu'il examinait en psychanalyse avait été étudié bien avant lui par des poètes, des dramaturges, ou encore des artistes. Quand je considère nos découvertes concernant l'influence et la domination au sein du «clan», je me sens proche de Freud. Surtout quand je regarde des films aussi poignants que *L'argent de poche* de François Truffaut (1976) ou *Au revoir les enfants* de Louis Malle (1987), ou encore quand je lis des autobiographies d'Indiens envoyés très jeunes dans des pensionnats. Je réalise alors que nous avons redécouvert des évidences.

Le compte rendu d'un bon travail de terrain a un effet voisin de celui des beaux-arts. Tout en s'accordant avec la perception qu'a de son existence le groupe étudié, il transforme aussi par là même cette perception. Lorsqu'ils lisent ce type de compte rendu, les membres du groupe étudié se reconnaissent, et approfondissent leur compréhension de ce qu'ils sont. Pour prolonger la comparaison esquissée plus haut, l'effet est comparable à une expérience psychologique libératrice; toutefois, pour maintenir la comparaison, on doit remarquer qu'un compte rendu de recherche dont l'auteur est un chercheur de terrain négligent ou arrogant embrouillera ses hôtes et les lui aliènera. Les pires fautes consistent à ne pas reconnaître en ses hôtes des êtres humains et à dissimuler ce qu'on est soi même. Bien qu'il soit indispensable de réserver son jugement et d'être capable de jouer le naïf, on ne peut abandonner ses propres conceptions morales.

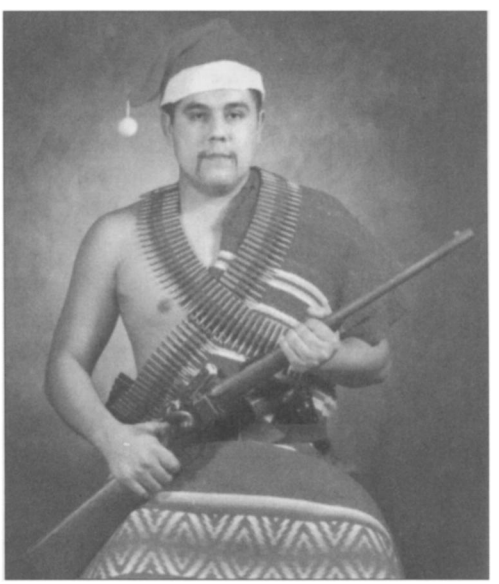

Photo 4 : Clyde Warrior (Ponca). Formé dans les ateliers Wax-Thomas, il est un member fondateur du Conseil national de la jeunesse indienne (*National Indian Youth Council*) et il a souvent contribué à la publication officielle de cet organisme *ABC* (Americans Before Columbus). Son nom est associé au cri de guerre «Pouvoir Rouge». Sa mort prématurée a été causée par l'alcoolisme.

Pour revenir à notre enquête, la publication et la communication de ses résultats aux Oglala eut deux conséquences. Tout d'abord, les Oglala nous accueillirent,

mon équipe et moi-même, comme des héros de guerre. Puis se développa un mouvement social qui eut des effets bénéfiques sur l'enseignement donné à leurs enfants. Mais ceci constituerait le thème d'un autre article.

Quelques remarques concernant les recherches sur les comportements à l'école

Dans le domaine scientifique, il est souvent utile d'aller au-delà des cas moyens et de considérer les cas extrêmes. Le talent des chercheurs réside notamment dans leur capacité à découvrir du nouveau et de l'insolite dans des situations qui apparaissaient ordinaires.

L'exemple ici décrit était extrême sous deux rapports : premièrement, en ce qui concerne l'autonomie des élèves et leur indépendance par rapport à l'autorité exercée par leurs parents; deuxièmement en ce qui concerne leur capacité à former une communauté, un groupe de pairs, indépendant des professeurs et opaque pour l'observateur. Le caractère extrême tient ici aux barrières linguistiques et culturelles entre les élèves et les enseignants. Cet exemple montre que la salle de classe correspond à une frontière écologique où deux types de populations se définissent l'une contre l'autre[6].

En mettant l'accent sur une situation extrême, on peut dévoiler des aspects significatifs de la configuration des écoles qui, sans cela, resteraient dans l'ombre parce qu'ils sont partie intégrante de notre vie sociale.

Je dresserai brièvement une liste de ces aspects :

1) Au sein de l'école, les enfants sont transformés en élèves. Les enfants ne naissent pas élèves, mais ils le deviennent au contact des autres et des enseignants.
2) Pour le plupart des enfants, devenir élève veut dire devenir actif dans un groupe de pairs (ou dans plusieurs groupes) et dans différents contextes d'interaction.
3) Tandis que le groupe de pairs s'organise en fonction des buts et des intérêts de ses membres, il y a également un important phénomène qui force le groupe de pairs à se définir en opposition à la hiérarchie des enseignants.
4) La salle de classe n'est pas uniquement une arène dans laquelle l'éducateur donne un enseignement à un groupe d'élèves sans lien les uns avec les autres qui le reçoivent passivement. La salle de classe est plutôt un théâtre au sein duquel les élèves sont en même temps public et acteurs. Leurs actions et la manière dont ils les exécutent sont significatives. Les enfants sont de manière permanente en train d'apprendre et de découvrir, mais ce qu'ils apprennent et leurs évolutions ne sont que pour une part la conséquence du travail de l'enseignant. Un des problèmes centraux de la plupart des classes est l'organisation et le maintien d'un milieu social dans lequel les élèves peuvent acquérir ce qui figure dans le programme officiel.
5) La plupart des théories pédagogiques sont centrées sur la manière dont l'enseignant présente une matière aux élèves, considérés comme des individus. La psychologie de l'éducation est ainsi devenue une discipline à laquelle le ministère de l'éducation américain s'intéresse. La fonction sociale de cette discipline est avant tout idéologique. Elle dissimule les dynamiques sociales présentes dans l'école et dans la salle de classe. Malheureusement, elle ne donne guère au nouvel enseignant les moyens nécessaires pour assurer ses véritables tâches dans une salle de classe.

Dans cet article, j'ai poursuivi des objectifs qui concernent à la fois la méthode et la substance. D'un côté, j'ai voulu montrer les possibilités (et les risques) d'une expérience personnelle de travail de terrain. Les techniques de recherches sont comme des lentilles, dont les caractéristiques optiques accentuent certains phénomènes et en minimisent d'autres. En révélant clairement ce qui se passait dans les salles de classe, mes recherches de terrain m'ont permis de comprendre comment les idéologies de l'éducation mystifient (dissimulent) le fonctionnement des écoles.

Plutôt que de dissimulation, nous devrions d'ailleurs parler de «schizophrénie culturelle». Car chacun de nous a été un enfant et, par suite, comprend les existences sociales des enfants, de telle sorte que nous connaissons intimement l'importance et la signification des relations sociales à l'intérieur de l'école : les amitiés et les haines; les alliances, rivalités et inimitiés; les cliques, bandes et groupes de pairs. Néanmoins cependant l'attention du public et des administrations, aux Etats-Unis ou en France, est focalisée sur la réussite formelle dans sa dimension individuelle, telle que la mesure les performances obtenus à des «tests objectifs». La focalisation se porte en conséquence sur l'enseignement dans sa définition officielle, comme s'il s'agissait du processus actif, plutôt que sur les processus interactifs d'apprentissage effectif et de croissance; et il existe un refus systématique de percevoir que l'apprentissage se réalise dans des milieux sociaux. Quand les sociétés de pairs sont mises en lumière, on considère généralement qu'elles exercent des influences négatives, conduisent les élèves à l'usage de drogues, au sexe précoce, ou à la violence, alors qu'elles pourraient et

devraient être considérées comme des mécanismes puissants, merveilleux – et, effectivement dangereux – d'apprentissage et de développement. Nous sommes portés par commodité à négliger le fait que la structure par âge et niveau d'études de nos écoles intensifie les dynamiques des sociétés de pairs reposant sur les âges et les niveaux d'études.

Une scolarisation obligatoire de masse incluant la période de l'adolescence est un phénomène relativement récent. Pour la plupart des enfants indiens américains pendant le 19e siècle, la scolarisation a été une agression; les enfants étaient littéralement enlevés et emprisonnés dans des pensionnats, punis s'ils parlaient leur langue maternelle ou s'ils se conformaient aux normes de comportement de leur communauté. Les enfants résistèrent calmement autant qu'ils le purent, mais ces expériences ont laissé de profondes cicatrices dans leurs communautés.

Pour beaucoup d'élèves dans la plupart des pays, la scolarisation obligatoire continue d'être une agression et un emprisonnement. Contraindre les enfants à rester assis tranquillement et exiger qu'ils acceptent d'être bourrés – comme des oies gavées pour leur foie – de connaissances auxquelles ils n'accordent aucune utilité, est une recette pour engendrer des difficultés, particulièrement chaque fois que les enseignants ne savent rien au sujet de leurs élèves, rien de leurs traditions, ou de ce qui pourrait réellement les aider à mener des existences plus satisfaisantes. En conséquence, la réponse des élèves est de fuir quand ils le peuvent, ou de s'organiser afin de prendre le contrôle de la vie scolaire, ou encore de s'engager dans des violences.

Les familles bourgeoises françaises ont socialisé leurs enfants pour qu'ils restent assis tranquillement, retiennent certaines connaissances, et les restituent à la demande. Les gratifications suprêmes de l'école ont été conférées aux élèves qui peuvent assimiler et synthétiser ces connaissances. Ce système a produit des personnes qui ont connu des réussites, particulièrement dans le domaine littéraire. En tant qu'ils sont eux-mêmes les produits de ce type d'éducation, les éducateurs peuvent trouver particulièrement difficile de comprendre que ce modèle n'est pas universel. Sans chercher ici à développer un large éventail de comparaisons, on peut remarquer que dans les traditions juives et musulmanes conservatrices, l'instruction formelle obligatoire est centrée sur quelques textes et ne prend place que pour de brèves périodes de l'existence de la plupart des enfants.

Dans le passé et dans la plupart des sociétés, la plus grande partie de l'instruction s'est effectuée par apprentissage et immersion. Je reviens donc à mon point de départ en relevant que le travail de terrain peut devenir un exemple de cette instruction par expérience.

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Notes

1 Cet article est issu d'une conférence donnée à Paris en juin 2001, à l'invitation du Département de sciences de l'éducation de l'Université Paris V, du Groupe de recherches Ecole, Travail, Institutions (Université Paris VIII) et de J.-M. Chapoulie (Université Paris I). Je remercie de leur aide of J-P Briand, J. Cassell, S. Cassidy, J-M Chapoulie, E. Sureau, P. Verdet pour la mise en forme en français de cet article.

2 Les jeunes dirigeants s'organisèrent dans une association, le NIYC (National Indian Youth Council), qui publie une périodique, *American Before Columbus*. Ils furent les premiers à utiliser le terme *Red Power*. Ils se distinguent du groupe connu sous le sigle AIM (American Indian Movement). Contrairement à ce dernier, dont les membres étaient des citadins déracinés, le NIYC étaient enracinés dans des communautés vivantes. En 1973, quand des membres de l'AIM s'établirent à Wounded Knee sur la réserve Sioux de Pine Ridge, la réaction des populations locales fut ambivalente.

3 Voir, pour un compte rendu d'ensemble, M. Wax, R. Wax, R.V. Dumont (1964). Le déroulement de ces recherches est décrit de manière vivante dans l'ouvrage de R. Wax (1971).

4 Voir Wax (1959). On trouvera dans le livre de Jean-Michel Chapoulie, *La Tradition Sociologique de Chicago : 1892-1961* (2001), une description du département de sociologie de cette université ainsi que de ses professeurs.

5 Feraca, 1990.

6 Sur la notion de frontière, voir Park (1934/1950) et Hughes et Hughes (1952).

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Book Reviews / Comptes rendus

Erik Mueggler, *The Age of Wild Ghosts: Memory, Violence, and Place in Southwest China*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.

Reviewer: *Arafaat A. Valiani*
Columbia University

With close attention paid to the contours of healing and violence, Erik Mueggler's textured ethnography of the struggles and memories of Zhizuo makes a timely appearance. This book sheds light upon the forms and substance of memory, violence and healing. The violence that Mueggler's ethnography discusses pertains to those experiences which members of Zhizuo (or Lipo) underwent; they are a "minority" community residing in Yongren, southwest China. Mueggler's analysis begins roughly at the end of the 1960s and concludes with the 1990s. The experiences of Zhizuoens began with the political interventions of the Chinese state and included the imposition of the policies associated with *Liberation*, land reform, collectivization, *The Great Leap Forward*, *The Cultural Revolution*, the revival of household cultivation, market reforms and family planning campaigns. The violence of these policies involved famine and death experienced by the community during The Great Leap Forward, and the revenge killings occurring after Liberation. More generally, these changes brought about the regimented ordering of time and space, both in practice and in the collective imagination, as imposed on Zhizuo by a weak socialist state.

