ANTHROPOLOGICA

Editorial Policy
Open to contributors from Canada and abroad, *Anthropologica* publishes in French and English, articles and reviews in all areas of cultural and social anthropology. All manuscripts are refereed anonymously by two reviewers.

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

ANTHROPOLOGICA

Vol. 56 N° 1, 2014

Anthropological Reflections / Réflexions anthropologiques

Book Reviews / Comptes rendus

Notice of Errata
In *Anthropologica* 55.2 (November 2013), the name of Jean Mitchell, one of two guest editors of the thematic section "Time and the Expert: Temporalities and the Social Life of Expertise," was erroneously omitted from the table of contents on p. i and on the back cover. For "Guest Editor / Rédactrice Invitée: Alexandra Widmer" please read "Guest Editors / Rédactrices invitées : Alexandra Widmer and Jean Mitchell." A corrected version of the table of contents is available at http://www.anthropologica.ca/. *Anthropologica* regrets this error.

Erratum
Dans *Anthropologica* 55.2 (novembre 2013), le nom de Jean Mitchell, l'une des deux rédactrices invitées de la section thématique « Le temps et l'expert : temporalités et vie sociale de l'expertise » a été omis par inadvertance de la table des matières à la p. i et sur la couverture arrière. Au lieu de « Guest Editor / Rédactrice Invitée : Alexandra Widmer », veuillez lire « Guest Editors / Rédactrices invitées : Alexandra Widmer et Jean Mitchell. » Une version corrigée de la table des matières est affichée à http://www.anthropologica.ca/. *Anthropologica* regrette cette erreur.

From the Editors / Note de la rédaction

Naomi McPherson and/et Alicia Sliwinski

Alicia and I welcome you to this issue and to May, the month of spring flowers after a long winter, and to our annual CASCA meetings where we renew friendships, make new ones and recharge our intellectual batteries. I am so very impressed with the calibre and the variety of research undertaken by anthropologists and this issue is no exception. We are honoured to present our 2013 Weaver-Tremblay Award winner, Prof. Adrian Tanner of Memorial University, who offers us a glimpse into his remarkable record of 50 years research with Indigenous communities in Canada's north. Our thematic section focuses on Queer Studies in anthropology guest edited by Michelle Walks, who re-introduces us to the work accomplished in the anthropology of gender, sex and sexuality to contextualize this current research. These articles explore queer experiences and queer identities in Turkey, Singapore, Vancouver, Toronto and, in a research note, in Thailand. Through these articles, we get new insights into key theoretical issues—homonormativity, neoliberalism, activism, intersectionality, social media, transgender, globalization, immigration and diaspora—in Queer Studies and cultural anthropology more generally. In Anthropological Reflections, Jocelyn Gadbois's engaging article analyzes the tributes that celebrated Claude Lévi-Strauss on the occasion of his 100th birthday and how commemorative discourses about his death lead to a form of sacrifice whereby those who consider themselves his inheritors absorbed and revivified fragments of his oeuvre. Under the rubric Museum Review, Jasmin Habib shares her fascinating interview with Allyson Purpura, curator of African art, about her work but also about the life of objects across space as epistemological categories become transformed and repurposed. Here we encounter the arts of Africa, and museology, differently.

There is an embarrassment of riches in our individual articles. Au courant of current issues about government surveillance of their citizens and the citizens of other countries and by corporations trying to steal a march and profit by scooping their competitors, Craig Proulx shines a light on how Canadian Indigenous peoples are constructed by our government as "potential insurgents, terrorists and criminals" thus coming under constant government surveillance. Wayne Fife explores less volatile material pertaining to the bioregulation of sport and subsistence fishing in Newfoundland, where "seemingly

Alicia et moi vous accueillons à ce numéro du mois de mai, le mois des fleurs printanières après un long hiver, et le mois de notre réunion annuelle de la CASCA où nous renouvelons des amitiés, en forgeons de nouvelles, et rechargeons nos batteries intellectuelles. Je suis vivement impressionnée par le calibre et la variété de la recherche faite par les anthropologues, et ce numéro d'*Anthropologica* en témoigne. Nous sommes honorées de présenter le Prix Weaver-Tremblay au Professeur Adrian Tanner de *Memorial University* qui nous offre ici un aperçu de son remarquable parcours de 50 ans de recherche auprès des communautés autochtones du Nord canadien. Notre section thématique, dirigée par Michelle Walks, porte sur les *Queer Studies* en anthropologie et nous réintroduit aux travaux sur l'anthropologie du genre, du sexe et de la sexualité afin mieux mettre en contexte les nouvelles recherches. Les articles explorent les identités et les expériences queer en Turquie, à Singapour, à Vancouver, à Toronto, et, dans une Note de recherche, en Thaïlande. Ils nous présentent de nouvelles perspectives sur des questions théoriques importantes dans les études queer et en anthropologie culturelle qui s'articulent autour des concepts d'homonormativité, de néolibéralisme, d'activisme, d'intersectionalité, de média sociaux, du transgenre, de mondialisation, d'immigration et de diaspora. Dans la section Réflexions anthropologiques, l'article captivant de Jocelyn Gadbois analyse les hommages qui eurent lieu pour le 100ème anniversaire de Claude Lévi-Strauss et comment les discours commémoratifs participèrent à une forme de sacrifice symbolique permettant à ceux qui se réclament les héritiers de Lévi-Strauss de mieux se partager une partie de son œuvre. Sous la section Revue d'expositions, Jasmin Habib nous présente une entrevue fort intéressante avec la curatrice d'Art africain Allyson Purpura ; elles discutent de sa profession et aussi de la vie des objets qui sont transformés et réinvestis à travers l'espace et les catégories épistémologiques. Nous rencontrons ici les Arts des Africains et la muséologie autrement.

C'est presque un étalage de richesses qui caractérise les articles individuels de ce numéro ! Ainsi, au fait des derniers enjeux concernant la manière dont les gouvernements surveillent leurs citoyens et ceux d'autres pays, et les procédés par lesquels maintes corporations tentent d'accroître leur marge de profit et de manœuvre en ramassant la compétition, Craig Proulx met en lumière

innocuous regulatory [governmental] bureaucracies... serve as technologies of power," creating fault-lines and pressures between the regulators and the regulated. In rural Bangladesh, HM Ashraf Ali exposes governance inequities in the form of the coercive, if not cruel, behaviours of NGO managers in recovering microcredit loans, primarily made to women but used by men, from poor villagers. Rather than empower women and improve their circumstances, these microfinance institutions seem to be digging loan recipients even further into poverty. Trudi Lynn Smith examines another government initiative, the national park as tourist destination, using historical photographs to look not only at the visible, but also at representations that do not appear in photographic archives. Usually invisible in historic photographs of early forays into Canada as terra nullius are First Nations peoples. Katie Bresner's article discusses issues of control, hybridity and authenticity as the Osoyoos Indian Band insist on their visibility to communicate their Indigenous identity and history to visitors through exhibits at their Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre.

Four articles consider drugs, herbal and otherwise. In South Africa, Julie Laplante considers how scientists, herbalists and traditional healer-diviners attempt to reconcile their different ontologies as revealed through their use of a traditional medicinal plant. In Fiji, S. (Apo) Aporosa and Matt Tomlinson report their study of physical effects on heavy drinkers, particularly on teachers, of kava, a plant-based beverage drunk socially and ceremonially. Kava use is controversial in Fiji and in some European and North American health food stores where it is sold as a calming herbal medicine. Fabrice Fernandez unpacks the tensions and the moral judgments generated by awareness-raising and prevention policies geared at drug users and by how prevention policies ultimately stress utilitarian individual responsibility over collective solidarity. Jérôme Beauchez weaves ethnographic field observations with references to film and music that make up the "anthropological silhouette" of French punks' and skinheads' life on the street to reveal the intimate relationships between these urban rebels and the street as their heroine. There is much to contemplate in this issue.

comment notre gouvernement construit les peuples autochtones du Canada en tant que potentiels « insurgés, terroristes et criminels » dès lors sujets à une surveillance constante. Wayne Fife analyse un matériau moins volatile ayant trait à la biorégulation de la pêche de subsistance et la pêche sportive à Terre-Neuve où « des bureaucraties, à première vue inoffensives [...] s'avèrent des technologies de pouvoir » créant failles et tensions entre régulateurs et régulés. Au Bangladesh rural maintenant, HM Ashraf Ali expose les iniquités de gouvernance générées par le comportement coercitif – sinon cruel – des administrateurs des ONG chargés de recouvrir les prêts de microcrédit. Ceux-ci sont octroyés principalement aux femmes (mais ils sont utilisés par les hommes) dans des villages pauvres. Or, au lieu d'émanciper la situation des femmes et d'améliorer leurs conditions de vie, ces institutions de microcrédit semblent plutôt pousser davantage leurs débiteurs dans la pauvreté. Trudi Lynn Smith analyse une autre initiative gouvernementale – le parc national comme destination touristique – à partir de ce qui est rendu visible, et de ce qui demeure invisible, dans des photographies historiques. En effet, les peuples des Premières nations sont les grands absents des archives photographiques datant des premières incursions dans la *terra nullius* canadienne. L'article de Katie Bresner discute, quant à lui, les questions de contrôle, d'hybridité et d'authenticité reliées à la manière dont la Bande indienne Osoyoos communique et rend visible son identité et son histoire aux visiteurs du Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre.

Quatre articles portent sur les drogues, qu'elles soient à base d'herbes ou autres. En Afrique du Sud, Julie Laplante analyse comment les scientifiques, guérisseurs-divinateurs et herboristes autochtones tentent de concilier leurs différentes approches et ontologies que leur usage respectif d'une plante médicinale traditionnelle révèle. À Fidji, S. (Apo) Aporosa et Matt Tomlinson relatent les effets qu'a le *kava* sur les buveurs endurcis, et en particulier sur les enseignants. Le *kava* est une plante dont l'infusion est bue lors d'occasions sociales et cérémonielles, et son ingestion est controversée à Fidji, tout comme en Europe et en Amérique du Nord où ce produit aux vertus calmantes est vendu dans certains magasins d'aliments naturels. Fabrice Fernandez analyse les tensions et les jugements moraux issus des politiques de prévention et de responsabilisation adressées aux injecteurs de drogues qui insistent davantage sur la responsabilisation individuelle utilitaire que sur la solidarité collective. Enfin, l'article de Jérôme Beauchez, mariant observations ethnographiques et références filmiques et musicales, dresse un portrait intime et percutant des expériences de quelques punks et skinheads français qui ont pris la rue comme leur héroïne. Nous vous souhaitons une agréable lecture.

2013 Weaver-Tremblay Award Winner
Social Justice, the Graph of Zorro and the Outsider

Adrian Tanner   *Memorial University of Newfoundland*

Abstract: This article surveys, from a social justice perspective, the author's experience of 50 years of field-based research in northern Indigenous communities, before and after that research involved local partnerships. While the objectivity of research is never absolute, it is a better guide to social justice than is political ideology. Examples are cited where public policy and certain politically influential academic research, are motivated by ideology, ignoring ethnographically based results. Finally an example from an unrelated context cites a study that showed, in the United States, that political affiliation determines either belief in or denial of anthropogenic climate change, regardless of educational level.

Keywords: long-term research, social justice, Canadian indigenous communities, political ideology

Résumé : Dans cet article, l'auteur rend compte, à partir d'une perspective de justice sociale, de son expérience de cinquante ans de recherche de terrain dans les communautés autochtones du Nord canadien, et ce, avant et après avoir établi des partenariats de recherche avec elles. Bien que la recherche ne puisse jamais prétendre à une objectivité absolue, elle constitue un meilleur guide vers la justice sociale que ne l'est l'idéologie politique. À cet effet, des exemples de politiques publiques, et certaines formes de recherche académique exerçant une influence politique sont citées pour illustrer comment elles sont avant tout motivées par l'idéologie, sans tenir compte des résultats scientifiques de la recherche ethnographique. L'article se termine par l'exemple d'une étude, tirée d'un contexte très différent, qui montre qu'aux États-Unis, sans égard au niveau d'éducation, l'affiliation politique détermine la négation ou la croyance en des changements climatiques anthropogéniques.

Mots-clés : recherche à long terme, justice sociale, communautés autochtones canadiennes, idéologie politique
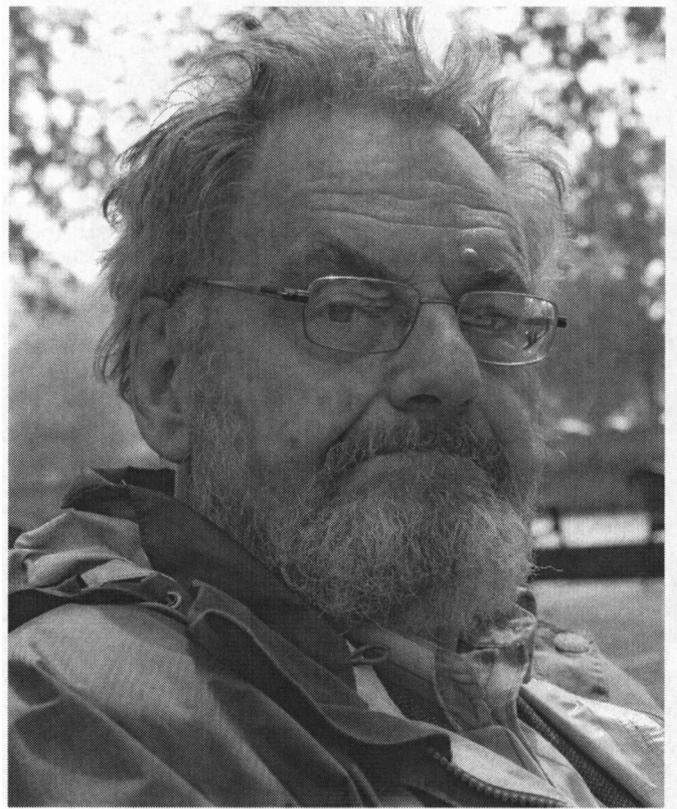
Adrian Tanner emigrated to Canada as a farm worker, later working on arctic weather stations, where he spend time with Inuit hunters. He subsequently attended the University of British Colombia for a B.A. in anthropology and geography (1964), and an M.A. in anthropology (1966). He obtained an anthropology Ph.D. at the University of Toronto (1977), based on research at Mistissini, northern Quebec. He has also conducted ethnographic research in the Yukon, northern Ontario, Labrador, Newfoundland and, since 1985, Fiji. His areas of research include hunters, subsistence economies, ideology, religion, ethnopolitics and land tenure. His publications include *Bringing Home Animals,* ISER Books (1979, new edition 2014), and "On Understanding Too Quickly. Colonial and Post-Colonial Misrepresentation of Indigenous Fijian Land Tenure," *Human Organization* 66(1) (2007).

At a gathering of Liberals to honour the party's past leaders, Tom Axworthy, the former principal secretary to Pierre Trudeau, stated that "if he were alive today, [former Prime Minister Lester] Pearson would consider the ongoing rupture between Canada's indigenous peoples and the rest of the country the defining issue of the day" (Harper 2013a). In Pearson's day (he was prime minister when I became an anthropologist) the same kinds of issues that have caused the current rupture were already present in indigenous communities: the gradual dispossession of land and resources, the consequent creation of economic dependency, leading to social pathologies, poor life expectancy, poor levels of health, poor educational levels and high unemployment—even if these issues were then less matters of public discussion than they have become. Policies to address indigenous issues were then only rarely matters that went beyond the back rooms of government, and there was little discussion between government and the indigenous peoples themselves.

Minorities within a democracy are always at risk of a "tyranny of the majority"; that is, the tendency of those in power to rely on assumptions rather than objectively established conditions and to neglect reasonable interests and concerns as not high enough among national or regional priorities, or as unacceptable because they challenge entrenched interests. Canadian indigenous peoples face the additional legacy of almost a century of incompetent supervision as wards of the state, under a sometimes brutal policy driven by an ideology of forced assimilation. The impacts of this policy, including a toxic atmosphere of deep-seated mistrust, were felt over the longest period and continue to resonate in the southern areas where Indians became encapsulated on reserves or in cities by settlers and privately owned land. By contrast, the Indigenous peoples of the north, where most of my research has been conducted, were settled into villages relatively recently, during the supposedly more enlightened period, when assimilation was in theory being abandoned in favour of self-determination. Despite this, the impact of the settlement program has turned out to be just as socially devastating.

Well after the post-World War II beginnings of what was a tortuously slow rethinking of Canada's previous failed Indian policy, anthropology had a predominant role among other disciplines in providing the government with evidence-based, policy-oriented advice, replacing earlier reliance on the reports of explorers, traders, missionaries and Indian Agents. Today, with some issues around indigenous policy from time to time becoming the subject of protest, particularly where these concern large-scale development projects, new relevance is being added to the question: Where does indigenous policy fit within the wider ambit of Canadian political ideology?

A lot of anthropological research now takes place within multidisciplinary teams. It is my observation that anthropologists, including younger members of the profession, conduct impressive amounts of well-organized, socially relevant, community-based and often innovative applied research on indigenous issues, even if on bad days we may feel that only other anthropologists are paying any attention. Applied research must be prepared to address and engage a wide range of disciplines if it is to have relevance for public policy. I do not reject the notion or the practice of advocacy, but our primary value to our indigenous partners, to other researchers in multidisciplinary teams and to the public is not our passion but our objectivity. Individual anthropologists collect empirical data from which they gain new insights, discoveries and hypotheses, sometimes in contradiction to prevailing assumptions. Through the normal processes of science, these are shared with others to be confirmed, modified or replaced. Objectivity may well appear unattainable or not particularly relevant for any individual anthropologist (Tarr 2013). However, by retaining the conception of anthropology as a fundamentally comparative science of humanity, findings, and the empirical data on which they are based, as well as any limitations or uncertainties, need to be presented in a form that can be used by our peers and set alongside their own results. Out of this process of sharing and comparison, I believe objective understandings generally do emerge.

However, too often results of social science research, even when backed by adequate evidence, remain insufficiently used in planning or policy formation, particularly by the state, and especially when it happens to run counter to dominant ideologies. Anthropological findings are seldom reported in the media (unless it concerns a major archaeological find). Our work seems to have generally not reached what should be its potential to contribute to the kind of intelligent, reality-based discussion of policy to achieve some needed changes. One still hopes for the day that media coverage of indigenous news stories would be from journalists who are at least as well informed on the relevant background situation as the average CBC Middle East correspondent is aware of how Israeli society works.

The challenges for intellectually informed social policy on indigenous issues are enormous. It is becoming increasingly difficult for graduate students to mount ethnographic research projects without specific, predetermined

research questions and methods. While this latter approach may be effective with the experimental sciences, in my experience an initial open-ended enquiry is necessary to allow anthropologists to learn what a new outsider needs to understand. This is also a better route to making unexpected discoveries, some of which turn out to have useful applications. In northern Canada, in particular, research generally takes place in the context of an ongoing competition between powerful players over lands and resources and periodic flare-ups over internal community social problems. Because research necessarily takes place in partnership with indigenous communities and political organizations, often in teams with other disciplines, we have to communicate our findings to several audiences who have diverse needs, interests and prior understandings.

While my own love for anthropology began with the truly rich rewards of old-fashioned ethnography, my applied anthropology work has, over many years, been prompted by encounters with social injustice—racism, dispossession, impoverishment, ill health and some of the consequent symptoms of "social suffering." As an anthropologist, I have also encountered socially unjust situations abroad, mainly in Indonesia and Bangladesh, and in less serious forms in Vanuatu and Fiji. These are all places where I conducted reconnaissance visits for potential long-term research, but, apart from the last one, found I could not have obtained a research permit. Even in Fiji, where I have periodically conducted research since 1985, there have been three military coups in the interim. It is currently under a dictatorship that does not generally respond well to any kind of advice. For a foreigner, the ability to engage politically or attempt to influence public policy is generally restricted. To put what follows in a global context, therefore, I should first acknowledge that socially useful and politically engaged anthropology in Canada, as difficult as it may be, does not face quite the same barriers as in many other countries.

The very first recommendation of the 1966 Hawthorn-Tremblay Survey of the Contemporary Indian of Canada stated, "Integration and assimilation are not objectives which anyone else can properly hold for Indians" (Hawthorn 1966–67:13). Even today, in some quarters, this message has yet to be understood. Hawthorn put his finger on an important principle, considering that, as a country of immigrants, Canada has had a comparatively successful experience with the integration of newcomers, accomplished, apart from a few shameful exceptions, with a minimum of policy inducements. While indigenous peoples are not at all like immigrants, one can imagine if all immigrants were consigned to holding areas on arrival and afforded limited rights until such time as they had proved to authorities that they were ready to enter main stream society. Hawthorn's approach was thus a proposition to reverse the existing policy of imposed integration. Many fellow anthropology graduate students at the time I attended the University of British Columbia conducted research for the Hawthorn-Tremblay study, and all went on to make further important contributions in applied anthropology.[1] But beyond my personal memories of graduate-school gossip about this research, much insight that remains relevant today is to be gained from Sally Weaver's assessment of the Hawthorn-Tremblay study (Weaver 1993). The report was also ground-breaking in drawing primarily on ethnographic research specifically undertaken for policy advice and because the team included in senior positions people who have been referred to, in other contexts, as our "academic competitors" (Dyck and Waldram 1993), from the disciplines of economics, law and political science.[2]

Since then, I have been associated with several multidisciplinary applied-research teams that drew on the findings of original ethnographic research.[3] A medical sociologist led one and a transcultural psychiatrist led a research network, but anthropologists led the others. Many graduate-student anthropologists on these research teams went on to further applied work, people familiar to many of you, of whom I will only mention a less-familiar one, Ditte Koster. She was of particular inspiration to me for her extraordinary commitment to social justice. Like Sally Weaver, Ditte conducted research within the very guts of the beast, if I may use that characterization, with federal Indian Affairs bureaucrats. Unfortunately, this research never saw the light of day, due to her untimely death from cancer in 1981 and her principled unwillingness on ethical grounds to pass on to others research material acquired from people whose confidence she had undertaken to personally protect.

Starting 40 years ago, dating from when government first officially recognized and funded indigenous political organizations in all parts of the country as legitimate representatives of their members and the first land use and occupancy studies for land claims were undertaken under their authority, a less colonial and, potentially, more healthy research situation has developed. People with diverse disciplinary backgrounds began conducting a great deal of policy-oriented research. Some of these researchers are based outside the academy working as consultants, many of them also conducting excellent, ground-breaking work.[4] Much of this research is being conducted for use by a variety of governments and interest groups and, in particular, for indigenous communities and political organizations. Some of this is for regulatory

requirements—environmental impact assessments, indigenous self-government requirements to develop their own policies and procedures and wildlife co-management arrangements, among others. However, it is often assumed that research, particularly for environmental impact assessments, can be completed within short time lines. As a consequence, participant observation is often sidelined, with literature reviews, household questionnaires and focus groups substituted for this methodological approach. As important as these methods are, they still need to be placed in a broader and in-depth ethnographic context.

While most social science research in the north is now, to a greater or lesser degree, community based, much of the work continues to require specialist researchers from elsewhere. This is mainly because there are just not enough local indigenous researchers with the required training. However, such projects have sometimes managed to be effective in skills transmission by engaging the participation of local people. At the same time, local people, who go on to pursue relevant advanced training is such research methods, often find they must sustain themselves full-time by moving away to get work or taking on local administrative jobs. In cases like documenting local peoples' environmental knowledge, now required for a wide variety of regulatory and legal contexts, there is also particular urgency. Members of the elder generation who lived full-time on the land are becoming fewer and fewer each passing year. There are, thus, great advantages for an established researcher who has previously conducted fieldwork with the same group and has acquired some competence in the local language.

With all due respect to the important work being done by geographers, biologists, engineers, physicians, climatologists and others who now conduct policy-oriented research with indigenous communities, I believe there is no replacement for an ethnographically centred approach as the core to multidisciplinary research on these issues of social policy, one that does not impose ethnocentric assumptions and classifications on empirical observations. Scientific enquiry, however much influenced by terms of reference specified for administrative needs or funding agency priorities, should proceed on the basis of questions that personally engage, motivate and inspire researchers. As outsiders, anthropologists tend to form intimate relations with those among whom they live, which can often become the basis for an enduring trust relationship. In sharing in everyday living conditions, ethnographers see up close the unvarnished reality of existing problems and cases of social injustice, as well as the pleasures and values of these ways of life.

I would also argue that anthropology's general orientation to practice the non-ethnocentric approach that we preach is of particular need and relevance in multidisciplinary research teams with indigenous people. The point here is not to assume that all aspects of every social situation or cultural practice are necessarily socially beneficial or that no society has dysfunctional social practices but that their significance may not at first be obvious, particularly if judged on the basis of the values and practices of mainstream Canadian culture. A naïve outsider best not rush to judgment, but first observe and learn. As we are aware from linguistics, all people can speak grammatically without necessarily being aware of the rules of grammar they follow, a principle that applies to other aspects of social life. There is, therefore, the need for both an outsider and an insider perspective, for understanding and appreciating not just indigenous communities, but any social group, including us academics.

The symptoms of indigenous social suffering in Canada direct us in two main research directions. First, there is the need for communities to develop healing strategies for those already affected, most critically, for the prevention of youth suicide. Second, we need to understand how communities can restore well-being, to break the chain of transmission of these problems to subsequent generations. Restoring an individual's or a family's sense of self-worth and ability to look after their own needs may well be the most important practical strategy to realize this outcome.

In this regard, many northern indigenous communities now face major obstacles in finding and maintaining an adequate economic base that gives meaningful and rewarding employment to community members. Indigenous groups were settled into reserves, settlements or arctic hamlets where, in most cases, there was not much basis for or prospect of ways to supply the cash component of making a living, beyond building, maintaining and administering the new community infrastructure. Subsequent development activity requires several years' lead time for local groups to be able to participate and benefit from employment in any meaningful way. Meanwhile, hunting, fishing and trapping use local renewable resources and are generally healthier than sedentary occupations. When the wildlife harvesting economy is diminished, and in the absence of other forms of employment, people lose a great deal of their sense of economic independence. Not only has the resulting dependency created an ongoing and unresolved funding issue, but economic self-reliance is generally a better alternative for physical and mental well-being than is social assistance or other forms of economic dependency. Although food is today becoming a decreasing portion of a family's total economic need, as other cash requirements

increase, the common assumption I encountered 40 years ago—that hunting was about to disappear from northern indigenous household economies—has not, in fact, occurred.

Economic problems in the north have continued to escalate over the years, due in part to the dramatic increase in the birth rate in the communities. The policy to settle hunters into houses in villages, initiated in the 1950s, appears to have been carried out with an assumption that, as if by magic, this would lead to self-sustaining forms of salaried employment. This was in spite of the findings of economic studies conducted early on in the settlement process that illustrated the important role of hunting and trapping and the shortage of viable alternatives. Some of these kinds of studies were conducted in the 1960s and 1970s by the Northern Science Group (NSG), under the direction of the anthropologist A. J. Kerr, after the Northern Development portfolio had been added to Indian Affairs. Several attempts were made at the time to relocate people to places where employment was available, the very few relatively successful ones being those where the workers were on scheduled rotation between the work site and their home communities (Lloyd 1974).

Several of the NSG studies were in the Mackenzie Valley and Western Arctic regions, and the expertise they established, by anthropologists, geographers and economists, took on added significance after the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline was first proposed. Oil and gas were discovered in the Beaufort Sea in 1970, and the pipeline proposal assessed by the Berger Inquiry of 1974–1977 was ground-breaking in its attention to local indigenous perspectives and its conclusion that, under the prevailing social conditions in the communities, the impacts on local people of the proposed pipeline would be devastating and should, therefore, not proceed. Despite the widespread international admiration for the way this inquiry was conducted, in the subsequent legal context of environmental assessment (EA) any potential social impacts not directly related to environmental impacts, which were the main reason the pipeline project was halted, are now excluded from reasons to modify, mitigate or stop a northern industrial development.

Today, southern taxpayers are becoming increasingly aware that they must pay for some of the large and mounting basic operating costs of northern Indigenous settlements, particularly as most supplies have to be transported at high cost from the south. At the same time, in many of these communities, conditions remain dismal, whether in terms of health, education or any other indicators of social well-being. Finding solutions to this dilemma has generally eluded both state and indigenous policy-makers and has not yet received the sustained attention needed of politicians. The EA of industrial developments often now occurs alongside secret Impact Benefit Agreements, which, for all anyone can tell, may not have normal conflict of interest and accountability provisions in order for them to be monitored to ensure they achieve their supposed social-policy objectives.

However, there are precedents for substantial conditions being placed on some northern development projects outside the EA process. For example, Newfoundland and Labrador imposed a requirement for ore from the Voisey's Bay mine in Labrador to be sent to a smelter that the company is obliged to build in the province for the social purpose of providing jobs for provincial residents. Given the number of mining, hydroelectric and forestry projects under way or being planned in the north, an obligation for them to contribute meaningfully to the creation of sustainable economies for the indigenous communities that they impact looks like a reasonable and defensible public policy, and might be a way to go beyond current piecemeal half-measures, even though this would no doubt require considerable political capital to achieve.

When indigenous issues intersect with development policies, they may become matters of national or provincial/territorial politics and thus enter the area of public debate. Parenthetically, I might note that, for me, in what seem the greener fields of Quebec, anthropologists like the late Bernard Arcand, Serge Bouchard, Paul Charest, José Mailhot and Rémi Savard have often engaged publicly in intellectual discussion, not to say combat, in various media. English Canada, however, seems to be less well served. There is no shortage of excellent books and academic articles, but it seems the ones that grab the headlines are too often those less well informed.

While most modern anthropology books and articles are written in very accessible language, I would guess that much published applied anthropology is mainly read and used by other anthropologists and closely related disciplines. Contributions to the large body of grey literature are directed at administrators, bureaucrats and consultants. At the same time, many of the growing number of indigenous authors are writing for the general public and now, partly as a result, it is publicly acknowledged that something needs to change in indigenous policy. Any solutions to the various problems faced by indigenous communities, as indicated by social indicators of well-being, will necessarily be complex and diverse, because indigenous people are diverse, as are local conditions. We have seen, following on the heels of the report of the Royal Commission on Indigenous Peoples,

several generalist books on policy aimed at wider public audiences: Cairns' *Citizens Plus: Indigenous Peoples and the Canadian State* (2000); Flanagan's *First Nations? Second Thoughts* (2000); Widdowson and Howard's *Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry: The Deception Behind Aboriginal Cultural Preservation* (2008); and Gibson's *A New Look at Canadian Indian Policy: Respect the Collective, Promote the Individual* (2009).[5] Each approaches the question of the appropriate social policies to address the problems faced by Indigenous communities from the perspective of either explicit or implicit political ideologies, but with inadequate attention to actual existing conditions. One wonders how many readers of these books would be familiar with the report of the Royal Commission or have independent knowledge of the so-called Aboriginal Industry.

It is perhaps a sign of the times that the *Toronto Star* has begun publishing columns on indigenous issues by the generally well-informed Christopher Alcantara, a political science professor. In a recent column, Professor Alcantara (2013) suggests four reasons why some land claims agreements are taking a long time to be concluded—reasons that rather directly reflect a government perspective on this issue, although it might be asked if these perspectives are necessarily in the best general public interest. For example, one of his conclusions is that "Indigenous groups must avoid using confrontational tactics. Federal, provincial and territorial officials prefer to work with groups that negotiate rather than litigate and protest" (2013:n.p.) This ignores the fact that there are simply too many cases where litigation or protest have achieved results that previous negotiation over many years had failed to produce. It may also be the case that ideologically based reactions to indigenous issues in Canada tend to invoke extreme views, such that polite Canadians like Professor Alcantara prefer that their open expression be suppressed, or embedded in a Thomas King trickster tale.

By questioning the objectivity of political science authors on indigenous issues, I am not claiming essential disciplinary incompatibilities. We need dialogue in which ideological positions and assumptions are acknowledged, clarified and tested against empirical data. For instance, a part of the work of the so-called Aboriginal Industry entails capturing local environmental knowledge for use in new ways, outside its normal social context. I accept that this poses enormous challenges in eliciting, documenting and presenting in a form suited to new intercultural purposes. This is as much a challenge for locals as it is for science. Local knowledge is particularly relevant in the north, where we encounter ecosystems that are relatively unfamiliar, not only to the average Canadian, but also to many in the environmental sciences. While the concept of traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) and its requirement to be taken into account in certain legal and regulatory contexts is relatively new, earlier ethnographers encountered and found ways to document such knowledge. It is thus important that the results of past research not be overlooked but verified and corrected or updated where appropriate.

For indigenous people, their challenge is to educate others, even if a more normal mode of knowledge transmission among themselves may privilege direct real-world engagement ahead of words and written texts. Observing what more senior members of the community do usually comes first, with verbal elaboration and explanation only later on in the process of knowledge acquisition. Moreover, there is a need with such research by outsiders to be sensitive to the reality that, in its normal use within the indigenous group, when such knowledge is communicated, a great deal of additional shared unspoken understanding and experience can be assumed; thus, knowledge comes from a perspective that western scientists and regulatory agencies usually do not have. Such knowledge transmission can take the form of stories and other kinds of communication that may make little sense to those without sensitivity to such background knowledge and experience. To put this differently, local knowledge as used within indigenous communities often takes the form of what Bernstein (1964) somewhat misleadingly called a "restricted communication code"; that is, forms of speech that assume a great deal of shared, unspoken and taken-for-granted knowledge between speaker and listener, such that utterances may not make complete sense to anyone who does not share that background knowledge. Anthropologists with a long acquaintance with these communities may be able to work in conjunction with the elders to help demystify and unpack such knowledge, providing the appropriate interpretive context (e.g., Legat 2012).

When indigenous people speak about land, they may use descriptive terms or place names that convey complex environmental information of great significance to local land users but that have no direct English-language equivalent. These terms can nevertheless be made perfectly understandable with adequate translation and explanation. Usher (2004) has shown how biologists in the past were openly hostile to northern indigenous groups on the basis of incompatible understandings and approaches to game management. It sometimes seems that most books and international journal articles on local knowledge (or TEK) are elaborate abstract theories *about* such knowledge, but may have little practical utility in specific cases (Davis and Ruddle 2010). However, to

my mind, what tend to be the more valuable practical *applications* of the concept are too often buried in specialist journals and the grey literature (e.g., Jacqmain et al. 2008). Current theories seem to unnecessarily exaggerate differences from science, rather than reveal concordances.

Earlier developments in anthropology and linguistics, like ethnoscience, have not yet been systematically included in research on local knowledge. These approaches were at one time seen as holding out hope for important bridges between the study of indigenous knowledge and western science. Beginning in the 1950s, it was established that languages organize the semantics of any particular subject field as distinct groups of noun concepts within frames of discourse that, like western science, utilize a hierarchical form of classification. All languages do so, even though the criteria used for the key classificatory distinctions may not be the same as those used in western science. Roger Keesing (1972) provided a critique of ethnoscience, part of his argument being that the method usually focuses on the trivial. The current political and legal relevance of TEK is yet another example that what was once seen as irrelevant can later become important. Moreover, without embracing the full ethnoscience methodology, the approach has some useful tools, such as formal eliciting procedures when doing cross-cultural taxonomic research.

We also find in the earlier anthropological literature concepts like ethnobotany, ethnohistory, ethnolinguistics, ethnomedicine and ethnogeography. Earlier anthropological and linguistic approaches should now be better recognized to have relevance in understanding local indigenous knowledge. Biologists and others trained in western scientific classification of plants and animals, as well as geographers trained in the classification of terrestrial features, who may sometimes be in a position to set multidisciplinary research agendas, may naively assume that their own scientific classifications are universally valid and free of culturally based framing of knowledge. For this reason, anthropologists need to work with linguists, in partnership with indigenous communities, even if such communities may happen to be bilingual, in teams with geographers and other environmental sciences.

When I began research, indigenous wildlife harvesting rights were a matter of fierce contention and uncertainty, even though research had already provided compelling empirical evidence of its continuing dietary importance in northern indigenous communities. In 1964, I witnessed Yukon territorial wildlife officials seizing game meat from indigenous hunters in the bush but without laying charges, because Indian Affairs advised them that the legal status of the territorial game laws was uncertain. Again, in 1967, I witnessed a similar situation at Chibougamau in northern Quebec. After starting research in Labrador, I found that provincial officials had no such scruples about laying charges and, in two such cases involving Innu hunters, I testified for the defence. In the first case in 1977, while the local Innu political organization gave the hunters moral and legal support, charges against the three hunters were upheld. In 1990, a case involved a Naskapi Innu hunter normally resident in Quebec who had shot a goose in the part of his traditional lands that happened to be on the Labrador side of the border and was charged under Newfoundland and Labrador game law. After the case was heard and while the judge was deliberating, the Supreme Court's Sparrow decision (1990) was announced, and the charges were instantly dropped. However, this decision left many indigenous groups to implement their own forms of wildlife management, even where they lacked control over non-indigenous hunting on their lands.

Ideology plays an unfortunate role in this kind of reluctance by both the authorities and the non-indigenous public to acknowledge the legal and public-policy importance of indigenous hunting, and this kind of prejudice even extends to some social scientists. This importance is not based on any assumption that all indigenous people have some innate "instinct" to never over-harvest, a bizarre thesis that the historian Shepard Krech (1999) apparently set out to test. But it means they need to institute culturally-appropriate management practices and, in some cases, coordinate with other land users. Management of indigenous harvesting and that of non-native sportsmen in the same region may each exist within silos that do not share results. Terry Tobias (1993) describes an example of what he calls "stereotyped village economies" in northern Saskatchewan, in which several conventional economic studies by private consultants in the 1970s failed to take account of, let alone quantify, domestic consumption of fish and game. Some of these studies simply relied on the findings of an earlier economic study of the region by a university-based rural sociologist who had made no mention of such in-kind production. By contrast, Tobias, also a private consultant, showed, on the basis of his research that, in one year, a single community of 700 people consumed 84,370 kg of edible fish and game meat.

It must be acknowledged that today the cash portion of northern household economic requirements is increasing relative to hunting production. But hunting still provides high-quality food, in addition to being an activity that entails satisfying intangible values. Yet, it has often been given insufficient consideration in public

Figure 1: Belief in anthropogenic climate change by temperature and political party. Author rendering of a graph from Hamilton and Stampone (2013).

policy and development planning. Harvesting studies across the north have not only deepened anthropological knowledge about the economics of hunting, they have also made important contributions to our general understanding of this mode of production, but often remain overlooked in policy formation.

From at least the time of Galileo, science has a history of being rejected, ignored or muzzled where it comes in conflict with dominant ideologically driven agendas. Some forms of indigenous understanding have been suppressed as incompatible with Christianity. Recently, attention has been paid by some anthropologists to the thesis that, before the rise of Judaic and Christian monotheism, most cultures did not see human society as separate from and outside of "nature." That is certainly the case among the northern peoples I am familiar with. Moreover, the notion that animals have minds that can be perceived by indigenous hunters "as through a glass darkly" seems increasingly compatible with an emerging western scientific perspective on the matter and so may help us to demystify some aspects of indigenous knowledge.[6]

Political ideology clearly plays a large role in public-policy formation, although one lives in hope that, as with Galileo's discoveries, eventually even governments cannot turn back the tide of factual evidence. The 1969 White Paper was very much an ideologically-based policy proposal, one that blinded itself to the realities of indigenous life as documented in the Hawthorn Report, expressed by indigenous people of the day, and documented in the Report of the Indian Act Consultations of 1968–69 (I attended the one held in Toronto). Attempts were made in the organization of these consultations to

manufacture consent, for example, with a set of questions in the booklet, "Choosing a Path." This was the main agenda item that the meetings were supposed to discuss and which Peter Kelly, the Anishinaabe co-chair of the Fort William, Ontario, meeting, perceptively renamed, "Leading Us Down the Garden Path." Yet, despite this agenda, it is clear from the transcripts that what the delegates themselves wanted to discuss were issues not in the booklet. These included native rights, treaties and, particularly in the more northern meetings, hunting and fishing rights (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1968–69). While popular assumptions and political ideologies, both at the time and now, often see these features as archaic remnants, they have proved over the intervening years to remain of major practical significance for indigenous people.

I question if political or religious ideologies unsupported by factual data, which are today, as they have been in the past, being directed at indigenous policy questions, can bring understanding or effective policies to public-policy issues. A recent study on an unrelated subject, climate change, illustrates what I see as the danger of addressing complex social issues through a lens of simplified and polarized political ideologies.

Hamilton and Stampone (2013) show, on the basis of polling of 5,000 respondents throughout the United States gathered between 2010 and 2012 that self-identified Democrats tend to believe in anthropogenic climate change, regardless of the degree of unusual weather around the day of being asked. Self-identified Republicans consistently tend to believe either that climate change does not exist or that it is not caused by human activity, regardless of unusual weather at the time. As Figure 1 illustrates, those who have no party affiliation, however, are more likely to say they believe in anthropogenic climate change on days of unusual weather around the time of the interview than at times when the weather is more normal. Perhaps the rapid cycling of headline news is shortening attention spans.