The author seeks to trace the manners in which the people of Zhizuo carve out a "habitable" place and a historical vision for themselves, at a time when the regimentation of space and "the ordering of time" was the principle prerogative of the state (p. 4). The substance of such views of a Zhizuoen past and place involves countering an ineffective state which assumed a magical character due to its disorganization and its tendency to impose only an illusory vision of itself on its subjects and spaces. It is the community's "practices and poetics" which challenge the state's illusions. Treating afflictions, performing rituals of fertility, and removing non-human entities from bodies and houses are the practices employed by Zhizuoens to escape "the grasp" of the state (p. 5). The author is careful to note that the state is not external to daily life but it is:

> a constitutive force at the heart of the social world. To envision it is to pose and answer questions about the social world, about relations to this world and the objects of which are is its substance, and about social needs and social desires. (p. 5)

Stories, and songs too, dot the landscape of Zhizuoen resistance. The official history of policies is employed by the author as devices that translate the community's narratives. These narratives are "an oppositional practice of time" which are meant to undermine the "the temporality of official history" (p. 7); they are not mere stories, they are a means of living. Also, stories included reinterpreting the causality for collective loss which the state rarely admitted or simply shunned. In short, the re-telling of shards from the past is a means for this community to question the politics and state violence of the present and recent past. The stories manifest themselves in concrete practices which help Zhizuoens to find the means to survive and understand their past and future. They also permit them to "articulate longings for reconciliation" (p. 9).

In one particular set of narratives, Mueggler recounts the tale of the *ts'ici*. Officially, it was remembered as an institution which circulated among the prominent houses of the Zhizuoen community. It took responsibility for the community's political and ritual duties. This included hosting outsiders, arbitrating disputes, and the like. The tale of the *ts'ici* tells of its decay, death and rebirth in a ghostly and adulterated form under the socialist state. Originally, the houses which took on the responsibilities of the *ts'ici* were supposed to descend from a single ancestor and bind the community "in a circle of affinal relations" (p. 8). As such, it became a unified entity, location and symbol of the Yi people; ultimately, the basis for the community's national identity. Under the socialist state, the *ts'ici* was taken over and many of the residents who held it were eliminated or attacked as counter-revolutionaries. Just before The Cultural Revolution, the Zhizuoens ritually killed the *ts'ici* at a gathering of community members. Since the genealogy of the community emanated from the *ts'ici*, in part, its public and ritualized

killing stood for a moment in which the *ts'ici*'s corruption "transformed the family of collective ancestors into a cabal of *wild ghosts*, which haunted the community for the next thirty years" (p. 8). During The Cultural Revolution, these ghosts killed off those held responsible for the *ts'ici*'s downfall, for the famine of the Great Leap Forward (1950s), and into the eras of national reconciliation and market reforms. The state was seen as "spectral," ringing hollow in its promises of Liberation (1940s), and "dominated" by those who had died during the famine (Chapter Six: *A Spectral State*).

From the 1940s to the 1990s, the state hoped to penetrate this community but then showed its failings. The author narrates haunting instances when the new socialist state sought to make examples of any challengers by murdering them. This was an era in which the bureaucracy was rendered spectral because it was caught up in its own rhetoric of material excess (super production and procurement, unlimited consumption and socialist redistribution), but also hilarious moments when officials hoping to establish agriculture collectives had to compromise and sponsor "superstitious" rituals in order to ensure rains, collective favour, and, ultimately, local co-operation.

The bureaucracy also focussed its energies on regulating the space and modalities of production and, later, its gaze turned to the wombs and bodies of the community by policing and enforcing family planning programs. In defence, the ghosts of the *ts'ici*—who also came to represent ancestors *and* government officials who "had died badly"—preyed on living officials, their collaborators, community members, and their health and sanity. *It was the age of wild ghosts.*

Because this is also an ethnography of place, Mueggler traces the various sites which people struggle to inhabit, both physically, in language, and in the imagination. As such, there are separate sections on the afflicted body, family homes, the valley that surrounds the community and the landscape which connects the inhabited world of the community with the nation and the cosmos. Mueggler's work demonstrates how time and space are constantly *made* by his subjects; they are not pre-given by the locality or the state.

The second chapter (*An Intimate Immensity*) takes the reader through a vivid ritual meant to rid Li Qunhua's dreams, body and family of a spirit (*mæ*). Li Qunhua suffered from troubling dreams in which she was plagued with visions of her bearing and carrying children. At the time, the entire community was feeling the burden of mass sterilization programs which sought to deprive families of a precious resource and a source of emotional contentment: the thought and process of bearing and nurturing children. In Li Qunhua's particular case, she bought, hauled, and sold machine-embroidered strips of cloth in order to educate three of her four children who were still of schooling age. Sterilization stood for the source of an enervating force which could rob a woman of her sexual strength and gradually render her permanently weak and ill. Here, the figure of the *mæ* brings together the origin of the violence of sterilization, the state's intervention into the most intimate spheres of the household (a woman's body and social reproduction), and all the discomforts and anxieties that Li Qunhua experienced. It "unified the source of the violence" of forced sterilization and gave a face to policies, procedures, and the brutal enforcement of "rules" which Zhizuoens just did not comprehend (p. 50).

Exorcising spirits was the only means to rid oneself of such haunting, to begin collective healing, and to mourn *all* those who had died a violent death, or had passed away without a proper funeral and burial. Mueggler's weaving of Li Qunhua's emotional state, her social conditions, the very complicated exorcising ritual, and the state's policies is quite lyrical and not at all mechanical. The author, most definitely, succeeds in connecting the social and political conditions of exercising state power with the disciplining of bodies, while also inviting the reader into the cosmos of the ghost and the spirits.

The third chapter entails a thick description of the allocation and placing of things and people. The direction of the nearby river's flow, the sun's rays, the location of shade, are all enmeshed into the placement of an abode's foundation, its rooms, and the people who will occupy them, with reference to their status and gender. These "representations of space" shape the manner in which spatial practices emerge and produce social relations. In turn, the two "give rise to lived representational space."

Though well-documented, I cannot help but voice a question which needled me from the outset. Accepting the author's principal enterprise as being ethnographic, what about the changes taking place among the Zhizuoens' spatial practices which historical detail may illuminate? His ethnography comes dangerously close to emulating a more sensitive version of "the traditions and rituals of the X"; a form of ethnography which plagued the discipline prior to the 1960s. I found the manners in which he described the organization of the household far too structured and coming close to being an unchanging "culture" and set of "traditions." From my own ethnographic work on space and place in India, I have found that similar practices and concerns exist when it comes to the imagination and enabling of space. However, these principles are the kinds of explanations which an outsider observes and has performed for him or her. But residing in such spaces over a longer period of time (which Mueggler certainly did)—and simultaneously conducting historical and ethnographic investigations—one discovers the discontinuities of the practices which *seem* to be quite durable. One also observes the malleability of relationships between social relations and space. The substance of human interaction, its *un*predictability in terms of status and gender, the dynamics of negotiation, and the cajoling of household members give one a completely different vision of the space, people, and site one is investigating. Glimpses of these types of admissions *are* revealed by the author, but the ethnography of this chapter illustrates a setting which is governed—somewhat too firmly—by what seems to be unchanging practices.

This book is definitely worth reading and should be included as an example of what ethnography can do today. It offers precious insight into the manners in which the violence perpetrated by the socialist Chinese state influenced the intimate lives of the Zhizuoens, and how they resisted it.

Wenona Giles, *Portuguese Women in Toronto: Gender, Immigration, and Nationalism*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002.

Reviewer: *M. Gabriela Torres*
York University

The histories of immigrant women in Canada are fundamental to our understanding of how Canada constructs itself through the purposeful inclusion, sidelining and overt exclusion of its prospective citizens. Wenona Giles provides a revealing look into the role that immigrant women play in the construction of Canada's self-image in *Portuguese Women in Toronto*. The everyday dynamics of Canada's nation-building project is illustrated through an analysis of the discourses and practices of Portuguese immigrant women in the 1990s.

Using rich interview narratives and census data Giles shows the complexities of the work and home lives of first- and second-generation Portuguese immigrant women in Toronto. In addition to providing a dynamic portrait of immigration and settlement in Canada's largest city, *Portuguese Women in Toronto* is a revealing look at the everyday effects of Canada's multiculturalism and immigration policies. Though Giles' study is firmly focussed on everyday life in Toronto, it also addresses the broader issue of how women's citizenship, in general, can be influenced by male-biased national policies and the inequalities of global political and economic trends.

Giles' study first focusses on households through a comparative analysis of life stories taken from the first two generations of "Portuguese-Canadians." Particular emphasis is placed on the changes in gender relations that result from immigration and settlement experiences. Looking at different degrees of change in gender relations, Giles emphasizes both the impact of Canadian multiculturalism and immigration policies—as well as global economic and political inequities—on the strategies for survival and advancement adopted by Portuguese immigrant women.

Because women were defined as dependents of men from their entry into Canada, their survival and advancement are particularly affected by the definition of their community as unified and homogenous "ethnicity" in multiculturalism policies. For Giles, the definition of the "Portuguese Community" best serves the interest of the Canadian state and not the varied interests of the women and men defined as its members. For Giles, one of the primary disadvantages of being defined exclusively as part of an "ethnic minority" by the state is the obfuscation of the degree to which immigrants to Canada have been active participants in the economies and societies of the cities in which they settled.

Portuguese immigrants of diverse class and geographic origins—both men and women—came to Canada as labourers between 1950 and the 1980s to work in the manufacturing, construction, and domestic and retail service industries. Settlement in Canada relied more on personal, regional and familial networks than on government-sponsored settlement and integration programs.

In her discussion of women's work lives, Giles highlights the activist working histories of first-generation women and contrasts these to the non-unionized working spaces where their daughters tend to labour. Second-generation Portuguese women are now employed in clerical, administrative and retail jobs where Giles documents a lack of impulse to collectively change shortcomings in their working conditions. Nevertheless, Giles does note that second-generation women do resist what they still perceive as ethnic- and gender-based discrimination through their involvement in formal party politics.

Yet, women's strategies for resistance are for Giles also defined in part through the influence of hegemonic cultures—Portuguese culture, Portuguese immigrant culture, and the elusive but well used "Canadian" culture. Women must manage the allegiance to competing nationalisms implied by the cultures within which they live. As the life stories show, both first- and second-generation Portuguese women in Toronto must manage competing prescriptions of their behaviour in the home, their involvement outside the home, their attitudes towards education, the ways that they approach child rearing, and even their very definitions of home. Based on a discourse analysis of the proceedings of three Portuguese community conferences between 1982 and 1997, *Portuguese Women in Toronto* explores the construction of community-based strategies of resistance to multiculturalism's ideal of the Canadian nation. These strategies range from advocating a seamless integration into Canada to a type of strategic essentialism that promotes a simplified ideal of "Portuguese-ness." Giles notes that Portuguese immigrant women must also manage the intersection of cultural prescriptions with discriminatory settlement policies that together ensure the privileging of English as a second language education and job training for male heads of household.

Giles shares the critique of Multiculturalism policies that states that Canadian policies attempt to define those seen as "different" Canadians into ethnic enclaves in an effort to control and manage difference. The disjuncture between the rhetoric of inclusion in multiculturalism and the reality of exclusion in the practices of the Canadian state is best illustrated for Giles through the analysis of women's access to education. As Giles' data shows first-generation Portuguese immigrant women were seldom able to access a high school education and have a school life expectancy of only 7.2 years.

The less than complete elementary education that first-generation Portuguese women have pales in comparison to the 17.1 years average school life observed for Canadian women. This marked lack of access to education, due in part to discriminatory policies and attitudes in Toronto's school systems, serves to further differentiate Portuguese women from so-called "Canadian society."

The combination of an ethnographic approach, life stories and descriptive statistics make Giles' study a particularly rich entry point into the lived effects of Canadian immigration and settlement policies. Beginning at the household level gives the reader a grounding from which to better understand the heterogeneity located within the descriptive statistic analyses that are included in Giles' later chapters.

Portuguese Women in Toronto provides a poignant illustration of Canada's contradictory desires for "unskilled" labourers. Quoting Kearney, Giles reminds us that though the labour power that new immigrants bring to this country is both desired and necessary for national growth, in most cases the actual people who labour are undesirables. As Giles demonstrates through the analysis of Portuguese women's participation in selected cases of organized labour unrest in Toronto, Canadian immigration and settlement policies are designed both to attract incorporate labourers as human capital and to under-serve the needs of immigrant labourers as full persons or citizens.

Yet Giles' account also shows how, despite structural constraints, Portuguese immigrant women are able to find ways to resist the state's imposed definitions through labour organization, political organizing, and artistic expression. It is perhaps Giles' emphasis on women's resistance to structurally engrained discrimination that best highlights the complexities of Canada's immigration and settlement policies in practice. Though these are designed, either consciously or unconsciously, to differentiate Canadians to their detriment, immigrant women are still able to actively challenge the competing identity prescriptions of their home life and their work life, as well as those prescriptions imposed through state policies.

Cai Hua, *A Society without Fathers or Husbands: The Na of China,* translated by Asti Hustvedt from the French *Une socété sans père ni mari : les Na de Chine* (Presses Universitaires de France, 1977), New York: Zone Books, 2001

Reviewer: *Michael Stainton*
York University

It was helpful to read this ethnography in a summer when the question of what is marriage, aka "same sex marriage" was being debated in Canada. This study of the Na, a small group in the now popular anthropological paradise of Yunnan, presents a wonderful case (which Cai argues is unique) that " without marriage a society can function perfectly well." However, in trying to establish a major theoretical conclusion from interesting ethnographic detail, Cai ultimately makes the same circular error of which he accuses other theorists—conflating "marriage" and "family" in mutually circular definitions. Cai concludes that the Na have neither marriage nor the family "given the absence of a husband and father." I would rather see in his data the existence of strong matrilineal families, who ensure the reproduction and continuation of these consanguineal, coresidential, economically communal units through the "institution of the visit."