A more interesting finding of this research, for my immediate purpose, concerns the role of level of education in these results. This shows that no matter what their level of education, Republicans consistently reject the idea of anthropogenic climate change, while those without party affiliation are somewhat more likely to believe this the higher their level of education. Among Democrats, however, the tendency for education level to influence belief in anthropogenic climate change is most pronounced (see Figure 2).

One might conduct a similar sort of public-opinion poll on whether respondents think indigenous "social suffering" or the "Idle No More" movement are caused
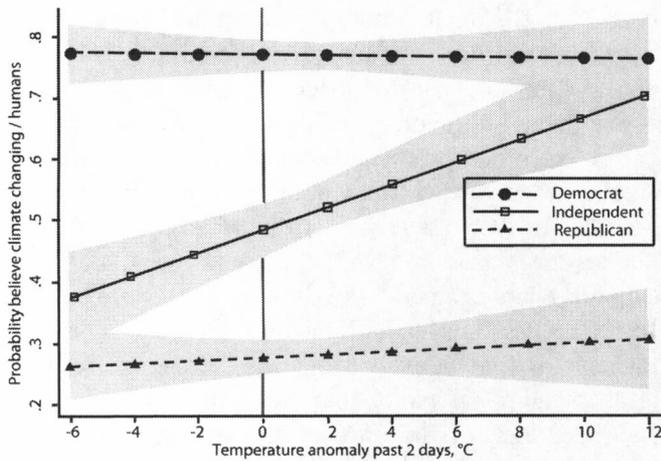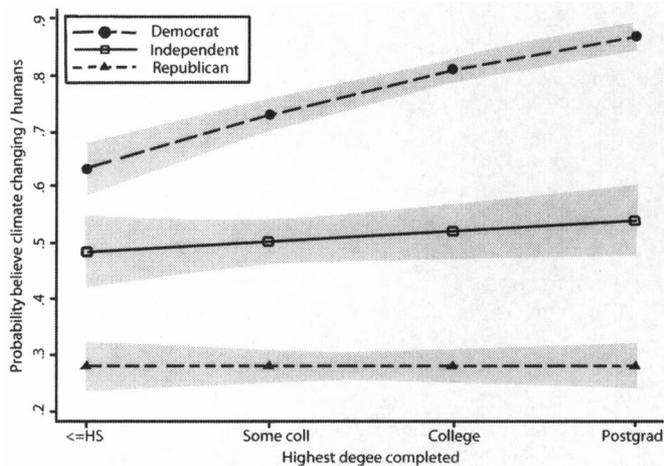
Figure 2: Belief in anthropogenic climate change by education and political party. Author rendering of a graph from Hamilton and Stampone (2013).

by the activities of non-indigenous society or not. I do not wish to overgeneralize the implications of Hamilton and Stampone's findings on the influence of political ideology and education in public-policy opinions, particularly on indigenous issues. Thankfully, Canada is not as strongly divided along ideological lines as the United States is. Moreover, the implications of climate change are not as much national and regional, as is Canadian indigenous policy, but more global. Rather than add to the rhetoric generated by some of the recent books on indigenous policy, anthropologists need to continue doing what they do best: providing clear analyses based on the best factual evidence they can acquire. We also need to find ways to better engage and communicate our findings to make more positive contributions to public discussions of these issues.

All university-based anthropology is in some sense "applied," in that we teach students, most of whom will never become professional anthropologists, but who may help shape public policy. I myself question how well I have succeeded in raising the level of public knowledge and understanding of, for example, the reasons for the epidemics of northern indigenous suicides (Tanner 2008). When the chief of the Neskantaga First Nation of 700 residents in northern Ontario recently declared a state of emergency, citing widespread OxyContin addiction and 20 suicide attempts resulting in seven deaths in the past year, national media gave it a day's attention, without much relevant social background, and moved on (Harper 2013b). I have well-educated, non-anthropologist friends of various stripes, some of whom react to headlines like those about the "Idle No More"

campaign with concern, while others think they have already done more than enough with their taxes and assume that assimilation is the only option.

To conclude, engagement with indigenous issues is sometimes frustrating, but occasional progress is being made, often unexpectedly. It is not always possible to see the extent to which anthropological research played a significant role in such progress. The Iinuu (sometimes spelled Eeyou, who are also known as the East Cree) of northern Quebec, where I have returned periodically since 1967, have managed to avoid or address some of the problems I have discussed in this talk. Despite massive industrial developments in the region—forestry and mining, in addition to hydroelectric generation—the Iinuu (Eeyou) have had success on many fronts.

As outsiders, anthropologists not only encounter injustice, but they may also be privileged to share in the too few cases of improvement in the lives of those they study, as in some of my own encounters in the lives of James Bay Iinuu families or the impressive progress I have observed by the Mi'kmaq of the Miawpukek First Nation in Newfoundland since 1979, when they achieved recognition under the Indian Act (Andersen and Crellin 2009).

Adrian Tanner, Department of Anthropology, Memorial University of Newfoundland, P.O. Box 4200, St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador, A1C 5S7, Canada.
E-mail: atanner@mun.ca.

Notes

1 Those I came to be influenced by, either then or subsequently, include Joan Ryan, Bernard Bernier, Paul Charest, Roger McDonnell, Robin Riddington, Gordon Inglis and Erik Schwimmer.

2 They were Stuart M. Jamieson in economics, Kenneth Lysyk in law and Alan Cairns in political science, scholars who all subsequently continued work on Iindigenous policy issues.

3 They include the Yukon Research Project of the Northern Science Group, the overall director of which was the anthropologist Moose Kerr (Peter Usher, Josè Mailhot, Derek Smith and Hugh Brody were among many applied social scientists who passed through that extraordinary institution), the McGill Cree Project under Norman Chance (an initiative expanded on by Richard Salisbury), and the Identity and Modernity in the East Arctic project lead by Robert Paine at Memorial University.

4 Here I have in mind such researchers as Peter Usher, Peter Armitage, José Mailhot, Hugh Brody and Doug Elias.

5 Barsh has an interesting review of the first two of these, together with two other books on Canadian indigenous self-government (Barsh 2004).

6 For a similar kind of perspective, but based on an African hunter-gatherer group, see Liebenberg 2013.

References

Alcantara, Cristopher
  2013   What's Behind the Inconsistent Progress on Native
         Treaties? Toronto Star, March 28. http://
         www.thestar.com/opinion/commentary/2013/03/28/
         whats_behind_the_inconsistent_progress_on_native
         _treaties.html, accessed December 13, 2013.
Andersen, Raoul, and John Crellin, eds.
  2009   Mi'sel Joe; an Indigenous Chief's Journey. St John's,
         NL: Flanker Press.
Barsh, Russel Lawrence
  2004   Boxing the Four Corners of Aboriginal Self-
         Government. Acadiensis 34(1):116–144.
Bernstein, Basil
  1964   Elaborated and Restricted Codes: Their Social
         Origins and Some Consequences. American
         Anthropologist 66(6):55–69. http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/
         aa.1964.66.suppl_3.02a00030
Cairns, Alan
  2000   Citizens Plus: Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian
         State. Vancouver: University of British Columbia
         Press.
Davis, Anthony, and Kenneth Ruddle
  2010   Constructing Confidence: Rational Skepticism and
         Systematic Enquiry in Local Ecological Knowledge
         Research. Ecological Applications 20(3):880–894.
         http://dx.doi.org/10.1890/09-0422.1
Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development
  1968–69
         Report of the Indian Act Consultation Meetings.
         Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern
         Development.
Dyck, Noel, and James Waldram, eds.
  1993   Anthropology, Public Policy and Native Peoples in
         Canada. Montréal: McGill-Queens University Press.
Flanagan, Thomas
  2000   First Nations? Second Thoughts. Montréal: McGill-
         Queens University Press.
Gibson, Gordon
  2009   A New Look at Canadian Indian Policy: Respect the
         Collective, Promote the Individual. Vancouver: The
         Fraser Institute.
Hamilton, Lawrence C. and Mary D. Stampone
  2013   Blowin' in the Wind: Short-Term Weather and Belief
         in Anthropogenic Climate Change. Weather, Climate
         and Society 5(2):112–119. http://dx.doi.org/10.1175/
         WCAS-D-12-00048.1
Hawthorn, Harry, ed.
  1966–67
         A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada.
         Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch.
Harper, Tim
  2013a Earlier Generation of Liberals Gathers as Justin
         Trudeau Awaits His Turn. Toronto Star, April 29.
  2013b Only Certain Types of Tragedies Spark Swift Political
         Action. Toronto Star, April 28.
Jacqmain, Hugo, Christian Dussault, Réhaume Courtois and
Louis Bélanger
  2008   Moose–Habitat Relationships: Integrating Local Cree
         Native Knowledge and Scientific Findings in
         Northern Quebec. Canadian Journal of Forest
         Research 38(12):3120–3132. http://dx.doi.org/10.1139/
         X08-128
Keesing, Roger
  1972   Paradigms Lost: The New Ethnography and the New
         Linguistics. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology
         28:299–311.
Krech, Shepard
  1999   The Ecological Indian: Myth and History. New York:
         W.W. Norton.
Liebenberg, Louis
  2013   The Origin of Science. On the Evolutionary Roots of
         Science and its Implications for Self-Education and
         Citizen Science. Cape Town, SA: Cybertracker.
Legat, Allice
  2012   Walking the Land, Feeding the Fire: Knowledge and
         Stewardship Among the Tlicho Dene. Tucson: The
         University of Arizona Press.
Lloyd, Hugh G.
  1974   Review of Northern Native Relocation Programs.
         Ottawa: Task Force on Northern Oil Development.
Supreme Court of Canada
  1990   R. v Sparrow Judgment. http://scc-csc.lexum.com/scc-
         csc/scc-csc/en/item/609/index.do, accessed Feb 21
         2013.
Tanner, Adrian
  2008   Aboriginal Social Suffering and the Quebec Cree
         Healing Movement. In Healing Traditions: The
         Mental Health of Canadian Aboriginal Peoples. L. J.
         Kirmayer and G. Valaskakis, eds. Pp: 249–
         271.Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
Tarr, Jane
  2013   Overly Honest Social Science? The Value of
         Acknowledging Bias, Subjectivity and the Messiness
         of Research. Impact of Social Sciences (blog), London
         School of Economics, http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/
         impactofsocialsciences/2013/03/13/overly-honest-
         social-science/Blog, accessed March 13, 2013.
Tobias, Terry
  1993   Stereotyped Village Economies and the Pinehouse
         Harvest Research. In Traditional Ecological
         Knowledge; Concepts and Cases. Julian T. Inglis, ed.
         Pp: 87–98. Ottawa: International Development
         Research Centre.
Usher, Peter
  2004   Caribou Crisis or Administrative Crisis? Wildlife and
         Aboriginal Policies on the Barren Grounds of Canada,
         1947–60. In Cultivating Arctic Landscapes: Knowing
         and Managing Animals in the Circumpolar North.
         David G. Anderson and Mark Nuttall, eds. Pp: 172–
         199. New York: Berghahn Books.
Weaver, Sally
  1993   The Hawthorn Report: Its Use in the Making of
         Canadian Indian Policy. In Anthropology, Public
         Policy and Native Peoples in Canada. Noel Dyck and
         James Waldram, eds. Pp: 75–97. Montréal: McGill-
         Queen's University Press.
Widdowson, Frances, and Albert Howard
  2008   Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry: The Deception
         Behind Aboriginal Cultural Preservation. Montréal:
         McGill-Queen's University Press.

Thematic Section

"We're Here and We're Queer!": An Introduction to Studies in Queer Anthropology

Michelle Walks   *University of Ottawa*

There is no doubt that the use of the term *queer* will raise the hair on the back of people's necks as well as some eyebrows. The word *queer* has a history of being derogatory and confrontational. Drawing on Graham (1998), Tom Boellstorff notes that, in fact, "many anthropologists and others do not like the term queer 'because it reminds them so strongly of homophobia and oppression'" (2007:18). Despite this history, *queer* has been reclaimed in an effort to bring people of non-normative genders and sexual practices and identities together. While the word has Anglo Euro-American origins, individuals and communities in a variety of countries worldwide embrace and identify with the term *queer*. This, of course, is not universal and the word remains problematic and still considered by many to be confrontational. In fact, the tensions and discomfort associated with the term are part of what some people appreciate in identifying with the term. That said, identities and practices change over time; it is quite likely that in the future a different term will be used to refer to the topic at the heart of this thematic issue.

Sexuality has served as an "intellectual concern of the anthropological tradition since the Age of Enlightenment" (Lyons and Lyons 2006:153; similarly noted by Boellstorff 2007:17), and yet the anthropological interest in studies of gender and sexuality have ebbed and flowed over the years. Moreover, as Kath Weston notes,

> Before ethnographers could set out to remap the globe along the contours of transgendered practices and same-sex sexuality, homosexuality had to become a legitimate object of anthropological inquiry. One prerequisite was the redefinition of homosexuality from a matter of individual pathology (the medical model) to a cultural construct. [Weston 1998:149]

The particulars of the focus on sexuality (or sexualities) and the theoretical interpretations applied to them have varied over time, in part due to the cultural changes surrounding the historical and geographic contexts of

the ethnographers, as well as their personal and professional interests. In addition, anthropologists have queried, defined and redefined "what counts" as same-sex relations and transgendered practices cross-culturally (Weston 1998; Boellstorff 2007; Lewin and Leap 1996).

The historical context has generally affected what has been considered sexuality, same-sex sexuality, third genders and transgendered behaviours and identities. Early anthropological studies of sexuality, up until about the mid-point of the 20th century, focused on Other cultures, which can mostly be categorized in one of two ways: either "veiled in ambiguity and as couched in [negative] judgment as were references to homosexuality in the dominant discourse" (Weston 1998:147), or as idealistic, playing into "the fictions of primitive promiscuity" (Lyons and Lyons 2006:153). This was followed by a disciplinary silence, from the 1940s through the late 1960s, with regard to studies of sexuality—possibly due to disciplinary effort to gain "scientific respectability" (Lyons and Lyons 2006:153). In turn, a reemergence occurred that saw a focus on sexuality studies both "at-home" and among Others, no doubt brought on by the sexual revolutions occurring within western societies. In each decade since the 1970s, lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) anthropological research and publications have experienced exponential growth, while different topical foci have emerged.

Since the resurfacing of the anthropological study of diverse genders and sexualities, there have been three general and overlapping phases of LGBT/queer anthropological development: the late 1960s through the early 1990s, the late 1980s through the early 2000s, and the late 1990s until the present. In the first of these phases, anthropological work focused mainly on causes of homosexuality, same-sex practices among males and a few transgender/third gender practices and identities among those (western anthropologists have) deemed male. These included studies of so-called ritualized homosexuality among the Sambia of Eastern Papua New Guinea, Hijras of South Asia, Kathoeys of Thailand and Two Spirit individuals among various First Nations groups in North America (formerly referred to as *berdaches*). As with other anthropological research of the pre-postmodern time period, this research situated itself as "salvage anthropology" mainly focused on the exotic Other, including "indigenous homosexualities" (Weston 1998:154). That said, there was also an increasing "at-home" focus, which continued to expand into the second and third phases.

During the second phase a shift began to occur. This shift was a result of postmodernism, the rise of second- and third-wave feminisms, and the existence of HIV and AIDS. In the 1980s, as HIV and AIDS most explicitly affected (and decimated) gay men, trans individuals and sex workers around the world, anthropologists took up HIV and AIDS research related to the populations perceived to be most at risk, both "at-home" and abroad, typically maintaining a focus on LGBT/queer populations. "By the 1990s, ethnographic analyses of homosexual behavior and identity, 'genderbending,' lesbian and gay male communities, transgressive sexual practices, and homosociality were flourishing" (Weston 1998:147). The 1990s then saw a notable increase in studies of female same-sex sexual practices, a wider range of transgender identities and practices than those traditionally studied (including more transmasculine [or so-called "female-bodied"] practices), and an emergence of LGBT/queer family studies. As noted above, more local (i.e., "western" and "at-home") research was also being conducted, as was research not solely focused on Others, but that gave more contexts to their experience and cultures and thus lessened the exoticization of their behaviours or identities. In the most recent phase of LGBT/queer anthropology, this move away from exoticization has continued and the range of foci of queer studies opened to include an even wider range of transgender identities and experiences; LGBT/queer families, parenting and reproduction; bondage, discipline, dominance/submission, sadomasochism (BDSM) practices; and LGBT/queer activism, homophobias and even more "at-home" (local) practices.

What has differentiated this latest phase from past phases of LGBT/queer anthropology is not only our moving beyond "a preoccupation with issues of visibility" (Weston 1998:175) and simple acknowledgement of their/our existence, but also a recognition of the times where globalization, neoliberalism, migration and people's agency and activism have to be considered. Whereas anthropologists have always been concerned with holism, holism is considerably different in a world where international trade, the Internet and other media, and the migration of people and ideas move much quicker than in previous times. The articles in this thematic section exemplify how these issues explicitly affect queer experiences and identities, as well as add to the growing work in LGBT/queer activist ethnography (Engebretsen 2013; Dave 2012), whether implicitly or explicitly. Moreover, as with an increasing number of recent queer ethnographies, the concepts of neoliberalism and homonormativity are central to a couple of the articles (e.g., Murray; Phillips) in this thematic section.

When studying and simply trying to understand LGBT/queer experiences and identities in both Euro-American contexts and those areas abroad affected by

cultural imperialism and neoliberalism, homonormativity is key. Homonormativity relates to neoliberalism, activism and the differentiation (sometimes made) between *gay* and *queer*. While *queer* is often used as an umbrella term for all things LGBTQQ2IPA* (or lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, queer, questioning, Two Spirit, intersex, pansexual, allies, etc.), it is also used as an identity and practice that differs from *gay* identities and practices. This undoubtedly is confusing to many, but as Kath Weston explained,

> If lesbian and gay take a fixed sexual identity, or at least a "thing" called homosexuality, as their starting point, queer defines itself by its difference from hegemonic ideologies of gender and sexuality. [Weston 1998:159]

In essence, the argument is that, being "gay" does not challenge the status quo, whereas being "queer" does.

How this differentiation relates to homonormativity is, as I have noted elsewhere, that

> While "queer" is about difference, hetero- and homonormativity are about maintaining the status quo. Heteronormativity is about how policies, institutions, individuals, and society in general have normalized heterosexuality—along with monogamy and patriarchy—to the point that everyone is (first) assumed to be heterosexual. On the other hand, homonormativity refers to one side of a political (and representational) separation within LGBTQ communities; it refers to the practice of the normalization of being gay or lesbian, and not presenting oneself as a threat or challenge to heterosexuality (Duggan 2003). It demonstrates to heterosexuals that gays are "responsible, respectable and civilized" (Holmes 2012:240). Homonormativity has, among other things, proven to be effective in gaining rights like marriage. Due to the political successes and the fact that many do believe that the only difference between gays/lesbians and straight folks is their sexual attraction, homonormativity has appealed to a great number of gays and lesbians. It does not "rock the boat" but just asks to be recognized as the same as anyone else. Neoliberalism and homonormativity have amplified the distinction of who is an acceptable gay ("gays") and who is not ("queers"), to both those within and outside of LGBTQ communities. [Walks 2014:124]

At the same time, the division between gay and queer is not so simple. There is constant flow and flux due to safety and comfort, as well as how people negotiate their intersectional identities and politics with those immediately around them and the institutions they engage

with. These complexities are exemplified here in the articles by Murray and Phillip.

Likewise, while a thematic section of *Anthropologica* focused on "The New Anthropology of Sexualities" in 2006 (Lyons and Lyons), this thematic section both narrows and broadens that focus. Whereas those articles covered issues of incest, same-sex marriage, bisexuality, sex work and BDSM, this issue is decidedly more Canadian focused, with all four of the English contributions written by anthropologists affiliated with Canadian universities. Two articles centre on migrants to Toronto (Murray) and Vancouver (Kojima), focusing on LGBT refugees and the gay Asian diaspora, respectively. Thematically, the articles also consider issues of activism (Phillips) and transgender experiences (Zengin; Thongkrajai). Individually and as a group, the articles present both new perspectives on issues and identities of previous anthropological consideration, such as Thongkrajai's look at the Kathoey of Thailand and Murray's and Kojima's explorations of LGBT/queer immigration experiences. In addition there are new anthropological foci as Zengin presents the trans experiences in Turkey and Phillips presents LGBT/queer activism and experience in Singapore. Moreover, beyond studies of gender and sexual diversity, the articles speak to the current times where people are confronting medicalization (Zengin), negotiating diasporic and migrant identities in new countries (Murray; Kojima), and living the effects of globalization and the media (Thongkrajai; Phillips), as well as a common thread in all the articles of the "basic" negotiating of life in a time of neoliberalism. There is no doubt that these articles exemplify complexities, as well as add depth and new perspectives to non-queer–specific studies, just as they add to the continual development of queer anthropology.

Michelle Walks, Postdoctoral Fellow, University of Ottawa. E-mail: michellewalks@gmail.com.

Acknowledgements

References

Boellstorff, Tom
    2007   Queer Studies in the House of Anthropology. Annual
           Review of Anthropology 36(1):17–35. http://dx.doi.org/
           10.1146/annurev.anthro.36.081406.094421

Dave, Naisargi N.
  2012 Queer Activism in India: A Story in the Anthropology
        of Ethics. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
        http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/9780822395683
Duggan, Lisa
  2003 The Twilight of Equality? Neoliberalism, Cultural
        Politics, and the Attack on Democracy. Boston:
        Beacon Press.
Engebretsen, Elisabeth Lund
  2013 Queer Women in Urban China: An Ethnography.
        London: Routledge.
Graham, Mark
  1998 Follow the Yellow Brick Road: An Anthropological
        Outing in Queer Space. Ethnos 63(1):102–132. http://
        dx.doi.org/10.1080/00141844.1998.9981566
Holmes, Cindy
  2012 Violence Denied, Bodies Erased: Towards an
        Interlocking Spatial Framework for Queer Anti-
        violence Organizing. Ph.D. dissertation,
        Interdisciplinary Studies, University of British
        Columbia.

Lewin, Ellen, and William L. Leap
  1996 Introduction. *In* Out in the Field: Reflections of
        Lesbian and Gay Anthropologists. Ellen Lewin and
        William L. Leap, eds. Pp. 1–28. Urbana: University of
        Illinois Press.
Lyons, Andrew P., and Harriet D. Lyons
  2006 The New Anthropology of Sexuality. Anthropologica
        48(2):153–157. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/25605307
Walks, Michelle
  2014 Raising Queerlings: Parenting with a Queer Art of
        Failure. *In* The Gay Agenda: Claiming Space,
        Identity, and Justice. Gerald Walton, ed. Pp. 121–136.
        New York: Peter Lang Publishing.
Weston, Kath
  1998[1993]
        Lesbian/Gay Studies in the House of Anthropology.
        Annual Review of Anthropology 22(1):339–367. http://
        dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev.an.22.100193.002011

Section thématique
« Nous sommes ici, et nous sommes *queer* ! » : une introduction aux études en anthropologie queer

Michelle Walks   *Université d'Ottawa*

Sans doute, l'utilisation du terme « queer » hérissera les poils de la nuque de certaines personnes, tandis que d'autres sourcilleront. Le mot « queer » évoque une histoire teintée de discrédit et de confrontation. S'appuyant sur Graham (1998), Tom Boellstorff remarque qu'en fait, « de nombreux anthropologues et d'autres n'aiment pas le terme *queer* "car il leur rappelle si lourdement l'homophobie et l'oppression" » (2007:18). Malgré ce passé, le mot *queer* a été réapproprié en vue de regrouper des personnes aux pratiques et identités sexuelles et de genre hors norme. Le mot a évidemment des origines anglophones euro-américaines, mais bien des individus et communautés dans de multiples pays autour du monde l'ont adopté et s'y identifient[1]. Certes, cette adoption n'est pas universelle et le terme demeure problématique, étant toujours considéré par plusieurs comme vecteur de confrontation. En fait, les tensions et l'inconfort qui lui sont associés font partie de ce que certaines personnes apprécient dans leur association avec le vocable. Cela dit, les identités et les pratiques changent avec le temps; il est fort probable qu'à l'avenir une expression différente devienne usitée pour référer à la réalité au cœur du présent numéro thématique.

La sexualité a constitué « un objet intellectuel de la tradition anthropologique depuis l'âge des Lumières » (Lyons et Lyons 2006:153; également observé par Boellstorff 2007:17). Et pourtant, l'intérêt de l'anthropologie pour le genre et la sexualité a connu des hauts et des bas au fil des années. Qui plus est, et comme le remarque Kath Weston :

> Avant que les ethnographes puissent cartographier le monde selon les territoires des pratiques transgenres et de la sexualité homophile, il fallait d'abord que l'homosexualité devienne un objet légitime de recherche anthropologique. Un des prérequis était la redéfinition de l'homosexualité, de la dimension d'une pathologie individuelle (le modèle médical) vers celle d'une construction culturelle. [Weston 1998:149]

Les caractéristiques de l'importance accordée à la sexualité (ou aux sexualités) et les interprétations théoriques qu'on leur applique ont varié avec le temps, en partie en lien avec les changements culturels marquant les contextes historiques et géographiques des anthropologues, ainsi que leurs intérêts personnels et professionnels. De plus, les anthropologues ont analysé, déterminé puis redéfini « ce qui compte » en tant que relations homosexuelles et pratiques transgenres dans une perspective transculturelle (Weston 1998 ; Boellstorff 2007; Lewin et Leap 1996).

Le contexte historique a généralement une influence sur ce que l'on considère comme la sexualité, la sexualité homosexuelle, le troisième sexe et les comportements et identités transgenres. Les premières études anthropologiques de la sexualité, s'échelonnant jusqu'à environ la moitié du 20e siècle, mettaient l'accent sur les cultures Autres, catégorisées selon deux axes principaux : soit « sises sous un voile d'ambiguïté et marquées par un jugement [négatif] – tout comme l'étaient les références à l'homosexualité dans le discours dominant » (Weston 1998:147), soit idéalisées, participant « aux fictions d'une promiscuité primitive » (Lyons et Lyons 2006:153). Un silence s'ensuivit de la part de notre discipline en matière d'études de la sexualité — peut-être associé à des efforts pour conquérir une « respectabilité scientifique » (Lyons et Lyons 2006:153). Par la suite, on constate une réémergence des études sur la sexualité autant « chez nous » que chez les Autres, très probablement galvanisée par les révolutions sexuelles en cours dans les sociétés occidentales. Durant chaque décennie depuis les années 1970, on constate une croissance exponentielle de la recherche et des publications en anthropologie LGBT (l'acronyme signifie lesbienne, gay, bisexuel-le, transgenre), tandis que de nouveaux champs thématiques ont émergé.

Depuis la résurgence des études anthropologiques sur la diversité des genres et des sexualités, nous pouvons identifier trois grandes phases qui se chevauchent dans le développement de l'anthropologie LGBT/queer : de la fin des années 1960 jusqu'au début des années 1990, de la fin des années 1980 jusqu'au début de la décennie 2000, et de la fin des années 1990 jusqu'à aujourd'hui. Durant la première phase, la recherche anthropologique se concentrait principalement sur les causes de l'homosexualité, sur les pratiques homosexuelles chez les hommes et sur quelques pratiques et identités transgenres/de troisième genre chez des personnes considérées comme masculines (dans le regard des anthropologues occidentaux). Parmi ces études, on peut penser aux recherches portant sur ce qu'on qualifie d'homosexualité ritualisée chez les Sambia de l'est de la Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée, chez les Hijras de l'Asie du Sud, auprès des Kathoeys de Thaïlande et des individus deux-esprits chez diverses Premières Nations d'Amérique du Nord (aussi identifiés comme « berdaches »). Comme maintes recherches anthropologiques de la période pré-postmoderne, ces études s'apparentaient à une « anthropologie de sauvetage », intéressée avant tout à l'Autre exotique et les « homosexualités indigènes » (Weston 1998:154). Cela dit, et parallèlement, l'intérêt pour la scène nord-américaine continuait de s'élargir, notamment au cours des deuxième et troisième phases.

Pendant la deuxième phase, une réorientation a commencé à voir le jour, associée aux courants du postmodernisme, au féminisme de la deuxième et de la troisième vague, et à la propagation du VIH et du SIDA. Dans les années 1980, alors que le VIH et le SIDA affectaient (et décimaient) de manière plus explicite les hommes gais, les individus trans et les travailleurs du sexe partout dans le monde, les anthropologues s'investirent dans des recherches sur le VIH et le SIDA touchant les populations perçues comme étant les plus à risque, en Amérique du Nord et ailleurs, et en focalisant généralement leur attention sur les populations LGBT/altersexuelles. « Dans les années 1990, les analyses ethnographiques du comportement et de l'identité homosexuelle, de la confusion des genres (androgynie, etc.), des communautés lesbiennes et gaies, des pratiques sexuelles transgressives et de l'homosocialité florissaient » (Weston 1998:147). Les années 1990 ont ensuite vu une augmentation notable des études portant sur les pratiques homosexuelles féminines. Un éventail plus large d'identités et de pratiques transgenres – que celles qui faisaient habituellement l'objet d'études (y compris des pratiques plus transmasculines [ou des pratiques soi-disant « associées au corps féminin »]) – étaient prises en compte, de même que l'émergence des études sur les familles LGBT/queer. Comme nous l'avons noté plus haut, on menait aussi davantage de recherches locales (à savoir dans des contextes occidentaux ou nord-américains). De la sorte la recherche ne se concentrait plus seulement sur les Autres, mais accordait une plus grande importance au contexte de leurs expériences et cultures, diminuant par là l'exotisme des comportements et identités autres. Dans la phase la plus récente de l'anthropologie LGBT/queer, la distanciation avec le caractère exotique des pratiques et identités transgenre s'est poursuivie. Et l'on peut également souligner l'élargissement de la portée et des thématiques des études sur l'altersexualité qui incluent maintenant un éventail encore plus diversifié d'identités et d'expériences transgenres, par exemple sur les familles, sur le parentage et la reproduction chez les LGBT/altersexuels; sur les pratiques BDSM; le militantisme LGBT/queer, les homophobies et sur toute une gamme de pratiques locales (nord-américaines)

Ce qui a différencié cette dernière phase de l'anthropologie LGBT/queer des précédentes ne tient pas seulement au fait que nous sommes passés « au-delà des enjeux de visibilité » (Weston 1998:175) et de la simple reconnaissance de leur/notre existence, mais aussi à une reconnaissance de notre contemporanéité où la mondialisation, le néolibéralisme, les migrations, et la mobilisation et la responsabilisation des acteurs doivent être pris en considération. Bien que les anthropologues se soient toujours intéressés au holisme, cette disposition s'avère nettement différente dans un monde où le commerce international, l'Internet et les autres médias, et la circulation des personnes et des idées sont de plus en plus rapides par rapport aux époques précédentes. Les articles rassemblés dans la présente section thématique offrent des exemples de la manière dont ces enjeux touchent les expériences et identités altersexuelles, tout en enrichissant le corpus des travaux sur l'activisme LGBT/queer (Engebretsen 2013; Dave 2012), soit explicitement ou implicitement. Aussi, comme c'est le cas dans un nombre croissant de projets ethnographiques récents, les concepts du néolibéralisme et de l'homonormativité sont centraux dans certains articles de cette section thématique (Murray; Phillips).

Lorsque l'on étudie ou que l'on tente simplement de comprendre les expériences et les identités LGBT/queer, aussi bien dans les contextes euroaméricains que dans les régions outremer touchées par l'impérialisme culturel et/ou le néolibéralisme, l'homonormativité est clé. L'homonormativité s'articule au néolibéralisme, au militantisme et à la différence que l'on fait parfois entre « gai » et « queer ». Alors que le terme « queer » est souvent utilisé comme un mot-parapluie pour l'ensemble des modes de vie regroupé en anglais sous l'acronyme LGBTQQ2IPA (ou lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, queer, questioning, Two Spirit, intersex, pansexual, allies), on l'utilise aussi en tant qu'identité et pratique distincte des identités et pratiques « gays ». Il y a là certainement une source de confusion pour plusieurs, mais comme l'explique Kath Weston :

> Si, au point de départ, les lesbiennes et les gais adoptent une identité sexuelle fixe, ou à tout le moins une catégorie appelée homosexualité, l'attitude queer se définit par la différence qu'elle marque avec les idéologies hégémoniques du genre et de la sexualité. [Weston 1998:159]

Essentiellement, l'argument va comme suit : être « gai » ne remet pas en question le statu quo, alors qu'être « queer », c'est le défier.

Cette différence est en lien avec l'homonormativité, comme je l'ai noté ailleurs, en ce que

si l'attitude « queer » est une revendication à la différence, l'hétéro et l'homonormativité visent à maintenir le statu quo. L'hétéronormativité reflète comment les politiques, les institutions, les individus et la société en général ont normalisé l'hétérosexualité – conjointement avec la monogamie et le patriarcat – au point que l'on prend pour acquis, de prime abord, que tout le monde est hétérosexuel. Par ailleurs, l'homonormativité renvoie à une forme de séparation politique (et représentationnelle) au sein des communautés LGBTQ; elle réfère à la pratique de normalisation de l'identité gaie ou lesbienne et au fait de ne pas constituer une menace à l'hétérosexualité ni à la remettre en question (Duggan, 2003). L'homonormativité démontre aux hétérosexuels que les gais sont « responsables, respectables et civilisés » (Holmes 2012:240). L'homonormativité a démontré son efficacité entre autres en permettant des gains comme celui du mariage. Grâce à ses succès politiques, et au fait que plusieurs croient que la seule différence entre les gais et lesbiennes et les hétéros est leur penchant pour un sexe plutôt qu'un autre, l'homonormativité a séduit bon nombre de gais et lesbiennes. Elle « ne brasse pas la cage », mais revendique simplement une reconnaissance similaire à celle des autres. Le néolibéralisme et l'homonormativité ont amplifié la distinction entre qui est un gai acceptable (« les gays ») de qui ne l'est pas (« les queers ») aux yeux des personnes à l'intérieur comme à l'extérieur des communautés LGBTQ. [Walks 2014:124]

Pourtant, la division entre gais et queers n'est pas si simple. Il y a un flux et reflux constant, pour des raisons de sécurité ou de commodité, et les gens façonnent leurs identités et politiques intersectionnelles selon leur entourage immédiat et les institutions avec qui ils/elles sont en relation. On trouvera ici des exemples de telles complexités dans les articles de Murray et de Phillips.

Alors qu'une section thématique d'Anthropologica s'était intéressée à la nouvelle anthropologie de la sexualité en 2006 (Lyons et Lyons), la présente section thématique à la fois élargit et resserre cette focalisation. Tandis qu'en 2006 les articles couvraient des sujets tels que l'inceste, le mariage homosexuel, la bisexualité, le travail du sexe et le BDSM, le présent numéro est décidément plus canadien, puisque quatre contributions en anglais proviennent d'anthropologues affiliés à des universités canadiennes. Deux articles portent sur des immigrants à Toronto (Murray) et Vancouver (Kojima), s'intéressant aux réfugiés LGBT et à la diaspora asiatique gaie respectivement. Au plan thématique, les articles se concentrent sur les questions de l'activisme (Phillips) et des expériences transgenres (Zengin, Thongkrajai). À la fois individuellement et dans leur ensemble, les articles

présentent de nouvelles perspectives sur des enjeux et des identités déjà étudiés en anthropologie, tel le regard de Thongkrajai sur les Katoeys de Thaïlande, et les expériences d'immigration LGBT/queer couvertes par Murray et Kojima.

Mais de nouveaux thèmes anthropologiques sont également abordés, comme dans l'article de Zengin sur les expériences trans en Turquie et celui de Phillips sur l'expérience et l'activisme LGBT/queer à Singapour. De plus, au-delà des études sur la diversité sexuelle et de genre, les articles examinent notre époque où les gens font face à la médicalisation (Zengin), à la négociation d'identités migrantes et en diaspora dans des terres d'accueil (Murray, Kojima), et aux conséquences de la mondialisation et des médias sur la vie des personnes (Thongkrajai, Phillips). Un fil conducteur reliant les articles concerne comment se négocient « les bases » de la vie dans une époque néolibérale (Murray, Kojima, Phillips, Zengin, Thongkrajai). Nul doute, ces textes mettent en lumière des complexités ; ils approfondissent et apportent de nouvelles perspectives aux études spécifiques « non-queer », et contribuent à l'essor de l'anthropologie queer.

Michelle Walks, chercheure postdoctorale, Université d'Ottawa. Courriel : michellewalks@gmail.com.

Remerciements

Je voudrais exprimer ma gratitude à la rédactrice en chef d'*Anthropologica*, Naomi McPherson pour m'avoir donné l'opportunité de rassembler cette section thématique. Je remercie également chacun des contributeurs, puisque chacun des articles consolide ce numéro. J'ai eu beaucoup de plaisir à travailler avec chacun/chacune d'entre vous. Merci.

Note

1 N. du traducteur : Termium, la base de données terminologique du Bureau de la traduction du gouvernement fédéral canadien, propose deux équivalents pour l'adjectif *queer* : allosexuel et altersexuel. Termium fait le commentaire suivant :

> Se définissent ainsi comme « queer » des personnes aux pratiques et/ou préférences sexuelles non exclusivement hétérosexuelles ou ayant des caractéristiques qui ne correspondent pas aux normes liées à leur sexe, mais qui ne souhaitent pas se (voir) définir plus précisément, que ce soit par leur sexe (homme ou femme) ou leurs pratiques sexuelles. Depuis les années 2000, les mots allosexuel et altersexuel constituent des tentatives de traduction en français.

Notons aussi que dans diverses communautés francophones, le mot *queer* est utilisé avec les mêmes intentions de confrontation et les mêmes connotations de marginalité identifiées par l'auteure pour l'univers anglophone, connotations qui sont absentes des termes allosexuel et altersexuel.

Références

Boellstorff, Tom
2007 Queer Studies in the House of Anthropology. Annual Review of Anthropology 36(1):17–35. http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.36.081406.094421
Dave, Naisargi N.
2012 Queer Activism in India: A Story in the Anthropology of Ethics. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/9780822395683
Duggan, Lisa
2003 The Twilight of Equality? Neoliberalism, Cultural Politics, and the Attack on Democracy. Boston: Beacon Press.
Engebretsen, Elisabeth Lund
2013 Queer Women in Urban China: An Ethnography. London: Routledge.
Graham, Mark
1998 Follow the Yellow Brick Road: An Anthropological Outing in Queer Space. Ethnos 63(1):102–132. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00141844.1998.9981566
Holmes, Cindy
2012 Violence Denied, Bodies Erased: Towards an Interlocking Spatial Framework for Queer Anti-violence Organizing. Thèse de doctorat, études interdisciplinaires, University of British Columbia.
Lewin, Ellen et William L. Leap
1996 Introduction. *Dans* Out in the Field: Reflections of Lesbian and Gay Anthropologists. Ellen Lewin et William L. Leap, dirs. Pp. 1–28. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
Lyons, Andrew P. et Harriet D. Lyons
2006 The New Anthropology of Sexuality. Anthropologica 48(2):153–157. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/25605307
Walks, Michelle
2014 Raising Queerlings: Parenting with a Queer Art of Failure. *Dans* The Gay Agenda: Claiming Space, Identity, and Justice. Gerald Walton, dir. Pp. 121–136. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.
Weston, Kath
1998[1993]
Lesbian/Gay Studies in the House of Anthropology. Annual Review of Anthropology 22(1):339–367. http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev.an.22.100193.002011

Real Queer: "Authentic" LGBT Refugee Claimants and Homonationalism in the Canadian Refugee System[1]

David A.B. Murray   *York University*

Abstract: Since the early 1990s, Canada has become a primary destination for individuals who make refugee claims on the basis of sexual orientation persecution. Based on interviews with lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) identified refugee claimants, social workers and refugee lawyers in Toronto, I argue that LGBT refugees and those who work with them are enmeshed in a system predicated upon highly malleable, historically and socio-politically specific sexual terms and identities that privilege particular gendered, classed and raced interests and, thus, place LGBT refugees from non-North American societies in a particularly vulnerable position.

Keywords: refugees, sexuality, immigration, nationalism, Canada

Résumé : Depuis le début des années 1990, le Canada est devenu une destination de choix pour les individus qui demandent le statut de réfugié en raison de la persécution de leur orientation sexuelle. À partir d'entrevues auprès de demandeurs d'asile lesbiennes, gays, bisexuel-les et transgenres (LGBT), ainsi qu'avec des travailleurs sociaux et des avocats en immigration de Toronto, j'avance l'argument que les réfugiés LGBT et ceux qui travaillent avec eux sont empêtrés dans un système basé sur des catégories et des identités sexuelles hautement malléables aux plans historique et sociopolitique, qui privilégient des intérêts particuliers de genre, de classe et de race. De la sorte, ce système place les réfugiés LGBT en provenance de sociétés autres que nord-américaines dans une position particulièrement vulnérable.

Mots-clés : refugies, sexualité, immigration, nationalisme, Canada

Introduction

At a meeting in Toronto for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered (LGBT)[2] refugees who had received a positive decision from the Immigration and Refuge Board and were in the process of applying for permanent residency, the conversation focused on what the members had liked and disliked about the weekly LGBT refugee claimant support group meetings they had attended. Most of the conversation focused on the positive aspects of the group—how it was a "home away from home," providing emotional support and important information for LGBT people going through the refugee claim process and adapting to a new life in Canada. However, toward the end, one member, Janine, started to talk about how things had changed since she first started coming to the meetings about 10 months before. She noted that these meetings used to have only 40 to 50 people attending each week but now had grown to almost 200. Janine now felt unsafe at the meetings, because she had been "hit on" by some of the men there and she saw some people from her own country whom she did not think were gay or lesbian. For example, she said, a few weeks before, she had seen a woman at the group meeting and then later outside, she saw a guy feeling her up. "I know she's claiming refugee status as a lesbian and it pisses me off." Janine wished there was some way to find out who the "fakers" were and get them out: "They're using our tactics and they're making it harder for people like us." She was worried about her friends who were suffering back in her country of origin and planning to come to Canada, but the system was getting so "corrupt" it would be increasingly difficult for them. Others in the group murmured their agreement and one person added how the group was now "alienating and unfriendly ... [with] 99 per cent new faces, it feels totally straight." The facilitator responded that their concern was duly noted and would be addressed by the group's administrators.

Perhaps not so coincidentally, this conversation about fake refugees in an LGBT refugee support group contained similar themes to comments made by the Canadian government as it introduced Bill C-31 in 2011, the aim of which was to "reform" and fundamentally change certain components of the refugee system in Canada by speeding up the claim process, introducing mandatory detention and denying appeal procedures for certain categories of refugees. (The bill passed in the House of Parliament in June 2012 and was implemented in December 2012.) Jason Kenney, Minister of Citizenship, Immigration and Multiculturalism, and his Conservative Party majority government claimed that the reforms were in part motivated by the fact that the "system is clogged with false applications" (Smith 2012) and the refugee backlog was due in part to "fraudulent claims" (Ling 2012).

In this article, I argue that the talk of "false, fake and fraudulent" versus "true, authentic and genuine" sexual minority refugees, which pervades different levels and networks of the Canadian refugee system, is nothing new (Mountz 2010), as the refugee determination process is a quasi-legal juridical system in which most cases are predicated upon the "credibility of the claimant, along with documentary evidence of the claimant's country" (Showler 2006).[3] In other words, a process focused on the determination of "credibility" is premised upon the assumption that truth can be deduced through the analysis of factual evidence, which in most refugee cases is primarily oral narratives and written documents. The objective of evaluating credible evidence is to determine if the claimant fits the definition of a refugee outlined in the Canadian Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA), much of which is based on the United Nations Refugee Convention and Protocols. However, individuals who are claiming protection as a refugee on the basis of sexual orientation or gendered identity persecution face the daunting double challenge of proving that their sexual orientation or gendered identity is "credible" (i.e., that they who they say they are) and that they have been persecuted based on their membership in this particular social category. This challenge led more than one claimant to ask at the peer support group meetings, "How do I prove that I'm gay/lesbian/bisexual and that I have been persecuted?"

If we examine how refugees, their lawyers and support groups workers try to answer or negotiate this question and the attendant pervasive surveillance around real versus fake LGBT refugees, then we begin to uncover the struggle over diverse historical and socio-cultural understandings of and intersecting relationships between sexual desires and practices and gendered,

sexual, raced, classed and national identity formations. As we examine this struggle, which in the case of refugees, is deeply embedded in the gate-keeping mechanisms of the nation-state, a particular narrative of sexual identity and experience emerges as hegemonic or normative, thus producing a template of the "real" or "authentic" sexual minority refugee. In this article, I argue that this privileged configuration of sexual orientation reflects a particular historical configuration of gendered, raced and classed interests and experiences. This delimited "LGBT" identity has recently become an additional feature of Canadian national identity discourse that is already raced, gendered and classed and serves to undergird and enforce the privileged position of the neoliberal Canadian nation-state's political and economic power on the transnational stage. That is, "authentic" LGBT refugees are now valorized in Canadian nationalist discourses because they have arrived in a nation where sexual diversity is held aloft as a feature of a "civilized" society, opposed to "uncivilized" societies characterized by their rampant homophobia. This is a similar argument to Jasbir Puar's (2007) analysis of the operation of homonationalist sexual identity politics in the post-9/11 United States, where a highly delimited definition of sexual identity—one that is gendered, raced and classed—is employed (in a deeply contradictory way) to justify heightened security and militarization of U.S. borders to protect "tolerant" America from the homophobic, intolerant, monstrous, racialized immigrant other. Lionel Cantú (2009:56, 62) makes a similar argument in his research on sexuality and Mexican immigrant men when he observes that "the repeated narratives" in sexual asylum cases operate as discursive practices that have transformed the concept of the homosexual from a figure that was completely outside nationalist imaginaries to one of immutable essence which has come to delimit and define U.S.–Mexican national borders.[4] In developing this argument, I follow the lead of researchers who are interrogating how queer migration contests and reconfigures nation-states and national regimes (see Kuntsman 2008; Luibhéid 2008; Manalansan 2003; Razack 1998; White 2010, 2013; Yue 2008) and, in particular, research that examines queer complicities with neoliberalism, best exemplified through Lisa Duggan's concept of homonormativity as "a politics that does not contest dominant heteronormative assumptions and institutions, but upholds and sustains them, while promising the possibility of a demobilized gay constituency and a privatized, depoliticized gay culture anchored in domesticity and consumption" (2003:50) and extended through Puar's concept of "homonationalism." Examining the category of the (in)authentic LGBT refugee in

different domains of refugee support networks and in conversations among refugee claimants reveals the discursive power of homonationalist formations and the ways in which they work to include a few and exclude many, thus further enforcing a neoliberal, multicultural national agenda that masks the centrality of race, gender, class and other intersecting structures of inequality for an ever-increasing global system of capitalist exploitation (Eng 2010:9).

I begin with a brief overview of research on sexual minority refugees to outline the major thematic directions in this burgeoning field of scholarship. Next, I provide examples of "real versus fake" refugee talk among refugee claimants and their support workers that elucidate the centrality of homonationalism as an underlying precept of the Canadian refugee determination system and Canadian neoliberal, multiculturalist discourses. These discourses privilege particular intersections of sexual, raced, classed and gendered belonging, while simultaneously occluding ongoing practices of racism, sexism, class exploitation and border securitization (Eng 2010; Mountz 2010; Thobani 2007, White 2013).

Sexual Minority Refugee Research

Since the early 1990s, Canada has been a primary destination for individuals who make refugee claims on the basis of sexual orientation persecution (LaViolette 2009). While reports of most refugee decisions in Canada are unpublished (Rehaag 2008) and it is difficult to obtain exact numbers of sexual minority refugees due to changes in the organization of refugee claims statistics, according to the Immigration and Refugee Board (IRB) Director of Access to Information and Privacy, between 2002 and 2006, 6 per cent of all principle claim cases were related to sexual orientation and, from 2009 to 2011, the overall percentage grew slightly to 6.5 per cent.[5] Another report maintains that, in 2004, the IRB made decisions on 1,351 sexual orientation claims (out of an approximate total of 34,000 refugee claims), with a 49 per cent average grant rate, similar to other refugee categories, such as political or religious affiliation (Rehaag 2008). Lawyers and other immigration service providers with whom I spoke in 2010–11 believed that the overall number of sexual orientation refugee claims has increased in recent years due to Canada's increasing international reputation as a "safe haven" for sexual minority refugees.[6] I attended the meetings of two LGBT refugee support groups in Toronto, which is recognized as the primary Canadian destination where these individuals arrive and await the outcome of their claim.[7] One of these groups met weekly in a venue located in the area known as "the gay village" in downtown Toronto. As noted by Janine at the beginning of this article, this group had grown substantially, from approximately 40 members in early 2010 (when I first attended) to just under 200 by December 2011, thus supporting the above claims made by lawyers and service providers. However, until recently, not a great deal has been written about this growing component of Canadian urban queer communities, their experiences of the refugee claim process, their adjustments to everyday life, their impact on the social, political and cultural dimensions of these communities, or their impact on the changing regulatory and disciplinary structures of Canadian immigration and citizenship making institutions.

The burgeoning field of queer migration studies explores how overlapping regimes of power and knowledge generate and transform identity categories, particularly as they related to gender and sexuality (Cantú 2009; Decena 2011; Epps et al. 2005; Espin 1999; Hart 2002; Jordan 2010; Luibhéid 2002, 2008; Luibhéid and Cantú 2005; Manalansan 2003, 2006; Patton and Sanchez-Eppler 2000; Weston 2008; White 2010, 2013). This body of scholarship has been enabled by understanding sexuality as constructed within multiple intersecting relations of power, including race, ethnicity, gender, class, citizenship status and geopolitical location. It also foregrounds ongoing transnational ties between migrants and their homelands and how migration affects others in both the old and new homelands, as well as those who migrate. Finally, this body of scholarship not only reveals the fundamental ways in which sexuality undergirds the organization and boundaries of nation-state, citizenship and national identity projects but also connects migration and sexuality to transnational capitalism and neo-imperialism. While queer migration scholars no longer take for granted the boundaries of the nation-state, nationalism and nation-based citizenship, they now theorize these concepts as critical loci for upholding and contesting regional transnational and neo-imperial hierarchies and for producing forms of exclusion, marginalization and struggle for transformation (Luibhéid 2008; see also Agathangelou 2004; Carillo 2004; Gopinath 2005). I am particularly interested in following the lead of researchers who are interrogating how queer migration contests and reconfigures nation-states and national regimes (see Kuntsman 2008; Puar 2007; White 2010, 2013; Yue 2008).

Queer migration studies is generally critical of the various distinctions made between "legal immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers or undocumented immigrants" (Luibhéid and Cantú 2005:xi), as these terms are less reflections of empirically verifiable differences among queer migrants (who often shift from one category to

another) than techniques of the nation-state's power, which classifies migrants to delimit the rights they may have or be denied, and the forms of surveillance, discipline, normalization and exploitation to which they will be subjected (Luibhéid and Cantú 2005; see also Glick-Schiller et al. 1992; Povinelli and Chauncey 1999). However, we must take into account how these terms invoke different limitations and possibilities as they intersect with other forms of inequality and discrimination. For example, according to Miller (2005), a person seeking asylum because of persecution on account of sexual orientation, gender identity or HIV status faces additional challenges. This is in part because asylum involves "a moment of transnational judgment when the decision makers of one nation decide not only on the credibility of the individual asylum claimant, but on the errors or strengths of the protection of rights in the country from which the claimant flees" (143). This argument resonates deeply with my fieldwork with LGBT refugees in Toronto, which I will return to below.

Much of queer migration scholarship has been generated by U.S. scholars and focuses on issues pertaining to immigration in the United States (see Canaday 2009; Cantú 2009; Epps et al. 2005; Luibhéid 2002, 2008; Luibhéid and Cantú 2005). While there are broad conceptual and thematic similarities between Canada and the United States in terms of their settler-state histories and international political and economic power, there are also significant historical and contemporary differences in terms of constitutional law, social policy and attitudes toward homosexuality, immigration and refugees. In the Canadian context, there is a large and diverse body of research examining issues of im/migration as it intersects with racism, gender, class, multiculturalism, nationalism and citizenship, but until recently less attention has focused on the role and significance of sexuality in migration processes and attendant nation-state structures, hegemonies and policies, although this is rapidly changing (see Dua 2007; Iacovetta 2000; Macklin 2003; Valverde 2008). The history of Canadian sexual minority refugee law and ongoing problems in refugee decision-making processes are now receiving some attention. Socio-legal scholars are analyzing documentation of IRB decisions on sexual minority refugees and producing valuable insights into the challenges sexual minority refugees face in producing credible documentary evidence about origin country conditions at their hearings (see LaViolette 2009). This body of research also analyzes problematic assumptions about homosexual, bisexual or transgendered identities made by decision-makers that can negatively impact the outcome of the hearing (Berg and Millbank 2009; Millbank

2009; Rehaag 2008). However, there has been no sustained investigation of the Canadian refugee process from the perspectives of those who claim refugee status on the basis of sexual orientation and gendered identity persecution. Neither has there been any comprehensive analysis of the transnational organizations, networks and discourses that contribute toward the movement of these individuals from their country of origin to Canadian urban centres. Furthermore, while the research on queer migration in Canada acknowledges the importance of studying the intersectionality of sexuality with the nation-state, gender, class and race, the unique and particular circumstances, negotiations and challenges facing sexual minority refugees in Canada, their migration and adaptation to a new homeland, and the impact of their narratives on the citizenship-making institutions of the Canadian nation-state (and vice versa) have yet to be related and analyzed (for important exceptions, see Jordan 2010 and Ou Jin Lee and Brotman 2011). Pursuing the ground-breaking work of queer and feminist scholars such as Ahmed (2001), Eng (2010), Jordan (2010), Haritaworn (2012), Luibhéid and Cantú (2005), Manalansan (2003), Razack (1998), Puar (2007), Thobani (2007) and White (2010, 2013), I apply an analytical framework that foregrounds refugee claimants' adaptive agency in navigating refugee processes and policies that reinforce racialized, classed and gendered inequality and perpetuate neoliberal agendas of the Canadian settler-colonial state. The folding of a specific formation of an "authentic" LGBT identity into the asylum and immigration system reinforces "the invidious distinctions made between migrants in migration policies, which are based on North-South relations, their class position, race/ethnicity, gender or other marker of differences including disability and sexual orientation" (Bakan and Stasiulis 2003:12). This results in the granting of citizenship to preferred subjects bearing particular, valorized combinations of race, gender, class and sexuality.

For this research project, I conducted intake interviews with 54 LGBT-identified refugee claimants, then two or three follow-up interviews with eight of these individuals over a period of 24 months. I visited some members of this smaller group of eight in their homes and attended their hearings at the IRB offices. I also regularly attended two support groups for LGBT refugees from July 2011 to July 2012. The vast majority of participants (over 90 per cent) were from Caribbean or African nations and, within these two broad regions, the majority was from Nigeria or Jamaica; however, there were also participants from Latin America, the Middle East and Eastern Europe. It is important to note that I worked only with refugees who had claimed refugee pro-

tection from inside Canada; that is, they had lodged their claim at a port of entry such as a Canadian airport or they had gone to a Citizenship and Immigration Office (CIC) in Toronto after arriving in Canada. I did not work with LGBT refugees who were resettled from outside Canada or privately sponsored. "Out of country" LGBT refugee claimants represent an important dimension of research that is not addressed in my project.

In/Authentic Refugees

Almost all of the interviewees whom I met through the LGBT refugee support groups were in the pre-hearing stage of the process; that is, they had arrived in Canada and submitted their refugee claim upon or after their arrival. The majority were still waiting for their hearing date with the IRB when I first interviewed them. Up until recently, this could be a long wait, taking anywhere from 8 to 24 months.[8] The settlement period for refugee claimants involved spending a lot of time working through various levels of legal, provincial and federal bureaucracies, beginning with filling out refugee claim application forms with the CIC, applying for legal aid, visiting law offices, taking medical exams, applying for a work permit, applying for social assistance (Ontario Works) and a temporary Social Insurance Number and trying to obtain additional relevant documentation for the hearing. Furthermore, many interviewees were searching for permanent accommodation—some were staying with family, some were in shelters and some were sharing apartments with roommates whom they were not "out" to or did not feel safe with.

Most interviewees had been told by their lawyers or fellow refugee claimants that, while they were waiting for their hearing, work permit and social insurance number, they should start volunteering with LGBT, HIV/AIDS and other community organizations. These organizations would be able to write letters confirming their volunteer membership, which could then be submitted to the IRB as part of the documentation package used as evidence to demonstrate their credibility as a participating and engaged member of the LGBT community. Additional recommended documentation to help demonstrate sexual orientation credibility included personal photographs of the claimants and their partners or of the claimants attending LGBT events like the Pride March in Toronto or LGBT gatherings and events in their countries of origin, letters from current and past romantic partners, and letters from friends and family members attesting to the claimants' sexual orientation.

Most of the interviewees spoke about the vital importance of LGBT refugee support groups—for many, this was the first time they had been in a safe space

with "people like me" (Olu), where they could talk with each other, find out information about what was expected at hearings and how other lawyers were treating their clients, what jobs other refugees were finding and other issues pertaining to the refugee determination process and settlement. In addition, the support groups were social spaces in which people made new friendships, flirted and sometimes started up new romantic relationships. However, some interviewees made comments similar to the one at the beginning of this paper: they were somewhat wary of these groups, as they felt there were individuals from their home nations in attendance whom they "knew" were not lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgendered and, in fact, had been homophobic toward them back home.

Rumours about who is or is not a "real" or "genuine" LGBT refugee and ongoing anxiety over being able to demonstrate the authenticity of one's own sexual orientation were a common topic of conversation in these support groups, discussed by both group members and leaders. One refugee support group volunteer, who wrote letters for refugee claimants confirming their membership, attendance and participation in the support group, told me that he sometimes felt uncomfortable writing a letter for particular individuals whom he did not think were really gay. When I asked how he knew this, he said, "Well there was one guy who shook my hand so hard I thought it would fall off—plus, he said he had a wife and child back home." The firmness of the handshake and the wife and child reference made him suspicious of the refugee claimant's "true" sexual orientation. Another group leader told me there were some people attending the support group meetings whom she suspected weren't gay but were coming "just so they can get the letter," because they had heard the letter had become the gold standard among some IRB members when determining sexual orientation credibility. Another group facilitator told me that IRB members were becoming more suspicious of the Nigerian gay and bisexual claimants because so many of them had the exact same story: a family member threatened to beat, kill or ostracize the individual when they found out he had sexual relationships with men, forcing the individual to leave immediately without any plan, funds or documents. The facilitator claimed that some board members believed these Nigerian claimants were being trained, either by an "agent" back in Nigeria or by communicating with each other about "what works," to get a successful hearing.

It should not be all that surprising to find this genuine/authentic versus fake/bogus refugee discourse in various contexts of the refugee system, since the system is built upon a series of legal and legislative policies

that presuppose a clear-cut definition and process to determine who does and who does not qualify as a refugee. As Hall (2012:104) notes, legislative developments within asylum and immigration systems are underpinned by moral distinctions between the "undeserving" asylum seeker and the "deserving," genuine refugee. If refugee claimants do not present their stories in the right order with the necessary components or they do not comport themselves in a way that conforms with refugee workers', other refugees' or decision-makers' preconceptions of the authentic LGBT refugee, then they run the risk of being labelled inauthentic or fake. The persistent surveillance of authenticity at all levels of the global refugee system illustrates its centrality as a gate-keeping mechanism for the nation-state. Thus, while claiming to enact policies and procedures to ensure protection of persecuted individuals and groups, "authenticity" is as much about ensuring the exclusion of those who do not fit the particular (and highly malleable) categories of refugee (Hall 2012:104).

At support group meetings and in conversations with lawyers and peers, LGBT refugee claimants quickly learn that at their hearing (the event where the claimant's case is cross-examined by a board member on the evidence contained in the refugee claim application[9]) the burden of proof rests upon the claimants to persuade the board member that their claims are credible and eligible for refugee protection. As noted above, for most LGBT refugee claimants, the burden of proof that must be demonstrated is generally twofold: they must prove to the board member they are a member of a particular social group and they must prove that, as a member of this social group, they face persecution. Examining issues that arise in eliciting and presenting a sexual orientation refugee narrative in a hearing, Berg and Millbank (2009:196) note that sexual orientation refugee claimants face additional challenges because much of the adjudication is based on the personal narrative of the applicant. Unlike claims based on political opinion, nationality or religion—which more commonly have some form of independent verification of group membership—sexual orientation claims depend mostly on the presentation of internal, often unspoken or unspeakable qualities, desires and practices such that extremely private experiences infuse all aspects of the claim. Furthermore, "in the refugee context, it is always the decision maker and not the applicant who has the power to name, the authority to decide who the applicant 'really' is and what sexuality 'really' means" (208).

As numerous researchers have pointed out, sexual and gendered desires, identities and prejudices are organized in complex and multiple ways within and across social, cultural and national borders (Manalansan 2006; Miller 2005; Murray 2009). Demonstrating "authentic sexual orientation" in the refugee determination process becomes deeply entangled in socio-sexual terms with particular socio-cultural definitions and histories (which are, themselves, in constant flux); yet, particular configurations of these terms circulate in privileged positions within refugee discourses, policies and events. Thus, for example, an Afro-Caribbean woman from a rural, impoverished community in St. Lucia who has had sexual relations with women and men may not identify or feel comfortable with the socio-sexual identity categories of lesbian, gay or bisexual used by IRB members at the hearing, as these terms are freighted with particular Euro-American racial, gendered and class qualities. If she does not produce adequate documentation (such as letters from family members and former and current sexual/romantic partners, and police and medical reports), answer questions or perform in ways that reproduce the board member's understanding of sexual orientation, then she risks failing to be "credibly" or gay or lesbian. Thus, in addition to Cantú's (2009:55–73) observation that the asylum process requires queer applicants to attribute their persecution to a reified version of their country of origin's national culture that is cast in racialist, colonialist terms, I am arguing that the credibility of LGBT refugee claimants is also evaluated through processes and questions that impose a prism of assumptions about "real" gays or lesbians that reflect white, middle-class LGBT experiences and beliefs about their own and "other" cultures—what a handshake should feel like, how one should act in LGBT support group settings or how a narrative of persecution should be constructed (or conversely, when a narrative becomes suspiciously repetitious). Berg and Millbank (2009:207–215) reveal how adjudicators often apply their own understandings of sexual identity based on a staged model of sexual identity development, which is itself based on specific cultural, gendered, raced and classed experiences and operates with particular assumptions about sexual identity as fixed, discoverable and moving from a position of closeted to "coming out," in which the hearing serves as the apotheosis to this narrative. Once again, as Manalansan (2009) has demonstrated, this staged model of sexual identity development reflects a hegemonic white, middle-class gay subjectivity that judges other possible formations to be "less liberated" or, worse, "untrue."

While Berg and Millbank (2009) point out the numerous and profound problems inherent in applying a staged model of sexual development to adjudicate sexual

minority refugee narratives, I think it is important to note that many of the refugee claimants with whom I worked were not naïve about this model and other components of the adjudicating process. They spent a great deal of time and energy learning about the structure and process of the hearing and what was necessary to ensure they would appear as credible and authentic, both in their file and at the hearing. In other words, the refugee claimants were actively engaged with the system in which they had been placed and exercised agency in their efforts to meet or fit into these racialized, gendered and classed standards of evaluation (albeit to greater or lesser degrees of success depending on the individual claimant). As they learned about the refugee system in Canada, in refugee support groups and in conversations with their lawyers and each other, they also learned about the criteria used to determine credibility which could then be used to critically evaluate other refugee claimants who did not appear to perform according to the normative script of LGBT identity.

"Real versus fake" refugee questions take on additional freight when they are applied to racialized bodies, which applies to most of the refugee claimants I interviewed, as they were from Caribbean or African nation-states and, upon arriving in Toronto, came to be identified as a visible minority in addition to being a sexual minority. As numerous scholars have noted, the "black" body is always/already doubted or debated in North American mainstream, white, LGBT discourses based on assumptions about "down low" (hidden homosexual) practices and "macho" black masculinities that are problematically classified as homophobic (Ferguson 2004; Johnson and Henderson 2005; Manalansan 2009). Doubt or disbelief is augmented when racialized bodies are also refugee bodies. These "foreigners" are perceived to be seeking state protection (and eventually citizenship) based on their claim to being queer and persecuted. But their claims are judged, evaluated and scrutinized according to a normative white, middle-class, LGBT identity script in everyday settings as well as every step of the way through the refugee process—from the Canadian Border and Security Agency officers at the airport, to support group volunteers, to fellow refugee claimants and, finally, to the IRB members. Some of this suspicion may be generated through cross-cultural *mis*translations (which are often linked to racialized stereotypes), but I would argue that suspicion is more profoundly generated through the racialized, gendered and classed hierarchies and normativities that undergird the structure of the refugee system itself.

All queer refugee claimants are negotiating proscribed identity narratives before, during and after their hearings and struggle to make hidden, invisible or highly personal aspects of the self legible according to the terms and rules of refugee system (this includes interactions with adjudicators, support workers, volunteers and other queer refugees). These terms and rules are premised upon the exclusionary process of determining an authentic refugee, resulting in the need to constantly search for and define a fake refugee as much as save the authentic one. When differential understandings of self and sexual desire come into contact with a refugee determination process premised upon specific formations of socio-sexual identity reflecting Euro-American white, middle-class, cisgender subjectivities, the potential for misinterpretation and, in turn, accusations of "false identity" are all the more likely.

Homonationalism in Queer Refugee Narratives

Homonationalism emerged as a theme in several interviews and engages with similar issues found in authentic-versus-fake LGBT refugee talk. Toward the end of most intake interviews, I asked interviewees what they thought of Canada as a potential new "home" and how it compared to their nation of origin. It should be noted that most of the intake interviews took place just after the Toronto Pride festivities in July and August 2011. Many of the interviewees had either participated or volunteered in various Pride events, ranging from marching in the Pride parade to helping out with community organizations like the 519 or Blackcap (Black Coalition for Aids Prevention).[10] The majority of interviewees said they had enjoyed themselves and talked about how Pride was the first time they had seen so many LGBT people together in public and how liberating this was, although some mentioned that it was a bit overwhelming as well. Olu, a Nigerian man, told me that walking around the streets during Pride made him realize that "Canada was the place for me, for here I can be myself." He said he could never go back to Nigeria and "go back into hiding" after experiencing this event.

At another refugee support group meeting, held a few months after the Pride festivities, the theme of the evening was "learning about Canada." The facilitator presented several PowerPoint slides with information or questions pertaining to Canadian political organizations, laws and social customs. One of the slides contained the following quote: "Canada is known to have the best living conditions, the most money, the lowest poverty in the world and is considered the most civilized country in the world." The facilitator asked the group what they thought about this statement. Several people shouted out that they agreed, but others said it is not

true. The facilitator responded, "How many countries can you go to apply for refugee status and get social assistance and legal aid? Not the USA for sure, you get nothing, not even legal aid … Holland's a little better but you have to wait five years to get status and you must learn their language and get a job." One person then raised a hand to ask, "If you don't believe this statement, then what are you doing here?"

Olu's sentiments and the opinions expressed at the group meeting might be labelled "inaugural homonationalism" based on the claimants' recent arrival into Canada and their initial experience of the stark contrasts between life in their countries of origin and the celebratory atmosphere of Pride festivities, which could be interpreted to represent Canadian national attitudes toward diverse sexualities (a message that is often conveyed through Pride publicity and advertising). These comments about the freedom and opportunities in Canada resonate with homonationalist discourses found in Canadian mainstream media discussing LGBT refugees, rights and activism (Jenicek et al. 2009). As Jenicek, Wong and Ou Jin Lee observe in their analysis of Canadian media coverage of sexual minority refugees, they now constitute another group of "'mediating agents,' employed and deployed by the press to maintain numerous imperialist binaries, with the acceptance of sexual minorities offering a fresh example of the West's progressiveness and cultural superiority" (2009:637). Based on the above comments, it appears that, for some refugee claimants, their initial experiences in urban queer Toronto "fit" the homonationalist discourse of Canada as a nation that embraces LGBT communities, supports LGBT rights and is part of "progressive liberal democratic" nation-states. However, it is important to keep in mind the social and political context in which these inaugural homonationalist claims were made. For example, in interviews, participants may have associated the interviewer (a gay-identified, middle-age, white male affiliated with a university) to be in a similar position of authority and power to that of an IRB adjudicator or that it was important for their narrative and opinions to be presented consistently in any pre-hearing context. Part of that narrative includes a requisite statement of gratitude toward the host nation for "rescuing" them from persecution and "allowing" them to be free as an LGBT-identified member of society. A similar dynamic might be operating in refugee support group meetings, where members attend not only to obtain information about the refugee process and life in Toronto but also to obtain a letter from the group facilitator confirming their membership in the group. This letter would then be sub-

mitted to the IRB as part of a package of documents attesting to the claimant's credibility as an LGBT-identified person. Supporting homonationalist statements like "Canada … is considered the most civilized country in the world" might be a strategic move to ensure one is viewed as a model group member and thus deserving a strong letter of support.

However, in subsequent conversations with some of the participants, inaugural homonationalist declarations were sometimes replaced with questions and critiques based on encounters that took some of the sheen off the "promised land" veneer. For example, Olu told me that he was taking a taxi from Union Station (the central train station in Toronto) to the 519 Community Centre on Church Street, and, as they drove up Church Street, the taxi driver, who was "a Pakistani guy," according to Olu, said that he did not like this area. When Olu asked him why not, he appeared uncomfortable and, when Olu asked him to stop in front of the 519 building, Olu said he became really uncomfortable. It was, for Olu, a moment when he realized that not everyone here likes "gays" and that he might have to exercise caution about what he says to whom in Canada, although he was aware that here he could, in theory, go to the police if he was harassed or assaulted because of his sexual orientation, which was very different from back home.

Another interviewee, Rene, who was from a small Caribbean nation, spoke about how much he loved the fact that he could dress up as he liked in Canada, which meant going out in drag in public. However, after a few months, he reported that he had been stopped by the police three times, questioned aggressively as to what he was doing on the street and told not to think about doing "business" around there. Rene was incensed, as he was not a sex worker and was not bothering anyone. He was quickly discovering that he was being racially and transphobically stereotyped by the police. Even though he had been told he could trust the police here more than back in his country, he said he was no longer sure if this was true.

Rene's and Olu's experiences with homophobic taxicab drivers and racist and transphobic police officers disrupted their inaugural homonationalist sentiments, and they began to question some of the content of the narrative they had learned in group meetings, from lawyers and from other refugee claimants to obtain a successful decision at their hearings. Their increasingly complicated relationship with the Canadian nation-state is similar to White's (2013) findings with LGBTQ migrants and sponsors who have secured same-sex family-class migration privileges. Running through the narratives of

her informants is "a latent homonational affect—a hesi-tant cleaving to the nation, an ambivalent attachment at best, underpinned as it is by relative precariousness and a sense of vulnerability" (51). As Grewal (2005:184) notes in her analysis of Sikh women from the Punjab who claimed refugee status in the United States, the concept of "transforming" is a key aspect of refugee discourses that involve movement into the west. In moving from one nation-state to another, LGBT refugees may indeed have to change narratives of subjectivity and identity, learning that espousing homonationalist sentiment is a key component of the authentic LGBT refugee identity in the west. However, what is actually experienced may not be a simple transformative movement from repres-sion to freedom; rather, it may be an experience where-by one kind of state-national discourse of sexuality may have to be replaced by another one, in which new or different forms of erasure, discrimination and inequality are imposed (Grewal 2005:184).

Conclusion

LGBT refugee claimants face daunting challenges nego-tiating a system in which questions of authenticity are constructed through an evaluation of bodily appearances, comportment and narratives that are consistently eval-uated for their fit with western homonationalist sexual categories. The scrutinization, surveillance and chang-ing modes of evaluation of the authentic refugee body throughout all spaces and moments attached to the refu-gee determination process create substantial challenges and anxieties for anyone placed into this process. As Razack (1998:97) notes, IRB members, lawyers, legisla-tors and journalists are the describers and the imaginers whose gazes construct asylum seekers, either as un-worthy claimants or as supplicants begging to be saved from the tyranny of their own cultures, communities and nations. Sexual orientation persecution, like gender persecution, as deployed in refugee discourse, can func-tion as a deeply racialized, culturally essentialist concept in that it requires—mostly, but not always[11]—that Third World LGBT-identified claimants speak of their realities of sexual violence outside and at the expense of their realities as colonized peoples (Razack 1998:99). The inaugural homonationalist sentiments about Canada as a free and liberated space for queer people articulated by some participants reinforce a similar dynamic of the "sexually exceptional" west (Puar 2007), enshrining "a narrow concept of diversity defined in terms of freedom and choice ... that not incidentally chime with a neo-liberal free market ideology whose inherent exclusions are harder to name" (Haritaworn 2012:3). Yet, these in-augural homonationalist sentiments may be questioned over time, as individuals encounter homophobia, racism and other forms of discrimination in their daily lives in Toronto, resulting in ambivalent homonationalisms (White 2013).

As Luibhéid (2008:179) has argued, successful refugee claims often require generating a racialist, colonialist discourse that impugns the nation-state from which the asylum seeker comes, while participating in an adjudica-tion process that often depends on constructs of an immutable identity refracted through reified colonialist models of culture shorn of all material relations. Further-more, queer refugee claims may be taken up by main-stream LGBT groups and human rights organizations in ways that perpetuate homonationalist discourses, which in turn support neocolonial transnational relationships even as they seek to support queer refugees (Luibhéid 2008:179–180). The effects of authentic LGBT refugee discourses and their racialized, homonationalist features expose the exclusionary dynamics of asylum definitions and processes and their critical role in underpinning the securitization and privilege of the neoliberal state (Goldberg 2009). More important, when the histories of imperialism, colonialism and racism are left out of au-thentic refugee narratives of sexual identity formation, violence and migration, we are not able to see how these systems of domination produce and maintain violence against racialized sexual minorities both within and be-yond national borders.

David A.B. Murray, Department of Anthropology, 2054 Vari Hall, York University, 4700 Keele Street, Toronto, Ontario, M3J 1P3, Canada.
E-mail: damurray@yorku.ca.

Notes

1 Research for this paper was funded by a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada Standard Grant.
2 These are the sexual identity categories utilized by the group in its title. In this article, I utilize sexual identity terminologies as they are articulated by organizations and individuals and as they appear in texts. As this article and other research on sexual minority refugees demonstrates, all sexual identity terminologies are fraught with historical, political and cultural specificities, which are heightened and intensified when inserted into the bureaucratic and juridical apparatus of the immigration and refugee determination system.
3 The author of this quote, Peter Showler, is a former chair-person of the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada.
4 See Decena 2011 for a similar argument about U.S. views of Dominican immigrant men.
5 Personal correspondence. It is estimated that between 2001 and 2004 over 2,500 claims for refugee status on the basis of sexual orientation persecution from 75 countries were submitted to the IRB (Jimenez 2004).

6 Since the implementation of Bill C-31 in December 2012, there are reports that the overall number of refugee applications has dropped drastically; thus, it is possible that the number of sexual orientation refugee claims may also decrease in the foreseeable future.

7 Vancouver and Montréal are also major destinations. See Cooney 2007; Newbold and DeLuca 2007.

8 Under the Bill C-31 legislation enacted in December 2012, this waiting period is supposed to be reduced substantially.

9 All refugee claimants with whom I worked had legal counsel present at the hearing.

10 The 519 Community Centre is located in the centre of a downtown Toronto neighbourhood known as the Gay Village and provides numerous peer support, social and recreational services and programs for the LGBTQ communities. BlackCap is an organization that focuses on HIV prevention education and provides support services for Toronto's diverse black, African and Caribbean communities.

11 While not forming a substantial part of my interview set, LGBT refugee claimants from Eastern European bloc countries like Russia, Ukraine and Croatia also attended support group meetings and, thus, complicate an argument premised on a single factor like race. At the same time, while these individuals may be classified "white" in mainstream Canadian ethno-racial discourses, their "originary" location in non-Western European nation-states places them lower in the transnational developmental hierarchy in which Western European and North American political regimes locate themselves and their "cultures" at the apex.

References

Agathangelou, Anna
　2004　The Global Political Economy of Sex: Desire, Violence, and Insecurity in Mediterranean Nation States. New York: Palgrave MacMillan. http://dx.doi.org/10.1057/9781403981486

Ahmed, Sarah
　2001　Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality. London: Routledge.

Bakan, Abigail, and Daiva Stasiulis
　2003　Negotiating Citizenship: Migrant Women in Canada and the Global System. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. http://dx.doi.org/10.1057/9780230286924

Berg, Laurie, and Jenni Millbank
　2009　Constructing the Personal Narratives of Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Asylum Claimants. Journal of Refugee Studies 22(2):195–223. http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fep010

Canaday, Margot
　2009　The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in 20th Century America. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Cantú, Lionel Jr
　2009　The Sexuality of Migration: Border Crossings and Mexican Immigrant Men. Nancy Naples and Salvador Vidal-Ortiz, eds. New York: New York University Press.

Carillo, Hector
　2004　Sexual Migration, Cross-Cultural Sexual Encounters and Sexual Health. Sexuality Research & Social Policy 1(3):58–70. http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/srsp.2004.1.3.58

Cooney, Darren
　2007　Queer Newcomers Land among Friends. Xtra: Canada's Gay and Lesbian News, May 10.

Decena, Carlos
　2011　Tacit Subjects: Belonging and Same Sex Desire Among Dominican Immigrant Men. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/9780822393900

Dua, Ena
　2007　Exclusion through Inclusion: Female Asian Migration in the Making of Canada as a White Settler Nation. Gender, Place and Culture 14(4):445–466. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09663690701439751

Duggan, Lisa
　2003　The Twilight of Equality? Neoliberalism, Cultural Politics and the Attack on Democracy. Boston: Beacon Press.

Eng, David
　2010　The Feeling of Kinship: Queer Liberalism and the Racialization of Intimacy. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/9780822392828

Epps, Brad, Keja Valens and Bill Johnson Gonzalez, eds.
　2005　Passing Lines: Sexuality and Immigration. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Espin, Oliva
　1999　Women Crossing Boundaries: The Psychology of Immigration and the Transformations of Sexuality. London: Routledge.

Ferguson, Roderick
　2004　Aberration in Black: Toward A Queer of Color Critique. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Glick-Schiller, Nina, Linda Basch and Cristina Szanton-Blanc
　1992　Toward a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity and Nationalism Reconsidered. New York: New York Academy of Sciences.

Goldberg, David Theo
　2009　The Threat of Race: Reflections on Racial Neoliberalism. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell.

Gopinath, Gayatri
　2005　Impossible Desires: Queer Diasporas and South Asian Public Cultures. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/9780822386537

Grewal, Inderpal
　2005　Transnational America: Feminisms, Diasporas, Neoliberalisms. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/9780822386544

Haritaworn, Jinthana
　2012　The Biopolitics of Mixing: Thai Multiracialities and Haunted Ascendencies. Abingdon: Ashgate.

Hall, Alexandra
　2012　Border Watch: Cultures of Immigration, Detention and Control. London: Pluto.

Hart, John
　2002　Stories of Gay and Lesbian Immigration: Together Forever? New York: Harrington Park.