This Na mode of sexual life is a lifelong practice of free and unprivileged sexual access between all non-consanguineal adults. Consanguinity is constructed matrilineally, as the identity of a person's genitor is usually unknown and always irrelevant. Sexual partners, called *acia,* can make no claim for exclusive affection; as the saying goes "*your acia is also my acia*" and indeed "*to leave your mother and your sister for a wife, that would be shameful.*" Much of the book details the various modes of the visit—"the furtive visit," "the open visit," and "cohabitation" and seeks to work out the rules of each, and how these rules integrate with what Cai presents as the fundamental rules of Na society—"*the concept of pure matrilineality,*" the incest prohibition, and strict prohibition of any form of sexual evocation in the presence of kin of the opposite gender (necessitating the furtiveness of visits and even gender-separate TV watching). In addition there are structurally complex bendings of the rules to facilitate the continuation of matrilines in households where there are only sons. Though these appear to have some of the elements of marriage, Cai successfully uses both linguistic data and quotidian practices to show how these are "last resort," contingent, and infrequent solutions to carrying on the matriline, not conceived as a form of marriage.

Cai sees the origins of both the marriage and the visit in the contradiction between "*two needs rooted deep in the innermost depths of human nature—the desire to posses one's partners and the desire to have multiple partners.... From these two opposing desires two types of opposing institutions were born (that of the visit and that of marriage).*"

Certainly the Na solution was an abomination to both Qing and Communist moral engineers. To me the most lively (and all too short) chapters in the book are the two on "Kinship in the Zhifu's (Na chief) Family" and "The Matrimonial Reforms" which the Communist regime has attempted to impose on the Na. Cai uses historical records to show that the anomalous institution of marriage of the regional chief was the result of the Qinq requirement after 1656 that the (male) chiefly position must be inherited by primogeniture. This meant a Na chief must marry to hand down his office. The kinship gymnastics necessary to satisfy the empire, and maintain Na matrilineal consanguinity (as well as the practice of the visit) are fascinating, as are most human responses

to absolute contradictory demands. More interesting (and less developed) is Cai's finding that the tripartite stratification of Na society was also created by this cultural imposition. The system of chiefly marriage ended by fiat in 1956, replaced by an even more uncompromising demand on all Na to end "depraved customs" of the mode of visitation and get married, made by a state convinced of "the superiority of socialist monogamy." Though "no other ethnic group in China underwent as deep a disruption as the Na did during the Cultural Revolution"; Cai gives this period less attention than I would like to see, as it is tangential to the main point of his book.

As to the future of the Na mode of sexuality, Cai feels that the education system (in which marriage and nuclear family are taken for granted) and the effects of commerce and industrialization will do more than the "administrative constraints" to eventually end what clearly is a successful human solution to reproducing society. Two current issues are not in the purview of Cai's book but perhaps later studies will address them. The spread of HIV in China is a growing reality, and the Na reputedly already have higher rates of sexually transmitted diseases than their marrying ethnic neighbors (an allegation which makes sense). What will this mean for them? As with other Yunnan minorities, the Na, now more or less permitted to practice their customs, are also a target of Han tourism. How is their unique sexual mode of life being commodified for all those socialist (with Chinese characteristics) monogamous visitors?

So what can we do with this book? It strives for more theoretical cachet than it achieves, but don't all of us? Cai is theoretically conservative in that his principal interlocutors are structural functionalism, Murdock and Levi-Strauss. But like them, he gives us a richly detailed micro-analysis of kinship and sexual custom without flying off prematurely into ego-syntonic cultural critique. Of course recounting stories of kinship and seeking to derive its underlying rules is always more interesting to the writer (for whom it is ultimately gossip about people he knows and likes) than the reader, for whom it is sometimes mind numbing in the way that moves undergraduates to ask "is this important?"

It is exactly this quality that leads me to think that Cai's book is a good ethnography for an introductory anthropology course, as well as one on "kinship and family." Students need to be presented with an ethnography which, sometimes flatfootedly yet consistently and systematically, shows how anthropologists try to derive principles from slowly adduced data. Because Cai also brings in historical and political factors there is a diachronic aspect to his discussion, which stimulates further questions. Finally, though I am dissatisfied by his conclusion that the Na have neither marriage (true) nor family (doubtful), Cai presents enough evidence linked to basic theoretical discussion that students can debate with him from his own evidence and reasoning questions such as What does kinship "do"? Does society need marriage? What is a "family?" Does sexual exchange necessitate emotional attachment? Are the Na a feminist paradise? Why should anybody need to know who is their father? And what would the Na have to discuss in place of the issue of gay marriage?

Susanna M. Hoffman and Anthony Oliver-Smith (eds.), *Catastrophe and Culture: The Anthropology of Disaster*, Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2002, 312 pages.

Reviewer: *Alan Smart*
University of Calgary

This volume illustrates why the School of American Research Advanced Seminar program is so valuable. What might be seen as a specialized topic, the anthropology of disaster, is here revealed as a medium by which the different subfields of anthropology can interact in a synergistic manner. The introductory chapter by the editors makes the case very effectively: "When hazards threaten and disasters occur, they both reveal and become an expression of the complex interactions of physical, biological, and sociocultural systems....Within disaster research, anthropology finds an opportunity to amalgamate past and current cultural, ecological, and political-economic investigations, along with archaeological, historical, demographic, and certain biological and medical concerns" (pp. 5-6). These opportunities, of course, carry with them difficult challenges, requiring work at the interface between the sociocultural and physical worlds, and demanding attention to longer swathes of time than are encompassed in the usual field research. For example, the chapter by Michael Moseley examines the Andean archaeological record to argue that groups tend to be able to cope with regular disasters, but may be pushed beyond the edge of recoverability by the proximate occurrence of multiple disasters, such as a prolonged drought followed by an earthquake. Examining similar issues on a shorter timescale, Christopher Dyer analyzes the Exxon Valdez oil spill to illustrate his ideas on how such processes of what he calls "punctuated entropy" (crisis followed by crisis) can lead to system collapse. These, as well as most of the other chapters, engage with the ideas of other contributors at a sustained and productive level, something not always found in edited volumes.

Anthony Oliver-Smith provides a magisterial effort at theorizing disasters, integrating the multiple dimensions from which the development and outcome of disasters must be seen. He focusses in particular on how socially produced vulnerabilities are created and influence the disasters that result. In doing so, he deals with cultural constructions of nature, and ways of integrating culture, nature, domination and the technology/nature interface into anthropological

research. Virginia Garcia-Acosta explores the historiography of disasters in Mexico, revealing that the reporting of disasters provides a rich set of data for understanding the spatial and social organization of the past. Robert Paine discusses what he labels the "no-risk thesis": the cognitive repression of risk by those who continue to live in dangerous circumstances, identifying a variety of cultural forms in which this is accomplished. Sharon Stephens also examines the constitution of perception of risks, but as this is accomplished by professional "radiation protection experts." Susanna Hoffman examines the symbolism of disaster in the discourse and spontaneous shrines that occurred in the aftermath of a firestorm in Oakland, California, using this medium to generate some interesting insights into attitudes towards nature. Gregory Button describes ways in which popular media reframe man-made disasters, emphasizing the ways in which local knowledge becomes marginalized in this process. Finally, Ravi Rajan examines the failures in responses to the Union Carbide gas leak in Bhopal, India. He argues that the problem was not simply that the state actors failed to act effectively to prevent the situation causing many more casualties than were necessary, but that for a variety of reasons the state had not developed the expertise that would have been required to facilitate an effective response, and that these are related to critical fault lines within the society.

While some chapters build on much more detailed and sustained primary research than others, all of the chapters have interesting stories to tell and important points to make. The volume as a whole is carefully integrated and represents a major contribution. Not only those interested in disaster research or applied anthropology will find the book rewarding, but also those interested in how extreme and tragic circumstances help to understand the nature of societies and the intersection between nature and culture.

Sandra Flood, *Canadian Craft and Museum Practice, 1900-1950*, Mercury Series Paper 74, Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2001, xv + 335 pages, ISSN 0317-2244 (paper).

Reviewer: *Cory Silverstein Willmott*
University of Manitoba

In *Canadian Craft and Museum Practice, 1900-1950*, Sandra Flood investigates the relationship between craft and museum communities in Canada during the first half of the 20th century. Her thesis assumes that museum collections are influential in "assigning cultural and economic value to practice" because they function as the collective memory of a nation's material culture. She therefore asks to what extent these two communities share an understanding of "craft," and to what degree Canadian museums recognized craft activity by collecting and displaying craft works (p. 1). She pursues these two questions through a survey and analysis of contemporaneous published discourse on crafts (chap. 2), a survey of Canadian craft production arranged according to socio-economic contexts of production (chap. 3), a series of detailed case studies of institutions that supported craft production and/or display (chap. 4) and of educational institutions that offered advanced training in craft skills (chap. 5), as well as an overview and case studies of museums that housed and displayed craft collections (chap. 6).

In the first chapter, Flood reminds readers of the fragility and infancy of Canada during the early 20th century. The unification of the fledgling nation was merely a matter of political and economic convenience rather than common cause or enemy. Its development was impeded by vast geographical distances, as well as regional, ethnic and religious differences. It was not until the early 20th century that Canada achieved a cohesive form. Even so, it was still a "Dominion," that is, a politically autonomous colony of Britain. The sense of "Empire" was reflected in the influence of the British Arts and Crafts Movement on the formation of craft advocacy groups and the immigration of master craft workers from the Mother Country. As well, preferential tariffs and British guilds ensured that the influx of British craft products undersold those produced in Canada.

In order to grasp the meaning of "craft" during the period under discussion, Flood undertook a quantitative analysis of themes that occurred in 92 contemporaneous publications on crafts. These themes are: "concerns about skills and traditions and their loss; the contribution of craft production to the national economy; the contribution of craft to industry through the improvement of design; the benefits of craft as an occupation; handcraft as embracing a universal, participatory community; and craftspeople's role in the establishment and constitution of a distinctive, inclusive Canadian culture;...the link between craft and rural life;...[and] the changing location of craft in relation to fine art" (pp. 31-32). Flood's analysis shows that despite rhetoric about the universality of Canadian craft production, the majority of literature emanated from an educated, well-to-do elite centred in Montreal who were primarily interested in the picturesque "folk arts" of the rural Habitants (pp. 54-55).

Recognizing that publications do not adequately represent the extent and scope of craft production during the period, in chapter 3 Flood turns to newspapers, magazines and agricultural exhibition prize lists for additional information. These sources proved fruitful in discovering both the variety and quantity of craft production across the nation. Flood presents her findings for various types of craft, which include textiles, woodworking, metalwork and glass, under several categories of craft production: "Crafts for a living," "The Domestic Economy [*sic*]," "Leisure activities," "General craft education and therapy" and "Community projects." Flood observes that a disproportionate amount of the craft activities reported in these sources consisted of women's textile arts. Although these were undervalued in

the public realm, in the domestic realm they were used to destruction. These two factors combine to explain why they rarely survive in museum collections (pp. 101-103).

Chapter 4 examines the relationship between craft makers, women's organizations and government departments in efforts to promote, perpetuate, exhibit and market handcrafts. Set within the general framework of the Arts and Crafts Movement, these disparate groups joined coalitions and developed various networks to achieve mutually satisfactory goals. Yet, the potential for exploitation continually lurked below the surface discourse on economic development. Detailed case studies of individual production, promotion and marketing initiatives show that there was a very fine line between home crafts and industrial piecework (p. 105). Typically, a person of cosmopolitan or urban experience organized a group of local producers to manufacture products that were subtly altered from their original rural and/or ethnic forms to suit urban consumer tastes. Whereas humanitarian motives were characteristic of volunteer craft organizations, they too were compelled to tailor the products of the craft workers they represented to conform to market standards. Investigations of the Saskatoon Arts and Crafts Society and the Canadian Handcrafts Guild (CHG) illustrate the tensions inherent in these organizations' desire to preserve "authentic" craft and to promote its production as an economically viable occupation.

Beginning in 1910, the CHG received modest government grants in support of their craft exhibitions. During the 1920s and 1930s, local women's organizations partnered with provincial Departments of Agriculture in a variety of craft promotion initiatives. At the commencement of World War II, the federal government sponsored an investigation of craft activities that included both consultation with international experts and surveys of Canadian craft activities. The first of its major findings was that "*Canada appears to be alone*, among the larger nations of the world, in not having so far established a *national service* to encourage useful characteristic hand art and craft activities" (Russell Report, p. 156, underlined in the original). Nevertheless, the federal government responded by downloading the responsibility for craft promotion to the provincial governments and the volunteer organizations.