Iacovetta, Franca
  2000 The Sexual Politics of Moral Citizenship and
        Containing "Dangerous" Foreign Men in Cold War
        Canada, 1950s–1960s. Social History 33(66):361–389.
Jenicek, Ainsley, Alan Wong and Edward Ou Jin Lee
  2009 Dangerous Shortcuts: Representations of Sexual
        Minority Refugees in the Post 9/11 Canadian Press.
        Canadian Journal of Communication 34(4):635–658.
Jimenez, Marina
  2004 Gay Refugee Claimants Seeking Haven in Canada.
        The Globe and Mail, April 24.
Johnson, E. Patrick and Mae Henderson, eds.
  2005 Black Queer Studies: A Critical Anthology. Durham,
        NC: Duke University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/
        9780822387220
Jordan, Sharalynn
  2010 Un/Convention(al) Refugees: Contextualizing
        Accounts of Refugees Facing Homophobic or
        Transphobic Persecution. Refuge: Canada's Periodical
        on Refugees 26(2):165–182.
Kuntsman, Adi
  2008 Between Gulags and Pride Parades: Sexuality, Nation
        and Haunted Speech Acts. GLQ 14(2–3):263–287.
        http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/10642684-2007-033
LaViolette, Nicole
  2009 Independent Human Rights Documentation and
        Sexual Minorities: An Ongoing Challenge for the
        Canadian Refugee Determination Process.
        International Journal of Human Rights 13(2–3):437–
        476. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13642980902758234
Ling, Justin
  2012 Playing with Refugees' Lives. Xtra, June 14: 13.
Luibhéid, Eithne
  2002 Entry Denied: Controlling Sexuality at the Border.
        Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Luibhéid, Eithne, ed.
  2008 Queer/Migration. Special issue, GLQ 14(2–3).
Luibhéid, Eithne, and Lionel Cantú, Jr., eds.
  2005 Queer Migrations: Sexuality, U.S. Citizenship and
        Border Crossings. Minneapolis: University of
        Minnesota Press.
Macklin, Audrey
  2003 Dancing across Borders: "Exotic Dancers,"
        Trafficking and Canadian Immigration Policy.
        International Migration Review 37(2):464–500. http://
        dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2003.tb00145.x
Manalansan, Martin F. IV
  2003 Global Divas: Filipino Gay Men in the Diaspora.
        Durham, NC: Duke University Press. http://
        dx.doi.org/10.1215/9780822385172.
  2006 Queer Intersections: Sexuality and Gender in
        Migration Studies. International Migration Review
        40(1):224–249. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-
        7379.2006.00009.x
  2009 Homophobia at New York's Gay Central. In
        Homophobias: Lust and Loathing Across Time and
        Space. David A.B. Murray, ed. Pp. 34–47. Durham,
        NC: Duke University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/
        9780822391395-003

Millbank, Jenni
  2009 "The Ring of Truth": A Case Study of Credibility
        Assessment in Particular Social Group Refugee
        Determinations. International Journal of Refugee
        Law 21(1):1–33. http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/ijrl/een040
Miller, Alice
  2005 Gay Enough? Some Tensions in Seeking the Grant of
        Asylum and Protecting Global Sexual Diversity. In
        Passing Lines: Sexuality and Immigration. Brad
        Epps, Keja Valens and Bill Johnson-Gonzalez, eds.
        Pp. 137–187. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University
        Press.
Mountz, Alison
  2010 Seeking Asylum: Human Smuggling and Bureaucracy
        at the Border. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota
        Press.
Murray, David A.B., ed.
  2009 Homophobias: Lust and Loathing Across Time and
        Space. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. http://
        dx.doi.org/10.1215/9780822391395
Newbold, K. Bruce and Pat DeLuca
  2007 Short-term Residential Changes to Toronto's
        Immigrant Communities: Evidence from Lsic Wave 1.
        Urban Geography 28(7):635–656. http://dx.doi.org/
        10.2747/0272-3638.28.7.635
Ou Jin Lee, Edward and Shari Brotman
  2011 Identity, Refugeeness, Belonging: Experiences of
        Sexual Minority Refugees in Canada. Canadian
        Sociology Review 48(3):241–274.
Patton, Cindy and Benigno Sanchez-Eppler, eds.
  2000 Queer Diasporas. Durham, NC: Duke University
        Press.
Povinelli, Elizabeth and George Chauncey, eds.
  1999 Thinking Sexuality Transnationally. Special issue,
        GLQ 5(4).
Puar, Jasbir
  2007 Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer
        Times. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. http://
        dx.doi.org/10.1215/9780822390442
Razack, Sherene
  1998 Looking White People in the Eye: Gender, Race and
        Culture in Courtrooms and Classrooms. Toronto:
        University of Toronto Press.
Rehaag, Sean
  2008 Patrolling the Borders of Sexual Orientation: Bisexual
        Refugee Claims in Canada. McGill Law Journal.
        Revue de Droit de McGill 53:61–101.
Showler, Peter
  2006 Refugee Sandwich: Stories of Exile and Asylum.
        Kingston, ON: McGill-Queen's University Press.
Smith, Dale
  2012 Analysis: Unpacking the Latest Refugee Reform Bill.
        Xtra Online. February 28. http://dailyxtra.com/
        canada/news/analysis-unpacking-the-latest-refugee-
        reform-bill, accessed June 20, 2012.
Thobani, Sunera
  2007 Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and
        Nation in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto
        Press.

Valverde, Mariana
    2008 Racial Purity, Sexual Purity, and Immigration Policy. *In* The History of Immigration and Racism in Canada: Essential Reading. Barrington Walker, ed. Pp. 175–188. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press.

Weston, Kath
    2008 A Political Ecology of "Unnatural Offences": State Security, Queer Embodiment and the Environmental Impacts of Prison Migration. GLQ 14(2–3):217–237. http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/10642684-2007-031

White, Melissa
    2010 Intimate Archives, Migrant Negotiations: Affective Governance and the Recognition of "Same-Sex" Family Class Migration in Canada. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Women's Studies, York University.

White, Melissa
    2013 Ambivalent Homonationalisms. Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies 15(1):37–54. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1369801X.2013.770999

Yue, Audrey
    2008 Same-Sex Migration in Australia: From Interdependency to Intimacy. GLQ 14(2–3):239–262. http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/10642684-2007-032

Migrant Intimacies: Mobilities-in-Difference and *Basue* Tactics in Queer Asian Diasporas

Dai Kojima   *The University of British Columbia*

Abstract: With a focus on the productive tensions of displacements and agency, this article discusses archival traces of intimacy and tactics of space-making that mobilize queer Asian men in the diaspora. The theoretical considerations and ethnographic examples offered highlight how ephemeral experiences of sociality and belonging reveal the persistent labour of reconstituting the lifeworlds of queer Asian migrant subjects against displacements—from city streets, to a video website, to a commuter train, to a night market—and argues for a rethinking of the meaning of politics in mobilities research through the modalities of survival and mobilities-in-difference.

Keywords: queer diaspora, mobilities, displacement, belonging, racialization, intimacy

Résumé : Avec une attention particulière pour les tensions productives liées aux déplacements et à l'agencéité, cet article porte sur les traces de l'intimité et les tactiques de production de l'espace qui mobilisent les hommes *queer* de la diaspora asiatique. Les propos ethnographiques et théoriques illustrent comment des expériences éphémères de socialité et d'appartenance révèlent le travail continuel nécessaire pour reconstituer les mondes vécus de sujets immigrants asiatiques *queer*, face aux formes de déplacements. Celles-ci s'actualisent aussi bien dans les rues de la ville que sur un site web de vidéos, dans un train de banlieue ou dans un marché de nuit. Ainsi ce texte plaide en faveur d'une reconsidération de la signification du politique dans les recherches sur les mobilités au travers des modalités de survie et de mobilités-dans-la-différence.

Mots-clés : diaspora queer, mobilités, déplacements, appartenance, racialisation, intimité

Introduction: Belonging in *Basue*

> The ordinary practitioners of the city live "down below," below the thresholds at which visibility begins.
> Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*

A few days after the close of Pride Week, I was sitting in a local coffee shop with Shin, a 33-year-old gay Japanese man and an undocumented worker, to discuss how he had participated in the recent festivities. Vancouver Pride 2010 had been another success. It had attracted well over 500,000 attendees, a record number, which local news media claimed as an excellent example of how Vancouver had become one of the most gay-friendly cities in the world (Luk 2010). Shin is one of many queer migrants who relocate to Canada from Asia to have a chance at the "gay life" that Vancouver—the largest urban centre in western Canada and the gateway to Pacific Asia—has to offer. Having lived in the city since 2000, however, Shin had never actually walked in the parade himself. Instead, he narrates how he and other gay Asian men (most of them also immigrants) have a gathering of their own:

> We usually have a small picnic on the green hill area that looks over the festival site. We go there every year ... it's our spot. A place for 場末 (*basue*) people like us.[1] [my translation from Japanese]

Literally, the Japanese term *basue* (場 = place; 末 = the end) means "the outskirts." In a more colloquial sense, the term's usage is often found in popular Japanese music and literature to refer to a certain depressed aesthetic and melancholia of a social place, such as a dingy bar, a run-down motel or a dirty eatery, where the poor gather and secret lovers meet, hiding from the bright city lights and the noise of modern prosperity. This account of diasporic Asian gay men's peripheral belonging at a scene of celebratory and mainstream queer public culture, a relation of the centre and its multiple margins within, is where I begin my exploration of the productive

tensions among displacement, marginality and spatial tactics in queer Asian diasporas.

In this article,[2] I specifically focus on the spatial dimensions and forms of *basue*—both as a space of sociality and a set of tactics—discussed by my research participants to examine how the dynamic relation of displacements, associated with racism, immigrant conditions and other marginalizing forces in everyday queer diasporas, and the active production of alternative socialities are negotiated by diasporic queer subjects. With an emphasis on the productive tensions that displacement produces, I offer three case studies that trace the mobile processes and formations of *basue* in the everyday—from a small apartment, to a public train, to a night market—that mobilize the queer Asian subjects I interviewed.

In what follows, I briefly turn to a theoretical discussion of the politics of space and displacement for queer, diasporic and racialized subjects in North America to arrive at the framework of *mobilities-in-difference*. With this framework, I offer a reading of the cultural significance of *basue* tactics that disarticulates the imagined relations and binaries between the centre and margins of queer possibilities, which are dedicated to making more legible the everyday survival of queer Asian subjects in Vancouver.

Points of Entry: Mobilities-in-Difference and the Location of *Basue*

My scholarly concerns in this study emerged out of my dissatisfaction with the often polarized and totalizing accounts of mobility and immobility of queer subjects in the diaspora. I arrived at the question of mobilities, in part, led by my autobiographical knowledge about the negotiation of belonging and sociality in the diaspora as a gay immigrant man from Japan and as a community worker and researcher in the United States and Canada for the past 12 years. Throughout my fieldwork, I was importantly reminded of the harsh realities of cultural, social and political displacements that my participants confront in relation to racism, migrant conditions and other exclusionary processes within mainstream queer communities and the wider public sphere. However, equally compelling were the creative, urgent and often hilarious tactics and stories of survival, and the materiality of "making do and getting by" (Crosby et al. 2012:131), related to me by the queer Asian participants in this study. As such, I contend that there is a need for a framework that not only identifies the cultural and material conditions of displacement but also elucidates the relations of power and the evidence of possibilities

demonstrated by queer Asian migrants' manoeuvres concerning such displacements.

As sociologist John Urry (2007) argues, the unprecedented scale and flows of global capital, technologies of travel, transnational migrations and networked communications have made *mobilities*—multimodal capacities for movement, including imaginative, communicative and physical forms—the central characteristic of the shifting structures of modern social worlds and experiences. Critically, Urry (2007:17–18) also points out that "there is an ideology of movement" coinciding with the paradigmatic turn to mobilities that assumes the capacity for movement as "a right" of people and societies in a modern, globalized world. Other theorists concerned with embodied difference have argued that the ideology of movement invokes the neoliberalist idealization of movement itself as a sign of agency, self-actualization and emancipation from local restraints (Bryson and MacIntosh 2010; Tsing 2007). As a biopolitical ideology, this critique maintains that the capacity for movement is afforded to some "exceptional" subjects with social capital and means, while classed, gendered and sexed differences continue to foreclose full access to systems of movement for "othered" bodies (Morley 2000; Ong 2006). The critical investigation of the relation of movement and difference, then, contrary to Urry's formulation, deems displacement as the modern condition and experience of mobile worlds and argues "against mobility as opportunity, focusing instead on displacement" (Silvery 2007:142; see also, Bammer 1994).

My argument is that between, on the one hand, a disembodied, abstract theorizing of mobilities that equates movement with agency and, on the other hand, a critical approach concerning structures of oppression that centralizes displacement, any hope of apprehending the vibrant possibilities for everyday (and often queer) tactics of movement are lost. This article considers the politics of displacement in relation to mobilities, not so much as an opportunity but as a tactic for multiply differentiated, therefore displaced, subjects. This tactical approach attempts to evade the foreclosed endgames that both mobilities-as-agency and mobilities-as-displacement offer. That is, in this study, queer Asian migrants' negotiations do not necessarily follow along institutionalized lines of upward mobility. Instead, this study aims to show the critical necessity of insisting upon the legibility of tactics for *some* mobility for the survival of queer diasporic subjects for whom remaining in the stasis and abjection that displacement produces is not an option (Patton and Sánchez-Eppler 2000).

Martin Manalansan's (2010) focus upon the temporality of survival through the concept of "unsecure life"

provides a useful opening here. The temporality of survival—"moving on"—is more invested in immediate, day-to-day negotiations of making do in the everyday lives of queer, racialized, minorities rather than sustained, future-oriented political projects. Through this focus on survival, for such displaced subjects, "one can argue, it is *one more day*"—without, of course, a guarantee of another tomorrow (226). By placing critical attention upon the modality of survival and its uncertain temporality for queer subjects in the diaspora, it is important to make a distinction between "tactics" and acts of agency.

Given that diasporic subjects often lack the sociocultural capital to claim a political position in a new nation-state, Gayatri Spivak's (2005) definition of agency and its exclusive logic is salient. Spivak states that agency refers to an "institutionally validated action, assuming collectivity, distinguished from the formation of the subject, which exceeds the outlines of individual intention" that requires political consciousness and a recognition of structural inequality that one's class, or the lack thereof, is exposed to (476). In other words, for agency to be legible, it must always already be institutionalized. Alongside Spivak's formulation I want to employ Michel de Certeau's concept of "tactics." De Certeau explains this "art of the weak" as follows:

> What [tactics] wins it cannot keep. This nowhere gives a tactic mobility ... a mobility that must accept the chance offerings of the moment and seize on the wing of the possibilities that offer themselves at any given moment ... It creates surprises in them. It can be where it is least expected. It is a guileful ruse. [de Certeau 1984:37]

Such opportunistic tactics that enable provisional mobility in a given cultural space are what I call *mobilities-in-difference*. Situated in the temporality of survival, getting by and making do, mobilities-in-difference is a framework that investigates the relationality between displacements and movements in the everyday lives of queer Asian subjects, as a focus solely upon the global narratives of either agentive mobilities or displacements is inadequate to capture the nuances and idiosyncrasies of my participants' often elusive tactics of manoeuvre—tactics that may disarticulate the existing logics of belonging, citizenship and predicament in a new homeland. As a "double articulation" (Massey 1994), mobilities-in-difference focuses on describing *how* different queer Asian subjects make use of existing systems, means and locations of mobilities for their own cultural purposes and needs.

Specifically, I examine the spatial dimensions of mobilities-in-difference through the analytic of *basue* and the "queer effects" it produces. The spatial life of queer mobilities explored in this article is a relational one. This relationality is attributed to the boundary formation of racialized sociality for migrant subjects that exists within the dominant landscape of white, queer, public cultures. Such "boundary publics," as Mary Gray (2009:53) notes, emerge out of "iterative, ephemeral experiences of belonging that happen both on the outskirts and at the centre(s) of the more traditionally recognized and validated public sphere of civic deliberation." The analytics of *basue* invite our attention to the publicness—constituted through bodies and collective experiences—that signals existing and imagined socialities in seemingly invisible spaces where the negotiation of displacements occurs.

As de Certeau reminds us, in the quotation which begins this article, the question of how "the ordinary practitioners of the city" occupy and move about the urban cultural landscape can only be understood when we know where to look and how to get "down below." An attention to *basue* tactics necessitates different methods of documenting and evidencing out of individual and ephemeral experiences and narratives on the margin. In what follows, I explicate my methodological approach to the everyday, privatized sphere of queer intimacy and its relation to wider social fields through ethnographic interviews and on-site observations.

Everyday Queer Diasporas and an Archive of Intimacies

The data for this article came from ethnographic fieldwork I carried out in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia between 2009 and 2012. My 14 participants included subjects with diverse intersectional identifications, including gay and bisexual men and a transgendered woman, who employed both western and non-westernized sexual and gender identificatory terms such as "オカマ/okama," "同志/tongzhi," "同性愛/doseiaisha" and "lady-boy." The participants were originally from Asia-Pacific regions, including Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Vietnam and China. Ages ranged between 25 and 56 years old at the time of my fieldwork. All were living in the Metro Vancouver area at the time of research, with varying visa and citizenship statuses, including naturalized citizen, permanent resident, temporary worker, international student and "undocumented" worker. Of the 14 participants, two people identified as "living with HIV," one person as "deaf" and two people as "mentally disabled."

I employed ethnographic interviews as my primary method of data collection. Initial, semi-structured interviews (lasting 90–120 minutes) focused on eliciting life narratives of migration and settlement into Canada, as well as their sexual and other cultural identifications and practices. I conducted two to three follow-up, in-depth interviews with each participant over the course of three years to further document their social practices in the local and transnational queer communities in which they participated in Vancouver, in Canada and in Asia.

In addition to the regular interviews, I also initiated more open-ended meetings and conversations with participants. These were located, by invitation, at their homes, as well as other locations in the Lower Mainland that they identified as important to their lives—gay bars, karaoke lounges, the public library, a night narket, websites. In these meetings, participants led me in "walkthroughs" of both their everyday cultural landscapes, as well as their "mediascapes" (Appadurai 1996). These physical and media-based walkthroughs assisted in the documentation of the geographical, cultural and ethnic relations and practices that constituted their everyday lives.

The decision to work with a relatively small group of subjects with a range of differences, including nationality, language, and socio-economic and legal statuses, was intentional in my methodological approach. As a tradition of queer Asian scholarship demonstrates, dispersed migrant subjects with multiple genealogies and identifications are often problematically grouped through universalizing forces of racialization and objectification in North American queer social relations (Eng 2001). However, as Nguyen (2008) argues, such a seemingly totalizing force can at the same time be experienced and negotiated in widely different ways by different Asian subjects. As such, I align my larger methodological framework with multiplicity, rather than uniformity, to make legible my participants' innumerable and complex ways of *doing* and not simply *being* "queer" and "Asian" in Vancouver.

My approach to data collection and interpretation is informed by the notion of intimacy as a privatized zone of practice, where the individual and the social collide (Berlant 2000; Lowe 2006). Importantly in queer, diasporic lives, Martin Manalansan notes,

> if home, privacy and domesticity are vexed locations for queer subjects, particularly those in the diaspora, then it follows that queers' struggles toward finding, building, remembering and settling into a home, as well as the displacements brought about by migration creates a sphere of ... diasporic intimacy. [Manalansan 2005:148]

As I suggest in the following case studies, narratives of diasporic queer intimacy are often ephemeral and elusive and resist systemic frameworks of documentation and evidencing due to their displaced and alienated nature. As one participant noted, "I never had to think much about what happened to me since I came here [to Canada]. After all this talking with you, now I see another Asian guy at a bar or something and I go, 'what's his story?'"

I understand my methods of data collection and analysis to have been an engaged co-production of an archive of intimacies where the researcher is at once an archivist and a reader of necessarily fragmented knowledge across differences and implicit collectivity. The sustained and long-term interviews I conducted, as well as my reading of that data, were dedicated to a "public witnessing" of my participants' lived experiences of trauma, pleasures and socialities in queer lives (Bryson and Stacey 2013; Cvetkovich 2003). The narratives and analyses I archived and represent here are by no means an exhaustive account of all queer, diasporic Asian subjects. Rather, they are inevitably partial and situated accounts and testimonies that speak to the common experiences of marginality and the unexpected tactics that such marginality engenders.

An Apartment: The "Fabulous Gay Life in Canada" Revisited

Yasu, a 45-year-old Japanese man, identifies as "gay" and "chubby." Yasu has been living in Vancouver for the past 16 years, first as a temporary worker on a working holiday visa and now as a booking agent at a small, downtown travel agency. When I visited him for an interview (conducted in Japanese; my translations) in his studio apartment just a few blocks away from Davie Village—known as Vancouver's gay district—Yasu was busy confirming his flights and train tickets and reading some travel pamphlets for an upcoming two-week vacation in Japan.

> Dai: These look like some obscure places in Tohoku [the northern region of Honshu Island]. What do you plan to do there?

Yasu looked down at his travel itineraries and responded.

> Yasu: Oh, that's because I'm not going back for sightseeing or visiting my family. I've actually never been to these places ... takes me 20 hours on the train to get there from the airport [in Osaka]. I'm going there to meet my online fans for the first time.
> Dai: Online fans?
> Yasu: Yeah, my デブ専 (*debusen*) friends.

Debusen can be roughly translated as chubby-chaser: a gay man who pursues chubby/fat gay men as sexual partners. Because Yasu is chubby himself, debusen are integral to his intimate community-making; however, as a self-identified "Asian Bear," Yasu's participation in the Vancouver gay scene has been, as he puts it, "non-existent, not in demand." He elaborated on his ambivalent identification with the predominantly white, racialized physicality that dictates the embodied relations of desirability of the gay bear figure.

> **Yasu:** I'm not really part of the bear community here, because ... well, I don't think I'm actually a bear.
> **Dai:** What is a "bear" for you? Why do think you are, but not really, a bear?
> **Yasu:** Um, so a gay bear would be someone who looks like a bear, the animal, you know? Big and hairy. But I'm not big enough like those white guys who are the ideal image of the gay bear.

Yasu further narrated how the racialized logics of desirability shape bear/chubby-chaser relations.

> **Yasu:** And you know, guys who go for Bears, like the chubby-chasers in Vancouver, they are usually twinky white boys who want big white daddies. I actually want an Asian chubby-chaser who can appreciate an Asian bear, but that's just too specific, isn't it? Where would I find that? [Laughs.]

While Yasu's age does not matter so much in the bear community, as bear/chubby-chaser relations are often structured around a "daddy"/"twink" age binary of mutual desire, queer spaces and streets in Vancouver—especially those frequented by the bear community and their admirers—are not at all free from racialized logics of desirability for queer Asian Bear subjects. Yasu recalled:

> Every time I went down to [a local gay bar frequented by many bear-identified gay men], I felt totally out of place and unwanted. It didn't take me long to figure out that it was nothing but a white space. No one said anything racist, no. It's just that no one said anything to me.

Faced with the difficulty of finding a lover at local bars and clubs, Yasu, like many modern gay men before him, turned to gay social network sites online. However, much to his disappointment, Yasu soon discovered that the online bear scene was not much different from his offline experiences, of which he noted:

> I don't think the net can really solve the problem, you know? It's just a more convenient way to hook up

with people but that doesn't mean it's somehow a totally different situation [than offline]. You see the same people looking for the same thing.

Yasu's similar experiences of racialization and his felt invisibility in both offline and online worlds are not uncommon. Instead, they reflect a common experience with the politics of race that continues to structure gay male sociality online—with the usual disclaimer of "it's a preference, no offense" that constitutes an insidious and disorientating space of sexuality for racialized subjects (Lee 2008; Raj 2011). However, when I further asked Yasu how he negotiates possible encounters with people with similar preferences to his own, he opened a small window on his IBM desktop computer and turned on a web camera: "This is how—I broadcast my fat belly to the world!" The following are my observational field notes from our meeting in his apartment that night:

> Yasu has an account on a website for video streaming. He found the site as he was searching for social networks catering to "debusen" and their admirers, as well as the transnational bear/chubby-chaser community. On the screen, there were multiple video images—most of them blank. Yasu explained that, because it was still around 5:00 a.m. in Asia, his fans were in bed. When I asked him how he used the site to connect with his buddies, he offered a description of his daily routine.

> He would leave the camera on 24/7 (or as long as the Internet connection would hold). Due to the time difference, when he gets up in the morning, it is the evening of the same day in Asia. "They usually ask me to hang out with them, so I have a small chat, but I'd have to go to work. When I come home from work, I'd take off my clothes and sit in front of the computer for a chat. Or I'll watch a movie naked with a camera facing [my] way, so that they can still see me. [Chuckling.] Sometimes I chat with my friends for hours, sometimes I look for a new buddy. Then I go to bed." [Research journal entry, 21 February 2011]

In this way, Yasu found his "online fans." As he started to experiment with the site and a new webcam, he gradually met Asian chubby-chasers. Yasu remembered the surprise and exhilarating sensation of these encounters: "It's the sense of relief, and maybe a little assurance. It took me some time and this weird technology, but I was able to find my people."

After learning about his online tactics for finding Asian chubby-chasers, I conducted a follow-up interview with Yasu that elicited the conversation above about his trips to "meet and greet" his fans in Japan. Once a year, Yasu plans a trip to Asia, usually Japan, but some years

he has travelled to Thailand, where he also knows some users from the same site. Yasu maintained that, while a possibility, his visits to Asia are not for the chance that he may "get laid"; thus, he states, "it's not about sex. I mean, it could happen, but it's not the goal." Yasu further explained how the travel costs him a year of savings that he puts aside each month:

> I put in $150 or $200 each month. I stay at the cheapest hotels or sometimes even sleep at the train station or on a bench in a park to save money. Not really a glamorous vacation ... not what you think it is! [Laughs.]

As he was showing me the profiles of some of his online buddies, Yasu quietly said,

> They think I have this fabulous gay life in Canada. They don't know that they make my gay life happen ... I live here [in Vancouver], but part of my life is over there [in Asia]. I'm just happy to see them offline whenever possible, if only once a year.

Yasu's spatial tactics to seek mediated and immediate intimacy with his fans on a video channel is enabled by his experiences of disappointment and displacement in the white, racialized bear community in which he struggled and failed to claim a sense of belonging and which refused to claim him. His queer world-making through *basue* sociality stretches and travels across the Pacific Ocean and is constituted through displacements in Vancouver as well as online video technology; the remote presence of others, even when the cameras were off and the windows blank, adds a layer of intimacy into his everyday home environment. It may seem like his notion of "gay life" is not much of a life when judged against an upper-middle-class lifestyle—the "fabulous gay life in Canada"—that the modern gay culture in Vancouver seemingly offers yet fails to afford him.

However, Yasu is engaged in a serious work—though perhaps seemingly peculiar to an outsider—of reconstituting a space of queer possibility that confronts the negation of *any* gay or queer life. The complex intersections in Yasu's desire for Asian/chubby-chaser/bear/*debusen* relations treads the outskirts of both dominant gay public culture and the local bear subcultural community where the racialization of Asian bodies makes his quest for intimacy difficult if not outright impossible. Yasu's ritual of video broadcasting and his annual travels to Asia are ways of negotiating and extending the boundary of his belonging through both *basue* relations and *basue* spaces. Yasu's tactics exceed the normative confinement of his not-belonging that the city's racialized and thus limiting homosociality produces. His *basue*

tactics emanate from a small apartment, just outside of the buzz of the urban gay village, from a tiny, flickering video screen. And, as he says, echoing Manalansan's notion of the temporality of survival, "this is all I get ... and good enough for now."

Skytrain: Knitting and "Feeling Gay"

Maty, a 57-year-old South Asian man, does not identify with any term of sexual identification (i.e., gay, homosexual, queer). He claims that he has never touched a computer (or touched another man). The only means of contact I had with Maty, before and after interview sessions, was by means of the landline telephone in his home in Surrey (a predominantly South Asian suburb adjacent to Vancouver), over which his 90-year-old mother and his sisters' families frequently eavesdropped. Consequently, Maty asked me not to disclose who I was or why I was calling him, and we had to devise certain codes of communication to hide his participation in the study from his family.

"You know it [the cell phone] is bad for your brain. My brain," he said, pointing to his head, as he sat across the table from me in a small meeting room at a public library in downtown Vancouver. Maty suffers from manic depression and depends on disability benefits from the government. When he is not able to leave his house, sometimes for months on end, his aging mother looks after him. He does not know or does not wish to know, where his depression comes from. As I took notes during our first meeting, Maty glanced over my note book and said,

> I see [my psychiatrist] at the university hospital once a month. He writes me a prescription. He gives me a [doctor's] note. No questions. I want you to know, it's not because I'm gay. I'm not gay.

Maty was raised as Christian in a South Asian diaspora in Uganda. After the entire community was seized and deported by the then nationalist Ugandan government's Indophobic "ethnic cleansing" movement in the 1970s (Patel 1972), Maty and his family immigrated to Canada as refugees. Being Christian and Indian, settlement in Surrey was not easy for him and his parents: "We have [a] few people like us there, but most are Sikhs and Muslims. We are not the same." A similar predominance within ethno-religious relations in Surrey carries over to South Asian queer organizations in Metro Vancouver to varying degrees.

> **Maty:** I went to a meeting once at [a local community centre]. They were young. And Muslims.
> **Dai:** How about ... was there any Christian support group?

Maty: I do not know how to find them ... my church doesn't [have one].

In addition to such "diaspora within a diaspora" marginality, age differences and a lack of access to the Internet and mediated connectivity—the seemingly de facto platform for community organizing for queers of colour and immigrants in the city—meant that Maty's participation in many existing queer social spaces seems liminal at best.

His self-identified "mental problems" started in his mid-20s in Canada, which was "a big trouble for my family. I was going to become a lawyer." After years of unemployment and isolation in his family home in Surrey, his parents sent Maty to the city in southern India where they lived before they moved to Uganda. Maty recalled his daily routine during his time there as follows:

> I sat on a chair by a busy street. Every morning. I saw young men. I liked [watching them]. They were naked and sweaty. Watching them, I felt, um, safe. These were my people. I wouldn't do that in Vancouver, for sure. [Laughs.]

After this trip, it became a yearly vacation for Maty, during which he avoids Vancouver's rainy winter months by visiting India with the money he saves from his government disability cheques. When asked whether he likes to just watch the young Indian men and if doing so would make him "gay," he contemplated for a good minute before responding.

> Maty: I never touched another man. I don't know how to be intimate [with men]. I only watch, and so no one knows [about my desire]. Sometimes I watch men here [in Vancouver]. I also buy magazines [of Bollywood cinema] at a corner store near my house, [where] they sell Indian goods. I look at the men [the actors]. So, I'm not gay, because I never have sex with another man.
> Dai: Ok, so, no sex, no gay. I don't want to impose anything here, but I'm curious. What made you respond to my call for participation? It says "Are you a gay, bisexual, transgendered man/woman and Asian?"
> Maty: I saw your [recruitment] poster at "Qmmunity" [Vancouver's LGBTQ community centre]. I was knitting there. When I knit, I feel gay, yes.

Maty is a member of a knitting club at a local church, where people—"mostly old white women," he said—knit socks and blankets for orphaned babies every Sunday. During the week, he gets on the Skytrain rapid transportation system, which links many surrounding suburban communities to downtown Vancouver, with his knitting kit and balls of pastel-coloured wool. Maty explained,

> I come to the library, to see if they have new books [for knitting]. Sometimes I try to knit here [at the library], but I like to do it on the train. So I go back and forth [between Surrey and downtown Vancouver] sometimes all day.

Maty makes and donates his creations to the church's knitting club. However, knitting on the train and sometimes in other public spaces (such as Qmmunity and the library) is something he does alone. Asked why that makes him feel like he is gay, Maty said, choosing his words carefully,

> Because ... I know it looks strange. An old Indian man knitting ... sometimes people stare. But some people smile or nod. I don't know who they are but I think I know what they are thinking. And I like it ... it feels ... gay.

The displacements in Maty's life are overwhelmingly obvious—having been born into and then chased out of an Indian diaspora in Uganda; living with a disability; the difficulty of settlement due to heterosexism and his double-marginality as an ethno-religious minority within an immigrant community; his age; his lack of privacy at home; his lack of access to communicative technologies—the list goes on. In that sense, I would be very hesitant to call Maty a gay subject in any straightforward sense. However, I contend that there is an opportunity to ask what Maty's everyday tactics of knitting and "feeling gay" on public transit can tell us about ephemeral forms of queerness beyond institutionalized forms of gay visibility and legibility.

We can perhaps read his circular travel between two homes—one in the heterosexual, ethnic diaspora in suburbia and the other in the urban queer utopia, unforgiving of his differences, both of which turn out to be locations of estrangement—as a doubly displaced sphere of what Gayatri Gopinath (2005) calls "queer diaspora." This queer diaspora's displaced location, the marginal relationality of *basue*, however, also comes from Maty's struggles around disability, unemployment and religious affiliation, beyond the conventional intersection of race/ethnicity and sexuality. While attempting to avoid a reductive and authoritative reading, I would argue that, for Maty, his ambivalent identification that moves between "I'm not gay" and "I feel gay" is a result of an "impossible desire" (Gopinath 2005) that is caught in the complex and intersectional axis of immobilities and displacements in his diasporic queer life. All Maty is capable of, in his own words, is to "just watch" and to

"feel" the gayness that transpires—on the streets of the city in southern Indian, on the Skytrain, on magazine pages—without touching or claiming the object of his desire.

Despite and *because* of his displacements, knitting offers Maty an important space within *basue* and its spatiality outside of both the confinement of his home and his isolation in the city. Knitting on the Skytrain gives Maty access to mobility that takes him to an entirely different and much more subtle, public sociality than the quest for body sex and its radical dissent that queer studies often privileges. As strangers on the train, we would not know why, or perhaps not even notice that, a frail-looking, quiet Indian man is knitting near us. However, Maty's active enactment of *basue* space through knitting on the train can and does enable moments of intimacy and connection with strangers in its literally moving space of belonging that has no name. This fleeting intimacy on a commuter train is felt in a series of knowing looks, nods and other small gestures of recognition (or perhaps, in other instances, bewilderment or disgust—such are the relational costs of intimacy).

The fleeting sense of public intimacy felt by Maty—of "feeling gay"—is what José Esteban Muñoz (1996:10) describes as the "ephemeral evidence" of queerness, a sign of transgression "linked to alternate modes of textuality and narrativity like memory and performance: it is all those things that remain after a performance, a kind of evidence of what has transpired but certainly not the thing itself." What has transpired, Maty's queerness, emerges out of the "performative contradiction" (Butler and Spivak 2007) of knitting that betrays the assumed heterosexuality of a racialized immigrant man and surprises us with the possibility for an affective practice of "feeling gay" outside of the obvious institutions of modern queer public cultures—gay bars, sex shops and bathhouses, online social networks and so on—and without the residents of downtown. Such a displaced intimacy of *basue*, enacted by his queer performativity of knitting, offers Maty shifting, affective moments and ephemeral spaces of belonging that can emerge unexpectedly, without the declarative act of coming out that modern gay politics of visibility and recognition demand and deprive him of.

The Night Market: Diasporic Homecoming

The previous two case studies traced my participants' active negotiations of the boundaries of intimacy in the everyday locations of a small apartment and public transportation. In this third case study, I turn to an examination of an Asian night market and how some queer Asian subjects make use of the festival site as a space of both diasporic homecoming and queer possibilities.

When I asked my participants to identify the important social locations where their felt senses of belonging were associated, queer or otherwise, some of them mentioned how trips to the night market were an annual event. One participant, Tay, a 37-year-old, gay, Vietnamese-Chinese-Canadian man, described his ritual as follows:

> It's, like, just something I do every year with friends. It's, like, on my calendar every summer ... It's actually super cheesy. I bet most white folks go there once thinking it's exotic or something and, like, have enough of a ghetto Asian explosion! [Laughs.]

Since 2000, the summer night market, or simply "the night market" as many local residents call it, is held every summer in the city of Richmond, a suburb just south of Vancouver. It is often promoted as a "tourist destination" where "thousands converge on this nine-acre site in an industrial area, where 175 booths and their energetic merchants evoke images of night markets in Hong Kong, Taipei and other Asian cities" (Broom 2009:n.p.).

The night market's location and the "ghetto" relationality that Tay invokes epitomize Richmond as one of the largest settling neighbourhoods in Metro Vancouver for predominantly East Asian immigrant communities—a sprawling, diasporic suburbia adjacent to the modern North American modernity of the city of Vancouver. Another participant, Salt, a 25-year-old gay man from China, narrates his dis-identification with and attachment to the space of the night market as a resident of downtown Vancouver and a self-proclaimed "gay hipster." Salt describes his ambivalent relationship to the strongly ethnicized annual festival.

> **Salt:** It does remind me of home. But, oh my god, it's something I want to get rid of, too ... I know how Asians or Chinese people are talked about here. We are like low-class, not civilized, parasites in Canada ... that kinda stuff. I want to stay away from it.
> **Dai:** But you still go. What does the night market mean to you?
> **Salt:** So, like, everyday, I'm trying to prove that I can be a cultured and civilized person. Like catching up to, you know, the "Canadian way of life" [Salt made finger-quotes to emphasize his point]. The night market ... it's almost like I go there to get a refill, you know? Kinda like, you know, a break from [my usual life]. But it's something I left behind.

Elsewhere in my research project, many participants discussed what I call the "FOB (Fresh Off the Boat)

anxiety" that haunts queer Asian subjects in the city. FOB anxiety is the stigma of being perceived as an unassimilated, low-class, uneducated, racialized, immigrant Other. The FOB stigma shapes my participants' subjectivities in dominant queer culture and modernity, while it also enables their diverse styles of embodiment as active disarticulations of the negating meanings of FOB. Tay's and Salt's accounts signal how such an anxiety—a shuffle between "cultured and civilized" Vancouver and the suburban, ethnic, diasporic festival in an industrial "no man's land"—can be felt and articulated spatially. Given these seemingly contradictory accounts, that the night market is a location of both familiarity and estrangement for some participants, I became interested to know how their trips to the festival, away from their daily lives in Vancouver's downtown core, might provide opportunities for their *basue* tactics and other queer possibilities of survival on the margin.

One summer night in 2010, Salt invited me to hang out with him at the night market. What follows are my field notes from that night:

> We got off of Highway 99 and turned onto a narrow side street, then arrived at a large, make-shift parking lot surrounded by large box stores and warehouses along the muddy water of the Fraser River. As we were getting out of the rented car, Salt pulled out his iPhone. He turned the phone toward me and said, "Just checking in." He had opened the Grindr app [a popular, location-based smartphone application for queer men to find each other]. "Who knows, right?" he said with a grin.

> We entered the market and felt a chaotic surge of garish bright lights, the noises of people and power generators and music blasting from the stage behind the lines of small white tents. Jumbled signage shouted at us in Chinese and Korean, as well as some misspelled English. Many vendors also displayed Japanese phrases that did not make any sense. I lost count of the food vendors and carts; Chinese dim sum, Takoyaki, grilled squid, bubble tea, "Japadogs" and other street foods more commonly found across East Asia. There were also merchants selling cheap electronic gadgets and accessories that were covered in dust and looked already broken. Other tents sold "I ♥ 溫哥華 (Vancouver)" and Hello Kitty t-shirts. We wandered into a DVD shop, where hundreds of (apparently) pirated movies and Chinese, Korean and Japanese TV shows were on display—we were chased away as soon as I tried to take a photo of the place.

> After strolling around for an hour, we sat down in the back of the stage area with bubble teas in our hands.

A band made up of white performers played some kind of indie-pop music, to which old men and women, mostly Asian-looking, quietly swayed their bodies slightly off-beat. Salt and I discussed how the space reminded us of our homes and memories of summer night markets from our childhoods in China and Japan. It was not that the night market was any kind of authentic space of Asian-ness. As Salt reminded me, "This is kinda grotesque ... immigrants trying to sell anything Asian. Not the same thing as what I know back home." However, we both agreed that it was quite a familiar experience of "feeling Asian" in Canada that we had come to accept as immigrants; a mixture of strange food, cheap products and cultural and national genealogies thrown together in the diaspora.

> The whole time we were at the night market, Salt kept checking his iPhone to see if he had received any messages from other Grindr users. I asked why he would use the gay app where there was no sign of queer bodies as such. He explained to me it was not so much that he may find a date there. For Salt, the space of the night market is not necessarily a place for hooking up: "Do you see gay sex happening here?" he said jokingly. But, he quickly added, "Like I said, you never know." [Research journal entry, 16 August 2010]

I was particularly struck by the notion of "you never know" as a means by which to open up a space of imagined possibilities—uncertain, but not foreclosed—of a queer encounter in an unexpected location, as opposed to the concrete expectation of gay institutions in downtown Vancouver. As Karen Tongson (2011) argues in *Relocations*, ethnicized, immigrant suburban locations and diasporas may seem like a complete void of modern, urban queer possibilities. However, a shift in gaze and attention to what Tongson calls the "immigrant baroque" aesthetic of suburbia can potentially accommodate different forms of queer sociality and possibility that white racialized spaces of urban queer culture foreclose for racialized subjects.

In a follow-up interview, I asked Salt what he thought of my interpretation of our time at the night market together and his use of Grindr. Salt's reflections concerning his own practices testify to this spatial dynamic.

> **Salt:** Well, it is true that Grindr has become something of a survey tool for me [Laughs.] ... because, like, at the night market, there's nothing that really, you know, says that you are gay. It's, for sure, not Davie Village.
> **Dai:** But you use it in downtown, too, correct?
> **Salt:** Yeah, for sure. But you know, there's not, not

really anything new there. I see the same profiles all the time. Like, oh my god, do gay people ever leave downtown!? [Laughs.] So, I guess, in a way, I look for something else, you know, like what kind of gay people show up in, like, a super non-gay place, you know what I mean? That's ... that's more interesting than, you know, just staying in one place.

Salt's use of the location-based mobile app, in this sense, is a tool for rendering a physical location, explicitly queer or not, as an imagined space of possibility. This mobile possibility, I speculate, is not tied to a fixed location; rather, it only emerges out of Salt's travels between the urban queer centre and the marginal, *basue* space of the night market. Such tactics offer us an opportunity to consider how queer Asian subjects tactically disarticulate the normative boundaries of intimacy and pleasure beyond the logics of visibility and conditions of belonging associated with Davie Street and the "Gay Village" in downtown Vancouver. Importantly, the invisible mobilities that Salt affords himself are an embodied process, through which the seemingly dispersed locations and competing modernities between urban, white queer culture and ethnic diasporas intersect and mutate. Salt continued:

> There was this one time, you know, I left my straight friends, Chinese friends [at the night market], and like took the bus and went to [a local gay bar]. This white guy came up to me and, like, started chatting and stuff. Then like, he said, "Eew, what's that smell? You smell like Chinese food." [Laughs.] I was, like, dressed up and all, you know, like totally cool hipster looking. But guess what, I was, like, just at the night market! That's not, um, gay, right? [Laughs.] So I said, "I'm Chinese." Yup, I am Chinese, gay, and I eat bad food.