Chapter 5 documents the role of educational institutions in fostering the development of a class of professional craftspeople. Flood examines eight institutions that offered courses or programs in crafts within either vocational and technical, or arts and design, departments and specialized schools. Although these programs aspired to train people as professional artists to work closely with the manufacturing industries, evidence suggests that most of the graduates did not expect or intend to use the skills for a career. Nevertheless, the programs were "flourishing in the post-war boom at mid-century," and many graduates became instructors and/or studio craftspeople (p. 211). Flood compiled a database of the names of Canadian studio craftspeople working during the first half of the 20th century. Where possible, she gathered biographic information on individuals whom she discusses with regard to "Class and education," "Income generation," "Self-concept," "Studios," "Exhibitions," "Associations" and "Canadian craft." The institutional milieu of studio craftspeople was "predominantly British" (p. 239), and their "educational level, class and social milieu" was close to that of craft advocates and museum curators (p. 243).

Chapter 6 deals with Canadian museum practice in relation to crafts, giving particular attention to the findings of the Miers-Markham Report (1932) and the Massey Report (1949-51), both of which were undertaken on a national scale. The former identified only four decorative arts collections in Canadian museums. The report also revealed that the total income for all Canadian museums was approximately $550 000 when London, UK, museums alone spent over $5 000 000 annually (p. 246). Canadian national museums were additionally challenged by the economic demands of World War I and the burning of the parliament buildings in 1916, which necessitated the closing of the National Museums complex for five years while the government resided in its building (p. 246). For the period covered by this report, Flood examines in detail the collaboration between the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts and the CHG, the activities of Marius Barbeau at the National Museum of Canada (NMC), the collections of the Ukrainian Museum of Canada and the role of Alice Webster in the handcraft collection of the New Brunswick Museum.

The Russell Report of 1949-51 observed that government support had worsened since the Miers-Markham Report. At this time, the annual budget of the NMC was $177 500, as compared to the $1 062 737 annual budget of comparable Smithsonian departments (p. 274). The report found that museums across the country were losing collections due to improper storage facilities and lack of curatorial staff. Nevertheless, the Massey Commission was overwhelmed by the voluntary submission of 44 reports from organizations and individuals that documented a wide variety of craft activities. These findings confirm that craft activity was largely conducted by private individuals, groups and corporate patrons, with little aid from any of the levels of government. Interestingly, contemporary handcrafts, particularly the work of studio craftspeople, was lost in the transfer of collections from these private sources to public museums, presumably because the latter favoured "historical" specimens (p. 283).

This book is certainly a pioneering work in a previously unexplored and important field of Canadian history. Yet, it could have been improved in a number of respects. First, this book confirms the admonitions of other publishers not to publish unedited dissertations. Interest and clarity are impeded by awkward and incorrect sentence structure throughout the book. As well, although Flood examined craft collections, the book includes neither descriptions nor illustrations of Canadian craft work. This omission detracts from the book's

potential to redress the lack of government and museum support that it documents. It neither preserves and promotes Canadian crafts, nor demonstrates the scholarly value of material culture collections. Finally, although nationalism is a constant theme of the craft writers Flood cites, her analysis does not refer to the critical discourse on nationalism that would have explained the central role it played in the Canadian craft movement, as well as the failure of the Canadian government to support these efforts to foster national culture. Nevertheless, the book has great value as a research resource. Flood excels in the compilation of a body of otherwise obscure data. Her coverage of the histories of craft organizations, agricultural fairs and craft instruction, as well as her account of government apathy towards museums and national culture, are original and comprehensive. The questions posed and the data presented are invaluable contributions to museum scholarship. Let us hope that this work will stimulate further inquiry into related questions that are of major significance not only to the craft and museum communities, but also to the Canadian nation as a whole.

Anna Grimshaw, *The Ethnographer's Eye: Ways of Seeing in Modern Anthropology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, xiii + 222 pages (paper).

Reviewer: *William Rodman*
McMaster University

This is a book as much about ways of knowing as ways of seeing. It is a volume appropriate to the first years of the new millennium, because it carries forward in innovative new directions some of the themes and theoretical advances that emerged during the crisis in representation in the late 1980s and 1990s. In the long wake of Clifford and Marcus's *Writing Culture*, mainstream anthropology remains largely a discipline dominated by words. Anna Grimshaw, a leading British visual anthropologist, seeks a shift in focus from emphasis on the construction of the anthropological text, toward perceptions of the ethnographer's eye and a new way of seeing in contemporary anthropology. She seeks to move anthropology beyond writing culture, toward seeing culture.

The overarching theme of Grimshaw's book is "how visual techniques and technologies have rendered problematic all aspects of anthropology" (p. 89). Her starting point is anthropology's ambivalence concerning vision as a primary source of knowledge. On the one hand, anthropology is ocularcentric: it privileges vision as a means of knowing the world. Fieldwork, for example, is premised on the idea of "seeing" things for ourselves—"I-Witnessing," in Geertz's well-known play on words. Yet anthropologists also tend to be iconophobic, distrustful of images, ever-aware of the possibilities that the truth of images may be illusory, or, at best, partial.

The author relates the history of visual anthropology to broader histories—of cinema, of theory in anthropology. Considering the short length of her book, Grimshaw performs well the difficult task of capturing the grand flow and sweep of anthropology during the last century, from romantic and humanist engagement with the world in the first decades of the 20th century, to consolidation and retreat into specialization in the postwar era, to re-engagement with the world in the new age of participatory, collaborative anthropology. She presents visual anthropology as an unsettling reminder of some of the most difficult and complex questions that lie at the heart of much current anthropological practice. How does what we see give rise to what we think we know? How do our visions of the world inform our claims to ethnographic authority? What are the limits of truth in still photography and film?

Grimshaw has organized her book in an artful way. She conceives of the form of her book as an attempt to strike a balance between two cinematic techniques, montage and mise-en-scene. Montage is a technique based on the idea of radical juxtaposition, a new whole produced from edited fragments. She uses the metaphor of mise-en-scene, or "staging," as a scholarly and substantive balance to creative, intuitive, heady montage. Mise-en-scene implies context, composition, situated knowledge, thick description, and totality of design. In the four chapters in part 1 of her book (the "montage" section), she discusses a film-maker and an anthropologist in the context of each other's work and times: Lumiere and Haddon, Griffith and Rivers, Flaherty and Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown and Grierson. From these unlikely pairings come some extraordinary insights, such as her provocative but well-argued claim that W.H.R. Rivers' genealogical diagrams owe more to Cubist paintings than to representations of family trees. She also shows how the ideas and techniques of film pioneers Auguste and Louis Lumiere influenced the use of film in the first great fieldwork expedition, Haddon's 1898 expedition to the Torres Straits. Then she goes on to make the highly original argument that D.W. Griffith, the innovative director of *Birth of a Nation*, changed the direction of anthropology, as well as cinema. Griffith "shattered the camera's static pose" (p. 25), and, by so doing, freed Rivers and, later, Malinowski to create a kind of research in which the vantage point of ethnographer's eye is located at the center of the action, in the complex, ever-changing drama of village life. The waxing and waning of romanticism in anthropology is of particular interest of Grimshaw. She clearly prefers the work of scholars and filmmakers she perceives as animated by the romantic impulse (the director Robert Flaherty and Malinowski, and in the postwar era, Jean Rouch) to those—such as Radcliffe-Brown and the documentary filmmaker John Grierson—whose work derives from an enlightenment vision of the world. She values revelation, "the transformation of commonplace understandings" (p. 45), over illumination, which emerges from the enlightenment project and appeals to the intellect more than the senses and emotions.

Part 2 of *The Ethnographer's Eye*—the "mise-en-scene" section—opens with an integrative chapter entitled "Cinema and Anthropology in the Postwar World." Here, she relates the rise of documentary film-making to the consolidation of academic anthropology in the postwar era. Grimshaw then devotes three chapters to individual anthropologists who also are important filmmakers: Jean Rouch, David and Judith MacDougall, Melissa Llewelyn-Davies. These case-studies are self-contained essays, but they also extend Grimshaw's main arguments concerning vision and the nature of anthropological knowledge. This section of the book is notable not only for her discussions of the careers of anthropological filmmakers, but also for her insights into particular films of anthropological importance. She exposes, for example, the hidden layers of subjectivity in Rouch's *Les Maitres Fou*, and the beginnings of politicized, participatory cinema in the MacDougalls' *Turkana Trilogy*. The final chapter concerns the emergence of anthropological television, in which Melissa Llewelyn-Davies played a key role. Grimshaw regards Llewelyn-Davies' films on Maasai women as important because "they present to the viewer the world of women as they experience and describe it to a woman anthropologist" (p. 155). Her television films also are important because they reach a mass audience and achieve the goal of presenting ethnographic materials to a mass audience without popularizing or oversimplifying her case studies.

I have two criticisms of Grimshaw's fine book. First, she uses cinematic principles (montage, mise-en-scene) in the presentation of her ideas, and asks the reader to "engage in the book with a cinematic sensibility" (p. xi). She asks this, but provides no illustrations—no non-textual, purely visual points of reference in her book. Illustrations would have enhanced her book and advanced her argument. To cite one specific example, Grimshaw points to the "strikingly visual quality of Malinowski's texts" and calls him "the most *painterly*" of all the classic ethnographers (p. 45, italics in original). Yet she provides neither examples of what she finds visual in Malinowski's work, or illustrations that might lend support to her contention that he is "painterly." In fact, parts of some of Malinowski's books could be construed as both painterly and visual (the opening chapters of *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* are a good example) but Grimshaw does not provide evidence of this: she merely asserts the link between the visual and the textual in Malinowski's work.

My second criticism concerns the way Grimshaw ends her book. The book ends, surprisingly, not with conclusions, but with nothing more than a two-page epilogue. Here, there is no summing up or binding together of the threads of her argument. Instead, in her epilogue, she asserts that *The Ethnographer's Eye* is "a manifesto. It seeks to establish a new agenda for visual anthropology" (p. 172). Does Grimshaw claim too much for her work? Perhaps. There is no doubt that she is a scholar of major importance in the new visual anthropology, but she speaks for herself, and not on behalf of some group, except perhaps readers willing to convert to her point of view. The elements of the book that might be counted as a manifesto are not developed in a systematic manner. Grimshaw's book is less a coherent manifesto than a work of elegant and accessible scholarship: her insights into the past and present of ethnographic cinema are stunning, and she articulates a vision concerning the role of vision in the future of anthropology. As the title of her book implies, she is best regarded as a seer.

Omer C. Stewart, *Forgotten Fires: Native Americans and the Transient Wilderness* (edited and with introductions by Henry T. Lewis and M. Kat Anderson), Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002, xi + 364 pages (cloth).

Reviewer: *Marc Pinkoski*
University of Victoria

Forgotten Fires: Native Americans and the Transient Wilderness, Omer Stewart's posthumously published opus on Indian fire burning practices, is a curious and fascinating book. Given the rise of uncontrollable brush fires throughout the world, the book contains a breadth of study on a timely topic that is unparalleled in either anthropology or environmental studies. The quite remarkable facts of the book, however, are that the bulk of it was written almost five decades ago, and that Stewart's demonstration of the humanity of Native Americans, through the technology and knowledge of fire burning practices, is a prescient depiction of Indian agency that many more recent accounts still do not recognize.

The book is divided into four sections. The first is a co-authored introduction written jointly by the editors, Henry Lewis and M. Kat Anderson. This introduction details the history of the book, and why it was originally rejected for publication. It also outlines a cogent argument for the continued relevancy of the material, dated though it may be, by presenting the text as a historic document. The primary function of the introduction is to situate the book within the anthropological and ecological literature as a forerunner to challenges of the perception that Native Americans were benign agents in their landscape, and emphasise that they were, and continue to be, makers of and participants in the environment. The editors offer as a final contribution of the book the necessity for management officials to reconsider the role of burning practices in the recent and long-term history of the North American landscape. They argue that Native American agency in controlling, caring for, and managing lands through various forms of traditional ecological knowledge has a deeply rooted history in the ecology of the continent.

The next two sections round out the editors' introduction to the text by offering a critique of the original monograph and situating it in a contemporary context of both anthropol-

ogy and ecology. Lewis, writing the anthropological critique, points out that fire burning practices did not fall under the normal anthropological ethno-science examinations. He surmises the reason for this omission is due to the perception of hunter-gatherers as having little or no effect on their environments. Lewis also alludes to the fact that Stewart's difficulties in publishing the text may have come from his theoretical and political orientation, one which led him into direct conflict with Julian Steward as an expert witness in Indian land claim cases. Although this is a contentious statement, Lewis does offer reasoned support for it, and there is no doubt that Stewart's description of Native American's relationship to the environment attributed a greater agency than the theory of either Leslie White or Julian Steward—both of whom Lewis points to as representative of the dominant trend in anthropological theory in the 1950s and 60s in studies of ecology. Lewis asserts that Stewart's theoretical orientation, and the conclusions that he drew from it, were out of step with many of his contemporaries. For this reason alone, and given Stewart's success at the Indian Claims Commission hearings at the expense of Julian Steward and his cohort, his work is worthy of greater examination.

Anderson's ecological critique puts forward an argument similar to Lewis'. Anderson insists that most ecologists base their formulations on premises that counter to the idea that "Indians shaped the ecology of certain plant communities with fire" (p. 41). Further, she contends that if this initial premise is questioned, then much of the theoretical framework of ecologists is completely undermined. Anderson asserts that the implications of Stewart's contribution to the understanding of ecology has been far from realized, and that an appreciation of the role of Indigenous Peoples in shaping the environment will lead to a greater understanding of both the history and ecology of landscapes. This knowledge, in turn, could effect the management of resources today.