Discussion and Concluding Notes

What do the ephemeral notions of "good enough for now," "feeling gay" or "that's more interesting than just staying in one place" in these examples offer us? What political possibilities do they offer in rethinking mobilities beyond the binary of structural displacement/abstract agency at the level of everyday queer diasporas? With the spatial relation of centre and margin in mind, my analyses of mobilities-in-difference are meant to map out the relational dynamics of movements and travels between locations—those of more established, yet, white racialized downtown/Davie Village and the multiple, more elusive spaces of *basue*—where queer possibilities are differently imagined and negotiated with different logics of visibility and legibility.

Through an understanding of these everyday micro-politics of movement as tactics, *basue* becomes an important site of the negotiation of displacements associated with racism and other marginalizing forces that intersect and are felt through space and the body, individually and collectively. These examples of mobilities and ephemeral socialities importantly show how movements and manoeuvres do not simply lead to *elsewhere* but, as Salt demonstrates by impossibly and hilariously bringing the ghostly whiff of the night market back with him to the bar, always return and revisit seemingly foreclosed locations with different possibilities. As Angelika Bammer notes, "what is displaced is ... still there: *Dis*placed, but not *re*placed" (1994:xiii). The *basue* tactics under consideration here are evidence of queer methods of space-making that may not register as "taking up" a dominant space. Shin, Yasu, Maty and Salt do not find possibility in fixed or permanent claims to space and belonging but in their transient relations to and travels between locations of displacement. Their tactics are makeshift and provisional—a contingent "squatting" upon otherwise exclusionary social locations, queer or otherwise.

A tradition of queer-of-colour critique demonstrates the critical function of marginal spaces as significant sources of possibility for racialized queer subjects' survival, both culturally and politically. The work of José Esteban Muñoz's (1999), *Disidentifications*, teaches us how the "dis" in *dis*identification not only indicates a rejection of the normative and white racialized terms of sexual identity but also represents a psychic process and movement of "dissing," through which queers of colour afford themselves an alternative space of sociality in which existing meanings and representations of dominant sexual cultures can be disarticulated through performance. Sara Ahmed (2006) similarly makes a spatial turn in *Queer Phenomenology*, in which she demonstrates how queerness is felt as disorientation. Ahmed argues disorientation is not simply a "non-orientation" but that such a deviation from the normative lines of bodily alignment—those of heteronormativity and whiteness—creates a new space of movement for queered bodies against the fixating force of normative interpellations.

Alongside these spatial considerations of racialized, diasporic and queer subjects' quests for alternative socialities and critical intimacies, I consider the "dis" in *dis*placement as a process in which the displaced subjects I interviewed dwell upon and make anew, the normative logics of belonging within a cultural space. Such a focus on racialized marginality and space-making argues for a reconsideration of the much celebrated

notion of queerness as movement. For instance, Larry Knopp (2004:121–124) argues that "the idea of movement, flux and flows are important ontological sites in and of themselves" for what he calls queer "quests for identity." While I agree with this aspiration for alternative identifications and the imaginative *elsewhere* that propel queer bodies on the move, the critical modality of *basue* that I want to hold onto here counters an ontologizing of mobilities that tells us nothing about how displaced and racialized queer migrant subjects confront the conditions of displacements—even from a space they never left, even when their lives seem suspended. *Basue* in this sense is both a set of embodied tactics and a method of space-making, and both are dedicated to the ongoing work of a reconstitution of one's world through dwelling in and attachment to concrete, existing social locations despite their marginality.

The fact that these queer Asian men's experiences and locations of *basue*—the picnic, an apartment, the Skytrain, the night market—do not take place outside the centre but exist alongside, on the edge of and beneath it signals the fallacy of any clearly defined boundary and topology of queer possibility. On "the radical openness" that marginal spaces can enable, bell hooks (1989:20) states that "our survival depended on an ongoing public awareness of the separation between margin and centre and an ongoing private acknowledgement that we were a necessary, vital part of that whole." It is worth contemplating how the marginality of *basue* not only illuminates the displacing force of social relations and material conditions experienced by my participants, but also how *basue* can enable a more careful reading of the conditions of critical awareness, negation of the norm and possibilities of joy and comfort despite/because of displacements in a cultural space. The narratives of mobilities-in-difference and intimacies of *basue* discussed in this article escape a definitive conclusion. As Shin said, analogizing his life in the queer diaspora as a game of pin-ball, "There are many obstacles that get in the way. But, if you see your life as a pin-ball machine and you as the ball: if you stop, you are dead. Game over. I still want to play this game."

Dai Kojima, Human Development, Learning and Culture, 2125 Main Mall, The University of British Columbia, Vancouver, British Columbia, V6T 1Z4, Canada. E-mail: dai.kojima@gmail.com.

Notes

1 Japanese transcripts were translated by the author. All the given names are pseudonyms and some participants'

biographical information has been altered to protect their anonymity.

2 An extended version of this article appears as a chapter in my dissertation. I thank Michelle Walks and the anonymous reviewers for their generous comments, as well as those who provided generative feedback to versions of this paper presented at various conferences. This research project was partially funded by the Liu Institute for Global Issues and the Centre for Japanese Research at UBC.

References

Ahmed, Sara
    2006 Queer Phenomenology: Orientation, Objects, Others. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/9780822388074
Appadurai, Arjun
    1996 Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Bammer, Angelika
    1994 Displacements: Cultural Identities in Question. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
Berlant, Lauren
    2000 Introduction. *In* Intimacy. L. Berlant, ed. Pp. 1–8. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Broom, Jack
    2009 Cheap Socks? Grilled Squid Tentacles? Where Else but Richmond's Summer Night Market? Seattle Times. http://seattletimes.com/html/outdoors/2009379253_nwwmarket25.html?cmpid=2628, accessed December 20, 2013.
Bryson, Mary K., and Lori MacIntosh
    2010 Can We Play Fun Gay?: Disjuncture and Difference, and the Precarious Mobilities of Millennial Queer Youth Narratives. International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education 23(1):101–124. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09518390903447150
Bryson, Mary K., and Jacki Stacey
    2013 Cancer Knowledge in the Plural: Queering the Biopolitics of Narrative and Affective Mobilities. Journal of Medical Humanities 34(2):197–212. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10912-013-9206-z
Butler, Judith, and Gayatri C. Spivak
    2007 Who Sings the Nation-State? London: Seagull Books.
Crosby, Christina, Lisa Duggan, Roderick Ferguson, Kevin Floyd, Miranda Joseph, Heather Love, Robert McRuer, Fred Moten, Tavia Nyong'o, Lisa Rofel, Jordana Rosenberg, Gayle Salamon, Dean Spade and Amy Villarejo
    2012 Queer Studies, Materialism, and Crisis: A Roundtable Discussion. GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies 18(1):127–147. http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/10642684-1422170
Cvetkovich, Ann
    2003 An Archive of Feelings. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/9780822384434
de Certeau, Michel
    1984 The Practice of Everyday Life. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Eng, D.L.
    2001 Racial Castration: Managing Masculinity in Asian
          America. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. http://
          dx.doi.org/10.1215/9780822381020
Gopinath, Gayatri
    2005 Impossible Desires: Queer Diasporas and South Asian
          Public Cultures. Durham, NC: Duke University
          Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/9780822386537
Gray, Mary L.
    2009 Out in the Country: Youth, Media and Queer Visibility
          in Rural America. New York: New York University
          Press.
hooks, bell
    1989 Yearning: Race, Gender and Cultural Politics. Boston,
          MA: South End Press.
Knopp, Larry
    2004 Ontologies of Place, Placelessness and Movement:
          Queer Quests for Identity and Their Impacts on
          Geographic Thought. Gender, Place and Culture
          11(1):121–134. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/
          0966369042000188585
Lee, Byron
    2008 Reading GAM in Craigslist Personals: Constructing
          Gay Asian Males during the Negotiation of Anal
          Intercourse. *In* Proceedings of the International
          Communication Association, 2008 Annual Meeting.
          Pp. 1–28. Washington, DC: International
          Communication Association.
Lowe, Lisa
    2006 The Intimacy of Four Continents. *In* Haunted by
          Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American
          History. A.L. Stoler, ed. Pp. 191–212. Durham, NC:
          Duke University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/
          9780822387992-008
Luk, Vivian
    2010 Rainbow-bright Parade Bursts with Pride. Vancouver
          Sun, August 3: A3.
Manalansan, Martin F., IV
    2005 Migrancy, Modernity, Mobility: Quotidian Struggles
          and Queer Diasporic Intimacy. *In* Queer Migrations:
          Sexuality, U.S. Citizenship, and Border Crossings. L.
          Eithne and C. Lionel, eds. Pp. 146–160. Minneapolis:
          University of Minnesota Press.
    2010 Servicing the World: Flexible Filipinos and the
          Unsecured Life. *In* Political Emotions. J. Staiger, A.
          Cvetkovich and A. Reynolds, eds. Pp. 215–226. New
          York, London: Routledge.
Massey, Doreen
    1994 Double Articulation: A Place in the World. *In*
          Displacements: Cultural Identities in Question. A.
          Bammer, ed. Pp. 110–122. Bloomington: Indiana
          University Press.

Morley, David
    2000 Home Territories: Media, Mobility and Identity.
          London: Routledge.
Muñoz, Jose E.
    1996 Ephemera as Evidence: Introductory Notes to Queer
          Acts. Women & Performance 8(2):5–16. http://
          dx.doi.org/10.1080/07407709608571228
    1999 Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the
          Performance of Politics. Minneapolis: University of
          Minnesota Press.
Nguyen, Hoang Tan
    2008 A View from the Bottom: Gay Asian American
          Masculinity and Sexual Representation. Ph.D.
          dissertation, Department of Rhetoric, University of
          California, Berkeley.
Ong, Aiwa
    2006 Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship
          and Sovereignty. Durham, NC: Duke University
          Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/9780822387879
Patel, Hashu H.
    1972 General Amin and the Indian Exodus from Uganda.
          Issue: A Journal of Opinion 2(4):12–22.
Patton, Cindy and Benigno Sánchez-Eppler, eds
    2000 Queer Diasporas. Durham, NC: Duke University
          Press.
Raj, Senthorun
    2011 Grindring Bodies: Racial and Affective Economies of
          Online qQueer desire. Critical Race and Whiteness
          Studies 7(2):1–12.
Silvery, Rachel
    2007 Borders, Embodiment, and Mobility: Feminist
          Advances in Migration Studies. *In* Blackwell
          Companion to Feminist Geography. L. Nelson and J.
          Seager, eds. Pp. 138–149. London: Blackwell. http://
          dx.doi.org/10.1002/9780470996898.ch10
Spivak, Gayatri C.
    2005 Scattered Speculations on the Subaltern and the
          Popular. Postcolonial Studies 8(4):475–486. http://
          dx.doi.org/10.1080/13688790500375132
Tongson, Karen
    2011 Relocations: Queer Suburban Imaginaries. New York:
          New York University Press.
Tsing, Anna L.
    2007 Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection.
          Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Urry, John
    2007 Mobilities. Cambridge: Polity.

"And I Am Also Gay": Illiberal Pragmatics, Neoliberal Homonormativity and LGBT Activism in Singapore

Robert Phillips   *University of Manitoba*

Abstract: For decades, members of Singapore's LGBT communities have been unsuccessfully advocating for rights. However, since the state introduction of the Internet, there has been a profound shift in the relationship between LGBT Singaporeans and their nation. In this article I examine recent Internet-influenced developments in LGBT activism and position them within the framework of illiberal pragmatics, which highlights the ambivalent logic employed by Singaporean authorities when formulating social and legal policy. I describe how illiberal pragmatism, in combination with a Singaporean-specific neoliberal homonormativity, has changed strategies of LGBT activism and provided new ways to think about rights.

Keywords: Singapore, illiberal pragmatics, homonormativity, LGBT social movements, Internet, citizenship

Résumé : Pendant des décennies, les membres des communautés LGBT de Singapour ont revendiqué leurs droits sans succès. Pourtant, depuis la mise en place de l'Internet par l'État, les relations entre les Singapouriens LGBT et leur nation ont connu une réorientation profonde. Dans cet article, j'examine l'évolution récente de l'activisme LGBT, influencé par l'Internet, et je positionne cette évolution dans le cadre des pragmatiques antilibérales, ce qui met en lumière la logique ambivalente utilisée par les autorités singapouriennes dans la formulation de politiques sociales et législatives. Je décris comment le pragmatisme antilibéral, combiné à une homonormativité néolibérale spécifique à Singapour, a changé les stratégies de l'activisme LGBT et fourni de nouvelles manières de penser les droits.

Mots-clés : Singapour, pragmatiques antilibérales, homonormativité, mouvements sociaux néolibéraux, Internet, citoyenneté

Introduction

On 8 September 2007, a 38-year-old science teacher at Raffles Institution, a prestigious all-boys secondary school in Singapore, posted the following at the end of a longer entry on his personal blog:

> So here it is: I, Otto Fong, have always been and always will be a gay man ... I am not going back in the closet ... When you ask me who I am, I will answer: I am a son, a brother, a long-time companion, an uncle, a teacher, a classmate, a colleague, a part of your community, a HDB dweller,[1] a Singaporean. And I am also gay." [Fong 2007]

Almost immediately after being posted, the entry was picked up by other Singaporean bloggers who then reposted it on their own sites. Socio-political blogs with large readerships—including Singabloodypore, The Online Citizen and Tomorrow.sg—also republished the entry. Within hours, mainstream media outlets became aware of the story and, in a matter of days, the Ministry of Education requested that Fong remove the entry.

Under normal circumstances, a posting such as this would have gone mostly unnoticed. Despite the illegality of male homosexual practices and the cultural stigmatization of non-normative sexualities in the city-state, many Singaporeans who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender (LGBT) are "out" in the sense that the word is used in Singapore and in the west. There are local television and radio personalities, poets and playwrights, and several academics and entrepreneurs who have been forthcoming regarding their sexual orientation.[2] Yet, in this case, the person publicly declaring his sexual orientation was a locally raised high school science teacher at one of the nation's most well-respected secondary schools, one that had produced two of the three prime ministers who have led the nation since its formation in 1965. Further, because Fong was not perceived as the stereotypical gay man portrayed so consistently in Singapore's state-owned media as a drug-

taking, hard-drinking, sexual deviant (Alkhatib 2013; Singh 2010), the public pronouncement of his sexual orientation became more meaningful and more threatening for the average Singaporean. Fong was, by all accounts, a respected educator, well-liked by students, parents and administrators. He was not stereotypical nor was he a western expatriate; he was as "Singaporean" as any of his fellow citizens.

The entry also took on greater meaning because it appeared at the height of public debate surrounding Parliament's decision to consider the repeal of Section 377A of the penal code, the section that criminalizes sex between consenting adult men.[3] This law, part of the penal code established while Singapore was a British colony, makes acts of "gross indecency" between men a crime punishable by up to two years in prison. The 2007 review was the first in over 20 years and generated considerable public debate; according to the Ministry of Home Affairs, the feedback from the general public was "emotional, divided and strongly expressed" (Soh 2007:n.p.).

The above vignette speaks directly to the often contentious and well-documented relationship between LGBT identity and national identity in general (Boellstorff 2004, 2005; Bunzl, 2004; Parker, 2009), as well as to specifically non-western LGBT politics of identity and difference (Boellstorff 2003; Dave 2010, 2012; Gaudio 2009; Lorway 2008; Manalansan 2003), similar to that detailed by many of the LGBT Singaporeans with whom I interacted during my time in the city-state. Fong's blog entry and the subsequent attention from the state-controlled mainstream media and the Ministry of Education also signal the increasingly important role of social media in attempts by LGBT Singaporeans at the reconfiguration of this relationship.

Fong ended his entry with the brief but significant sentence "And I am also gay." It is not his primary subject position, but one of many. By setting it apart from the other subjectivities, it becomes almost an afterthought, as if to make clear that his sexual orientation is a *part* of who he is, rather than his complete identity. At the same time, I suggest that it speaks to a growing trend within Singapore in which LGBT activists are rejecting the conventional antagonistic binary of "us versus them"[4] and replacing it with a more harmonious, culturally relevant and, more importantly, neoliberal discourse of "us *and* them." Most significantly, in terms of this article, is the fact that Fong's closing sentence hints at the degree to which the "new homonormativity" of neoliberalism has demanded a gay identity that doesn't challenge "dominant heteronormative assumptions and institutions but upholds and sustains them"

(Duggan 2002:179). While this may appear to be a straightforward case of Fong being interpellated by a rhetoric of neoliberal assimilation, I argue here that, in the case of Singapore, it is not that simple. The unevenness of 1990s neoliberalism (Berlant 1997; Warner 1999) and the resulting lack of ideological homogeneity produced neither ideal citizens nor a "singular type of neoliberal subject" (Rofel 2007:6) in Singapore or elsewhere. In the case of Singapore, neoliberalism and the accompanying ideology of homonormativity, in combination with illiberal pragmatics, state control and a culture strongly influenced by Confucian thought, complicates matters in a way that demands we consider non-western LGBT political and social activism, enacted within this complex framework, in a different light.

In the remainder of this article, I do three things. I begin by examining the Internet in Singapore and briefly explore how the introduction of social media has come to influence the increasingly complex relationship between LGBT Singaporeans and their nation. I then situate the current state of LGBT activism in Singapore within a framework of illiberal pragmatics (Yue 2007), which highlights the irrational, ambivalent and contradictory logic employed by Singaporean authorities when formulating policy relating to these minority citizens. I highlight the effects of social and participatory digital media on LGBT activism, through an analysis of Indig-Nation and Pink Dot, LGBT events that demonstrate the utility of working within a Singaporean-specific logic of illiberal pragmatics. I conclude by thinking about the combined effects of illiberal pragmatics and homonormativity and the implications of this on LGBT activism in Singapore.

Internet in Singapore

The opening vignette, drawn from my dissertation fieldwork, demonstrates the conflicted relationship that many LGBT Singaporeans have with their nation and how some have turned to various types of new and emerging media as a corrective. This relationship was the central focus of my research, which was conducted in Singapore during the summers of 2004 and 2005 and again from July 2006 to September 2007. Sites of research included governmental agencies responsible for developing social and legal policy, LGBT rights organizations that were actively involved in contesting these policies, online gathering places including LGBT websites, chat rooms and discussion forums, and LGBT-owned pubs and coffeehouses that served as physical-world gathering places for LGBT Singaporeans. Data were collected through a combination of participant observation, interviews, textual analysis and the creation of an archive. This

multi-sited, multi-method ethnographic approach thus generated data from a diverse set of sources.

Singapore is one of the few countries in Asia that has yet to decriminalize homosexual behaviour, yet has a LGBT scene (including bars, dance clubs, saunas, businesses and resource centres) that rivals other more liberal cosmopolitan centres. In fact, in 2003, the international press was writing of the potential of Singapore to become the new capital of "gay" Asia (Agence France-Press 2003) due to the proliferation of international gay "circuit" parties hosted within the city-state (Yue 2012). Singapore can be imagined in a variety of ways, including as a node in international circuits of capital (Chang et al. 2004) or even "Disneyland[5] with the death penalty" because of its perceived authoritarian leadership (Gibson 1993). These descriptions of Singapore attest to the nation's complex relationship to modernity and its accompanying neoliberal projects. Further, because of an ethnically diverse population[6] and the city-state's lack of history as a nation, the government has made efforts to forge one unified national identity, yet is caught between conflicting ideologies. Singapore's government has consistently worked to inculcate ideas of modernity and technological prowess, yet many members of its majority Chinese population are deeply affected by contemporary ideologies of Confucianism and intolerant of challenges to state authority (Yue 2006). As such, while courting international business and tourism on the one hand, the government is constantly defending its social and legal policies that exclude its LGBT citizens on the other, thus highlighting the difficulties inherent in enforcing such contradictory policies.

Singapore's government has been building an information technology infrastructure to facilitate a knowledge-based economy since the early 1990s. This effort, the purpose of which was to maintain the city-state's advantageous position created in the aftermath of the economic crisis that hit the Asian region in 1997–98 (Lee 2005; Rodan 1998), boosted the nation's economy and provided low-cost Internet access for average Singaporeans who were expected to use it primarily for commercial and educational purposes (Ho et al. 2002). One unintended consequence of the universal nature of the Internet in Singapore is that it has led to new types of local and global engagements for citizens. This is relevant in that Singapore is a nation in which all forms of mainstream media are tightly controlled by the government and strict codes ensure that few print publications or television programmes reach out to LGBT communities.[7] The Internet thus serves as a vital source of alternative information.

Non-normative sexual practices remain illegal in much of the physical world (including Singapore), and there has been a history of viewing them as "virtual" or "apparitional" (Castle 1993; Vaid 1996). In Singapore, as elsewhere, the Internet has thus also allowed for the creation and utilization of various online sites that serve the needs of diverse LGBT communities. These include interactive forums such as RedQuEEn and Sayoni, aimed at queer women; SiGNeL, used primarily by gay men; blogs such as Yawning Bread and PLURAL; and LGBT lifestyle sites such as Herstory, Fridae and Trevvy.[8] As such, many LGBT Singaporeans, including Otto Fong, have been able to use the Internet in a manner other than was originally intended and have moved beyond the simple exchange of information to create a virtual public sphere in which to discuss issues of concern to their communities.

The Singaporean cybersphere has also become inundated with independently produced digital content such as personal and community blogs, websites and interactive groups on social networking sites such as Facebook. Individuals and groups are also creating video archives on YouTube to document the history of LGBT Singapore; using Twitter to convey vital up-to-the minute information, in situations where mainstream media is absent or slow; and writing informational entries related to LGBT Singapore within dedicated pages on Wikipedia. Interactions within these discursive sites have allowed many LGBT Singaporeans to network with one another as well as with those outside of their home communities, including Singaporeans abroad and non-Singaporeans, some of whom at one time lived or worked in the city-state. While beyond the scope of this article, it should be noted that the Internet also serves the needs of minorities, such as Malays and Indians, *within* the predominantly Chinese LGBT communities. For many with whom I interacted, the transnational nature of these multi-sited interactions was the spark that ignited a renewed interest in participation in the public sphere.

The Illiberal Pragmatics of Sexuality

When Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong gave his final speech to Parliament regarding Section 377A in October 2007, he framed his administration's hesitation to overturn the law around the idea that maintaining it was in tune with current "social mores and attitudes" (Lee 2007). In the same speech, however, Lee highlighted the fact that his government was listening to and acting in response to public debates surrounding the issue. He spoke directly of Otto Fong's blog entry and acknowledged the fact that his own government recognized that the lives of its LGBT citizens are often difficult:

We should recognise that homosexuals are part of our society. They are our kith and kin ... and I would add that among them are some of our friends, our relatives, our colleagues, our brothers and sisters or some of our children. They too must have a place in this society and they too are entitled to their private lives. We shouldn't make it harder than it already is for them to grow up and to live in a society where they are different from most Singaporeans. [Lee 2007]

Prime Minister Lee concurred with the widely held public opinion that Singapore is, by and large, a conservative society and that an outright repeal of Section 377A could lead to an irreparable division within the nation. As such, Section 377A was maintained. However, in recognition of the contribution of LGBT Singaporeans to the nation, he pledged that the law would not be actively enforced. I have suggested elsewhere (Phillips 2008) that, by preserving the law while simultaneously pledging not to enforce it, Lee was perpetuating the long-standing strategy of "pragmatism" (Chua 1995) that has come to inform Singaporean policy since the founding of the nation in 1965 (Liow 2011). Chua Beng Huat, a leading Singaporean sociologist views this pragmatism as "practical rather than philosophical ... always contextual and never based on principles of political philosophy ... (and consisting of) discrete and discontinuous acts" (Chua 1995:69). Simultaneously, the ideology of pragmatism allowed for the incorporation of a neoliberal "political rationality" (Liow 2011:243), which naturalizes these types of policy implementations as necessary and legitimate. I further argued that in adopting such contradictory policies, Lee was attempting to maintain the fine balance that exists between several antipodes that frame Singaporean culture and inform many policy decisions: cosmopolitans versus heartlanders,[9] Singapore versus the west, Christians versus others and tradition versus modernity (Phillips 2008). Chua noted the nonsensical and incongruous nature of these policies when he observed that "a particular intervention in a particular region of social life may radically alter the trajectory that an early intervention may have put in place" (Chua 1995:69).

Following Chua's lead, cultural theorist Audrey Yue (2007) took the idea of pragmatism further with her formulation of what she termed "illiberal pragmatics," perhaps a more precise framework within which to view Lee's statement. Yue argued that central to the pragmatism practiced by Singapore's government is "the logic of illiberalism where interventions and implementations are potentially always neo-liberal and non-liberal, rational and irrational" (Yue 2007:150–151). At the heart of this argument is an underlying notion of "ambivalence," which

can be clearly seen in Lee's decision to maintain but not enforce Section 377A. At the end of his speech, Prime Minister Lee quoted Singaporean activist and entrepreneur Stuart Koe, who likened the situation to having a "gun put to your head and not pulling the trigger. Either put the gun down, or pull the trigger" (Lee 2007). It is in the face of such illogical and ambivalent situations that many LGBT Singaporeans conduct their everyday lives and, by extension, their activism.

Yue recognized this collapse of binaries (rational/ irrational, neoliberal/nonliberal) in her theory of illiberal pragmatics and, as she argued, most LGBT activism that has emerged in recent years in Singapore is not "based on the Western post-Stonewall emancipation discourse of rights, but through the illiberal pragmatics of survival" (Yue 2007:151). For many of my interlocutors, western LGBT subjectivity and, by extension, western LGBT rights were based on individual autonomy and a specific language of rights, prioritized the individual and called for a radical form of assimilation that required overt social acceptance. Within Singaporean culture, heavily influenced by Confucian thinking, activism that challenges the authority of the state is impractical. As such, many with whom I interacted embraced an LGBT subjectivity that included cultural references, focused on maintaining social balance and looked beyond the homosexual/heterosexual binary.

In March 2007, I experienced the logic of illiberal pragmatism first-hand when I attended a public talk by transsexual woman, Leona Lo, in which she hoped to rebuke what she referred to as the "culture of shame" that surrounded transsexuals in Singapore. I was quite interested to hear what she had to say in that, while homosexual practices are illegal and culturally stigmatized, Singaporean surgeons perform sex reassignment surgery and the state allows transsexuals to marry and change gender categories on their national identity cards. After the talk, I approached her, explained my dissertation research on LGBT in Singapore and asked her if I could contact her at a later date for an interview. Her reply took me by surprise. "I was born with a medical problem and that problem has been corrected with surgery and drug therapy," she told me. "I am now a heterosexual woman. I am neither L, G, B nor T; so what exactly does your project have to do with me?" The brashness of her response was tempered by a realization that illiberal pragmatism, the framework within which Lo's transition was performed, is not concerned with assisting non-normative individuals to legally marry spouses, it is not interested in responding to calls for the bureaucratic or legal acceptance of sexual minorities, nor does it recognize and acknowledge indigenous gender

traditions. Rather, in this instance, it pathologizes and psychologizes the subjectivities of trans individuals; it turns trans subjectivity into a medical problem with a medical solution, ultimately heteronormalizing non-conforming sexual subjectivities, including that of Lo.

Yue argues that Singapore's illiberal pragmatics of sexuality "involves an active engagement with cultural politics and criticism" and that "this engagement with pragmatism, coupled with the contradictory logic of the illiberal, has enabled [LGBT Singaporeans] to actively use, fit in and twist the governmental framing of culture" (Yue 2011:252–253). As outlined in the sections that follow, this critical hermeneutical concept is being played out by LGBT individuals in contemporary Singapore who are embracing a value system that, in many respects, rejects them and their non-normative sexuality. Through the innovative use of state-owned infrastructure, they are attempting to affect change.

ContraDiction and IndigNation

On 4 August 2005, I attended the first ContraDiction prose and poetry reading at Utterly Art, a small gallery located above a traditional medical shop on South Bridge Road in the Chinatown section of the city. ContraDiction was the first event of many that took place that August at IndigNation, Singapore's newly created pride month. The ContraDiction reading that night, as well as the event of the subsequent year, which took place at Mox, an upscale gay bar and lounge, took on a decidedly grassroots feel. Organized by poet Dominic Chua and writer Ng Yi-Sheng, the events of 2005 and 2006 featured local LGBT writers reading their work; in between, young musicians took to the stage with guitars and showcased their talents. In 2005, audience members began the evening by perusing local artist Martin Loh's *Cerita Budak-Budak*, an exhibit of Peranakan[10] paintings recently commissioned to illustrate a children's book. Just before the start time of 8:00 p.m., people began to fill the folding plastic chairs neatly arranged in semi-circular rows framing the small stage at the front of the gallery space; because of the large number in attendance, those who could not find chairs sat on the floor below the single microphone stand. Prior to the beginning of the reading, bottles of wine, plastic cups and plates of cheese and crackers were passed from one person to the next creating a sense of camaraderie among those of us in attendance. In 2006, audience members at Mox sipped on wine and cocktails while reclining on comfortable, overstuffed chairs and large daybeds arranged in the dimly lit attic space on the third floor of a pre-war shop house. In both instances, writers took the stage and read their work to an appreciative audience.

It is too simplistic to claim that the events of 2005 and 2006 were only about prose, poetry, music and community for, in fact, IndigNation, of which ContraDiction was the inaugural event, was organized in response to the banning of the annual gay Nation Party earlier in 2005. When asked about the origins of the events, Alex Au, a well-known gay activist and blogger and one of the organizers of the first IndigNation replied, "The gay community is indignant and extremely unhappy. All the talk about society opening up is just empty words" (Au 2005). When I asked what he was hoping to achieve with the first ContraDiction, organizer Dominic Chua responded that "gay and lesbian people need to begin to see themselves and their lives reflected in words, and to begin to shed some of the homophobia that they pick up and internalize from the culture around them." The first ContraDiction event was simply subtitled "A Night with Gay Poets," whereas, the second, dubbed "Queer Words spoken in IndigNation," indicated a distinct change in tone. The works, given a rating of RA-18 (restricting the audience to those over the age of 18) by the Media Development Authority (MDA), spanned a variety of topics including erotic trysts, the myriad difficulties involved in having same-sex relationships, circumcision and the sex lives of Filipina maids. The ContraDiction events of 2005 and 2006 were certainly political in nature. The fact that these events had been staged suggests a very political claim on public space. Yet, at the same time, they were respectful and restrained.

In 2007, however, the mood at the third annual ContraDiction was different. It was held at 72–13, a new arts venue located in a converted rice warehouse on the banks of the Singapore River. Instead of the intimate venues of years past, the 2007 reading took place in a vast gallery space, accommodating a much larger crowd; long rows of plastic chairs filled the cavernous gallery illuminated by glaring incandescent lights. Rather than a relaxed feel, this year's event took on a decidedly edgy and overtly political tone. At the beginning of the evening, writer Ng Yi-Sheng, wearing only a pair of shorts and draped in a rainbow flag, a universal symbol of LGBT pride, went to the front of the room and announced that yet another in that year's line-up of Indig-Nation events had been cancelled due to the inability of organizers to obtain the required permits from authorities. He then had the audience count with him the number of events that had been banned that year. "One ... the film *My Brother Nikhil* ... two ... the talk by Doug Sanders ... three ... the talk by the Reverend Troy Perry ..." The events were counted and the crowd chanted along until they had reached the end of the list that had numbered 10 in total.[11] Next, Alex Au took the

stage to show slides of five sets of photographs whose public exhibition had not been approved by the MDA. The images were part of a larger exhibition, entitled *Kissing*, which was deemed inappropriate by authorities because it promoted "a homosexual lifestyle."

Indeed, many of the events that were part of the 2007 IndigNation were cancelled due to the inability to obtain permits from the Police Entertainment Licensing Unit or the MDA. Some were refused permits because governmental entities felt that they were "against public interest," while others were refused due to the fact that organizers had not filed the necessary paperwork or made proper safety arrangements. LGBT rights activists had a field day with these cancellations, charging censorship and discrimination, creating a buzz within the Singaporean press, both online and off, and generating dozens of reports and interviews in international media outlets. Yet, it was not just governmental regulators who took exception to the IndigNation events of 2007. Some within the LGBT communities in Singapore felt that the organizers of that year's events had gone too far; rather than sticking with the original intent of IndigNation, that of commemorating and embracing diversity, of showcasing to the rest of Singaporean society the "other side" of LGBT life, they had turned, in the words of one interlocutor, "aggressively political." Many of my acquaintances, who had actively participated in previous celebrations, would have nothing to do with the events of 2007. One young woman with a history of involvement with the community said of IndigNation,

> It's giving us some visibility but I'm not sure if fighting is the way to go ... I made a conscious decision not to be a part of it because I feel that pride; we don't need the cancellation of a party [meaning the 2005 Nation Party] to be proud of who we are. I think if you want to do pride, it should not be prompted by something negative; there should be a positive reason. So, for me it is a radical step to not be part of IndigNation.

For many LGBT Singaporeans, like the young woman quoted above, situating LGBT subjectivity as an imagined dividing line where cultural and social mores are created and positioned in terms of difference was not an effective manner by which to conduct activism. They were simply not comfortable with this confrontational "us versus them" framework within which IndigNation was being enacted. Some of these individuals chose instead to work toward a neoliberal model of activism that attempted to include "us *and* them." Compounding the alienation that some participants felt was the fact that, at all of these events, the audience was largely Chinese,

middle-class, English-educated/speaking, liberal (commonly known as CMEL) and male, a demographic that reflects the dynamics of the larger public LGBT community in Singapore in which racial classification is used as a means of identification as well as exclusion (Phillips 2012).

Pink Dot: The Illiberal Pragmatics of Activism

In August 2008, Singapore's government took the decision to allow public demonstrations at the Speakers' Corner within Hong Lim Park without having to obtain a police permit. The Speakers' Corner originated in 2000 in response to critics' claims of government censorship and was created as a space in which individuals could publicly articulate their opinions. It was used often when it first opened; in 2000 over 400 people signed up to speak, but this number dwindled to 26 in 2005, a decrease that can be attributed to the availability of the Internet as a means of expressing opinion and dissent. Yet, with the decision to allow groups to hold demonstrations, and the absence of the requirement to obtain a permit from the police department, interest in using the Corner increased noticeably (William 2009).

Almost immediately, members of Singapore's LGBT communities began organizing their first official public pride celebration. Interested individuals met regularly at a local nightclub and discussed logistics online in preparation for the event. There was much debate, in both cyberspace and the physical world, regarding just how to go about presenting a positive face of Singapore's LGBT communities to a public that, by and large, still misunderstood them. Initially, some participants had suggested a western-style LGBT pride celebration complete with the formulaic elements—disco music, drag queens, rainbow banners and speeches calling for the granting of rights. Eventually, others within the community questioned this tactic and organizers found a different approach. On 16 May 2009, over 2,000 LGBT Singaporeans along with their family members and supporters publicly gathered to celebrate their nation's diversity at an event dubbed Pink Dot.[12] Rather than staging the event as a protest, the organizers framed the event as one that promoted the freedom of all Singaporeans, including LGBT Singaporeans, to choose whom to love. The website promoting the event made sure participants understood that

> It is NOT a protest. It is a congregation of people who believe that everyone deserves a right to love, regardless of their sexual orientation. Fear and bigotry can get in the way of love—between friends, family

and other loved ones—so this is an event for everyone who believes that LGBT individuals are equally deserving of strong relationships with our family and friends. [*Pinkdot.sg* 2012]

In addition to advertising the event on the group's website, a YouTube channel was established so that videos of the event could be shared, and a Facebook page was created and users were encouraged to pledge their attendance. The event was covered internationally but received minimal coverage from Singapore's government-controlled media (Leyl 2009; US State Department 2010).

Pink Dot was staged again in May 2010 and had over 4,000 participants; the 2011 celebration, over 10,000. Organizers expanded the 2009 theme of "freedom to love" to "love within families" to emphasize the diversity of Singaporean families and the importance of kinship. Perhaps most significantly, the Pink Dot website featured several LGBT Singaporeans and their families in a series of online videos that told of the initial difficulties faced by parents of LGBT children and their eventual acceptance into the family unit. These videos accomplished two things. First, they put a human face to LGBT in Singapore by showing parents and children discussing the process of maintaining the cohesiveness of the family in what is often a difficult situation. Second, and perhaps more importantly, the videos emphasized "traditional" Singaporean familial relations, in which being a son or daughter of one's parents takes precedence over publicly declaring oneself as LGBT. I suggest that the ambivalence that characterizes this celebration, which at once focuses on and simultaneously turns away from LGBT concerns and fits within the framework of illiberal pragmatics is key to the success of this event. As with the events that were part of IndigNation, participants in the Pink Dot video series, at least initially, were largely CMEL, an important factor that will be given more consideration in the concluding section of this essay.

Unlike the IndigNation events, there is nothing overtly sexual about Pink Dot. In fact, Pink Dot comes off as a large picnic, with groups of family and friends relaxing on blankets, a sing-along (the 2011 song was "I Want to Hold Your Hand" by the Beatles), and children playing ball. It could be argued that the desexualisation of the Pink Dot celebrations, as well as a lack of a distinct activist agenda, have led the Singaporean LBGT movement into the trap of being "respectably queer" (Ward 2008), but I argue here that what Pink Dot represents is not necessarily the "mainstreaming of gay and lesbian liberation" (Duggan 2002; Vaid 1995; Warner 1999) under the sign of the neoliberal project but, rather, a very specific form of activism enacted within a framework of illiberal pragmatics.

Conclusions

Historically, LGBT Singaporeans have had a conflicted relationship with the nation. By working within the current social and legal systems and through creative uses of new and emerging media, many activists are taking the first steps in the reconfiguration of this relationship. In the above example involving Pink Dot, I described how creative and committed socially marginalized groups and individuals have, within the frameworks of illiberal pragmatics, turned the Internet into a powerful tool to facilitate the re-thinking of rights within the existing legal and social structures of the Singaporean city-state. These practices are crucial to activists who are contesting current policy through their strategic use of pre-existing government-created and maintained infrastructure and public space.

Concomitantly, these actions are challenging attitudes *within* Singapore's LGBT communities and encouraging individuals and groups to question deeply held notions of what it means to be LGBT. Through the production and consumption of culturally attuned media, many LGBT Singaporeans have also been enabled to participate in critical forms of social reflection and engagement and have come to rethink their own identities. Ideas of what it means to be LGBT, a resident of Southeast Asia and a citizen of Singapore are thus being reconstituted and given new meaning. Citizenship, Brenda Cossman argues, is "about a process of becoming" (Cossman 2007:2). My research has shown that this is the case with LGBT Singaporeans. But, I would argue, it comes at a price. For many of my interlocutors, notions of citizenship have come to revolve around becoming recognized as full citizens of the nation without having to sacrifice their LGBT identity. Deliberations and communications in cyberspace and subsequent activism in the physical world surrounding LGBT rights have certainly come to increase the scope and scale of traditional Marshallian notions of citizenship (Marshall 1950) and replaced them with remediated ones. These new iterations cast doubt on the utility of older definitions of citizenship through the creation of new notions of LGBT rights, which have been translated into a homonormative, Singapore-specific discourse.

The formation of a these new types of "do-it-yourself" citizenship call into question the hegemony of the state as well as state-defined notions of what it means to be "authentically" Singaporean. For the majority of the city-state's citizens, being "Singaporean" is framed around, among other things, issues of Asian

values (Englehart 2000; Sen 1997), a contentious set of constraints that focus on family and society and in which collectivism and communitarianism take precedence over the idea of the autonomy of individual members of a nation. Some of my interlocutors saw these efforts as an attempt to strip individuals of the very traits that make up their subjectivity—race, ethnicity, sexual orientation—to create a monolithic Singaporean citizen. But a vast majority came to see that re-appropriating those values that had come to form a dividing line between themselves and the rest of society lessened the feeling of difference. It allowed them to work within the system, to show their fellow citizens that, while they claim a LGBT identity, they simultaneously embrace a similar value system that demonstrates that they are as "Singaporean" as anyone else, once again demonstrating the shift from "us versus them" to a very homonormative "us *and* them."

Yet, this shift in thinking, as productive of change as it may appear to be, is not beyond critique. In addition to the homonormativity that has become imbricated within the activism of some LGBT Singaporeans, there are other issues at hand. As noted earlier, a significant number of participants in the IndigNation events are CMEL and, as such, have much less to lose than their minority counterparts. Otto Fong had, in fact, studied in Beijing and, along with his partner, secured permanent residency in Australia. Ng Yi-Sheng, one of the founders of IndigNation, studied comparative literature and writing at Columbia University in New York. Living a life centred on four very privileged axes of identity gives many activists the freedom and opportunity to challenge the sexual politics of Singapore, a freedom not afforded to their less entitled counterparts. Further, I argue that, although Pink Dot has an activist veneer, it is simultaneously feeding into the "economy of appearances" (Tsing 2000), in which cities stage sites of cultural diversity to attract the creative classes. As Tan (2009) reminds us, the Singaporean state has been behind the construction of numerous sites of difference, including the ethnic enclaves of Little India and Chinatown. While the state has certainly not openly condoned or encouraged Pink Dot, it has also not condemned it.

These criticisms aside, Singapore's LGBT communities have, through their innovative use of technology and without explicit permission, successfully challenged the boundaries put in place by their government. The individuals involved in Pink Dot have used an approach to LGBT rights that illustrates not only a Singapore-specific homonormativity, but also Yue's conceptualization of illiberal pragmatics. In claiming a remediated citizenship within this framework, LGBT Singaporeans are more easily able to negotiate rights within the very

system that has, since the formation of the nation in 1965, rejected them. In the process many LGBT Singaporeans, like Otto Fong, are becoming "also gay."

Robert Phillips, Department of Anthropology, University of Manitoba, 15 Chancellor's Circle, 432 Fletcher Argue Building, Winnipeg, Manitoba, R3T2N2, Canada. E-mail: robert.phillips@umanitoba.ca.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1 HDB is Singapore's Housing Development Board, a governmental agency responsible for the building, sale and maintenance of units within the public housing estates that house approximately 80 per cent of Singapore's population.

2 This is a privileged group of individuals who are not representative of the overall LGBT community in Singapore. Fong, who studied film in Beijing and is an Australian permanent resident, would be considered part of this group. For the most part, this group is male and represents a Singaporean culture centred on ideas of Confucianism and "Chineseness," which normalizes the ethnic Chinese male as the prototypical Singaporean citizen.

3 Section 377A. Outrages on Decency. "Any male person who, in public or private, commits, or abets the commission of, or procures or attempts to procure the commission by any male person of, any act of gross indecency with another male person, shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to 2 years" (Singapore Statutes Online 2014). It should be noted that, after much debate within Parliament and input from the public, it was decided that Section 377 of the Penal Code, which criminalized oral and anal sex between consenting heterosexual couples, would be repealed.

4 In the case of Singapore, "us versus them" generally refers to the divisions that exist between those Singaporeans who openly express or support a LGBT identity and the desire to have Section 377A repealed and those who do not.

5 Gibson asserts that, on the surface, Singapore, like the American theme park Disneyland, is considered by some to be "the happiest place on earth." Further, he suggests that in reality, like Disneyland, Singapore is sterile, conformist and lacking in any type of substantial authenticity or originality. Additionally, he notes that while Singapore is, on the surface, a clean and well-run city-state, it is in fact a technocratic, authoritarian state with a draconian legal system.

6 Chinese are the largest ethnic group in Singapore (74 per cent) followed by Malays (13 per cent), Indians (7 per cent) and Other (3 per cent) (Statistics Singapore 2013).

7 For policy guidelines, see http://www.mda.gov.sg/Policies/Pages/default.aspx.

8 See SiGNeL: https://groups.yahoo.com/neo/groups/signel/info; RedQuEEn: https://groups.yahoo.com/neo/groups/redqueen/info; Sayoni: http://www.sayoni.com; Yawning Bread: http://www.yawningbread.org/; PLURAL: http://www.pluralsg.wordpress.com/; Herstory: http://www.herstory.asia; Fridae: http://www.fridae.asia; and Trevvy: http://www.trevvy.com. All sites last accessed 23 October 2013.

9 The term "heartlanders" was popularized in 1999 by then Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong, when he used it to characterize the majority of Singapore's population. He was using it to describe a demographic who are generally less educated, members of the working class, inhabitants of HDB housing and distinctly local in their perspective on most issues.

10 *Peranakan* is a term used for the descendants of the very early Chinese immigrants to parts of Southeast Asia who have adopted Malay customs in an effort to be assimilated into the local communities. Its meaning has extended to cultural customs as well.

11 The complete list includes the public lecture by Douglas Sanders, the In the Pink Picnic in the Botanic Gardens, the *Kissing* photo exhibition by Alex Au, the Pink Run, four scheduled movie screenings, the talk by Reverend Troy Perry and the public reading of the story *Lee Low Tar* by Ng Yi-sheng.

12 Pink Dot is a play on the phrase "little red dot." This phrase is an epithet for Singapore in that it describes how the city state is indicated on most world maps. Pink, often associated with non-normative sexual subjectivities, is also the color that results from mixing the two colors of the national flag, red and white.

References

Agence France-Press
2003 Singapore is Asia's New Gay Capital. http://charmthebear.blogspot.com/2003/09/afp-singapore-is-asias-new-gay-capital.html, accessed October 23, 2013.

Alkhatib, S.
2013 More Men Using Cocktail of Drugs to Get High. http://yourhealth.asiaone.com/content/more-men-using-cocktail-drugs-get-sexual-high, accessed February 19, 2014.

Au, A.
2005 IndigNation in the News. http://www.yawningbread.org/apdx_2005/imp-209.htm, accessed October 23, 2013.

Berlant, L.
1997 The Queen of America Goes to Washington City: Essays on Sex and Citizenship. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Boellstorff, T.
2003 Dubbing Culture: Indonesian Gay and Lesbi Subjectivities and Ethnography in an Already Globalized World. American Ethnologist 30(2):225–242. http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/ae.2003.30.2.225

2004 Zines and Zones of Desire: Mass-mediated Love, National Romance and Sexual Citizenship in Gay Indonesia. Journal of Asian Studies 63(2):367–402. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0021911804001019

2005 The Gay Archipelago: Sexuality and Nation in Indonesia. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Bunzl, M.
2004 Symptoms of Modernity: Jews and Queers in Late-Twentieth-Century Vienna. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Castle, T.
1993 The Apparitional Lesbian: Female Homosexuality and Modern Culture. New York: Columbia University Press.

Chang, T., S. Huang and V. Savage
2004 On the Waterfront: Globalization and Urbanization in Singapore. Urban Geography 25(5):413–436. http://dx.doi.org/10.2747/0272-3638.25.5.413

Chua, B.
1995 Communitarian Ideology and Democracy in Singapore. London: Routledge.

Cossman, B.
2007 Sexual Citizens: The Legal and Cultural Regulation of Sex and Belonging. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Dave, N.
2010 To Render Real the Imagined: An Ethnographic History of Lesbian Community in India. Signs (Chicago) 35(3):595–619. http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/648514

2012 Queer Activism in India: A Story in the Anthropology of Ethics. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/9780822395683

Duggan, L.
2002 The New Homonormativity: The Sexual Politics of Neoliberalism. *In* Materializing Democracy: Toward a Revitalized Cultural Politics. R. Castronovo and D. Nelson, eds. Pp. 175–194. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/9780822383901-007

Englehart, N.
2000 Rights and Culture in the Asian Values Argument: The Rise and Fall of Confucian Ethics in Singapore. Human Rights Quarterly 22(2):548–568. http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/hrq.2000.0024

Fong, O.
2007 An Open Letter – September 2007, Otto Fong in RI. http://ottofong.blogspot.com/2008_08_01_archive.html, accessed October 23, 2013)

Gaudio, R.
2009 Allah Made Us: Sexual Outlaws in an Islamic African *City*. London: Wiley-Blackwell. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/9781444310535

Gibson, W.
1993 Disneyland with the Death Penalty. http://www.wired.com/wired/archive/1.04/gibson.html, accessed October, 23 2013.

Ho, K., Z. Baber and H. Khondker
2002 Sites of Resistance: Alternative Websites and State-society Relations. British Journal of Sociology 53(1):127–148. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00071310120109366

Lee, H.
  2007 Official Report for 2007-10-23.
        Parliament.government.sg, http://sprs.parl.gov.sg/
        search/report.jsp?currentPubID=00075232-ZZ,
        accessed October 23, 2013)

Lee, T.
  2005 Internet Control and Auto-regulation in Singapore.
        Surveillance & Society 3(1):74-95.

Leyl, S.
  2009 Singapore Gays in First Public Rally. http://
        news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/8054402.stm, accessed
        October 23, 2013.

Liow, E.
  2011 The Neoliberal-Developmental State: Singapore as
        Case Study. Critical Sociology 38(2):241-264. http://
        dx.doi.org/10.1177/0896920511419900

Lorway, R.
  2008 Defiant Desire in Namibia: Female Sexual-gender
        Transgression and the Making of Political Being.
        American Ethnologist 35(1):20-33. http://dx.doi.org/
        10.1111/j.1548-1425.2008.00003.x

Manalansan, M.
  2003 Global Divas: Filipino Gay Men in the Diaspora.
        Durham, NC: Duke University Press. http://
        dx.doi.org/10.1215/9780822385172

Marshall, T.
  1950 Citizenship and Social Class and Other Essays.
        Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Parker, R.
  2009 Bodies, Pleasures, and Passions: Sexual Cultures in
        Contemporary Brazil. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt
        University Press.

Phillips, R.
  2008 Queering Online: Transnational Sexual Citizenship in
        Singapore, Ph.D. dissertation, Department of
        Anthropology, University of California, Irvine.
  2012 "Singaporean by Birth, Singaporean by Faith": Queer
        Indians, Internet Technology, and the
        Reconfiguration of Sexual and National Identity. In
        Queer Singapore: Illiberal Citizenship and Mediated
        Cultures. A. Yue and J. Zubillaga-Pow, eds. Pp. 187-
        196. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Pinkdot.sg
  2012 FAQ: Things to Know about Pink Dot, http://
        pinkdotsg.blogspot.ca/p/faq-things-to-know-about-
        pink-dot.html, accessed October 23, 2013.

Rodan, G.
  1998 The Internet and Political Control in Singapore.
        Political Science Quarterly 113(1):63-89. http://
        dx.doi.org/10.2307/2657651

Rofel, L.
  2007 Desiring China: Experiments in Neoliberalism,
        Sexuality and Public Culture. Durham, NC: Duke
        University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/
        9780822389903

Sen, A.
  1997 Human Rights and Asian Values. Morgenthau
        Memorial Lecture at the Carnegie Council on Ethics
        and International Affairs, New York, May 25.

Singapore Statutes Online
  2014 Penal Code (Chapter 224), http://statutes.agc.gov.sg/
        aol/home.w3p, accessed February 19, 2014.

Singh, K.
  2010 Gay Sex Romp Turned Fatal: Dead Man Had
        Consumed Sex Drugs with Gay Partner. Straits
        Times, June 22.

Soh, N.
  2007 Big Changes to Penal Code to Reflect Crime's
        Changing Nature. Straits Times, September 18.

Statistics Singapore
  2013 Singapore Residents by Age Group, Ethnic Group
        and Sex, End June 2013. http://www.singstat.gov.sg/
        publications/publications_and_papers/reference/
        mdscontent.html#population, accessed October 23,
        2013.

Tan, C.
  2009 "But They Are Like You and Me": Gay Civil Servants
        and Citizenship in a Cosmopolitanizing Singapore.
        City and Society 21(1):133-154. http://dx.doi.org/
        10.1111/j.1548-744X.2009.01018.x

Tsing, A.
  2000 Inside the Economy of Appearances. Public Culture
        12(1):115-144. http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/08992363-12-1-
        115

US State Department
  2010 2009 Human Rights Report: Singapore. http://
        www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2009/eap/136008.htm,
        accessed October 23, 2013.

Vaid, U.
  1995 Virtual Equality: The Mainstreaming of Gay and
        Lesbian Liberation. New York: Anchor.

Ward, J.
  2008 Respectably Queer: Diversity Culture in LGBT
        Activist Organizations. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt
        University Press.

Warner, M.
  1999 The Trouble with Normal: Sex, Politics, and the
        Ethics of Queer Life. New York: The Free Press.

William, R.
  2009 Speak! Or (And?) Be Damned. I-S Magazine Online.
        http://is.asia-city.com/city-living/article/speak-or-and-
        be-damned, accessed February 19, 2014.

Yue, A.
  2006 Cultural Governance and Creative Industries in
        Singapore. International Journal of Cultural Policy
        12(1):17-33. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/
        10286630600613176
  2007 Creative Queer Singapore: The Illiberal Pragmatics
        of Cultural Production. Gay and Lesbian Issues and
        Psychology Review 3(3):149-160.
  2011 Doing Cultural Citizenship in the Global Media Hub:
        Illiberal Pragmatics and Lesbian Consumption
        Practices in Singapore. In Circuits of Visibility:
        Gender and Transnational Media Cultures. R. Hegde,
        ed. Pp. 250-267. New York: New York University
        Press.
  2012 "We're the Gay Company, as Gay as It Gets": The
        Social Enterprise of Fridae. In Queer Singapore:
        Illiberal Citizenship and Mediated Cultures. A. Yue
        and J. Zubillaga-Pow, eds. Pp. 197-212. Hong Kong:
        Hong Kong University Press. http://dx.doi.org/
        10.5790/hongkong/9789888139330.003.0013

Sex for Law, Sex for Psychiatry: Pre-Sex Reassignment Surgical Psychotherapy in Turkey

Aslı Zengin   *University of Toronto*

Abstract: In Turkey, production of "transsexuality" as a medico-legal category dates back to 1988. Amendments in 2002 to the regulation of sexual transition shaped their present form, which requires psychiatric observation during the transition period, putting trans people under strict institutional supervision and evaluating them in terms of their gender role performance. Focusing on trans peoples' experiences of psychiatric observation, this paper illustrates the medical steps trans people take to collect evidence of their "true" sex, and shows how psychiatrists evaluate these steps. It explores how negotiations between doctors and trans people work upon conflicting meanings of bodily time, sex, gender and sexuality.

Keywords: trans studies, gender, law, medicine, the body, temporality

Résumé : En Turquie, la régulation de la transition sexuelle et la production de la « transsexualité » comme catégorie médico-légale remontent à 1988. Selon des modifications apportées en 2002, les règlements sur la réattribution sexuelle exigent l'observation psychiatrique, durant laquelle les personnes trans sont mises sous surveillance institutionnelle rigoureuse et évaluées en fonction de leur performance de rôle de genre. Se penchant sur les expériences d'observation psychiatrique de personnes trans, cet article examine les étapes médicales que suivent les personnes trans afin de recueillir des preuves de leur «vrai» sexe, et démontre comment les psychiatres évaluent ces étapes. Cet article explore également les négociations de sens contradictoires de temps corporel, de sexe, de genre et de sexualité entre les médecins et les personnes trans.

Keywords: Trans-genre, genre, droit, médecine, le corps, temporalité

Introduction

It was the 18th Annual Pride Week in Istanbul. I was sitting in a packed room, waiting for the panel to start. Titled "Transgender Body, Transition Process," and organized and hosted by LambdaIstanbul, a lesbian-gay-bisexual-trans-intersex-queer (LGBTIQ) organization, the panel brought together two psychiatrists and one trans man. The audience was especially excited by the prospect of a conversation with these medical authorities, because trans people often struggle with the intricate medico-legal processes governing sex reassignment surgery (SRS) in Turkey.[1] A medical report provided by psychiatrists is one part of the complicated and painstaking process that makes SRS legal and permissible for an individual. It comes after approximately two years of psychotherapy and, without it, the individual is not authorized for a legal SRS, which is the only way for trans people to have their identification cards (ID) re-issued according to their reassigned sex.

The psychiatrists on the panel had run these sorts of psychotherapy sessions and produced medical reports authorizing these surgeries. Some of the people who had received medical reports from them were in the audience. But as the panel and its subsequent question-and-answer session proceeded, I observed a general disturbance among the audience, especially during the discussions around obligatory psychotherapy sessions and the rules about hormone intake. A gap between trans peoples' understandings of their sex and their sexual transition and the doctors' approach to sex was evident and widening, reflecting a larger problem that also informed psychotherapy sessions. The questions of what sex, sexuality and gender mean and how sex reassignment should take place received different answers depending on who was speaking, the psychiatrists or their trans "patients." The sex reassignment process, particularly the psychotherapy period, was harshly criticized by trans people for its strict reliance on particular notions of bodily time, gender identity and the sexed body and

for how these notions led to rigorous criteria for evaluating trans people and proof of their "true" sex. Psychotherapy was challenged for carrying specific temporal and bodily assumptions about sexual transition and about being a woman or a man, and for punishing people unable to comply with such rules.

Focusing on how psychiatry works to diagnose and treat "transsexuality" in Turkey, this article has the following goals: first, to delineate the brief history of "transsexuality" as a medico-legal category and to analyze it "as a central cultural site where meanings about gender and sexuality are being worked" (Valentine 2007:14); second, to show how medical certification functions as a prerequisite for producing legal scripts of one's sexual identity commensurate with her or his sexuality and gender identity; and, third, to explore how sex, combined with time, is used as a "regulatory practice" (Butler 1993) by medical authorities, one that integrates gender non-conforming people in Turkey into a heteronormative matrix of sex, sexuality and gender. Throughout, I consider how trans people in Turkey are more than passive recipients or subjects of such discourses and practices. On the contrary, they actively negotiate, interpret, produce and desire various configurations of sex, gender and sexuality within a multiplicity of options, ranging from relatively normative configurations to new and radical imaginings. The final goal of this article is to discuss those imaginings and configurations by analyzing how trans people respond to and experience the temporal and bodily characteristics of this medico-legal sex reassignment process.

First, some words about terminology. I deploy *trans* as an umbrella term to refer to people who undergo or who have undergone varying degrees of sexual or gender transition. Following Stephen Whittle's (2006:xi) suggestion, I see *trans* as a wide-ranging category, including transgender, transsexual, male to female (MTF) or female to male (FTM) cross-dresser, queer gender and other gender non-conforming identities. As Susan Stryker and colleagues (2008:12) powerfully articulate, "gendered embodiment" is "striated and crosshatched by the boundaries of significant forms of difference other than gender, within all of which gender is necessarily implicated." I use the term *trans* to denote such diversities and differences, as well as the connections between them that shape gendered embodiment and experience, which also complies with its usage in Turkey, where the term *trans* is "borrowed" from western discourses of sexual identity to address any person experiencing gender and sexual transition. Even though the Turkish queer parlance has other alternative terms such as *gacı*, *dönme*, *lubunya* and *travesti* to talk about trans

experience, the use of *trans* as an umbrella term is more widespread. It is important to note, however, that the term *transsexual* (or locally *transseksüel*) has strict medico-legal connotations, denoting only those trans people who have been diagnosed as transsexual by medical authorities and have completed their sex reassignment process according to regulatory expectations.

Two Intimates: Medicine and Law

Northern (understood also as western, global, modern) scientific, medical and political discourses and practices travel across local contexts, informing particular understandings of transgender and transsexual identity. However, critical ethnographic work on transgenderism in the global south shows that there are many other, different ways in which sex, gender and sexuality relate to one another. For instance, Don Kulick's groundbreaking ethnographic work *Travesti* (1998) explores the everyday life of Brazilian *travestis*, who approximate their bodies to female physical characteristics through cosmetic practices, hormone ingestion, clothes and hairstyles. However, they avoid both removing their penises and considering themselves to be women, instead identifying as homosexuals—that is, males who desire men and shape themselves according to men's desires. In a similar vein, Evelyn Blackwood (2007) talks about *warias* in Indonesia, transgender people with male bodies who act like women and are involved in sexual and intimate relations with men; Tom Boellstorff (2004) suggests they don't form a "third gender" but rather exemplify a male femininity. In the Thai context, Megan Sinnott (2007) and Ara Wilson (2004) examine the complex associations between sexuality, sexual identity and gender by focusing on the *tom* figure. *Tom* can be viewed as a Thai transgender term used for addressing female-bodied people with masculine identity, whose gender is hence considered to be masculine. Toms are understood to be attracted to *dees*, who are feminine women desiring or dating toms. Sinnott (2007:123) shows how *tom* and *dee* identities are mutually constructed through desirous and sexual relationships involving each type and how these desires for and sexual practices with each other are assumed to be natural outcomes of their gender, not their sexed body.

These local understandings of gender, sex and sexuality are at the same time far from untouched by transnational flows of northern medico-legal practices and discourses. As Blackwood and Wieringa (2007) argue, cultural location and global connectedness are in a dynamic and complicated relationship, preventing one from approaching gendered and sexual subjectivities as either simply local or totally determined by Northern discourses and practices. Rather, queer subjectivities

"reproduce and reconstitute the specific discourses, knowledges and ways of understanding the world of their particular locations" (Blackwood and Wieringa 2007:8). Because of its history as a travelling western medical model to diagnose and treat transsexuality in local contexts, the domain of psychiatry and psychology is a significant one for exploring the relationship between the local and the global. The Turkish history of "transsexuality" as a medico-legal category is also dependent on such transnational conditions.

"Transsexuality" was absent from Turkish law until 1988. Prior to 1988, however, there were several legal cases involving trans women who appealed to lower courts to change their sex on official records after having their SRS either in Turkey or abroad. Despite the legal approval of those pleas by lower courts, the Supreme Court rejected them all (Atamer 2005; Öztürel 1981). In 1980 and 1981 a renowned professor of forensic medicine, Adnan Öztürel, published two articles on these legal cases. Pointing out a high number of local "transsexual cases" in Turkey, he linked the then-illegality of SRS to a specific article in the Turkish Criminal Law, which stated that those who do operations on men and women that annihilate their reproductive capacity and those who give consent to such operations on their bodies, are subject to 6 to 12 months of imprisonment (Öztürel 1981:267). In 1983 this article was modified, criminalizing only cases that lacked individual consent for sterilization by the sterilized.

In 1983, the right-wing Motherland Party also won the elections following a three-year long military rule, forming a new, one-party government. As of 12 September 1980, the previous military government had inhibited individual freedoms and rights, including the right of cross-dressers and of transgender performers to work in the entertainment sector and in sex work, two of most common domains of employment for trans people. One of the banned artists was Bülent Ersoy, a trans woman singer who entered the music scene with a male body in 1971 and was forbidden to perform as singer upon revealing her "true" sexual identity as woman in 1981. Due to the strictness of military rule, she had to flee the country for nine months and, when she returned, it was as a post-op trans woman. However, official records still displayed her sex as male. She therefore appealed to the court to change her identification. It took seven years of continuous struggle for the state to concede she was a woman, change her legal sex to female and issue her a pink identification card, which represented (and still represents) its holder as of female sex in the eyes of the state.[2] Her legal victory was made possible under the Motherland Party's government,

which introduced a neoliberal economic program to Turkey in 1983. Some authors argue that this neoliberal regime took advantage of Ersoy's case to exemplify a new era, promoting individual rights, freedom and tolerance (Altınay 2008:215).

In Turkey, male and female citizens are assigned blue and pink IDs respectively. Changing the colour of their ID is a substantial political concern for trans people in their fight for recognition of their sex by the state. Because she became the first trans woman whose sex was officially approved by the state, Bülent Ersoy embodies a key figure in trans people's history in Turkey. Her case led to the introduction of the first legal regulations, in 1988, regarding transsexuality, achieved by attaching a new article to the 29th clause of the Civil Code of 1926. The new article stated that "in cases where there has been a change of sex after birth documented by a report from a committee of medical experts, the necessary amendments are made to the birth certificate."[3] This article made it possible for trans people to apply for a new ID after SRS. Subsequent to surgery, if a trans person could provide a health report to the court proving the operation and its results, they could easily obtain a new pink or blue ID card.

The process was, nevertheless, not strictly governed by multiple institutions, as is seen in the current situation. Several prominent law specialists have criticized the 1988 legal regulation for exceeding its intentions, causing several gaps and contradictions in practice. They were presented in relation to legal regulations on transsexuality in some European countries (i.e., Germany, Sweden). One noteworthy criticism was that this article, in fact, created room for cinsiyet kargaşası (gender chaos) by allowing anyone to reassign their sex (Zevkliler 1988). As opposed to Swedish and German codes on transsexuality, which required a non-married status and state of infertility as pre-conditions for SRS, the Turkish regulation and, by implication the state, showed no concern for the issues of marriage and reproductivity in the design of the article (Sağlam 2004; Zevkliler 1988). Problems resulted. For instance, when people reassigned their sex, their marriage would automatically be annulled, as same-sex marriage was (and still is) illegal in Turkey. Moreover, according to Aydın Zevkliler, a professor well-known as a commentator on the issue, if a person was married or had children, this situation should itself be proof of one's non-transsexual identity, as such a person had "succeeded" in forming an intimate relationship with the "opposite" sex partner and reproducing by using her or his sexual organs. This meant there was no fundamental problem with the viability of his or her sexual organs at birth. Furthermore, Zevkliler

argued, sex reassignment would cause damage to children's mental health, as well as the family structure itself, the legal protection of which was prioritized by the state via numerous laws.

These legal debates urged the state to overcome such contradictions in law and ensure protection of family life. They provided justification for limiting sex change to those diagnosed as "hermaphrodites," simultaneously having both male and female sexual organs, and those whose anatomy contradicted their inner sense of sex such that they adopted the feelings, instincts and behaviours of the opposite sex (Zevkliler 1988:267–270). Zevkliler interpreted sex change as an anatomic necessity for the former group and, as a "psikolojik, psikiyatrik, psikanalitik sendrom" (psychological, psychiatric, psychoanalytic syndrome) for the latter (1988:268). Alongside psychiatric evaluations, he also promoted the introduction of other medical experts into the domain of transsexuality, such as gynecologists, urologists, endocrinologists and general surgeons, as professionals who could provide legitimate evidence for one's transsexual status.

Despite these discussions, the article on transsexuality remained unaltered until a change of government in 2002. The Justice and Development Party (AKP) came to power with a neoliberal-conservative one-party government and brought several amendments to the legal system, including modifications to civil law. Changes to the 40th clause in the Civil Code put the sex reassignment process under rigorous medico-legal control and supervision, similar to the German and Swedish protocols (Sağlam 2004). The results of the aforementioned legal debates were integrated into a strictly regulated sex reassignment process:

> A person who wants to change her or his sex has to apply to the court personally and ask for permission for a sex reassignment. For this permission to be given, the applicant must have completed the age of 18 and must be unmarried. Besides he or she must prove with an official health board report issued by an education and research hospital that he/she is of transsexual nature, that the sex reassignment is compulsory for her or his mental health and that he or she is permanently deprived of the capacity of reproduction.

> If it is confirmed by an official health board report that a sex reassignment operation was effected based on the permission given and in accordance with the purpose and medical methods, the court will decide for the necessary changes to be made in the civil status register.[4]

Prior to 2002, trans people did not need an official report to have SRS, but now a comprehensive medical report was necessary, with a particular attention to psychiatry and psychology. This report must prove "sex change" to be a necessity for the person's mental health; with this report in hand, the individual appears in court to request permission to have the surgery. By the time the person appears in court, he or she should be unmarried, have no children and be sterile.[5] After surgery, the individual is required to receive a report stating that he or she has a "proper" penis or vagina and, with this report, return to the court to complete the sex reassignment procedures and be issued his or her new ID.

My point in this article concerns this proof of "transsexual nature." Medical processes in general and psychiatry in particular are promoted to achieve this goal. Gathering medical evidence of one's transsexual identity and, in the end, medical guarantees of the "true" sex represented by pink or blue IDs, is an arena in which the Turkish state actively and forcibly "materializes" sex "within the productive constraints of certain highly gendered regulatory schemas" (Butler 1993:xi). I now turn to detailing this process, illustrating the medical steps taken by trans people to collect evidence of their "true" sex and the ways the state's medical authorities, particularly psychiatrists, examine these steps in the interim of transition. As will become clear, not only does the medical certification process function as a prerequisite in legal scripts of one's sexual identity but, because medical authorities rely on particular understandings of gender in doing their work, these understandings influence the gender identity and, at times, sexual desire and practices of the trans people they authorize.

Setting the Trans Body for the Medical Stage

The aim of this section is to provide a general overview of the medical process of sexual transition and then a more specific overview of the psychiatric component. As previously mentioned, the Turkish state insists that before, during and after SRS, trans people must modify their bodies and prove their "true" sexual identities. This process involves many legal steps, such as provision of the comprehensive report or *heyet raporu* that authorizes SRS. People can, of course, have these surgeries without an official permit; however, those operations are regarded as illegal and, lacking the support of a heyet raporu, do not allow for changes to official records or a new ID.

The heyet raporu can only be provided by a *heyet*, a board of doctors similar to the oversight boards in North America at education and research hospitals.

The *heyet* is composed of specialists from multiple departments, including internal diseases, general surgery, neurology, psychiatry, ophthalmology, ear-nose-throat (ENT), gynecology and plastic surgery, as well as the head of the board. In Turkey, heyet raporu is something that may also be required on other occasions. For instance, employers might request recent hires to submit heyet raporu to prove their health conditions. Or students have to provide their principals with heyet raporu when they need to take a leave of absence for long periods. Depending on each situation, the hospital creates a board, selecting different departments for each individual case.

In the case of trans people, psychiatric, urological, gynecological, genetic, endocrinological and plastic surgical exams are required. All these departments serve the scientific evaluation of one's sex and gender. Medical genetics, for instance, monitors trans people's chromosomal combination to see whether they are intersex or not. Endocrinology runs three different tests, namely liver and kidney function tests, a complete blood test and a thyroid-stimulating test, both before and after hormone intake. These tests help doctors to observe the fluctuations in trans people's hormone levels between their pre- and post-hormone conditions. Based on test results, an endocrinologist decides on the required level of hormone intake. Once each of these medical actors are scientifically convinced of the need for SRS, they then gather their individual reports to prepare a final heyet raporu, which includes the individual signatures of each above-mentioned specialist. However, the psychiatric examination represents the chief phase since, among all necessary medical steps, it carries out the most detailed investigation of whether one has gender "dysphoria," or not.

The inception of this psychiatric examination dates back to 1987, when Şahika Yüksel, now a renowned psychiatrist specializing in clinical work with trans people, established the first special unit at the Psychiatry Department of the Istanbul School of Medicine dedicated to the evaluation of "gender identity problems" (Yüksel et al. 2000). Later, mostly inspired by the Harry Benjamin International Gender Dysphoria Associations' Standards of Care,[6] Yüksel introduced some psychiatric methods into her clinical work with trans people. One example is group psychotherapy, a product of a particular interpretation and application of Benjamin's Standards of Care. Over the course of 10 years, this psychotherapy method has spread to other psychiatry departments in public education and research hospitals.[7]

These evolved standards are in some ways more customary than legal. For instance, two years of psycho-therapy sessions are not set as obligatory in the law; what is mandatory is the provision of the psychiatric report for SRS. But psychiatrists refrain from providing such a report before the completion of approximately two years of psychotherapy and, even when the psychiatrist is convinced about a trans person's sexual identity, issuance of the medical report can still be arbitrarily postponed dependent upon the person's financial situation. Unless one has the financial means to undergo surgery, she or he might not be granted a medical report for a long time.

Finances also play into other aspects of the psychiatric component of the heyet raporu. For instance, trans people can receive a psychiatric report from a private psychiatry clinic, although they still have to consult with public education and research hospitals for the running of other tests and for the final heyet raporu.[8] They might do this because they might prefer individual psychotherapy. While private psychiatry clinics organize their therapies into similar temporal intervals, they also offer individual rather than group therapy. The benefit of this is to allow the person more time to talk about their problems in one-on-one setting. But, while group therapy at education and research hospitals are financially covered by public insurance, individual psychotherapy services at private clinics are excluded from insurance coverage. For this reason, trans people's class background and family support play a significant role in determining their psychotherapy experience. Whereas those with wealth have the option of private psychotherapy, those without wealth and family support have to undergo group psychotherapy provided by public hospitals.

My access to ongoing psychotherapy sessions was inhibited by both pragmatic and ethical concerns. Not all of my trans informants were involved in the state's obligatory medico-legal route to have their sex confirmed. At the time of my 13 months of ethnographic fieldwork in 2009–2010, the psychotherapy process was a more substantial issue for the younger generation of trans people, as many older trans people had changed their IDs before the 2002 legal regulations. Some others were still in the process of debating whether to undergo such a stringent medico-legal process. Thus, even though I spent time with more than 20 trans people, my knowledge of psychotherapy sessions is mostly based on the first-hand accounts of three psychiatrists who were facilitating psychotherapy sessions and five trans people who either had completed or were trying to complete the psychotherapy process. They all worked at and visited the same hospital, and thus were part of the same psychotherapy group.[9]

Psychotherapy groups are composed of 30 to 40 people, who meet for two hours once a month. Even though the average completion time is two years, it varies from person to person, depending on their needs and responses to psychotherapy. No one can join the group before the psychiatrists' assessment of them individually, which also provides an initial estimate of the time needed in psychotherapy. Those I spoke with noted that they continue to keep track of the person's condition even after the person is accepted to the group; however, the frequency of one-on-one sessions also varies, depending, once again, upon an individual's psychological state during the transition process. For example, if doctors observe confusion or hesitation of some sort about having the SRS, a one-on-one session might be called for, as well as longer involvement in group psychotherapy.

Part of the psychotherapy involves directions about hormone intake. Usually, people are asked to provide their endocrinological, gynecological and urological examination results at the end of their first year. As long as the outcome is as expected, they can start with their regular hormone intake. Another function of the psychotherapy group is to deliver adequate technical information in regard to SRS, as well as its subsequent transition period.

On the surface, psychiatric support appears to be positive, helping trans people a great deal with their bodily transition; nevertheless, accounts of psychotherapy sessions by doctors and by trans people are strikingly contradictory. Whereas state psychiatrists depict psychotherapy sessions as merely supportive mechanisms, trans people claim that these therapies do them various levels of violence. I now turn to descriptions of both these groups and then portray how trans people experience these therapies.

Psychiatric Materialization of Sex

One of the major benefits of psychotherapy, as stated by Dr. Bilgin, one of my psychiatrist informants, is to prepare trans individuals for their transition, including the emotional, psychological and social changes they are expected to face in their post-op lives. According to Dr. Bilgin, trans people sometimes have high expectations of SRS that are far from being rational. For example, some trans people have a strong belief that the surgery will radically change their lives by resolving every problem they have had to cope with regarding their gender identity. Or, they think that their female or male past will no longer exist after SRS (Yüksel et al. 2000). Thus, the first goal of these therapies is to temper these expectations and to ensure psychological well-being by putting other anxieties and tensions at ease.

In each session, psychotherapy begins with individual accounts of the previous month, of its positive and negative experiences. Doctors highly value these accounts because they bring together trans people at different stages of transition. The participants share their experiences and problems acknowledging their own sexual identity, managing relationships with their families and coping with dominant gender roles existing in society. Some experiences are shared by many. For example, according to another of the psychiatrists I interviewed, Dr. Sözer, the two of most frequent sources of distress are "coming out" to parents and negotiating religious concerns surrounding operations and sexual life. More experienced members of the group become prominent figures in it, helping others, less experienced trans people with their doubts and allaying their concerns. This process also reduces the loneliness of people who see their transsexuality as an exclusively individual problem and thus experience isolation and alienation from their social environment. In short, from Dr. Sözer's perspective, psychotherapy sessions resemble awareness raising groups, providing a supportive environment and a source of empowerment for trans people.

On the other hand, the willingness or tendency of psychotherapy participants to talk about their experiences changes from person to person, making this one of the main problems reported to me. For instance, Dr. Bilgin discussed a female-bodied trans man who came from a religiously fundamentalist Islamic background and wore a headscarf to meet Islamic rules pertaining to the female body. His transition to manhood was regarded as far more complicated than many others because part of his public gender role alteration involved taking off his headscarf. However, pressure from his religious community was so drastic that he did not dare to take it off, let alone come out to his family. On top of that, he was pregnant at that time. As Dr. Bilgin emphasized, his experience could have been immensely informative for other participants if he had chosen to speak in the group. Yet, despite his two years of participation in the group, he resisted saying a single word, detailing his life story only during private sessions. Dr. Bilgin gave this example to stress the differences in each individual's capacity to engage with group psychotherapy and benefit from it.

One reason for doctors' insistence on a two-year psychotherapy period is some trans people's rush to have SRS. Doctors claimed that, although the psychotherapy duration seems to be long, trans people who "graduated" (the word they use for completion of calculated psychotherapy time) from therapy usually provided positive feedback, saying they had greatly benefited from it. These graduates sometimes even continue

to participate in the group, sharing their pre- and post-surgery experiences.

Psychiatrists also invoke a specific need for "models" for emulation, which they claim many trans people want to have during their transition period. These models provide trans people with examples or guidelines for how to be as a man or woman. One instance of this "modeling" can be observed in terms of dress codes. When trans people come to psychotherapy, many of them do not feel obliged to dress according to the code they are expected to follow in everyday life (i.e., the gender they are transitioning from) and feel freer to dress according to their "phenomenological sex" (Salamon 2010), that is, the sex they perceive themselves to be. In this respect, the group psychotherapy space also functions, as doctors pointed out, as a stage: a place where trans people can observe each other's physical appearance, identify mismatches to the appropriate gendered dress code and settle their style accordingly.

For instance, Dr. Aysan recounted how some trans women who at the very beginning of their psychotherapy appeared "gaudy looking" gradually changed into more reasonable and casual attire as their treatment expanded into its second year. When I asked her how to interpret this "gaudiness," she framed it as an effort on the part of trans women to compensate for feelings of inferiority, of having "fallen behind" womanhood. In this model, trans women try to "catch up" with a womanhood that they believe they could have already attained if they had been allowed to live as women all along. In her view, these "lost" years of not being a woman profoundly shape trans women's exaggerated performances of various gender roles. She thus saw the long duration of psychotherapy as necessary to make trans women understand that their sexual identity had nothing to do with high-heel shoes or heavy make-up. Growing such awareness, she said, also increases self-confidence.

Another positive outcome of psychotherapy stated by doctors is improved skills of self-expression for trans people. One common exercise practiced during the sessions is role-playing, which focuses on interactions between trans people and their parents. Therapists highly value this method since, they believe, it develops the ability and courage trans people need to communicate with their parents, making a huge difference when they first come out to them. When I asked the doctors if they did anything to help trans people with their family situation, they mentioned organizing two psychotherapy sessions for trans peoples' families every year. All family members, aside from the trans people themselves, can join these sessions. The main purpose is to bring families together to create a space for sharing experiences and dismantling prejudices. Medical research in Turkey also shows that families lack sufficient information about transgenderism and transsexuality and, when they discover their child is a trans person, prefer to conceal it at all costs rather than speak about it openly, due to the social pressures they face (Polat et al. 2005:390). In this environment, it is helpful for families of similar backgrounds to see how other families are experiencing the same "problem." Attendees of these meetings are usually those who are curious about, rather than strongly biased against, transsexuality. Strongly biased family members rarely attend.

Dr. Bilgin also talked about having witnessed an evident level of "homophobia" among group members. For example, she consulted trans people who felt thankful for not being gay or who evaluated their womanhood and manhood in relation to their desire for the opposite sex. It was interesting to hear of this because, as you will read in the following section, many trans people complain that doctors cannot make a clear distinction between sexual identity and sexual orientation, explaining the former in terms of the latter. This conflation of sexual identity and sexual orientation is also one of the most significant tensions.

In her work on transgenderism in Iran, Afsaneh Najmabadi (2008, 2011) points out a similar tendency in Iran to define sexual identity in terms of one's sexual orientation. Here, same-sex practices are religiously and legally prohibited, but sex change is a religiously sanctioned, state-subsidized legal practice. To start the SRS process, a gender non-conforming person is required to undergo psychotherapy for four to six months. Najmabadi argues that the ban on same-sex practices and desires adds to the pressure on gays and lesbians who might consider participating in SRS process and psychotherapy to "transsexualize" themselves in the eyes of the state and receive a religio-legal approval for their same-sex desire, allowing them to experience it under the guise of heteronormativity. That is why psychotherapy is colloquially referred to as "filtering" in Iran, as it is used by the state, together with hormonal and chromosomal tests, to recognize and separate "true transsexuals" from gays and lesbians (Najmabadi 2008:32). According to the Iranian religio-legal authorities, transgender people's same-sex desires and practices are in fact straight, because they were born in the wrong body and sex. Therefore, their pre-SRS same-sex desires and practices are diagnosed as symptoms of transsexuality, not homosexuality. Further, there is no religio-legal recognition of transsexual lesbians or gays (i.e., trans women desiring women, or trans men desiring men), because the desire and sexual practice should

always be straight. Same-sex desires and practices are perceived as markers of moral deviancy and, hence, gays and lesbians are identified and filtered out through psychotherapy (Najmabadi 2008).

Najmabadi's work is helpful for discussing how allegedly universal medico-legal models of sex transition are modified and shaped locally. While the state uses psychotherapy and SRS as a heteronormative corrective measure, queer people in Iran can manipulate it to more creative ends, creatively using their sex to live their sexuality. In a similar vein, trans people in Turkey negotiate, rework and contest the existing medico-legal models of transsexuality to establish their own diverse meanings and definitions of and relations among, gender non-conformity, sex and sexuality. I next focus on how such diversity takes place within the psychiatric domain, in terms of trans people's experience of psychotherapy and their interpreting and shaping of medico-legal understandings of sex, gender and sexuality.

Bodies that Speak the Time and "Truth" of Sex

"If you are a mad person, then you cannot be a transsexual," İlker joked, referring to the Rorschach and intelligence (IQ) tests that are the very first step in the institutionalized medical path to SRS. The Rorschach test records and analyzes people's perceptions of inkblots to evaluate their personality characteristics and emotional functioning. Psychologists use Rorschach tests, together with the IQ test, to judge trans people's mental health—specifically, any level of schizophrenia or tendency toward depression. An observation of either of these leads psychologists to declare trans people ineligible for SRS, preventing their participation in group psychotherapy as the second step of medical regulations.