The bulk of the text—approximately 300 pages—is a tremendous collection of Indigenous burning practices across the United States. Stewart examines the literature by geographic area, and compiles the known literature for each part of the country. The text proper is encyclopaedic in form, lacking a strong narrative structure. This characteristic makes it a difficult book to read; however, as a resource its massive collection of citations and synthesis of published materials makes it a highly original and useful contribution to the discipline. Quite simply, for those interested in burning practices in general, Indigenous burning practices, and ecology, this book becomes more than a historic text or curiosity. It is an unparalleled collection detailing Indigenous involvement in altering the environment through the use of burning practices. It is worth noting that the text has a unique citation and reference style, which is a bit cumbersome, but manageable; coupled with the extensive index, the text is quite easy to negotiate.

I see two errors in the introduction from the editors. In her discussion of the long-term involvement in ecological practices, Anderson suggests that Indigenous Peoples might have such a depth in history that they are, in fact, natural to the ecological setting. Specifically, she says, "...that Indian manipulations may have occurred long enough in an area to be considered part of the normal environment of a vegetation type" (pp. 51-52). This naturalization of Native Americans does appreciate their agency, but at the same time conflates Indigenous practices with nature rather than society. In so doing, Anderson, no doubt unintentionally, seems to create a dichotomy between "modern humans" and Indigenous disturbances in the landscape. The possibility of such an understanding is enhanced by the fact that Anderson uses language that could be interpreted to fall into the same rhetorical frame that Lewis and Stewart both rail against in their depiction of burning practices. I believe the language within which she casts this interpretation would have been more faithful to Stewart's argument had it referred to Indigenous practices as having an *historic* sociology, with depth in time and breadth in knowledge. Certainly this latter interpretation is more congruous with the themes addressed in the rest of the book.

It is important to document the history of this area of anthropology and of this author. Stewart, as Lewis asserts, generated the most articulate and successful counter position to one of the most important anthropologists of the 20th century, Julian Steward. Knowing more about Omer Stewart is valuable on several levels. His applied anthropology and his appreciation for Indigenous agency, including burning practices, is an under-appreciated part of the history of anthropology. Lewis and Anderson deserve credit for their work in preserving this text, and ensuring its publication.

Jean-Claude Muller : « *Les rites initiatiques des Dìì de l'Adamaoua (Cameroun)* », Nanterre, Société d'ethnologie, 2002, 129 pages.

Recenseur : *Serge Genest*
Université Laval

Les Dìì regroupent environ 50 000 personnes vivant principalement dans le périmètre de la préfecture de Tcholliré, dans la province de l'Adamaoua au Cameroun. Depuis le début des années 1990, Jean-Claude Muller a séjourné à plusieurs reprises dans cette population et a livré le fruit de ses analyses dans diverses publications. Cette courte monographie sur les rites initiatiques des Dìì s'inscrit dans la foulée des nombreux thèmes de réflexion privilégiés par Muller.

Le premier chapitre donne des précisions sur divers aspects des rites de circoncision et montre les liens qui sont tissés entre le pouvoir de la chefferie et ces rites.

La deuxième partie du texte aborde plus spécifiquement les événements qui entourent la préparation des futurs initiés au rite de circoncision, la dynamique sociale (familiale et

villageoise) mise en branle par l'annonce de cet événement et, finalement, l'opération proprement dite. L'auteur s'appuie sur la description d'une cérémonie datée de septembre 1991 comme illustration d'un cas-type de rite de circoncision dans cette population. Le lecteur est convié à une présentation ethnographique qui aborde par le menu toutes les activités liées à la circoncision proprement dite.

Le troisième chapitre décrit en détails les différentes étapes de la période de «renaissance», i.e. de réclusion/convalescence qui suit la circoncision. Elle dure le temps nécessaire à la cicatrisation du pénis de tous les initiés.

Le propos de Muller montre que la circoncision constitue un élément central de l'identité dìì depuis des temps immémoriaux et qu'elle continuera de le faire dans l'avenir puisque ces rites initiatiques se maintiennent en assimilant divers changements. Ainsi, certaines familles conduisent leur enfant à l'hôpital pour y être circoncis sans que cette façon de faire n'empêche le garçon de s'inscrire au camp d'initiation comme tous les autres. Plusieurs autres transformations ont également cours, par exemple «l'individualisation croissante du processus de la circoncision» (p. 43), amenant des parents à faire circoncire leur enfant à la maison. Dans de tels contextes, le caractère autrefois communautaire de cette pratique a déjà commencé à subir des modifications en profondeur.

Les pages (pp. 107-110) consacrées à la mise en rapport de la circoncision avec la «pseudo-excision», que Muller identifie également comme «tiraillement du clitoris» (p. 108) et leur interprétation qui s'éclaire davantage dans le rapport des Dìì avec leurs voisins Gbaya nous fait passer, en fin de parcours, de la description ethnographique centrée sur la circoncision à une interprétation ethnologique plus large des variations sur les thèmes de la circoncision et de l'excision, des rapports entre les sexes et de la circoncision comme «un indicateur de genre qui produit et perpétue la séparation entre les hommes et les femmes» (p. 121).

Les paragraphes de conclusion servent à aborder la question plus générale des transformations qui sont apparues dans les rites de circoncision pratiqués par les Dìì. C'est alors l'occasion pour Muller d'insister sur la persistance de cette pratique comme marqueur identitaire malgré les changements qu'elle a connus depuis quelques décennies. Elle contiendrait même, dans ses manifestations actuelles, une résurgence de l'identité dìì devant les forces mondiales de dé-localisation.

Pourtant, plusieurs indices des modifications apparues au fil des années et présentées dans cette monographie laissent davantage penser que nous sommes face à une rupture définitive avec des coutumes déjà passées dont l'ethnographe vient nous livrer une dernière photographie. La description ethnographique de l'anthropologue prendrait ainsi l'allure d'un témoignage à valeur historique des derniers sursauts de pratiques communautaires largement modifiées, laissant anticiper leur dissolution comme phénomène social, malgré la persistance de cette pratique.

Une remarque de détail en terminant. L'usage abondant que Muller fait de la transcription phonétique des termes et des expressions de la langue dìì aurait mérité une présentation des clés du système phonétique utilisé par l'auteur en début ou en fin de texte.

Susan Greenhalgh, *Under the Medical Gaze: Facts and Fictions of Chronic Pain*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.

Reviewer: *Sam Migliore*
Kwantlen University College

Under the Medical Gaze is an interesting and thought provoking book. Susan Greenhalgh's personal and intimate account of her experiences with biomedicine and specific members of the medical profession makes an important contribution to medical anthropology, feminist and gender studies, and the relatively new field of autoethnography. It is the type of book that should appeal to academics, the general public and, it is hoped, medical professionals.

Greenhalgh begins with the usual review of literature and discussion of theory. The reader soon discovers, however, that *Under the Medical Gaze* is anything but a traditional academic text. Greenhalgh takes chances and experiments with the narrative. She displays courage, for example, in presenting a narrative that delves deeper into her personal feelings, psyche and medical condition(s), and provides a much more detailed account of her interactions with medical professionals than most academics would feel comfortable discussing publicly. In the process, Greenhalgh succeeds in providing us with an insider's shifting account(s) of the pain, desires and troubling doubts people may experience due to the medical diagnosis (misdiagnosis), prognosis, and treatment of chronic conditions such as fibromyalgia. She also succeeds in demonstrating the potentially negative effects a diagnosis/misdiagnosis can have on a person's self-image and mental health. The book does not provide an account of how the medical professionals themselves viewed their interactions with Greenhalgh but, to her credit, she acknowledges this and attempts to address some of the limitations of the narrative.

In terms of style, the author experiments with the narrative presentation. She distinguishes between Susan Greenhalgh, the anthropologist and author of the text, and S., the patient who diligently recorded the everyday notes that made the text possible. Although I suspect that the distinction between the "I" and the "she" facilitated the actual writing of the book, it left me wondering about the usefulness of discussing autoethnography in terms of a divided "self" (a portion of which, according to the author, no longer exists except for the notes left behind). My personal bias is that autoethnography is one means by which anthropologists can open the

door to include their subjective feelings and experiences into the study of some phenomenon, not to create an objective "self" that one can step away from for analytical purposes.

In terms of content, reading Greenhalgh's narrative reminded me of a Sicilian story I heard several years ago. Although the story loses something when condensed and presented in translation, it may be worthwhile summarizing here:

> One evening, during the family meal, a fisherman felt a tinge of pain in his throat. He suspected that he had swallowed a small fish bone but, since the pain was not severe, he continued with his regular activities. The pain, however, persisted, so the man visited the doctor for help. Following the local custom, he brought a gift for the doctor, some fresh fish. The examination did not reveal anything amiss. The doctor recommended that the man eat and drink things that would be soothing to the throat, and to return within a week.
>
> The pain did not go away; in fact, the man had to visit the doctor repeatedly over the next several weeks. Then, one day, the doctor was away on business. The doctor's daughter, a newly trained physician, examined the man and discovered the tiny fish bone lodged in his throat. After some struggle, she removed the bone.
>
> When her father returned to the office, the daughter enthusiastically related what had transpired. The doctor sadly replied: "we have eaten our last fish."

Through humour, people acknowledge the fact that medical professionals have a vested interest in *sickness* and *suffering*. This is precisely one of the points Greenhalgh addresses in the book. Medical practice, and biomedicine in general, is not free of cultural values and self-interest.

Greenhalgh, however, goes well beyond this point. She does not treat herself as simply a victim of biomedicine and a specific medical practitioner (Dr. D.). Greenhalgh makes it clear that she played an active role not only in her interactions with medical professionals, but also her interactions with family members, alternative medicine, the medical literature, and various aspects of popular culture. At the same time, it also is clear that this interaction process (especially those interactions with Dr. D.) was sometimes fraught with inequality. One of the strengths of the book is Greenhalgh's ability to document how the culture of biomedical practice can place women at a disadvantage in dealing with male medical doctors.

Finally, *Under the Medical Gaze* addresses the notion that although the biomedical stories practitioners construct may provide a basis for medical treatment and relief of suffering, they can also generate pain and suffering. The story one chooses to represent the "truth" does make a difference in terms of a patient's overall health and well-being.

Under the Medical Gaze is a welcome addition to the ever growing literature in medical anthropology. It would make an excellent choice as a text for both undergraduate and graduate courses.

Regna Darnell, *Invisible Genealogies: A History of Americanist Anthropology*, Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2001, xxvii + 373 pages.

Reviewer: *Naomi McPherson*
Okanagan University College

There is a "rhetoric of discontinuity" among contemporary anthropologists that renders invisible the intellectual genealogies of American anthropology, particularly in relation to "Franz Boas and his first generation of students" (p. xiv). Darnell brilliantly and convincingly argues that, regardless of where they did fieldwork, all North American-trained anthropologists are Americanists who take as givens the theoretical, methodological and ethnographic heritage of the Boasian tradition—culture in the plural, participant observation fieldwork, the cross-cultural study of meaning, the collection of ethnographic and linguistic texts, relativity and relativism, anti-racism—concepts foreshadowing contemporary "feminist, postcolonial, and postmodern interests in narrative, dialogue, and standpoint" (p. xviii). Darnell's own intellectual genealogy connects her to the Boasians through Frederica de Laguna, Boas's last doctoral student and Darnell's first anthropology teacher, and from her first anthropology textbook, Kroeber's *Anthropology* (1948 edition), to her dissertation (1969) on the early history of Americanist anthropology. Darnell's own corpus of work (nearly 50 entries in the bibliography), is grounded in long-term ethnographic and linguistic collaboration with the Plains Cree of northern Alberta and a career-long study of the history of Americanist anthropology. This deep and abiding understanding of the Americanist tradition richly informs this "discursive essay" which is both ethnography and a "serious critique of contemporary anthropology...theory and practice in the context of history" (p. xxiii).

The introduction, "The Invisibility of Americanist Genealogies," begins to reveal the intellectual continuities in contemporary, postmodern anthropological practice through a normative list of "distinctive features of the Americanist Tradition" which go to the heart of the anthropological endeavour theoretically, methodologically and ethically. Readers may well find themselves, perhaps surprisingly, acknowledging with Darnell that "The basic premises of the Americanist tradition are for me, not negotiable" (p. 23).

The first five chapters explore the work and key contributions of the core Boasians—Boas, Kroeber, Sapir, Whorf and Benedict—but this is no mere chronology of anthropological begats; rather, it is a nuanced, layered and critical analysis of the Americanist tradition and its continuity with contemporary anthropological practice. For example, Darnell points out that the two theoretically central Boasian concepts, the "analytic discreteness of race, language and culture...[and] the relativism and historical contingency of cultural categories...have been so thoroughly incorporated into North American anthropological praxis that they now

appear trivial and unproblematic" (p. 37). The oft-repeated charge that Boas was not a theoretician is soundly refuted and we are treated to a penetrating analysis of the estrangement that grew between Boas and Sapir whose "approach attacked the core of anthropological method and theory... questioning the very premises upon which Boas's own anthropology rested" (p. 65). These differences culminated in the separation of linguistics from anthropology and the primacy of cultural anthropology, rather than ethnology, as definitively Americanist.