Those who continue to group psychotherapy first meet the chief psychiatrist and her two assistants, who are responsible for the entire group. The assistants take notes, convey trans people's concerns to the psychiatrist and prepare the authorization of the medical report upon the completion of psychotherapy. The main psychiatrist remains remote: she surveys both her assistants and the group and makes the final decision, but seldom joins the psychotherapy sessions. When she does attend, she usually listens, observes and intervenes only if she finds it necessary. One of my trans man informants, who graduated from one of the chief psychiatrist's psychotherapy groups, expressed his and his peers' annoyance with her "law-like attitude," alert, as Foucault (2004:22) says, to "the constitution of a doctor who is at the same time a doctor-judge."

For trans people who manage to prove their mental health and become part of the psychotherapy group, the primary concern becomes the size of the group, amounting to some 40 people. There is a waitlist, as an existing client must "graduate" (or otherwise leave) before a "junior" one can enter. Further, the two-hour length of each session only leaves approximately 10 minutes for each member to express themselves. What one can say in these 10 minutes is not only limited by time but also by the institutionally structured way of speaking of one's problems. Trans people report that psychiatrists impose specific speech prompts on participants during psychotherapy, rendering them silent or unheard if they attempt to deviate. For example, the most popular prompt was reportedly, "Tell us something positive or negative that you experienced in relation to your sex this past month." The reply should be given in 10 minutes, and people are silenced when they want to elaborate in more detail, for instance, on the connections between their senses of body or sex and the many spheres of everyday life. Enclosing the group dynamic with such temporal and verbal rigidity leaves trans people facing the risk of being frozen out of the group if they pass beyond the speakable boundaries. No matter what their excuse is, they are expected to conform to this institutional template.

Consider a detailed example of this verbal regulation, which comes along with a depiction of other problematic issues essential to the psychotherapy. İlker, a 27-year-old trans man, is a LGBTIQ activist who is very well equipped to engage with gender and sexual issues. He had already graduated from psychotherapy when I met him. When I interviewed him, he had had his breasts removed but still was looking for a trusted place to have his penis construction surgery. He frowned while talking about his psychotherapy experience and the compulsory legal regulations surrounding surgery.

İlker: You must wrap your entire appearance up into socially compromised norms of gender so that you can socially reintegrate into the society. All this process of psychotherapy is for saying, "Due to psychotherapy she or he obtained this proper look! This is our achievement!" In psychotherapy, consultants always want to hear about themselves: "Are you content with the psychotherapy? Has it been helpful for you? How have you been feeling about psychotherapy?" These questions are constantly seeking evidence of what they are doing to reintegrate people into society, for self-vindication. They brag about restoring us to society as desired females and males. For example, I have a trans gay friend. If he consults with them, he would never be able to get a report from them.

Aslı: So do you mean you must be a straight person to be able to go there?

İlker: Well, yes! At best, you can be a bisexual, but never a gay. What they inspect is whether you use your birth genitalia or not. You know, they're gonna give you an authorization for SRS. So if you are still using your sexual organ, then it should stay; you cannot cut it off, you cannot dump it, because it means you are at peace with your organ. In any case, you should be troubled with your body. You should be unable to use your genitals at birth ... If I declare I am a man, then I am a man! That's it!! What is the difference between the saggy boobs I had before and the current ones? Only fat came out of them. What has changed? Nothing has changed for me!

Extremely discontent with therapists' approach to sex and sexuality, İlker claims that the entire purpose of the psychotherapy sessions is to produce sexed and gendered trans subjects fitting the heteronormative standards of Turkish society. To satisfy this aim, medical authorities attempt to treat sex in relation to the heterosexual usability of sex organs or one's degree of emotional attachment to those organs. For instance, if a pre-op trans man still takes pleasure from his vagina, despite feeling disgusted by it, then he is not considered of transsexual nature by medical authorities. Or, as in the Iranian context Najmabadi (2008) discusses, medical authorities in Turkey might treat sex and sexuality as the same in the psychotherapy process and simply define one's correct sex in relation to one's sexuality vis-à-vis a heterosexual norm. If a trans person has desire for a person of his or her phenomenological sex, then he or she is not viewed as a "true" transsexual person. According to this perspective, sexual desire should be heterosexual and one should have sexual interest for the opposite sex after reassignment surgery.

While there are trans people who use similar heteronormative assumptions to understand their sex, there are others, like İlker, who radically contest such understandings of sex, drawing clear boundaries between their sexuality and sex, complicating not only the relation between these two, but also the assumed stable link between the body and sex. These contestations are of great importance, as they demonstrate key details about the ways in which trans people in Turkey experience and negotiate medico-legal transcripts and practices of sex and transsexuality, configuring and imagining sex and gender.

Contesting the relationship between the body and sex also has a temporal dimension. Trans people's understanding of their bodily time and the disciplinary time

of the psychiatric therapy shows discrepancies. As Elizabeth Freeman (2007:161) succinctly puts it, "[t]he body politics and power relations are made possible by manipulating time." As discussed, one's "truth" of transsexuality is strictly tied to a disciplinary institutional time, entailing individuals to spend two years before medical authorities to prove themselves to be a man or a woman. Within the temporal framework of psychotherapy, one's past and present gender role performances and self-accounts of sex should comply with each other, presenting narrative coherence and persistence and submitting to a linear temporal logic. The psychotherapy timeline functions to make trans people achieve bodily legibility and internalize specific values and norms of gender. However, work on queer temporality insists on the analytical salience of temporal heterogeneity and "the present's irreducible multiplicity" (Dinshaw et al. 2007:190). In contrast to the stubborn medical timeline, which subjects sexual and bodily transition to a linear temporal discipline, trans people's sense of sex and the body might display a more flexible, multi-layered and interrupted understanding of temporality. Adem's story is one portrayal of this phenomenon.

Adem, a 31-year-old trans man, works as a nurse in the emergency department of a hospital. He also describes psychotherapy as an oppressive use of power designed to mould individuals within a stringent medical configuration. Adem said that, as opposed to many girls, he never experienced a regular menstruation cycle after the age of 12, causing him a lot of stress and countless health problems. After grappling with these problems for 20 years, he was diagnosed with polycystic ovarian syndrome, which led to intensive hormone treatment, including especially high usage of estrogen. However, 10 years of treatment did not produce any concrete results. He kept feeling that his body was not a female but male one. He told his gynecologist that neither the functioning of nor his feelings about his body had changed. He experienced increasing pain, and he was taking painkillers non-stop. He no longer wanted to continue with his life in pain and decided to have an ovarian removal surgery, following his doctor's advice of last resort.

When Adem made the decision, he was in an SRS psychotherapy group. His gynecologist asked him to get official permission from the group therapist to be able to legally perform this operation and also forwarded a written note about his situation to the psychiatrist. The psychiatrist got angry with Adem for pursuing the operation, because ovarian removal surgery is considered one of the late stages of sex reassignment process, and hence should not be authorized until the period of psychotherapy is completed. But Adem's gynecologist had

been convinced to give permission after recognizing this surgery not as part of sex reassignment process but as an issue of health. Adem's ovaries were removed at the end of his fourth month in psychotherapy.

While he was on leave due to the ovarian removal surgery, Adem also decided to undergo a breast removal surgery and had his breasts removed. When the therapist discovered that he had done this, she was furious and they had a quarrel about the need to comply with the stringent rules of psychotherapy. According to these rules, the period of psychotherapy is organized into different phases: participants are expected to start hormone intake within the first six months to one year; then they are required to wait until the completion of their psychotherapy period to be legally authorized for SRS, whether it be breast removal/implantation or vagina/penis construction. Adem said that this argument was the first time he had heard about these rules. He was given no information about the group temporal dynamics at any point during psychotherapy.

Adem left the hospital that day after the dispute. When he called to arrange the next month's meeting, he was told that he was no longer a part of the group and that he had better start looking for some other places to get his medical report. He was essentially excluded from the group for not obeying the rules of psychotherapy time, which determine when and how to intervene in configuring a body into a male one. He had interrupted its linearity by following his own personal, bodily felt time. As a significant element in constituting the "truth" of his sex, the normative interval of institutional time denied alternative temporalities of his body and sex.

Proof of "true" sex in this medical stage is also strongly mediated by the prescription of hormone intakes. The time I spent with elderly trans women presented me with some background information about trans people's hormone intake. Prior to 2002, when there was no medical regulation, people could go to a pharmacy and easily buy hormones without knowing their side effects. They did not need any prescription. In the absence of sufficient medical instruction, trans people became advisors to one another in mapping out the medical route of sexual transition. Hormones represented one of the most crucial steps in this process, and many trans women started regular and heavy hormone injection as early as possible. Today, hormone intake is more seriously regulated, especially through the timeline of psychotherapy. Moreover, trans people have a stronger awareness of the medical side effects than they did 20 years ago. However, this regulation does little to consider trans people's personal expectations, demands, desires and feelings regarding their bodies,

compared to the importance attributed to the state's designation of gender roles and "appropriate" body features.

According to therapists, the above-mentioned waiting time (6 to 12 months) is of vital necessity because they claim that trans people might demonstrate risky levels of hormone intake to hastily compensate for the difference between their body and the body they aspire to have. However, some trans people think that a hormone intake based on their own time frame helps them establish a more balanced and calm personality, as they gradually approach their body ideal or their imagined body of the opposite sex. In either case, hormone intake is tied to strict regulations that cause major disturbance among trans people, raising questions about rights to possession of and control over one's own body. Adem's words below, elucidate an issue also shared by other trans people:

> When I asked the assistant about when to start with my hormone treatment, she said it would vary, from six months to nine months from the first day of the psychotherapy. Why would I wait that long? I am neither starting a new life nor trying to adapt to one that I have never been familiar with. I have been like this since my childhood. In their minds there is this logic: "This person has been living as a female since he was born and then he decided to change his sex from female to male. So we need to help him with his transition process from womanhood to manhood."

> However, this logic does not apply to me; I have been feeling and living as a man since my childhood! I have tried to explain this many times in the group.

While trans people like Adem insist on a more flexible time schedule for hormone intake, therapists deny them the felt temporality of their bodies and force them to integrate into an institutional temporal norm. This temporal norm also operates to construct and advance normativity in their desired gender identity. The time and surface of the body are entwined with institutional norms and expectations, denying the self's temporal and bodily accounts. There are also others, like İlker, who are against the enforcement of hormone treatment as part of the psychotherapy period or against the enforcement of a properly sexed body in general. This issue came up several times in our conversations. İlker repeatedly showed his irritation at obligatory hormone intake, telling me how therapists would not issue a medical report for SRS unless trans people complied with the necessary hormone intake prescriptions.

Another significant complaint about the "truth" of their sex articulated by trans people involves the ten-

dency of consultants to see their bodies in aggregate, rather than as individual ones. As trans people foreground every individual's uniqueness and singularity, they feel immensely perturbed when psychiatrists lump them all together, for instance, as members of the same case. Preferring to stress the distinctness of life stories and experiences, they feel that they were forced—sometimes subtly, sometimes not—down a prescribed path of gender identity during psychotherapy. This enforced "sameness" can be considered an effect of formulating transsexuality as a medico-legal category, produced and shaped within the intertwinement of dominant social norms of gender, sex, desire and eroticism. For example, Lale, a trans woman I briefly met at Istanbul LGBTT, an LGBTIQ association founded predominantly by trans women, told me about her first visit to the group psychiatrist. When she mentioned that she was a trans lesbian, the consultant hesitated to put her on the wait list for the psychotherapy group. "She couldn't make up her mind about me," Lale said. She asked Lale to visit her a few more times to come to a decision. But Lale said she knew exactly why the therapist called her back:

> They are teaching you how to be a woman according to social norms. Psychotherapy is so much focused on society's expectations. They aim to reintegrate the trans individual in the society. Since this is the goal, they teach you social masculinity and femininity in psychotherapy ... She is going to carve out a heterosexual woman from me and build up proper feminine manners for me, to efface any existing masculine attitude. In other words, my femininity must be precise!

In Lale's case, lesbian desire falls outside of "proper feminine manners," thus potentially disqualifying her for SRS. Her individual experience fails to conform to the generic "sameness" the process requires. At the time I left Turkey, she was still visiting the doctor for further "clarifications" about her sexual identity. This example shows how medical authorities, while criticizing trans people for confusing sexual orientation and sexual identity, fall into the same trap and explain sex in terms of desire.

In psychotherapy, consultants also examine trans people's adjustments to homosocial environments and groups. For example, some trans men were asked how they feel in male-dominated spaces such as traditional coffeehouses and soccer games, or when they walk on streets late at night. These questions signify a few of the hegemonic masculine values and behaviours in Turkish life. On the other hand, trans women might be questioned about their feelings while they are in places or engaged in activities that are regarded as feminine, such as going

to hairdressers, shopping or doing housework. A female-bodied person might claim that he is a trans man but it is important for therapists to see if he is bodily and behaviourally attuned to a masculine environment or group, or if he is capable of persuading others of his masculinity. Therapists seem to rely on the dominant social norms of gender and sexuality in doing so and make sure that each trans individual fits into proper gender roles as per social and cultural expectations.

Through psychotherapy sessions, trans people are constantly examined to see if they qualify to have "a body for life within the domain of cultural intelligibility" (Butler 1993:2). The space of psychotherapy is made into a site for testing trans people's sincerity and capability to "pass." For Sandy Stone (2006), one is considered as passing if one can live up to the dominant gender roles and make herself or himself accepted as a "natural" member of that gender. In this regard, psychotherapy turns trans peoples' bodies into "the object[s] of a technology and knowledge of rectification, readaptation, reinsertion and correction" (Foucault 2004:21), through the working of a homogenous and linear institutional temporality.

Conclusion

We know from Foucault (1980) that the category of sex has a normative function from the very beginning; in other words, it is a "regulatory ideal," as he terms it. In this respect, Butler (1993:1) asserts, "'sex' not only functions as a norm, but is part of a regulatory practice that produces the bodies it governs, that is, whose regulatory force is made clear as ... the power to produce—demarcate, circulate, differentiate—the bodies it controls."

However, people are not passive subjects, but rather active agents in such regulatory productions of embodiment. The overall picture of psychotherapy's engagement with trans people in Turkey indicates that medical standards, used during psychotherapy sessions and in the authorization of the final medical report, involve conflicting constructions of temporality of the trans body, of sex and of transsexuality. While medical authorities test (and while testing, simultaneously construct) evidence of the body's "true" sex over roughly two years, delivering a prologue to trans people's legal transformations to the opposite sex as the state's sexed subjects, trans people themselves come up with queer, plural understandings of their bodily time, sex, gender and trans identity.

In the space of psychotherapy, the need for reconfiguring one's genitals is tested in accordance with the presence or development of other aspects of bodily materiality. For example, Gayle Salamon (2010) argues how bodily features such as hairstyle, way of walking,

style of dress, pitch of voice and body shape and size are crucial elements of a body's materiality when determining one's gender—indeed, even more crucial than genitals. These qualities, moreover, have an impact on sex attribution, which might have nothing to do with the existing genitals. To explain this point, Salamon (2010:178) refers to Freud's observation: "the first determination we make about a person we pass on the street is an instantaneous *male* or *female?* and in nearly every case we make that determination with no information at all about genital configuration." Kessler and McKenna (2006:173) take this understanding one step further by elucidating this imagined genital configuration into a "cultural genital," a genital "which is assumed to exist and which, it is believed, should be there."

Part of what psychotherapy does is to examine the trans person's bodily features and body language in a temporally distributed fashion, evaluating whether the trans person presents enough material and performance to produce the sense of a "cultural genital" and then deciding whether to authorize SRS. That is to say, the psychiatrists allow trans people to reconstruct their genitals according to the gender that a person successfully passes as, rendering a particular production of bodily materiality obligatory over a specific time interval. Some trans people might have a strong desire for reconfiguring their genitals according to their phenomenological sex and according to their own bodily calendars. Meanwhile, others might not want to reconfigure their genitals in terms of these institutional expectations. The issue is not about whether to support SRS or not. Rather, it is about how the state's regulations stubbornly insist on a temporal equation of sex with genitals, producing sex in a predetermined material form and foreclosing other possible surfaces and temporalities of the body.

Aslı Zengin, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, Women and Gender Studies Institute, 19 Russell Street, Toronto, Ontario, M5S 2S2, Canada. E-mail: asli.zengin@mail.utoronto.ca.

Notes

1   SRS in Turkey includes trans people's bottom and top surgeries, ranging from genital reconfiguration to breast implantation for trans women, and breast removal for trans men.
2   For a more detailed description and analysis of Bülent Ersoy's legal struggle, see Rüstem Ertuğ Altınay (2008) and Başak Ertür and Alisa Lebow (2012).
3   Amendment to the Twenty-Ninth Clause of Law no. 743, Turkish Civil Code, May 12, 1988. The English translation of the code is taken from Deniz Kandiyoti (1998).
4   The English translation of the code is taken from Yeşim M. Atamer's (2005) work on the legal status of transsexuals in Turkey.
5   See Ayca Kurtoğlu (2009) for a detailed discussion of the denial of trans people's biological reproductive rights and its role in the imagination of a sexual citizenship in Turkey.
6   There are reactions against the pathologization of transsexual identity. Doctors in Turkey accept the Standards of Care for Gender Identity Disorder set by Harry Benjamin. According to these standards, transsexuality is defined as a "disorder," a definition that has raised many reactions all over the world. However, the standard is under revision and the next version is expected to modify this categorization. Authorities are uncertain about whether or not to keep the classification of "disorder," because the label can help trans people access public health benefits. If they replace "disorder" with some other definition, trans people might be denied insurance coverage for their operations, for instance. Trans people have made proposals aimed at preventing such possible deprivations while also avoiding the claim of disorder. For example, SRS could be categorized under health-related issues, akin to those necessary in pregnancy and delivery. Although pregnancy is not defined as a disorder, women's health insurance still compensates them for related expenses. To medically define transsexuality in such terms would avoid both any medically discriminative mechanism and the risk of placing trans people in a financially disadvantaged position. For instance, *gender dysphoria* is one term proposed for replacing the term *disorder*.
7   There are only a few of these hospitals, for example, including merely two in Istanbul, and all of them are public hospitals.
8   In Turkey, these hospitals are legally permitted to provide heyet raporu, but in practice the majority of trans people have their reports issued by public education and research hospitals. The reasons are threefold. First, trans people's financial constraints influence their choice of hospitals; public education and research hospitals are more financially accessible due to the insurance coverage. Second, private education and research hospitals are recently established, meaning hospital personnel are usually unfamiliar with the transition process and, in any case, are also few in number. Third, many hospital personnel are prejudiced against preparing SRS-related heyat raporu. Since beginning my fieldwork, until the moment of the final revisions to this article, I have yet to hear of any trans person who has received a heyet raporu from a private education and research hospital. The two public hospitals in Istanbul, Çapa and Cerrahpaşa, remain the most popular ones among trans people seeking SRS.

9 I use first-name pseudonyms for trans people and last-name pseudonyms for psychiatrists, as my relationship with the former group was based more on friendship than my interactions with the latter group, which always took the form in interviews in formal settings.

References

Altınay, Rüstem Ertuğ
   2008   Reconstructing the Transgendered Self as a Muslim, Nationalist, Upper-Class Woman: The Case of Bülent Ersoy. Women's Studies Quarterly 36(3–4):210–229. http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/wsq.0.0090

Atamer, Yeşim
   2005   The Legal Status of Transsexuals in Turkey. International Journal of Transgenderism 8(1):65–71. http://dx.doi.org/10.1300/J485v08n01_06

Ertür, Başak, and Alisa Lebow
   2012   Şöhretin Sonu: Bülent Ersoy'un Kanunla İmtihanı. In Cinsellik Muamması: Türkiye'de Kültür ve Muhalefet. Cüneyt Çakılar and Serkan Delice, eds. Pp. 391–426. Istanbul: Metis.

Blackwood, Evelyn
   2007   Transnational Sexualities in One Place: Indonesian Readings. In Women's Sexualities and Masculinities in a Globalizing Asia. Saskia E. Wieringa, Evelyn Blackwood and Abha Bhaiya, eds. Pp. 181–199. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. http://dx.doi.org/10.1057/9780230604124

Blackwood, Evelyn, and Saskia Wieringa
   2007   Globalization, Sexuality, and Silences: Women's Sexualities and Masculinities in an Asian Context. In Women's Sexualities and Masculinities in a Globalizing Asia. Saskia E. Wieringa, Evelyn Blackwood and Abha Bhaiya, eds. Pp. 1–22. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.. http://dx.doi.org/10.1057/9780230604124.

Boellstorff, Tom
   2004   Playing Back the Nation: Waria, Indonesian Transvestites. Cultural Anthropology 19(2):159–195. http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/can.2004.19.2.159

Butler, Judith
   1993   Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex. New York: Routledge.

Dinshaw, Carolyn, Lee Edelman, Roderick A. Ferguson, C. Freccero, E. Freeman, J. Halberstam, A. Jagose, C. Nealon and N.T. Hoang
   2007   Theorizing Queer Temporalities: A Roundtable Discussion. GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies 13(2–3):177–195. http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/10642684-2006-030

Foucault, Michel
   1980   An Introduction. In The History of Sexuality, vol. 1. New York: Vintage.
   2004   Abnormal: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1974–1975. New York: Picador.

Freeman, Elizabeth
   2007   Introduction. GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies 13(2–3):159–176. http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/10642684-2006-029

Kandiyoti, Deniz
   1998   Transsexuals and the Urban Landscape in Istanbul. Middle East Report (New York) 206:20–25.

Kessler, Suzanne J., and Wendy McKenna
   2006   Toward a Theory of Gender. In Transgender Studies Reader. Susan Stryker and Stephen Whittle, eds. Pp. 165–182. New York: Routledge.

Kulick, Don
   1998   Travesti: Sex, Gender, and Culture among Brazilian Transgendered Prostitutes. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226461014.001.0001

Kurtoğlu, Ayca
   2009   Sex Reassignment, Biological Reproduction and Sexual Citizenship in Turkey. Fe Dergi 1(2):79–88. http://dx.doi.org/10.1501/Fe0001_0000000014

Najmabadi, Afsaneh
   2008   Transing and Transpassing across Sex-Gender Walls in Iran. Women's Studies Quarterly 36(3–4):23–42. http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/wsq.0.0117
   2011   Verdicts of Science, Rulings of Faith: Transgender/Sexuality in Contemporary Iran. Social Research: An International Quarterly 78(2):533–556.

Öztürel, Adnan
   1981   Transseksualizm Ile Hermafrodizmde Yasal, Tıpsal ve Adli Tip Problemleri (Kadınlaşan Erkekler, Erkekleşen Kadınlar, İki Cinsliler). Ankara Universitesi Hukuk Fakultesi Dergisi 38(1–4):253–292.

Polat, Aslıhan, Sahika Yüksel, Aysun Genc Dişçigil and Handan Meteris
   2005   Family Attitudes toward Transgendered People in Turkey: Experience from a Secular Islamic Country. International Journal of Psychiatry in Medicine 35(4):383–393. http://dx.doi.org/10.2190/BHLY-K1ML-JDCB-H04W. Medline:16673838

Sağlam, Ipek
   2004   Türk Medeni Kanunu Madde 40 Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme. Ankara Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi 8(3–4):455–469.

Salamon, Gayle
   2010   Assuming a Body: Transgender and Rhetorics of Materiality. New York: Columbia University Press.

Sinnott, Megan
   2007   Gender Subjectivity: Dees and Toms in Thailand. In Women's Sexualities and Masculinities in a Globalizing Asia. Saskia E. Wieringa, Evelyn Blackwood and Abha Bhaiya, eds. Pp. 136–155. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Stone, Sandy
   2006   The Empire Strikes Back: A Posttranssexual Manifesto. In Transgender Studies Reader. Susan Stryker and Stephen Whittle, eds. Pp. 221–235. New York: Routledge.

Stryker, Susan, Paisley Currah and Lisa Jean Moore
   2008   Introduction: Trans-, Trans, or Transgender? Women's Studies Quarterly 36(3):1–22.

Valentine, David
   2007   Imagining Transgender: An Ethnography of a Category. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.. http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/9780822390213

Whittle, Stephen
    2006 Foreword. *In* Transgender Studies Reader. Susan
        Stryker and Stephen Whittle, eds. Pp. xi–xvi. New
        York: Routledge.
Wilson, Ara
    2004 The Intimate Economies of Bangkok: Tomboys,
        Tycoons and Avon Ladies in the Global City.
        Berkeley: University of California Press.

Yüksel, Şahika, Işin Baral Kulaksizoğlu, Nuray Türksoy and
Doğan Şahin
    2000 Group Psychotherapy with Female-to-Male
        Transsexuals in Turkey. Archives of Sexual Behavior
        29(3):279–290. http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/
        A:1001967514549. Medline:10992982
Zevkliler, Aydın
    1988 Medeni Kanun ve Cinsiyet. Türkiye Barolar Birliği
        Dergisi Eylül (2):258–286.

Note de recherche

Phu-ying-kham-phet vs. kathoey : l'évolution du (trans)genre et l'émergence de l'identité de *transfemale* en Thaïlande contemporaine

Cheera Thongkrajai   *Institut d'ethnologie méditerranéenne, européenne et comparative*

Résumé : Apparue en 2010, la catégorie de *phu-ying-kham-phet*, traduite de l'anglais *transfemale*, a non seulement bouleversé la catégorie transgenre indigène *kathoey*, mais aussi provoqué une polémique à travers la presse, les médias et également au sein de la communauté transgenre thaïlandaise. Cet article a pour but d'examiner ces différents discours et positions antagonistes à partir des données recueillies *via* internet et des émissions télévisées, afin de comprendre la notion de sexe/genre thaïlandaise et de montrer les enjeux politiques, sociaux et identitaires au sein de la communauté transgenre thaïlandaise contemporaine.

Mots-clés : *Phu-ying-kham-phet, kathoey, sao-praphet-song,* femme de second type, Thai *transfemale,* Thai *queer*

Abstract: In 2010, Thai people discovered the term *phu-ying-kham-phet,* translated from transfemale or transsexual female in English, on a TV show. This has generated public debates and controversies in the social media and within Thai lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) communities. This article, based on facts and data from the internet, social media, TV shows, discusses the emergence of the *phu-ying-kham-phet* category and different positions of LGBT agencies. The article tries to understand the conception of *phet* (sex/gender), and to show distinction and diversity of transgender identities, social and political positions and stakes in the (trans)gender evolution in contemporary Thailand.

Keywords: *Phu-ying-kham-phet, kathoey, sao-praphet-song,* second type of woman, Thai transfemale, Thai queer

La Thaïlande est reconnue dans le monde entier non seulement pour ses plages magnifiques, son peuple souriant, son tourisme sexuel florissant, mais aussi pour la présence visible des personnes transgenres hommes-vers-femmes (*male-to-female* ou MTF) ou les *kathoeys* (กะเทย). Selon Winter (2002), il est probable que la Thaïlande ait plus de personnes transgenres MTF que les autres pays, au moins en comparant avec les pays occidentaux. En effet, les *kathoeys* existaient probablement depuis longtemps dans la société thaïlandaise traditionnelle. Le récit du Code des trois sceaux, le système juridique traditionnel[1], mentionne la présence des *kathoeys*. Il les décrit comme des mineurs privés de certains droits, comme le droit de témoignage (Totman 2003; Chonwilai 2004). Selon l'interprétation bouddhiste, les *kathoeys* sont des personnes qui avaient commis des péchés sexuels, comme l'adultère ou le viol, dans leur vie antérieure. Être né *kathoey,* avoir l'esprit de femme enfermé dans un corps d'homme, est une punition karmique que ces personnes doivent subir dans leur vie actuelle (Jackson 1997a). Au XIXe siècle, au royaume de Lanna, dans le nord de la Thaïlande, plusieurs voyageurs occidentaux ont noté la présence des *phu-mias* (des hommes qui s'habillaient et qui vivaient en tant que femmes) dans leurs récits de voyage (Totman 2003). Contrairement au nord, dans le royaume de Siam, au centre du pays, aucun récit similaire n'a été découvert. Il est possible qu'à cause de la similarité du style vestimentaire entre les hommes et les femmes siamoises de l'époque, les voyageurs occidentaux n'aient pas pu observer la distinction de genre et remarquer la présence des *kathoeys* (Jackson 2003). Faute d'autres documents et de traces historiques, on ne peut connaître avec précision l'origine et la définition exacte de *kathoey* dans le passé. Plusieurs hypothèses ont été proposées par des chercheurs. Par exemple, Totman (2003) suggère que les *kathoeys* d'autrefois auraient pu tenir des rôles féminins dans les troupes de théâtre traditionnel populaire, *lakhon nok,* composées uniquement d'hommes. Jackson

propose une hypothèse selon laquelle les *kathoeys*, dans la société pré-moderne, seraient les partenaires sexuelles alternatives de jeunes hommes ayant des rapports sexuels hors mariage. Dans la société traditionnelle où la sexualité précoce avant le mariage entre un homme et une femme est un tabou, il est plus favorable que les garçons visitent les *kathoeys*, plutôt que d'avoir des relations sexuelles avec les jeunes filles (Jackson 1997b). En l'absence de la notion d'homosexualité, la catégorie *kathoey* était la seule catégorie non normative reconnue socialement dans la société thaïlandaise traditionnelle. Elle a traversé les siècles et demeure d'usage courant aujourd'hui.

Avec l'arrivée de la modernisation du pays, la catégorie *kathoey* s'est modifiée et prend le sens de *sao-praphet-song* (femme de second type). Ce n'est qu'à partir des années 1970 que *kathoey* désigne principalement les personnes transgenres ou transsexuelles MTF. Ceci s'est produit en même temps que l'apparition de la catégorie homosexuelle masculine gay et de la catégorie homosexuelle transgenre FTM (*female-to-male*) *tom*, qui vient du mot *tomboy* en anglais, et simultanément au développement de l'opération de changement de sexe (Jackson 1997a; Jackson 2000b). Grâce à ce dernier, les *kathoeys* transforment leur apparence physique en prenant des traitements hormonaux et en s'offrant des opérations chirurgicales pour se féminiser. On dit souvent, en Thaïlande, que les *kathoeys* sont plus belles que les *phu-yings* (les femmes biologiques). Le sens du mot *kathoey* (qui s'est féminisé) semble être aussi la conséquence de la féminisation physique rendue possible grâce aux technologies de la médecine moderne. *Kathoey*, maintenant, ne signifie pas tout à fait la même chose qu'auparavant, dans la société traditionnelle. Malgré cela, celles qui sont opérées ne peuvent pas changer leur état civil, faute de loi. Elles sont toujours considérées et reconnues comme citoyen de sexe masculin. La discordance entre le genre et le statut juridique est à l'origine de problèmes d'inégalité et de discrimination auxquels les *kathoeys* doivent faire face. Plusieurs organismes activistes transgenres se battent pour cette cause et pour le droit et la reconnaissance légale des minorités sexuelles depuis une trentaine d'années (Sinnott 2011).

L'apparition médiatique de la catégorie *phu-ying-kham-phet*

Contrairement à la communauté homosexuelle, la communauté transgenre MTF thaïlandaise n'avait jamais emprunté de termes occidentaux, tels que transsexuel ou *tranny*, pour se désigner. Elle se contentait des termes indigènes *kathoey* et *sao-praphet-song* jusqu'à récemment. Le terme *kathoey* semblait résister, au moins en

partie, au phénomène du *global queering* (Altman 1997) ou à la dissémination transnationale des modèles dominants d'identités et de cultures de la communauté lesbiennes, gays, bisexuels et transgenres (LGBT). Or, l'émergence d'une nouvelle identité de *phu-ying-kham-phet* témoigne du fait que la catégorie *kathoey* n'est pas complètement à l'abri des influences extérieures. En février 2010, dans une émission intitulée *Woody talks*[2] sur la chaîne 9, les Thaïlandais découvrent pour la première fois le terme *phu-ying-kham-phet*[3] (ผู้หญิงข้ามเพศ). Cette expression traduit de l'anglais les termes *transsexual female* ou *transfemale* et est utilisée par Nok Yollada[4], une ancienne Miss Alcazar (le concours de beauté transgenre) et la fondatrice de l'Association des *transfemales* de Thaïlande. Dans cette émission, trois autres personnes sont invitées à partager leurs points de vue autour de la question « *Phu-ying-kham-phet* : une nouvelle "espèce" de femme ? ». La première invitée, Mum Laconik[5], est une chanteuse transgenre non opérée très célèbre qui se définit comme *kathoey*. La deuxième, Jim Sara[6], est une ancienne vedette MTF post-opérée, qui a émigré en Nouvelle-Zélande où elle a pu obtenir le changement de son état civil en se mariant et en devenant une citoyenne néozélandaise. Le dernier invité est un médecin biologiste gay, Moh Pat[7], le seul représentant du domaine médical.

Durant l'émission, la discussion commence avec Nok Yollada qui explique qu'elle est une *phu-ying-kham-phet*. Pour elle, les *phu-ying-kham-phets* sont comme des autres *phu-yings*, c'est-à-dire des femmes, mais elles sont nées dans un corps d'homme, ayant les organes génitaux masculins en discordance avec leur identité de genre féminin. Selon elle, ceci est une maladie qui requiert un traitement et des thérapies pour soigner et corriger ce corps malade. De la sorte, pour les *phu-ying-kham-phets*, l'opération de changement de sexe est nécessaire, même indispensable, pour mettre fin à la maladie et pour que les patientes soient enfin en paix avec elles-mêmes. Nok Yollada s'est référée à la Classification statistique internationale des maladies et des problèmes de santé (International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems) de l'Organisation mondiale de la santé. Elle renvoie à la catégorie F64 « Troubles de la personnalité et du comportement chez l'adulte » où le transsexualisme est un trouble de l'identité de genre définit comme « le malaise et le sentiment d'inadéquation pouvant être ressentis par une personne vis-à-vis du genre qui lui est attribué d'après son sexe » (Organisation mondiale de la santé n.d., ma traduction). Le site de son association (www.tf101.com) décrit le trouble de l'identité de genre comme une anomalie identitaire propre aux personnes

transgenres, parmi lesquelles on peut distinguer deux groupes différents : le transsexualisme concerne ceux ou celles qui ont besoin de changer de sexe et le transvestisme désigne ceux ou celles qui ont seulement besoin de se travestir ou de vivre dans le genre opposé à celui de leur sexe d'origine. Les besoins des deux groupes sont bien différents. En effet, selon ce propos et celui tenu pendant l'émission, Nok Yollada fait la distinction entre *les phu-ying-kham-phets* – qui se définissent comme femmes et qui ont envie d'être femmes complètement –, et les *kathoeys* ou les *sao-praphet-songs* qui se définissent comme tels et ne vont pas forcément faire la transition jusqu'au bout. Pour Nok Yollada, les deux catégories ne sont pas les mêmes. Alors, chacune a besoin de traitements médical, juridique et social différents.

Cette distinction entre les *phu-ying-kham-phets* et les *kathoeys* est au centre de la critique de Mum Laconik. Celle-ci, s'identifiant comme *kathoey*, reproche à Nok Yollada, qui s'autoproclame femme, d'ignorer la catégorie *kathoey* ou celles qui se définissent comme *kathoey*. Mum dit : « Quel est votre objectif ? Vous vous êtes dit que vous êtes tellement belle que vous ne méritiez pas d'être traitée comme un monsieur. C'est ça… quelle est la place des *kathoeys* ? ». Son propos relève la distinction entre les *phu-ying-kham-phets* et les *kathoeys* tout en lui donnant un autre sens. Les *phu-ying-kham-phets* se veulent plus belles et plus conformes à la norme féminine que les *kathoeys*, censées être moins belles et plus extravagantes. Pour Mum Laconik, les personnes transgenres ou transsexuelles MTF ne devraient pas être considérées comme des femmes, car, à la naissance, elles avaient un corps d'homme. Elle dit : « Pourquoi avez-vous utilisé le mot *phu-ying* ! Comment osez-vous employer le mot *phu-ying* et dire que vous êtes une femme, alors que vous n'avez pas de règles comme les *phu-yings*, que vous ne pouvez pas avoir d'enfants ? ». Selon Mum Laconik, le sexe masculin à la naissance, constituant la différence qui distingue les *kathoeys* des femmes biologiques, est une vérité inévitable et irréversible que les transgenres ou transsexuelles doivent assumer.

Le point de vue de Mum Laconik rejoint celui de Jim Sara. Celle-ci se définit comme une *sao-praphet-song* : elle était un garçon à la naissance et elle a choisi de devenir une femme à l'âge adulte grâce à l'opération de réassignation de sexe. Pour Jim Sara, ce parcours transgenre n'est pas une maladie ni un problème psychologique. Elle se distingue des *phu-ying-kham-phets*; en fait elle aurait préféré le terme *phu-chai-kham-phet*, c'est-à-dire un homme qui transgresse la frontière de genre et qui devient une femme. Pour elle, une trans-

genre MTF n'est pas une *phu-ying* complète car elle n'a pas un corps de femme, étant dépourvue des organes reproductifs féminins. Malgré l'opération, les transgenres MTF ont toujours un corps d'homme avec les chromosomes XY. Jim Sara est d'accord avec Nok Yollada sur la nécessité d'un projet de loi autorisant le changement d'état civil pouvant faciliter la vie des personnes post-opérées. Néanmoins, selon elle, le changement d'état civil en Thaïlande apporterait peu, car les femmes transgenres et transsexuelles seraient toujours questionnées par la société et porteraient toujours une étiquette de « femme de second type ». Pour elle, cette distinction est due au fait qu'elles ne peuvent pas avoir d'enfants comme une femme, faute d'organes reproductifs féminins. Son argumentation converge avec celle de Mum Laconik. Toutes deux donnent une importance au biologique et à la capacité d'engendrement comme fondement de la catégorie *phu-ying*. Le sexe à la naissance est une vérité indiscutable qui distingue les *kathoeys* ou les transgenres MTF des femmes biologiques.

Moh-Pat, le dernier invité, essaye de réconcilier les parties opposées. Il explique que selon le point de vue biologique de la médecine moderne, le sexe peut être vérifié par les gènes. On est homme lorsque l'on est XY et on est femme lorsque l'on est XX. Mais dans la pratique sociale, le transgenre ou la transsexualité existe. Certains pays autorisent le changement de sexe et aussi le changement d'état civil. Ceci dépend du contexte social et des lois de chaque pays. Dans le propos de Moh Pat, le sexe biologique prime et son discours n'a pu que conforter les positions de Mum Laconik et de Jim Sara. Au cours de l'émission, le débat prend une autre tournure et des divergences se font entendre entre, d'un côté, les trois invités et, de l'autre, Nok Yollada, de plus en plus mise à l'écart. Les trois invités ne sont pas d'accord avec son autoproclamation d'être une *phu-ying*. Ils soulignent l'importance du sexe biologique et des organes reproductifs qui sont la base véritable des *phu-yings*. Pour eux, l'usage du mot *phu-ying* est réservé uniquement aux femmes biologiques. À la fin de l'émission, Nok Yollada conclut le débat en pleurant : « Finalement, nous nous disputons à cause du mot, l'usage du mot ». Ses arguments fondés sur le modèle de la transsexualité occidentale ne résistent pas à la force de la catégorie indigène, malgré ses exemples issus des pays développés considérés comme plus avancés que la Thaïlande.

En effet, le mot *phu-ying-kham-phet*, contenant le mot *phu-ying* (la femme) pose problème. Les désaccords, qui finissent par une « querelle entre *kathoeys* en direct » (extrait d'un commentaire sur le blogue

http://bbznet.pukpik.com), montrent la divergence à l'intérieur même de la communauté transgenre thaïlandaise. La catégorie *phu-ying-kham-phet* semble être impensable et inconcevable pour beaucoup de Thaïlandais, non seulement pour certaines personnes transgenres elles-mêmes, mais aussi pour le public en général. Le débat dans l'émission a déclenché toute une gamme de réactions publiques dans la presse, les forums, les blogues et les sites internet. La plupart désapprouvent le terme *phu-ying-kham-phet* et la position de Nok Yollada. Par exemple :

> Même si tu as obtenu le changement d'état civil, madame ou mademoiselle, tu ne peux pas changer les organes génitaux féminins à l'intérieur du corps, c'est-à-dire les ovaires, l'utérus. Et même si la technologie médicale avance et si un jour on peut faire les transplantations de tous ces organes, il y a encore une chose, ce sont les chromosomes... Qu'est-ce que tu veux ? Obtenir le titre « Madame » ? « Mademoiselle » ? Mais même si tu as changé d'état civil, les gens te considèrent toujours comme une femme transsexuelle (une femme artificielle). [Blogue http://touch.exteen.com/blog/a-grob/read/4185869268, consulté en janvier 2013]

Ces réactions négatives nous interpellent et nous amènent à nous interroger : pourquoi une telle réaction ? Pourquoi le terme de *phu-ying-kham-phet* est-il inconcevable et incompréhensible aux yeux des Thaïlandais ? Pourquoi en Thaïlande, connue comme le *gay paradise*, grâce à sa tolérance envers les personnes LGBT (Jackson 1999), y a-t-il un tel rejet envers cette nouvelle catégorie ? Ces questions nous invitent à réexaminer la notion locale de *phet* (sexe/genre) et la construction des catégories identitaires indigènes. Pour nous, l'apparition de la nouvelle catégorie *phu-ying-kham-phet* illustre le processus de *global queering* qui se propage également en Asie. Or, ce phénomène ne devrait pas être compris comme un processus d'homogénéisation et de convergence des identités LGBT vers les modèles occidentaux, mais plutôt comme un processus d'hybridation et de différenciation dans lequel le dynamisme culturel local est également le moteur (Jackson 2009).