After Boas's death, Kroeber became the centre of Americanist anthropology and his concept of the superorganic, of culture as a creation of the mind, and of non-individualistic ideas transmitted socially rather than biologically reflect clearly the anti-reductionist Boasian paradigm. Kroeber's engagement with these concepts "have proved more interesting than his answers" (p. 89), as he was intuitively grappling with problems of order and individual agency which contemporary analyses explore within complexity theory, fractals and chaos theory. During Kroeber's lifetime, the Boasian paradigm began to fracture, but the debate "over reenvisioning culture continues", and his "concept of the superorganic refuses to go away" (p. 102). Chapter three returns to Sapir's revisions of Boasian theory and his challenges to Kroeber's "reification of culture and marginalization of individual agency" (p. 106). Correspondence between Kroeber and Sapir is revealing of the restrained conflict between them. Darnell spends some energy elucidating the Boasian concept of "standpoint" which is glossed as the position of the anthropological observer and the "Native point of view," and linked to a generalized concept of "cultural relativism" (pp. 112-113). While Sapir's pioneering projects and funding for the development of an interdisciplinary social science were never realized, they became the seeds of a "genuine interdisciplinarity...today around the so-called postmodernist turn" (p. 135). Darnell's critical reading and familiarity with Sapir, his work and his era, leads her to reflect that today "Sapir's vision guides us away from the nihilism and rhetorical short-sightedness for which the self-styled postmodernists in anthropology have been extensively chastised, both within the discipline and outside it" (p. 135).

Chapter 4, "Philosophizing with the 'Other'," explores the work of Paul Radin whose *Primitive Man as Philosopher* is not only "a minor masterpiece of the Americanist tradition" (p. 139) but has "renewed resonance today for the critique of representation, reassessment of linguistic relativity, and examination of the ethical implications of cross-cultural field research" (p. 148). Radin "assumed that cultural facts did not speak for themselves" and "revamped analysis toward interpretation rather than explanation" (p. 149). Darnell engages Radin's position to enter into a critical dialogue with contemporary philosophizing on issues such as representation, thought, reflexivity, and ways of knowing, to conclude that "There is no reason other than ethnocentrism, often manifested as a failure to listen, to envision a culture in which such interactions [philosophical conversations and speculations] fail to occur" (p. 168).

Seminal to Boasian anthropology are the concepts of "Linguistic Relativity and Cultural Relativism", and in chapter 5 we are given another look at the "complex, intriguing, [and] thoroughly misread" Whorf, and Benedict—the "key figure in moving the Boasian program from the study of cultural traits to their articulation into cultural wholes" (p. 195). Chapter 6 explores "The Challenge of Life Histories" and the (I think, under-appreciated) work of Elsie Clews Parsons. Life histories "exacerbated problems of observer bias" (p. 213) and attempted to capture the "phenomenological reality of life" (p. 218) in another culture by allowing "the 'other' to speak," thus moving toward a genuinely dialogic anthropology (p. 225) and experimental ethnographic writing (p. 226). The Sapirian "integration of ethnography and *belles lettres*, and questions of representation and a dialogic anthropology are posed, if not answered, "in terms entirely intelligible today" (p. 229).

The theme of "experimental ethnographic formats" (p. 273) is developed in chapter seven where Darnell postulates "a continuity of intention and method extending from Hallowell's ethnography to the work of contemporary Native American writers to the anthropologically informed science fiction of Kroeber's daughter Ursula Le Guin to generic experiments by humanistically oriented contemporary anthropologists" (p. 242). For me, this chapter sings while hitting the hard notes of the anthropological enterprise: "the ethics and epistemology of cross-cultural representations" (p. 242), the fascination with—rather than the threat of—alternative world views (p. 260), the commensurability of relativity and relativism through immersion in fieldwork and how "Cross-cultural understanding entails a double hermeneutic and embraces it as methodological breakthrough rather than crippling tautology (as it appears to philosophers)" (p. 262).

A radical rhetoric of discontinuity implies a postmodernism without modernist roots and chapter eight, "Will the Real Americanists Please Stand?" analyses the work of Levi-Strauss, Geertz and especially contributors to *Writing Culture* whose "self-proclaimed experimentalism...masks substantial underlying continuity" (p. 298) with the Americanist tradition. Truly, one needn't claim Boas and his students were "postmodernists ahead of their time, only that their characteristic trains of thought continue to be refracted though contemporary experiments" (p. 281). Darnell shows convincingly how intellectual genealogies are made invisible in the interests of innovation which masks the lengthy and complex engagement of anthropology with "relativism, realism, and ethnographic representation" (p. 303). Finally, in "Reconstructing the Metanarrative of Anthropology" Darnell calls anthropologists to account for the misrepresentations of our discipline in the pubic forum, for conveying what we know as anthropologists and for the future direction of our discipline through recovering previous continuities.

There is much to consider carefully here, especially the discussion of identity politics and standpoint epistemology. As a Melanesianist, I appreciate the polysemous statement that "Anthropologists are people who care about people and their pigs" (p. 334); as an academic, I am keenly aware (and disappointed) that "the contemporary Americanist discourse about fieldwork ethics confirms that the rest of our colleagues in the other social sciences still have their heads in the sand" (p. 332).

This beautifully written gem of a book, the first volume in the series *Critical Studies in the History of Anthropology* co-edited by Darnell and Stephen O. Murray, makes refreshing, insightful and critical contributions to the history and theory of contemporary anthropology. This text is destined to be a classic in our discipline.

Edward F. Fischer, *Cultural Logics and Global Economies: Maya Identity in Thought and Practice*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001, xii + 320 pages (paper).

Reviewer: *Marilyn Gates*
Simon Fraser University

We (Westerners) tend to view the contemporary Maya with a romantic gaze, as remnants of a long-ago high culture. We think of majestic cities and temples shrouded in the rain forest, hieroglyphs guarding their secrets, such as the riddle of the sudden Classic Maya collapse. We see the descendants of these ancient Maya today as clinging to only vestiges of their illustrious past, glimpsed in stubbornly persistent languages, arcane religious ceremonies, time-tested agricultural practices, colourful costumes and other "folk" crafts, perfect for tourist souvenirs. Guatemala's relatively small Spanish-speaking ladino (non-Indian) elite, historically have viewed the Mayan majority through much less rose-coloured glasses, aiming at cultural assimilation in the nation-state under the modernization model of dependent capitalism, via "civilizing" and "educating" them, or "disappearing" those perceived as a threat to national security. Despite these concerted efforts, however, the Maya have not vanished, constituting one of the largest concentrations of indigenous peoples in the Americas. They are also one of the poorest and most divided. Edward Fischer argues that, paradoxically, the current surge of globalization provides a window of opportunity for marginalized and fractured ethnic groups such as the Maya to re-imagine and re-assert their cultural identity and distinctiveness vis-a-vis the dominant Hispanic society.

In *Cultural Logics and Global Economies: Maya Identity in Thought and Practice,* Edward Fischer explores the dynamics of ethnic-identity construction among the Guatemalan Maya in the new world-system context of postindustrial core countries and offshore production and assembly in the periphery. Drawing on recent theories in interpretive ethnography, cognitive studies, and political economy, Fischer applies a multilayered and finely textured analysis to tease out the international, national and local factors that have opened up new venues of pan-Mayan expression, especially since the waning of the civil war in the late 1980s and the rapid expansion of neoliberal free-market economic policies. Fischer maintains that these macro-level economic changes are "...closely correlated in time and space to the rise of identity politics and various forms of hyphenated nationalism in peripheral areas. Indeed, it appears that ethnicity has eclipsed the importance of class identity in stimulating struggles of resistance." (p. 24)

Fisher examines the apparently successful colonization of this postmodern identity space by uncovering the tensions and synergies that arise at the intersection of national pan-Maya identity politics and the lived experiences of Maya in the Kaqchikel towns of Tecpan and Patzun. Taking a constructionist stance, building on Bourdieu's model of the habitus and Giddens's theory of structuration, Fischer is able to navigate smoothly from the macro-level to the micro-level to show how open-ended "cultural logics" as shared predispositions linked both to the underlying cultural substrate and to a dynamic articulation with global relations of political economy condition the ways in which both Maya leaders and the rural masses creatively express their identity. Maya leaders seek to unite Indian groups long divided by rugged terrain, geographic rootedness and local custom in order to attain a greater political voice after centuries of oppression. However, they are constrained in the creation of a new pan-Maya identity by the need to stay true to cultural norms that emerge from everyday lived experiences, as idiosyncratic internalizations of received culture remain firmly embedded in broader cultural continuities and commonalities.

After reviewing the global and national processes which impinge on pan-Maya identity politics, Fischer zeros in on the movement itself and on Maya identity as lived experience in Tecpan and Patzun. There are chapters on souls, socialization, and the Kaqchikel self; heart, kin, and communities; local forms of ethnic resistance; and economic change and cultural community. We learn about contestations over cultural markers, such as the movement towards a pan-Maya language, the symbolic function of hieroglyphs in cultural activism, and the key role of Maya clothing in identity politics. Important sites and strategies of resistance are identified, such as communication media and Maya-oriented education. Ironically, beauty pageants have become a focal point of Maya activism at the local level, "...combining a concern with the beauty of authenticity (and the authenticity of beauty) with a public forum for expressing ethnic pride that would be interpreted by most outsiders as 'touristic' and 'folkloric' (and in that sense, nationalistic)" (p. 192). The impact of changes in the global political economy at the local level is strikingly evident in the example of Maya producers in Tecpan and Patzun who have profited from the nontraditional agricultural export production boom of the past 15

years on this fertile and temperate plain, bisected by the Pan-American Highway and only 75 kilometers from Guatemala City's international airport. Fragile hybrids including kohl crops and other speciality vegetables were unable to be grown competitively on the large (absentee ladino) commercial farms due to high labour and supervisory costs. However, they thrive on the smallholdings of Maya farmers, where local agricultural expertise and the tradition of household labour pays off. The result, then, of the introduction of new crops for the export market in Tecpan and Patzun, unlike many cases elsewhere, has been a more equitable distribution of resources along ethnic lines.

In the concluding chapter on convergent strategies and cultural logics, Fischer reminds us that at the beginning of his fieldwork he intended to document the constructed nature of Maya identity, and to show how this construction is influenced by contemporary political and economic conditions. Instead, he found that his informants tended to reassert the essential nature of their identity. Clearly, Maya identity today is much more than the product of counter-hegemonic resistance, as cultural logics are deployed in novel circumstances, maintaining an important sense of continuity in the face of change (p. 244). Thus, while the project of promoting a pan-Maya identity involves radical remapping of the ways in which millions of individuals view the world and their position in it, through adoption of linguistic innovations such as neologisms, generic dress, neotraditional use of ancient symbols, etc., this is far from being purely instrumental constructivism with an overriding political agenda. "Rather, it is the conscious and unconscious dialectical reconciliation of received cultural logics and changing real-world circumstances that both reproduces and alters cultural patterns... If culture is like a game, then it is as much Scrabble as Battleship, with actors building words and meanings not by tearing down the existing structure but by adding to it, and changing it indelibly" (pp. 247-248).

In sum, *Cultural Logics and Global Economies* is a theoretically sophisticated, in-depth study of the cultural identity politics of an indigenous people, which is a valuable contribution to not only Maya studies, but also to contemporary ethnography, particularly of the interpretive bent. Upfront about his research methods, positioning and a priori biases, Fischer gives a detailed and nuanced account of fieldwork as a process, not just a product, which is reflexive but does not deflect attention away from his subjects of inquiry. The organization of the book is tight and the exposition logically developed. The text flows quite well, and is expressed with a minimum of jargon, though the language is, of necessity, somewhat dense at times and undergraduate students might find some sections to be tough reading. Extracts from field notes and interviews with informants help to ground the argument in the lived experiences he intends to privilege. Perhaps, inclusion of more of these vignettes would have made the theoretical arguments more accessible to a broader audience. It is important to reach a wide readership with the message that the contemporary Maya are active and creative agents in the forging of evolving identities, rather than romantic relics of a dead civilization, or obstacles to "progress" by virtue of their lingering traditions, their "otherness."

Susantha Goonatilake, *Anthropologizing Sri Lanka: A Eurocentric Misadventure*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001, xiv + 306 pages.

Reviewer: *Karine Bates*
McGill University

In *Anthropologizing Sri Lanka* Susantha Goonatilake, a Sri-Lankan researcher cross-appointed to the New York Center for Studies of Social Change and the Vidyartha Centre in Colombo, Sri Lanka, reviews recent work on Sri Lanka by four renowned anthropologists affiliated with prestigious Western universities: Richard Gombrich (Oxford), Gananath Obeysekere (Princeton), Bruce Kapferer (London), and S.J. Tambiah (Harvard). Through a critical analysis of their works on Sinhala Buddhism, Goonatilake wishes to demonstrate these authors' Eurocentric biases and limited understanding of Sri Lanka's culture and society. Goonatilake sees in the works of Gombrich, Obeysekere, Kapkerer, and Tambiah a resurgence of a "virulent colonial anthropology in Sri Lanka" (p. xiv) and rebukes these authors for offering misinformed accounts of Sinhala Buddhism.

To develop his argument, Goonatilake has divided his book into five parts. First, he situates the anthropological research on Sri Lanka in the global context of the history of anthropology. In part 2, he reviews Gombrich's and Obeysekere's attempt to interpret Sinhala Buddhism with reference to Protestantism. Thirdly, he examines Kapferer's analysis of the central role of sorcery in Sinhala society. In part four, he presents Tambiah's study of fratricide. Finally, he focusses on the cultural and educational backgrounds of these experts on the anthropology of Sri Lanka. Therefore, what Goonatilake proposes is not only an analysis of anthropological research on Sri Lanka but also a study of the anthropologists themselves.

In part 1, Goonatilake describes the dominant and yet evolving theoretical landscape within which anthropological research tends to be framed. He begins with a reminder that much of current anthropological work is still based on Western models originating in 17th-century Europe. However, he also points to competing frameworks emerging in Asia and non-Western countries that seem to have had a growing impact not only on ways to conduct anthropological research but also on the ways in which anthropologists, especially those from Western countries, are perceived by the societies they purport to study. He also points out how the spread of Buddhism in Western countries may have impacted Western

thinking, much in the same way previous contacts between Europeans and Sri Lankans had changed Sri Lankan thinking. Emphasizing that Sri Lanka has never been isolated from foreign influence, Goonatilake concludes part one by questioning anthropological work on Sri Lankan society that fails to consider the many cross-influences between European and Sri-Lankan cultures and ways of thinking.

In chapters 2-5, the author analyzes the thesis of "Protestant Buddhism" proposed by Gombrich and Obeysekere. Goonatilake criticizes the methodology of the authors, as well as their knowledge of the contexts within which concepts of Protestantism and Buddhism have evolved and have been used. Richard Gombrich's book *Buddhist Precept and Practice* (1991) describes the study of a village in which Buddhist life is undisturbed by external influence and then transformed by the introduction of Protestantism by missionaries in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In Gombrich and Obeysekere's *Buddhism Transformed: Religious Change in Sri Lanka* (1988), the anthropologists based their study on Obeysekere's idea of Protestant Buddhism. For him, Protestant Buddhism consists in protest against the British and also in an integration of various characteristics of those colonizers. Protestant Buddhism has in turn been transformed through changes in class-based values.

Goonatilake highlights the Eurocentric biases apparent in Gombrich's conception of Buddhism, including common Western misunderstandings of Sri Lankan concepts such as *dukkha*. He also faults Gombrich for arriving at the conclusion—on rather scanty data—that Sri Lankan's practices and precepts of Buddhism are discrepant. As Goonatilake points out, is it not the case for every religion? Another problem with Gombrich and Obeysekere's perspective, according to Goonatilake, is that they have wrongfully explained subsequent transformation of "Protestant Buddhism" by mixing the term "protest" with "protestantism." All protests do not trace their philosophical or religious roots to Protestantism.

In part 3, Goonatilake presents what he perceives as another biased explanation of Sri Lankan society: Kapferer's work on practices of exorcism and sorcery. This object of study is not a problem in itself. Rather, as Goonatilake points out, the problem is the fact that Kapferer purports to explain every aspect of Sri Lanka's society by looking at only these two phenomena. Furthermore, in his second book *Legends of People, Myths of State: Violence, Intolerance and Political Culture in Sri Lanka and Australia* (1988), Kapferer mistakenly applies the theory of *Homo hierarchus* to explain ethnic problems, even though Dumont himself excluded Sri Lanka from his theory.

The fourth part deconstructs S.J. Tambiah's explanation of ethnic problems. The arguments against Tambiah are not always convincing and they often sound more like personal attacks. The general tone of chapters 9 and 10 is harsh, leaving the reader with more questions than answers.

Part 5 questions the expert status of Gombrich, Obeysekere, Kapferer and Tambiah. Goonatilake claims that these authors rely on secondary sources provided by a particular "cognitive matrix" composed of members of non-governmental organizations, institutions, and individual social scientists. Goonatilake questions the exclusive reliance on these informants given that they may not represent the views of the local people they study. Furthermore, last but not least, for Goonatilake their political orientations undermine their capacity to understand social problems. In particular, these informants may tend to approve of pro-Indian insurrections and hold political views that are at odds with many other Sri Lankans. Thus, he argues, relying solely on their perceptions and taking these at face value may undermine a researcher's capacity to understand social problems.

Goonatilake's book offers a troubling description of the works of well-known anthropologists. Some passages of the book are dismaying, and the reader may wonder whether there is any "valid" ethnographic account of Sri Lanka? For Goonatilake, the answer is apparently no. Although he considers some ethnographic descriptions acceptable, he does not deem the methodologies and insights proposed by the four authors to be appropriate. For him, their analyses tend to leave out important issues, such as the highly literate quality of Sri Lankan society, its national politics and economic realities. In addition, he doubts these authors' knowledge of Sri Lanka because of their limited proficiency in the local language and their excessive reliance on questionable secondary sources.

Given these reservations, it seems difficult to predict what is the future of the anthropology of Sri Lanka. The author claims that a non-Western sociology-anthropology has been elaborated mainly by Ralph Pieris and Laksiri Jayasuriya (who only published one article each) and himself (pp. 101-102).

Goonatilake raises interesting questions, but the evidence he proposes to back up his arguments are not always convincing. Given Goonatilake's claims to have a better understanding of Sri Lanka than the "experts" he derides, it would have been appropriate to introduce a self-reflective aspect of his own research. Also, when he claims that the anthropology of this country is at a dead end, providing the reader with possible research alternatives may have helped to tone down the author's rather harsh and polemical arguments. Presenting his own work and proposing alternatives would also have completed the sociology of anthropology of Sri Lanka that he presented in the last part of the book. Furthermore, the reader also has to keep in mind that the focus of the book is anthropological studies of Sinhalese Buddhist society, which means that Goonatilake leaves out other valuable contributions to anthropology by Gombrich, Obeysekere, Kapferer and Tambiah.

Overall, the arguments in the book are interesting as an illustration of the kind of critical analysis to which contemporary anthropologists may be submitted to. In that sense the book is instructive.

Winnie Lem and Belinda Leach (eds.), *Culture, Economy, Power: Anthropology as Critique, Anthropology as Praxis*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002, viii + 311 pages.

Reviewer: *Constance de Roche*
University College of Cape Breton

For Lem, Leach and crew, the anthropological mainstream has been flowing in the wrong direction for the past quarter century. CASCA (the Canadian Anthropology Society/ Société Canadien pour Anthropologie) has, for a decade, served as a port-of-call for this loose affiliation of colleagues who harbor discontentment with the post-modernist cloud and neo-liberal storm. On the wind of Marxist inspiration, they set out to a new materialist headland where culture once again can have feet. Their enterprise seeks "the implications...of considering culture as a phenomenon that is not sui generis, but [is] produced and reproduced in relation to political and economic forces" (p. 3). Thus class becomes reinstated as a key concept for capturing relational dynamics under conditions of globalized capitalism.

While eschewing later-day idealist anthropology, the volume is necessarily reflexive; its epistemological "point of departure" is the realization that doing anthropology entails choice-making and is thus "inherently a political act" (p. 3). Knowledge is always formulated on the tides of political-economic forces. Thus, part 1, "Nations and Knowledge" sets its sights on how those forces affect the production of anthropology itself. It opens with a treasure by Thomas Dunk, who trenchantly critiques recent attempts to root the absence of a distinctive Anglo-Canadian anthropology in the lack of a stable, uniform, Canadian national identity. Dunk offers instead a cogent analysis of how that anthropology was formed by "parameters of internal colonial [of First Nations] and neocolonial relationships [with the U.S. and Britain] (p. 31). Susana Narotsky continues the theme of how national and transnational power relations affect knowledge formation and dissemination. Her somewhat discursive contribution, which visits political-economic anthropology in Spain since the late Francoist years, includes a critique of American-centrism in the discipline, and concludes with a critique of works that ignore the "dialectical tension between doing and being that relates to the tension between structure and agency, in history" (p. 45). In another rare glimpse beyond the British/Anglo-American academic community, Guillermo de la Peña links anthropology to state discourses on Mexican nationalism and economic development. The text then returns to the domain of dominant academic powers with a chapter by William Roseberry, on how academic politics have impacted the fate of political economy in the U.S., and another by John Gledhill, on how the British state's journey to the ideological right is crippling the potential for a politically engaged, critical anthropology.

These fellow travellers do not ask us to go back to the future. There is nothing vulgar or old-fashioned about their materialism. It recognizes the complexities of power, and generally delivers on the promise to present "an interpretively sensitive approach to culture" (p. 3). These qualities are reflected, to one or another degree, in the dozen articles that comprise thematically overlapping parts 2 ("States and Subjects") and 3 ("Hegemonies and History").

One of the brightest gems in part 2 (indeed, in the volume) is Steve Striffler's analysis of how collective memory (of the 1962 worker take-over of Hacienda Tenguel in Ecuador) has been socially constructed, under conditions of state repression that mandate local collusion, to undermine the potential for popular struggle. Another (also on Ecuador) is A. Kim Clark's examination of how the hegemonic *process* plays out, as groups—including subordinated indigenous ones—manipulate an accepted "language of contention" to further their competing class interests. The part also contains: a less coherent effort by Claudia Vincenso to use retrospectives, of a downwardly mobile couple in a Spanish village, to show how class and community identity became reconfigured with changes in the project of the Spanish state; Michael Blim's detailed analysis of the debate on welfare reform within the Italian political left, since the 1991 Communist Party split; and a rhetorically elaborate valorization of the nation-state by Dipankar Gupta.

Part 3 is launched by an essay—much like Striffler's in cogency and content—by Gastón Gordillo, who shows how Tobas express ambivalence, about the experience of poverty and domination in the Argentinian state, in their reconstructions of pacification and in the contradictory images they hold of their ancestors. Equally fine (despite a truncated discussion of the complexities of gender hegemony) is Winnie Lem's explanation of how economic modernization created gender shifts in power and material interests that curtailed political activism among women in rural Languedoc. Belinda Leach picks up the important theme of flagging political activism. She connects a decline in militancy, among some Ontario unionists, to the ways they have construed their interests in a restructured economy. Organized labour's resistence to forces in the new economy is the focus of Pauline Gardiner Barber's piece on how class activism is expressed through family and community idioms in Cape Breton. The role of collective symbols in history and struggle is focus of a rather loosely integrated piece on economic change in the Bigouden region (of Brittany) by Charles Menzies. In a sense, the collection comes full circle in the closing piece on social identity (of place and work), by Gavin Smith, that discusses how scholars, through a process of selective perception, create and reify categories.

Admittedly, this work does not chart an entirely new course. As readers will have noted, many members of the company are veteran sailors, and they have not been alone. But while the volume may not serve as flagship, it is an effective part of the flotilla.

Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology, and Museums*, Oxford: Berg, 2001, 270 pages.
Corinne Kratz, *The Ones That Are Wanted: Communication and the Politics of Representation in a Photographic Exhibition*, Los Angeles: University of California Press., 2002, 307 pages.

Reviewer: *Julia Harrison*
Trent University

Edwards and Kratz engage their readers in stimulating narratives that challenge each of us to reflect on every photographic image that we know to be housed or exhibited in any museum or archive anywhere. Both books insist that the reader focus on what Edwards calls the "*punctum*, the inexplicable point of incisive clarity" of the photograph, and try to reflect *all* that one sees there (p. 1, italics in original). Elizabeth Edwards, as the Curator of Photographs at the Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford has spent several years "teaching critical theory of still photography...[and countless] hours, days, months...working with photographs, looking at photographs, talking about photographs, thinking about photographs and thinking about their relationship to history" (p. 1). In her book *Raw Histories* she examines "*specific* photographic *experiences*: how photographs and their making actually operated in the fluid spaces of ideological and cultural meaning" (p. 3, italics in original). Drawing on work on material culture, she explores the social biography of a range of 19th-century images, some taken on various early anthropological expeditions to the South Pacific, and others taken by British colonial officials in various parts of the empire. Her final two chapters focus on recent photographic exhibitions of two contemporary photographers, exploring how their works and installations push the reader to keep on looking at, or at least for, the *punctum* of any photograph, but particularly those that find their way into museum exhibitions and archival collections. Each chapter explores the social biography of a small number images framing them either as a form of intellectual currency between early anthropologists, or examining how when placed in museums and archives they "organized," "trophied" and thus made eminently visible the "exotica" world of the 19th century, or how such images become "the locus of historical power" somewhat ironically creating a space in which "alternative histories" (p. 101) can be explored. Such images, in Edwards' analysis, transform notions of space and temporality as they moved from "colonial encounter to anthropological document" (p. 123), as they became souvenirs, or in some cases, even as some resisted their very taking. Some remain forever in the *what if*, the subjunctive mood. All this is visible only if one looks beyond the image, recognizing the clarity of the *punctum*.

Corrine Kratz's book details the social biography of the images and the exhibition *Okeik Portraits* (as it was called in Kenya) or *A Kenyan People Look at Themselves* (as it was called in the United States). All the images in the exhibition were taken by Kratz during her years of fieldwork with the Okeik, some even being taken especially for the exhibition. Many were of her close friends and "family." The book's main title, *The Ones That Are Wanted*, is taken from a comment of one of her informants who knew full well that it was representations of the Okeik, dressed in traditional clothing suggesting they hovered close to Western notions of "primitive" that those in Nairobi and America would want to see. The Okeik, who live in west-central Kenya, were traditionally forest dwellers, who hunted and collected honey as their main subsistence. Today many are wage labourers, small scale farmers and cattle herders. It was their former lack of the latter that led groups such as the Maasai to consider the Okeik poor and backward. Kratz has worked with the Okeik since the late 1970s and has published extensively on her research. The exhibition arose from her desire to disseminate more knowledge of the Okeik to other Kenyans in an effort to challenge common derogatory stereotypes held of these forest people. In the process of fund raising for the exhibition, American venues were added to the tour. The first section of the book presents the images included in the exhibition and the text panels comprised of captions written by Kratz and commentaries (printed in both local languages and in English) made about the images by the Okeik people themselves. In chapter 2 Kratz details the processes by which the images were selected for the exhibition. She notes that her discussions with the Okeik "focused more on content, themes, and overall goals than on aesthetics and design" (p. 102). Those whose images were in the exhibit, however, never saw the actual exhibition in Nairobi as the contingencies of life intervened to prevent their travel. Kratz returned to the communities with an album of the images and elicited their commentaries which were added to the text panels for the American venues. Three chapters are devoted to "imagining" the audiences who saw the exhibitions in both Kenya and the United States. Kratz was conscious in developing the exhibition that she would have to address the specificity of the stereotypes and common knowledge of people such as the Okeik which were pervasive, yet different, in each country. In Kenya the exhibition showed at the National Museum and in the U.S. venues ranged from the National Museum of Natural History in Washington to smaller university art galleries and even academic departmental hallways. One of the most engaging chapters in the book is the discussion of the role of photographs in daily lives of the Okeik, and Kenyan nationals in general. We see that displays of photographs of important officials and family members, the owning of a camera, and the possession of an album of photographs which documents one's life and family are things greatly valued by the Okeik and others. Photographs are important symbolic referents for these people. In some of her commentary Kratz hints at where the *punctum* of these images lies for the Okeiks. Kratz made an attempt particularly for the final American venues, to document system-

atically visitor response to the exhibition. Her discussion of the dearth of good research on this subject, particularly the absence of good qualitative information, sets the stage for some valuable research projects.

Reading these two books one finds oneself feeling a little like Alice being lured through the looking glass to see the complexities that lie behind the sharp edges of any photograph. One begins in Kratz's gallery, moving towards one's favoured image in the room, and finds oneself at the end of Edwards' book having journeyed through time and space, being challenged to ask in many varied ways what one is actually seeing. Both books are very stimulating in this regard. One's personal focal length is carefully zoomed in and out as one moves through the pages and images of each book. Despite similarities in topics and themes the books are very different in many ways. Edwards draws her examples from British museum and archival collections and colonial histories and scientific expeditions. With the exception of the last two chapters, her discussion deals with 19th-century images—not that this detracts from the currency of her analysis as her concluding chapters demonstrate. Her characters are early British anthropologists, colonial officials and very pointedly, colonial subjects. Kratz's work, despite the fact that her subjects have their ancestral home in a former British colony, is a decidedly American narrative. She notes at the beginning of the book that she wrote it mainly for students, relegating much of the theoretical discussion and commentary to the footnotes. Edwards makes no such apologies. Her text is, in fact, quite dense at times as she grounds her analytical examination of her selected images in the ideological and cultural context of their taking, reproduction and preservation (or in some cases obliteration). She brings to bear a range of theoretical literature to her analysis, a context from which the anthropological examination of photography has been far too long separated. In her substantive examination of her chosen images, be they early museum exhibitions of New Ireland carvings, or two Samoan rivals and supporters photographed on the HMS *Miranda*, or anthropometric images of inmates in Breakwater Jail, Cape Town or Jorma Puranen's recent exhibition of Sami images, the clarity and insight of her position comes through clearly. Kratz also makes extensive use of a wide range of theory in her analysis of the politics of representation, bringing to the subject the sophistication that it deserves. This reader, however, tired of flipping back and forth to the footnotes to find her often insightful commentary and critiques on several substantive theoretical matters. One has to question why students should not be actively engaged in these debates from the very start. Concomitant with this separation of levels of text is the choice of the image for the cover. The image, devoid of captioning, is from the exhibition and shows a young man, Saidimu, with his gaze cast to the side awaiting his initiation with his younger female cousin, Murueet, smiling slightly at the camera while wearing a girl's initiation headdress. This photograph and the overall cover design suggest the glossy colourful images so often used on American introductory textbooks. Such first impressions belie the true content of the book.

A substantial amount of material has been published on the politics of representation in the United States and Canada, much focussing on Native populations of each country and their relations with museums. A percentage of this is written by Native people themselves. Kratz, despite her extensive bibliography, draws on none of this work. There is a tone of "first encounter" in some of her detailed analysis of the production and consumption of *Okeik Portraits*. She concedes at the beginning that it was, in fact, a small exhibition with a limited number of venues, few of them in major institutions. The minutiae of her analysis of the furor generated when the images where shown on a rotating basis without captions in the hallway cases in the anthropology department at the University of Texas seems at times almost too microscopic a point of analysis. The randomness and sparseness of the material which backs up much of her discussion of visitor response for the venues in Kenya and many of them in the U.S. raises the same sense of much being made of very little. The ethnographic method never stresses quantity over quality of data, but all good ethnographies are grounded in a richness of experience and cross-checking of interpretation which builds confidence in the expansion of a localized example into a larger context. As the book emerged as the project unfolded, it is understandable that some of the information gathering processes that might have been used were not initiated from the beginning. Such limitations could have been compensated for by the integration of a wider body of case study materials, many of which are only mentioned in passing by Kratz. The *Te Maori* exhibition, *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples*, *Into the Heart of Africa*, the *Enola Gay* exhibition, the *The West as America* all provoked much discussion on the politics of representation, launching these debates in the late 1980s in North America. Much of the discussion about the Native American Graves and Repatriation Act has relevance to any discussion of the politics of representation, as does the material from the art world which documents how artists who both are and represent the "other" have challenged stereotypes and engaged with the debates around who gets to represent whom and what happens when those debates are situated in, and thus experienced by visitors to, museums and galleries. The example Kratz does mention more frequently is a 1988 exhibition *Art/Artifact*, which dealt exclusively with African objects, and thus while clearly appropriate to her discussion, the issues that ground her book reach beyond those of any particular continental shores. None of the reporting on these other exhibitions (all of them much larger and seen much more widely) had the degree of visitor response information that Kratz found so lacking for *Okiek Portraits*, but what is available would have added a good comparative context for some of her discussion.

Both books make a significant contribution to the growing level of sophistication of the analysis of the collections and processes of representations which lie at the core of museums and archives. But many who work in museums and archives have always known that there is much that is "good to think" within their walls. Finally, as exemplified particularly by Elizabeth Edwards, but also notably by Corinne Kratz, some of this thinking is bearing delicious fruit.

Ann M. Tweedie, *Drawing Back Culture: The Makah Struggle for Repatriation*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002, xxiv + 175 pages.

Reviewer: *Ed Koenig*
Wilfrid Laurier University

Drawing Back Culture is anthropologist Ann M. Tweedie's account of challenges the Makah face in their efforts to repatriate cultural objects. The Makah live in the Northwest corner of Washington State, across the strait from Vancouver Island, where other Nootka groups to whom the Makah are culturally linked are located. A great deal of media attention was directed toward the Makah in the late 1990s when they asserted their "traditional" rights to hunt whales that were regarded by environmentalist groups as a species in need of protection. The whale hunt receives a good deal of attention in the book (since whaling objects are an important class among those eligible for return), but she brings quite remarkable insights to a wide range of repatriation issues.

The author's analysis of the repatriation process, as manifested in this one particular case, is appropriately broad, but she pays particular attention to efforts to address the requirements of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). This law (which is conveniently included in full in the Appendix) was passed in 1990, and it applies only to Native peoples living within the boundaries of the United States of America.

In terms of theoretical contributions, Tweedie's book is outstanding: through her Makah case study, she questions the suitability of several concepts and assumptions that are key to NAGPRA and thereby improves the knowledge base through which the intended results of this legislation might be achieved. Her assessments of this Act, and of repatriation policies more broadly, are equally important as an example of applied anthropology. *Drawing Back Culture* is especially compelling because it is based on sound fieldwork.

The book is nicely organized, allowing for a coherent presentation of often overlapping issues. In the first chapter Tweedie outlines Makah perspectives on NAGPRA, noting ambiguities in how concepts such as "sacred objects," "cultural patrimony" (communal ownership), "religious leader," and "traditional," are understood according to the Act and within the Makah community. Tweedie does not pretend that community perspectives are unanimous.

In the second chapter, through effective use of secondary written sources and some archaeological evidence, Tweedie depicts pre-contact Makah life, which gives the reader background information relevant to current repatriation issues. She reads this evidence as indicating that the Makah's pre-contact ancestors had a strong sense of social stratification and personal "ownership" of things, characteristics not easily reconcilable with NAGPRA's assumptions about "communities." The Makah are apprehensive about repatriation processes, since ownership of "cultural" objects is often only traceable through individuals, and many objects, especially those associated with the whale hunt, were originally owned by elite community members. This raises contentious questions about who currently owns such objects: though most recognize potential community benefits, repatriation might also introduce or reinforce particular relations of power within the group.

Tweedie continues her careful analysis of how history is intertwined with the present in chapter 3 where she discusses the conditions under which the Makah were originally dispossessed of culturally significant items. Her treatment of this topic is typical of the sound analytical approach she employs throughout the book. While acknowledging that some "collectors" were not the most scrupulous of individuals, and that colonialist expansion should not be ignored as a backdrop for economic transactions that involved cultural objects, Tweedie also recognizes native peoples' roles in collecting activities when she notes their active responses to new market opportunities (e.g., development of new symbolic decorations on basketry made for tourist markets). Altogether, she provides a credible assessment of the wide range of social interests and conditions, at local levels and beyond, that motivated dispersal of Makah material culture.

More recent social and political conditions that are also part of the history of such objects are examined in chapter 4. Tweedie suggests that a new era in the Makah's relationship with the outside world began around 1930s, shortly after they were granted full citizenship, and were soon to be affected by Collier's Indian Reorganization Act. Subsequent community efforts noted by Tweedie as relevant to current repatriation issues include a land claim that was unresolved for 50 years, involvement in a fishing rights dispute which led to the Boldt Decision (1974), several decades of participation in local archaeological excavations, and the establishment of a Cultural Center, created in large part to house artifacts found during these excavations.

Tweedie's most thorough analysis of NAGPRA—of the disjuncture between "the spirit and the letter of the law"—is presented in the second last chapter. She notes two strategies by which the Makah are dealing with NAGRA: they try to work with the process, and at the same time they challenge its assumptions and definitions. In explaining the first tactic, she criticizes one assessment of NAGPRA, which

regards it as problematic because it is still based on non-Native premises, and therefore not capable of fully accounting for Native views of material culture. She suggests that the problem is not so much that NAGPRA represents a non-Native perspective, but that its assumptions about "native culture" are off the mark. It reflects an idealized view that all Native groups were socially and economically communal. The author traces this assumption back to Collier and his impact on Indian policy. Collier was more familiar with Pueblo groups to whom such a characterization might be more readily applied.

In her conclusion, Tweedie notes three contributions that her study brings to current anthropological research. It highlights the importance of material culture in current aboriginal revitalization efforts: repatriation of cultural objects is not so much an end in itself as it is part of a new beginning. Another important insight is her problematizing of the notion of "ownership" and her attention to the challenges this poses for repatriation processes. Finally, through attention to this particular case, the author helps us better understand the broad phenomena of current revitalization movements among aboriginal peoples, which "force native peoples into new readings of their past to capitalize on opportunities in the present" (p. 137). She shows us how policies and legislation (e.g. NAGPRA), which can present opportunities, can play a role in shaping revitalization movements.

While this book is about a group living in the United States of America, and includes only occasional references to groups from Canada, it is also relevant to Native issues here. Different legislation applies in the two countries, but the work of "renewing" cultural identity, whether engaged in by Native community members, museum curators, archaeologists, or other anthropologists, raises similar issues on both sides of the border.

Tweedie's book is an important addition to the study of current Native issues. Too few researchers attempt to explain politically contentious situations from the perspectives of Native people who are involved in them. Tweedie is both respectful of particular political positions held by individuals within the Makah community and dedicated to the pursuit of sound knowledge. While she tells the "Makah side" of this story, she also maintains a level of objectivity necessary for clarifying the complex challenges inherent in current repatriation activity. By helping us understand these challenges more clearly Tweedie has herself made an outstanding contribution to the project of "Drawing Back Culture."

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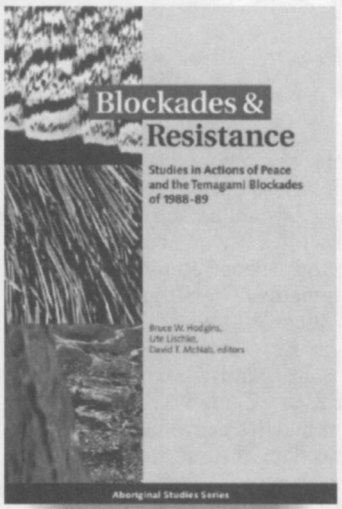

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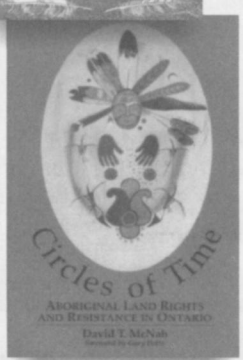

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