Notre but ici est aussi de saisir cette tension entre les courants globaux et les mouvements locaux à travers des débats médiatiques et populaires sur l'apparition de la catégorie de *phu-ying-kham-phet*. Nous essayons de décrypter les réactions du public et celles des associations activistes LGBT thaïlandaises pour mettre en lumière les différents discours et les positions antagonistes, et ce, afin de montrer le clivage et les enjeux politiques, sociaux et identitaires au sein de la communauté transgenre thaïlandaise contemporaine. Pour cela, nous avons recueilli des données principalement *via* internet et la presse quotidienne. Les données se composent d'émissions télévisées thaïlandaises traitant le sujet du *phu-ying-kham-phet* en 2010 et 2011, d'informations dans les journaux concernant la polémique, d'articles dans les sites spécialisés transgenres et les sites des associations transgenres et homosexuelles, et de commentaires et réactions du public dans les réseaux sociaux, les forums de discussion et les blogues après la diffusion des émissions. Nous avons traité les données en distinguant trois types de discours : un premier qui est favorable à l'identité de *phu-ying-kham-phet*, un second qui s'y oppose, et un troisième plus neutre, souvent trouvé dans les quotidiens qui visent uniquement à informer leur lectorat. À partir de ce classement, nous avons effectué une analyse de contenu en fonction du type de discours, du média utilisé et de la position sociale et politique des auteurs. Ensuite, nous avons confronté les différentes positions en reconstituant leur fondement et leur compréhension de la notion de *phet* afin de mieux cerner la construction sociale thaïlandaise des identités de sexe/genre.

Phet, la notion ambivalente du sexe et du genre thaïlandais

Le mot sexe en thaïlandais se traduit par le mot *phet* (เพศ), mais la notion de *phet* ne renvoie pas uniquement au biologique. *Phet* peut être employé lorsque nous parlons du sexe biologique, du genre masculin, du genre féminin, et aussi lorsque nous parlons de la sexualité. Par exemple, *phet-phu* (mâle) et *phet-mia* (femelle) désignent le sexe génital, ils sont employés uniquement pour parler du sexe des animaux. *Phet-chai* et *phet-ying* ou *phu-chai* et *phu-ying*, termes utilisés pour les êtres humains, désignent à la fois le sexe biologique et le fait que l'on est un homme ou une femme. Quant à la sexualité, le mot *phet* est employé dans différents contextes, par exemple *kwamthongkarn-thang-phet* qui veut dire le désir ou le plaisir érotique, *rodniyom-thang-phet* qui désigne la préférence sexuelle, *ruk-ruam-phet* qui signifie l'homosexualité (Jackson 1999). En effet, la conception de *phet* est complexe puisqu'elle articule et confond trois notions, soit le sexe biologique, le genre, et la sexualité. Le sens du mot *phet* est situationnel, il dépend des mots qui l'entourent et du contexte dont nous parlons. Si nous parlons du mot *phet* seul, *phet-chai* et *phet-ying*, ceci dénote le sexe biologique à la naissance et renvoie à l'état civil, l'identité sexuelle institutionnelle, reconnue par l'État. Pour plusieurs auteurs, le *phet* est une notion très riche et polysémique sur laquelle les discours indigènes du système

sexe/genre et les catégories identitaires se construisent (Jackson 1997b; Jackson 2000b; Morris 1994).

De nombreux travaux anthropologiques ont montré que les identités de *phet* thaïlandaises se constituent principalement dans le domaine du genre, c'est-à-dire le social (Jackson 1997b; Jackson 2000a; Storer 1999; Van Esterik 2000; Aeusruvonngse 2002; Ramittanon 2002). Jackson note : « Within the *phet* gender hierarchy, it is more important to know how masculine or feminine one is than to know the type of sexed body » (Jackson 2000b:415). Autrement dit, dans la pensée de *phet* thaïlandaise, le fait biologique ne suffit pas à faire d'une personne un homme ou une femme. La socialisation du rôle de sexe et l'apprentissage du genre masculin ou féminin jouent un rôle primordial. Être *phu-ying*, être une femme, signifie se conformer à la norme sociale féminine et implique la reconnaissance sociale. Prenez l'exemple de la catégorie *tom* : celle-ci signifie à la fois une femme homosexuelle masculine et une fille qui adopte un genre masculin. En effet, une femme qui se comporte de manière masculine peut être désignée comme *tom* sans qu'elle soit homosexuelle. Cette désignation nous montre que la catégorie *tom* est définie non seulement par l'identité sexuelle, mais aussi par le genre ou le rôle social de l'individu. De même, un homme qui n'arrive pas à s'engager dans les activités socialement masculines ou à se comporter de manière appropriée à son genre, se ferait reprocher d'être *ai-na-tua-mia* (littéralement, celui qui a la face d'une femelle), et traité par les autres comme une femelle (*tua-mia*), voire une *kathoey* (Jackson 1997a). Ces exemples illustrent l'importance du genre et de la reconnaissance sociale dans la distinction et la catégorisation de *phet*.

Or, nous avons vu que les discours des invitées dans l'émission *Woody talks* et les discours du public tendent à montrer le contraire, accentuant l'importance du corps, des organes sexuels et leurs fonctions biologiques (la procréation, les chromosomes) – comme si le corps sexué et les organes sexuels féminins étaient les propriétés essentielles d'être *phu-ying*. Et celles qui ne les ont pas, même si elles intègrent toutes les normes et les rôles sociaux féminins, ne seraient pas des *phu-yings*. Certaines critiques vont plus loin en accusant Nok Yollada d'être une menteuse, un escroc ou même une folle. Pour saisir cette incompréhension et ces critiques radicales, il est nécessaire de revenir à la notion de *phet* dans laquelle l'aspect biologique et corporel n'est évidemment pas négligeable.

Van Esterik a écrit sur l'importance du corps dans la construction identitaire thaïlandaise :

> Thai gain access to their gender identities and their sexuality through their bodies. [...] [This] model of Thai gender identity is body based, starting from the notion of embodied self and rooted in material conditions and the physiological processes that marks bodies. [Van Esterik 2000:202–205]

Pour l'auteur, l'apprentissage du contrôle et du travail sur le corps fait partie de la socialisation et de l'intériorisation de la performativité de genre. À travers les actes, les gestes et le travail corporel appris, puis répétés et ritualisés, le corps est « genré » et, par conséquent, il donne une illusion et une perception d'un sujet « genré ». Ainsi, l'individu construit sa subjectivité et son identité dans la société (Butler 2005; Van Esterik 2000). Autrement dit, pour que l'on devienne un homme ou une femme, on doit apprendre à travailler notre corps et à jouer un rôle, à travers notre corps, convenablement et correctement, conformément aux normes masculines et féminines. Mais cela est-il suffisant ? Van Esterik ajoute : « Gender is best theorized as a context sensitive process, constructed through interactions with others. Gender surfaces are carefully as aesthetically presented in public to communicate how one expects to be treated » (Van Esterik 2000:203). Ce corps « genré », performatif et agissant est le moyen d'entrer en relation avec les autres. Il ne prend sens en tant que sujet qu'en interagissant avec les autres sujets. Cela revient à ce que nous avons mentionné précédemment, pour que l'on soit reconnu comme un homme ou une femme, il faut aussi la reconnaissance sociale de la part des autres individus dans la société. Cette conception de *phet*, plus complète, permet de prendre en compte le corps comme un moyen à travers lequel l'individu joue son rôle, son genre et établit sa place et son identité en relation avec les autres dans le monde social.

Phu-ying-kham-phet, une identité dans l'impasse ?

Maintenant, revenons aux discours de Mum Laconik et de Jim Sara qui s'identifient comme *kathoey* ou *sao-praphet-song*. Leur identité est constituée à partir d'un parcours de *phet-chai* vers *phet-ying*. Elles disent qu'elles sont nées dans un corps de *phu-chai* ou *phet-chai*, et elles ont choisi de devenir *phu-ying* grâce aux rôles féminins qu'elles exercent et aux opérations chirurgicales effectuées pour féminiser leur apparence physique. Dans ce discours, leur féminité englobe le corps sexué (masculin), qui est retravaillé, « genré » et féminisé à travers les actes, les rôles féminins et les processus de féminisation physique et sociale. Une telle performance de genre incorporé (*embodied gender*) produit l'identité de *kathoey*

ou *sao-praphet-song*, comme une autre manière de vivre la féminité reconnue socialement. Être *kathoey* ou *sao-praphet-song* signifie, pour ces personnes, être féminine comme les *phu-yings* ; sans pour autant être *phu-ying*, n'ayant pas le même parcours de féminité et de féminisation. Pour les *kathoeys* ou les *sao-praphet-songs*, le travail corporel et les féminisations médicales, chirurgicales ou sociales permettent d'accéder à cette féminité particulière. Mais, en même temps, ils conditionnent et limitent l'accès à certains rôles et à certaines relations qui restent accessibles aux femmes.

Pour Jim Sara, sa féminité ou son genre féminin est différent de celui de la femme. Elle emploie l'expression *phu-ying-mai-somboorn* (ผู้หญิงไม่สมบูรณ์) – à savoir femmes incomplètes – pour souligner cette différence qui, pour elle, réside dans le rôle de la procréation. Elle explique : « On n'est pas des *phu-yings* car on ne peut pas procréer ». Certes, les personnes transgenres MTF opérées ne peuvent pas du tout procréer (si elles n'ont pas conservé de spermatozoïdes), car elles n'ont plus d'organes reproducteurs. Par contre, les transgenres non opérées peuvent toujours procréer ou exercer l'acte de procréation avec leur appareil génital masculin (si cela est toujours possible). Mais cet acte serait reconnu socialement comme un acte de procréation propre à l'homme ou à la manière masculine. En effet, ce que Jim Sara veut dire par « on ne peut pas procréer » signifie plutôt que les *kathoeys* ou les *sao-praphet-songs* (quel que soit leur état corporel, physique et physiologique, qu'elles soient opérées ou non) ne peuvent pas procréer à la manière des femmes. Elles ne peuvent pas exercer les actes de reproduction, reconnus essentiellement comme appartenant à la femme : être menstruée, tomber enceinte, porter et mettre au monde un enfant, allaiter un bébé. Ainsi, elles ne peuvent pas accéder à une féminité identique à celle de *phu-ying*. Ce corps « genré » (ou ce genre incorporé) de *kathoey*, aussi féminin qu'il soit, ne permet pas aux *kathoeys* de jouer tous les rôles et d'incarner tous les actes socialement reconnus comme féminins. Jim Sara précise : « On peut donner le plaisir sexuel, mais on ne peut pas procréer ». Les *kathoeys* peuvent endosser le rôle sexuel féminin comme les femmes, mais ne peuvent pas avoir/tenir le rôle procréatif féminin.

Selon Jackson (1997a), les *kathoeys* jouent un rôle d'initiation sexuelle en tant que partenaires alternatives pour de jeunes hommes célibataires. Mais ceux-ci abandonnent ces relations avec les *kathoeys* lorsqu'ils se marient avec une fille. L'expression « femme de second type » semble refléter cette idée d'alternative. En effet, les *kathoeys* peuvent être une partenaire sexuelle pour les hommes, mais elles ne sont pas censées être leur épouse. De même, les *kathoeys* peuvent jouer un rôle

maternel avec les enfants de leur sœur (ce qui s'avère souvent le cas) ou ses enfants adoptifs, mais elles ne peuvent avoir le rôle de géniteur vis-à-vis de ceux-ci. C'est cela qui marque la différence entre elles et les *phu-yings*, les femmes biologiques. L'expression « femme incomplète » de Jim Sara doit être comprise dans ce sens-là, en référence non pas au seul manque d'un ou des organes génitaux reproductifs, mais plutôt par l'impossibilité d'accéder ou d'accomplir certains actes et rôles féminins dans des relations sociales incluant ceux de la procréation. Dans la représentation sociale, *kathoey* est une autre sorte de féminité, non équivalente à la femme, et ne pouvant s'y substituer.

Le discours de « la femme incomplète » reflète aussi l'idée de l'inauthenticité des *kathoeys* dans la conception hiérarchisée de *phet*, qui s'appuie sur le manque d'organes physiques et de fonctions biologiques comme critères obligatoires. Mais, est-ce que ces désignations de *phu-ying-mai-thae* ou de *phu-ying-mai-somboorn* (femme inauthentique ou femme incomplète) renvoient vraiment à la différence biologique entre les femmes de second type et les femmes biologiques ? En fait, si nous l'examinons de plus près, cette désignation n'est pas fondée sur les faits biologiques mais plutôt sur le caractère non normatif et déviant de la catégorie transgenre. En effet, dans la pensée triadique de *phet*, ce sont non seulement les personnes transgenres MTF qui sont désignées comme catégorie inauthentique, mais aussi les gays et les lesbiennes (*tom* et *dee*) thaïlandaises.

La pensée de *phet* thaïlandaise est un système asymétrique qui distingue des catégories authentiques et non authentiques. Les authentiques sont des *phu-chai-theas*, de vrais hommes, et des *phu-ying-theas*, de vraies femmes. Ce sont ceux et celles qui sont conformes à la norme de genre (*straight*) et à l'hétéro-normativité. Les inauthentiques sont tous ceux ou celles qui dévient de cette norme, les gays, *toms*, *dees*, *kathoeys*, *sao-praphet-songs*, à cause de leur homosexualité ou de leur transgenre. Par exemple, les gays, considérés comme ayant un psychisme féminin, sont aussi appelés *phu-chai-mai-thae*, les hommes inauthentiques (Jackson 1997a). Fondé sur la différence biologique, le discours de l'inauthenticité souligne le caractère non normatif des *kathoeys* et les place dans la catégorie *phet-thee-sam* ou « troisième *phet* » comme les gays, les *toms* et les *dees*. La catégorie *kathoey* est considérée comme non équivalente aux hommes et femmes authentiques, au même titre que les homosexuels. Ainsi, le discours de Jim Sara semble justifié et vraisemblable aux yeux du public, plus que le discours de Nok Yollada. Car il correspond à la représentation sociale de la catégorie *kathoey*, comme la femme inauthentique. Son discours tient compte du corps sexué à la naissance qui renvoie à la notion de *phet* et à

la catégorie *kathoey* telle que socialement reconnue et partagée par la majorité.

Quant à la catégorie *phu-ying-kham-phet*, Nok Yollada se dit être *phu-ying* à la naissance. Elle réclame être *phu-ying* comme les *phu-ying-thaes*, les femmes authentiques. Elle emploie le mot *phu-ying* pour justifier sa féminité identique et équivalente à celle de la femme biologique. Son usage du mot *phu-ying* heurte les interlocuteurs et l'opinion publique, parce que le mot *phu-ying* évoque l'aspect de *phet* biologique (le sexe) de la femme que Nok Yollada n'a pas. Il s'agit d'une auto-proclamation *phu-ying*, en dépit de la reconnaissance sociale. Son identité *phu-ying* est fondée sur ses ressentis, ses expériences personnelles et l'opération de changement de sexe qui l'a rendue femme. Son argument de *phu-ying-kham-phet* s'appuie sur des sources étrangères (la médecine occidentale, l'Organisation mondiale de la santé). Une telle définition de *phu-ying* n'est pas partagée par les interlocuteurs, ni reconnue socialement dans la pensée de sexe/genre indigène. Nok Yollada est née de sexe masculin et devenue femme grâce à une opération de changement de sexe. Sa féminité et son parcours transsexuel sont toujours vus comme étant construits de la même manière que les *kathoeys* ou les *sao-praphet-songs*. Malgré ce corps travaillé, « genré » et sa beauté féminine irréprochable, Nok Yollada demeure une *kathoey* aux yeux des Thaïlandais. En 2007, Nok Yollada avait publié son autobiographie intitulée « *Kathoey, kathoey* » (Khomklong 2007). En effet, elle s'identifiait comme *kathoey* auparavant. Ce changement soudain d'autodéfinition s'avéra le point faible qui fit perdre sa légitimité auprès du public. Dans la conception de *phet*, ainsi que dans l'opinion publique, la catégorie de *phu-ying-kham-phet* reste attachée à celle de *kathoey* ou de *sao-praphet-song*. Elle n'arrive pas (encore) à se séparer de celles-ci pour se distinguer en tant que catégorie identitaire indépendante (comme gay, *tom* et *dee*). Ses arguments basés sur les emprunts aux courants hégémoniques occidentaux ne suffisent pas à faire basculer la catégorie indigène. Moh Pat conclut ainsi à la fin de l'émission :

> L'acceptation ou l'autorisation de changement de l'état civil dépend du pays, dépend des règlements de chaque pays, et dépend aussi du contexte social et culturel... En Thaïlande, il y a un certain niveau d'acceptation, mais le fait d'accepter les *phu-ying-kham-phets* comme de vraies femmes, cela n'est peut être pas possible. Les vraies femmes elles-mêmes ne vont peut-être pas accepter. Je pense qu'accepter les *phu-ying-kham-phets* comme de vraies femmes, cela va prendre beaucoup de temps, très longtemps. Je ne veux pas dire que c'est impossible, ce serait trop injuste.

Le propos de Moh Pat suggère que la catégorie de *phu-ying-kham-phet* et la reconnaissance sociale en tant que femme ne seraient pas compatibles avec la société thaïlandaise, actuellement à tout le moins. Dans la pensée de sexe/genre thaïlandais, le dynamisme et la pluralité associés aux conceptions de *phet* et de *kathoey* sont si bien intégrés et imprégnés, qu'ils finissent par rattraper la catégorie de *phu-ying-kham-phet* et faire d'elle une sous-catégorie de la notion de *kathoey*. Les commentaires du public dans les forums et les blogues sur internet illustrent également ce point de vue :

> Ça m'a pris du temps avant de lire l'info, en fait ça concerne les *kathoey* !... *Phu-ying-kham-phet*, pourquoi inventer ce mot ? C'est difficile à comprendre [อ่านตั้งนาน เพราะกะเทยนี่เอง...หญิงข้ามเพศ ตั้งมาได้ใครเข้าใจยาก]. *Phu-ying-kham-phet* ? *Kathoey* est toujours *kathoey*. Ne te la joue pas, ne cherche pas un autre mot [หญิงข้ามเพศ? กะเทยก็คือกะเทย ไม่ต้องกระแดะหาชื่ออื่นมาเรียก]. [Manager Online 2011]

Dans la hiérarchie de *phet*, les *phu-ying-kham-phets* sont perçues comme reflétant une forme de féminité inauthentique au même titre que les *kathoeys*. Elles sont les *phu-ying-mai-thaes*, différentes des vraies femmes, celles d'origine biologique. Jim Sara conclut : « En tout cas, il y aura toujours une distinction, on est une madame avec un point d'interrogation, une mademoiselle avec l'étiquette *praphet-song* (second type)... Il y aura toujours une différence dans la société, les gens le sauront toujours ».

Polémique du projet de « changement de sexe sur critères sociaux »

Au cours de l'année 2011, l'association de Nok Yollada a créé une nouvelle controverse à propos de la pathologisation du transgenre. En fait, ce discours a pris de l'ampleur dans le débat public en février 2011, lorsque l'association a commencé un nouveau projet, en coopération avec l'émission *Konkonkon* sur la chaîne 9, une émission de reportage documentaire[8]. Il s'agit du projet « *Sister's hand*. Changer de sexe gratuitement, la solidarité entre sœurs » (แปลงเพศฟรี พี่ช่วยน้อง). Ce projet a pour but de sélectionner cinq candidates *phu-ying-kham-phets* qui n'ont pas accès à l'opération de changement de sexe, faute de moyens financiers ou pour des raisons socio-culturelles comme la religion. Pour qu'elles puissent se faire opérer gratuitement et être prises en charge par un hôpital privé, ces candidates doivent accepter d'être suivies par la caméra et de présenter leur vie dans le contexte d'une émission de téléréalité. Nok Yollada affirmait :

Le but, ce n'est pas de choisir celles qui sont plus pauvres ou plus misérables. Mais c'est de choisir celles qui ont un parcours intéressant, qui ont une motivation et sont prêtes à montrer leur vie de *phu-ying-kham-phet*. Elles doivent avoir une forte motivation pour devenir une femme complètement [...] celles qui ont vraiment un problème ou des problèmes. [Extrait de l'émission Konkonkon, 28 février 2011]

Après une sélection initiale, toutes les candidates ont suivi différentes étapes, incluant des rencontres auprès de médecins et de psychologues. Au final, le chirurgien a décidé qui d'entre elles allaient être opérées. L'émission *Konkonkon* est passée à la télévision fin février 2011. Elle a présenté le processus de sélection, montrant les candidates retenues dans leur vie quotidienne avec leur famille. Finalement, trois personnes ont été sélectionnées pour l'opération.

Après la diffusion de l'émission, les médias se sont intéressés à nouveau aux *phu-ying-kham-phet* et à ce projet. De manière plutôt moqueuse, ils l'ont nommé le projet de « changement de sexe sur critères sociaux » (แปลงเพศเอื้ออาทร) en le comparant avec le projet d'aide au logement « sur critères sociaux » du gouvernement. Le projet de Nok Yollada a engendré cette fois-ci des réactions protestataires de la part des associations LGBT. Au début du mois de mars 2011, Gay Natee ou Nathee Theerarodjanapong[9], le président du groupe Gay Karn-muang (gay politique), accompagné du groupe Femmes ni authentiques, ni artificielles, son allié, a convoqué les médias pour critiquer le projet de Nok Yollada. Ses arguments s'articulent autour de trois points essentiels. Premièrement, il condamne les critères de sélection qui focalisent sur les gens pauvres n'ayant pas les moyens financiers pour se faire opérer : « Et après l'opération, il y a aussi d'autres charges, pour les hormones, d'autres problèmes de santé, donc d'autres dépenses. Et encore, 30–40 ans après, comment ces gens vont-ils vivre ? Comment vont-ils gérer leur santé ? Et qui va prendre [tout cela] en charge ? » (Manager Online 2011). Premièrement, Gay Nathee exprime son inquiétude en ce qui concerne le suivi médical, en particulier après l'opération de changement de sexe, car les personnes opérées requièrent des traitements hormonaux toute leur vie. Deuxièmement, il réprouve le genre téléréalité de l'émission qui ressemble à une publicité incitant les gens à se faire opérer, et ce, dans le but de promouvoir l'établissement qui offre les services médicaux :

C'est un projet qui incite les gens à s'y intéresser. C'est comme une publicité qui encourage les jeunes à se faire opérer. Alors cela peut causer des dégâts, une mauvaise compréhension, ils peuvent se tromper à cause de cette promotion attirante. Car, il y a des jeunes qui ne sont pas encore sûrs de leur identité. Mais quand ils voient cela, ils décident de se faire opérer, plus tard ils se rendent compte que ce n'est pas ce qu'ils veulent, comment faire ? C'est trop tard. [Manager Online 2011]

Et enfin, il est contre la pathologisation. Pour lui, le discours de *phu-ying-kham-phet* ne ferait que reproduire la stigmatisation des *kathoeys* et des personnes transgenres.

En avril 2011, une conférence intitulée « *Kathoey* thai, qui dit que je suis malade ? » a été organisée. Elle rassemblait l'association homosexuelle Rainbow Sky de Thaïlande, l'Asia-Pacific Transgender Network, la Thai Transgender Alliance et le réseau Gay Kan-muang. Cette conférence avait pour but de contrebalancer le projet de Nok Yollada. Les membres y dénoncent le discours de pathologisation de l'Association de *transfemales* de Thaïlande, lequel aurait un impact aussi sur les *kathoeys* et les *sao-praphet-songs*. En affirmant qu'elles sont des femmes avec un état d'anomalie ou de maladie, nécessitant des soins et une opération de changement de sexe pour guérir, le discours des *phu-ying-kham-phets* laisse entendre que celles qui ne se soignent pas ou qui décident de ne pas se faire opérer seraient toujours malades ou anormales. Par conséquent, ce discours contribuerait à (re)coller l'étiquette « anormal » aux catégories *kathoey* et *sao-praphet-song*, et par extension, aux personnes transgenres en général. Selon ces activistes transgenres, la pathologisation aurait un effet marginalisant en ce qu'elle augmenterait la discrimination sociale et juridique, tout comme les risques au quotidien pour les personnes transgenres (Daily News 2011). Pour Kathawut Krangpipul ou Kate, une *kathoey* activiste et la représentante de la Thai Transgender Alliance, le discours de *phu-ying-kham-phet* ne s'appuie que partiellement sur le modèle occidental. Nok Yollada ignore qu'aujourd'hui de nombreux organismes transgenres internationaux luttent pour que l'identité transgenre et transsexuelle ne soit plus classée comme une maladie mentale ou un trouble de l'identité. La campagne internationale « Stop Trans Pathologization 2012 » – issue d'une collaboration internationale entre groupes activistes transgenres de tous les continents[10] – a pour objectif de lutter pour le retrait du trouble de l'identité de genre

des classifications de l'American Psychiatric Association et de l'Organisation mondiale de la santé. Cette lutte a déjà porté ses fruits dans certains pays. En février 2010, le gouvernement français a retiré la transsexualité de la liste des troubles de la personnalité et des maladies mentales (Krangphibul 2011).

Non seulement les *kathoeys* militantes dénoncent l'effet pervers de la pathologisation, plusieurs études sociologiques confirment qu'au lieu d'aider les personnes transgenres à se faire accepter, la pathologisation augmenterait la phobie envers les transgenres dans la société. Dans une enquête par questionnaire, menée dans sept pays (Winter et al. 2009) – soit les États-Unis, l'Angleterre, la Chine, les Philippines, la Malaisie, Singapour, la Thaïlande –, Winter et ses collaborateurs démontrent les corrélations qui existent entre les perceptions vis-à-vis de l'identité des personnes transgenres et les attitudes envers elles. Les participants (non transgenres) à cette étude qui considèrent les personnes transgenres MTF comme des « malades mentaux » ont tendance à éviter tout contact avec elles, à les rejeter et nier leur statut et leurs droits en tant que femmes. En effet, ce refus résulte de leur perception ; ils voient les personnes transgenres MTF comme des hommes ayant un problème psychologique (« a disordered mind »). Winter conclut que cette perception de pathologisation pourrait encourager ou intensifier les préjugés, et ainsi renforcer les exclusions économiques et sociales en augmentant les discriminations envers les personnes transgenres (Winter et al. 2009). Selon une autre étude réalisée entre 2002 et 2003 auprès de populations jeunes, urbaines et instruites, 51% des jeunes Thaïlandais considèrent les *kathoeys* comme des hommes ayant un problème psychologique (« who have something wrong wih their mind ») ; 41% pensent qu'elles représentent un troisième sexe; et seulement 12% sont d'avis qu'elles sont des femmes (Winter 2008). Cette étude montre que dans la société thaïlandaise, malgré sa tolérance apparente, il existe des tendances à pathologiser les *kathoeys* et les personnes transgenres. Or, cette perception pourrait s'intensifier avec le discours sur les *phu-ying-kham-phets*. Il est possible, sur le long terme, que ce discours se révèle négatif pour l'ensemble des personnes transgenres en ce qu'il pourrait créer confusion au sein de la population et remettre en cause certains progrès juridiques et sociaux récemment obtenus – notamment le changement de catégorie de disqualification pour le service militaire.

En Thaïlande, les *kathoeys* ayant le statut officiel de citoyen masculin doivent faire leur service militaire, mais elles sont souvent exemptées de cette obligation à cause de leur physique féminin et leur caractère transgenre. Jusqu'en 2010, les papiers militaires des *kathoeys*

indiquaient qu'elles avaient été exemptées lors de l'examen médical en raison de leur « problème mental incurable ou permanent ». Ceci entraîne un effet discriminatoire lorsque les *kathoeys* soumettent leur candidature à un éventuel employeur puisque les documents relatifs au service militaire sont requis pour tout postulant de sexe masculin. Les employeurs embauchent rarement un candidat qualifié de « malade mental » si bien que les *kathoeys* se voient refuser des postes à cause de cette étiquette qui n'a été enlevée qu'en septembre 2011. L'armée a créé une nouvelle catégorie indiquant que « la personne a un genre qui ne correspond pas à son sexe de naissance » afin de dispenser les *kathoeys* de service militaire. Ce changement, pour lequel les associations militantes LGBT se sont battues depuis une dizaine d'années, est vu tel un grand progrès de la part du gouvernement. De la sorte, le discours de pathologisation se présente comme un retour en arrière qui reproduit une image négative stigmatisant l'ensemble de la population transgenre.

Distinction au-delà du genre entre *kathoey* et *phu-ying-kham-phet*

Pour la Thai Transgender Alliance, l'identité de *phu-ying-kham-phet* pose un autre problème. En effet, le discours identitaire de *phu-ying-kham-phet* exclurait les *kathoeys* et les *sao-praphet-songs* pour qui l'identité de genre est choisie. Certaines *kathoeys* revendiquent leur identité de *kathoey*. Elles se distinguent des femmes, malgré leur féminité et leur capacité à passer pour une femme. Certaines se contentent de leur genre féminin sans avoir recours à l'opération de changement de sexe. Leur identité ne constitue pas une maladie, mais résulte du processus de socialisation et d'une revendication personnelle. Or, le discours et la définition de *phu-ying-kham-phet* semblent exclure cette diversité de sexes et de genres et donc, en fin de compte, reproduire l'opposition de genre : soit on est femme, soit on est homme, mais jamais entre les deux (Association Mplus Thailand 2011; Nattawat_86 2011).

Cette distinction identitaire entre les *phu-ying-kham-phets* et les *kathoeys* s'articule aussi en termes de normes de beauté. Les *phu-ying-kham-phets*, incarnées par l'image de Nok Yollada, une ancienne Miss et la fondatrice de l'Association des *transfemales* de Thaïlande, reflètent une image de celles qui sont belles, féminines, compétentes et qui réussissent à passer pour des femmes. Loin des clichés des *kathoeys* « grandes-gueules », extravagantes, ridiculisées, cette image de la *kathoey* « hi class » ou « hi-so »[11] (Jackson 1999) est mise en avant et médiatisée par le projet de l'association. On y montre que les *phu-ying-kham-phets* ressemblant aux femmes

sont aussi « femmes » que les femmes biologiques. Les *kathoeys* activistes critiquent cette approche qui focalise sur les traits de la féminité apparente et reprochent aux *phu-ying-kham-phets* de se valoriser au détriment des *kathoeys* qui ne sont pas si belles ou qui n'ont pas le physique féminin – ni les moyens de se féminiser (Nattawat_86 2011). Ce point de vue rejoint la remarque de Mum Laconik lors de l'émission *Woody talks*. Son propos évoquait justement la distinction entre les *phu-ying-kham-phets* et les *kathoeys* sur la base de critères de beauté. Les premières se veulent plus belles et plus féminines que les secondes. Mum Laconik se moque d'elle-même en disant qu'elle ne peut pas être *phu-ying-kham-phet* car elle n'est pas assez jolie, elle n'a pas la chance d'avoir un physique s'apparentant à celui des femmes. Cette distinction, basée sur la beauté, engendre une sorte de hiérarchie au sein même de la communauté transgenre dans laquelle les *phu-ying-kham-phets* seraient en haut et les autres – moins féminines, moins belles ou pas belles du tout –, en bas. En effet, les *kathoeys* qui n'arrivent pas à atteindre la norme féminine dominante resteraient *kathoeys*, écartées et exclues de la catégorie *phu-ying-kham-phet* (Association Mplus Thailand 2011). La distinction entre les *phu-ying-kham-phets* et les *kathoeys*, soit les femmes de second type, est complexe et dépasse les seules herméneutiques identitaires. Elle résulte aussi de la hiérarchie sociale basée sur le corps et l'accès à la féminisation du corps. Il faut donc reconnaître que celles qui suivent des traitements et qui se font faire des opérations de féminisation sont plus souvent celles qui en détiennent les moyens financiers et qui appartiennent aux classes urbaines et favorisées. Cette différenciation basée sur la beauté extérieure recèle une autre forme de distinction, à savoir une distinction de classe au sein même de la communauté transgenre.

Global vs. local ou l'hybridation identitaire

L'apparition de la catégorie de *phu-ying-kham-phet* témoigne d'un processus complexe de mondialisation des identités, des pratiques et des cultures homosexuelles et transgenres ; elle illustre combien la diffusion des idées militantes anti hétéro-normatives et des principes des droits de l'Homme prennent de l'ampleur dans les pays émergents non occidentaux. Il ne s'agit pas d'une imitation des modèles identitaires occidentaux, mais plutôt d'un processus de transformation, de différenciation et de négociation des identités, des genres et des sexualités culturellement localisés. Le cas de l'émergence de *phu-ying-kham-phet* est un très bon exemple car il démontre la pluralité des positions, à savoir comment certaines

voix défendent et endossent cette nouvelle catégorie et d'autres y résistent et s'y opposent.

Nok Yollada emprunte la catégorie transsexuelle médicale occidentale et la traduit en *phu-ying-kham-phet* pour créer une nouvelle identité et ainsi ouvrir un espace de revendication. Son choix pour le terme de *phu-ying-kham-phet* est politique, réclamant un droit et un statut égal aux femmes biologiques. Nok Yollada se réfère exclusivement au discours médical d'organismes mondialement reconnus et aux modèles médicaux des pays développés, supposés être plus avancés, pour augmenter sa crédibilité. Mais elle laisse de côté un autre contre-courant international, celui de la campagne internationale de dépathologisation. Son action, délibérée ou pas, constitue une sélection et une négociation politique qui vise à justifier et légitimer cette nouvelle catégorie. Toutefois, cet emprunt aux modèles occidentaux n'a pas réussi à faire émerger l'identité de *phu-ying-kham-phet*. Cette dernière n'arrive pas (encore) à s'imposer en tant qu'identité indépendante. Elle est absorbée par le dynamisme de la catégorie de *kathoey* et par la conception locale de sexe /genre. Le système asymétrique de *phet* résiste à l'influence de ce modèle occidental de transsexualité. Sa construction en catégories authentiques et non authentiques permet de concevoir une multitude de catégories non normatives tout en conservant l'hégémonie (l'authenticité) de la norme binaire de *phet* et de l'hétéronormativité. La *phu-ying-kham-phet* est toujours perçue comme une « sorte » de *kathoey*, faisant partie de la catégorie transgenre locale, non équivalente à la femme biologique authentique.

Cela dit, la catégorie de *kathoey* est aussi utilisée à des fins politiques. Plusieurs groupes activistes transgenres, tel que la Thai Transgender Alliance, inspirés des courants *queers* activistes et intellectuels internationaux et des droits de l'Homme, revendiquent l'identité *kathoey*. Celle-ci est intégrée dans le discours de revendication et de résistance contre la catégorie de *phu-ying-kham-phet*, comme étant véritablement l'identité transgenre anti hétéro-normative. La catégorie *kathoey*, laquelle englobe toute une diversité de genres et d'identités, est réinterprétée comme une identité *queer* à la thaïlandaise, ni homme ni femme, mais allant au-delà de la dyade de genre. À la fois influencée par les courants *queers* activistes globaux et la catégorie transgenre locale, l'identité *kathoey* militante résulte d'une réadaptation et d'une politisation de la catégorie traditionnelle indigène. Sur le site officiel de la Thai Transgender Alliance, il est précisé que le groupe travaille pour ceux et celles qui s'identifient comme *kathoeys*, « qui sont nés et identifiés comme hommes, selon les organes sexuels,

mais qui s'identifient à l'autre genre » [who were born and were identified as male due to their sexual organ, but perceived themselves as other gender] (Thai Transgender Alliance n.d., ma traduction). Sa définition et sa vocation sont à l'opposé de la *phu-ying-kham-phet* telle que caractérisée par l'Association de *transfemales* de Thaïlande de Nok Yollada. L'une s'identifie comme transgenre/*kathoey* et l'autre comme femme/femme transsexuelle. Cette opposition reproduit la distinction entre transgenre et transsexuel qui existe aussi en Occident.

En effet, les deux parties antagonistes adoptent des discours et des modèles plus ou moins inspirés par l'Occident et les courants globaux : la médecine occidentale, la critique du dualisme de genre, la culture *queer*, les droits de l'Homme, la diversité de genres. Elles les remanient à leur façon dans le but de donner un sens à leur existence, à leur identité et à leur vocation. Les critiques de Gay Nathee ont aussi le même but : protéger les « siens », les jeunes générations et la communauté homosexuelle masculine. Influencée par le modèle gay occidental, la catégorie gay masculine thaïlandaise a lutté depuis les années soixante pour se distinguer de la catégorie *kathoey* efféminée. La position protestataire de Gay Nathee vis-à-vis du projet de Nok Yollada peut être perçue comme une mise en garde ou une défense contre l'amalgame entre gay, *kathoey* et *phu-ying-kham-phet* dans l'opinion publique, et ce, afin de maintenir la stabilité de l'identité de la communauté gay masculine. En 2007, Gay Nathee a donné un entretien en disant qu'il n'était pas d'accord pour le changement de l'état civil des *kathoeys* opérées. Selon lui, la législation autorisant le changement d'état civil ne donnerait un tel droit qu'aux *kathoeys* opérées, et mettrait à l'écart celles qui n'osent pas, qui ne veulent pas ou qui ne peuvent pas se faire opérer, et aurait la même portée envers les homosexuels et les homosexuelles. Ces catégories de personnes resteraient minoritaires et marginalisées. Il exprime aussi une inquiétude à l'égard des *kathoeys* opérées qui pourraient tromper les hommes en leur faisant croire qu'elles sont des femmes biologiques. Cette opposition de la communauté homosexuelle, menée par Gay Nathee, témoigne peut-être d'un autre clivage politique et identitaire fondé sur les différentes identités, les divers intérêts et les positionnements politiques multiples au sein de la communauté LGBT thaïlandaise.

La bataille médiatique de 2010–2011 nous montre les divisions politiques, voire le manque de solidarité, au sein de la communauté LGBT thaïlandaise actuelle. La mondialisation de la culture et de l'identité LGBT n'amène pas forcément à l'homogénéisation ou l'unification de la culture *queer*, mais dans ce cas-ci, à la différenciation locale et à la multiplication des positions, des discours et des revendications autour des identités LGBT. Ce manque de solidarité et ce clivage pourraient engendrer un impact négatif auprès du public thaïlandais. Plusieurs d'ailleurs s'interrogent : « Même les *kathoeys* ne sont pas d'accord entre elles, sur ce qu'elles veulent, alors, qu'est ce que l'on fait ? » (Malikheaw 2010). Ce clivage peut affaiblir la collaboration entre les associations LGBT, qui pourtant ont le même objectif, à savoir la revendication de droits et l'égalité pour les groupes minoritaires sexuels.

Conclusion

Il est vrai que pour l'instant, la *phu-ying-kham-phet* ne constitue pas véritablement une identité indépendante. La particularité de la pensée de sexe/genre thaïlandaise résiste au modèle global – ce qui explique la difficulté d'assimiler l'identité de *phu-ying-kham-phet* à celle de femme à part entière et la réaction hostile du public thaï vis-à-vis de cette nouvelle identité. Les catégories *kathoey* et *sao-praphet-song* persistent et perdurent largement dans l'usage langagier, ainsi que dans la pensée de sexe/genre. Néanmoins, l'action de Nok Yollada est révolutionnaire. D'une part, grâce à elle, c'est la première fois que les personnes transgenres MTF se rebellent et s'autoproclament femmes publiquement. D'autre part, Nok Yollada revendique une reconnaissance juridique et sociale en tant que femme, comme les femmes. Elle montre ainsi à quel point la Thaïlande est en retard en ce qui concerne les droits et l'égalité des minorités sexuelles. Depuis cette émission, on peut dire que sa stratégie politique et médiatique semble avoir franchi une étape, celle de rendre le terme *phu-ying-kham-phet* familier auprès du public thaï. Elle a en effet été invitée dans d'autres émissions. On entend parler de plus en plus de *phu-ying-kham-phet*, même s'il s'agit plutôt de critiques ou de réactions négatives et protestataires. Ce nouveau terme commence à être employé par la presse et aussi par les personnes transgenres elles-mêmes. Le mot *phu-ying-kham-phet* tend à se banaliser *via* les médias et l'internet. Il est probable que dans quelques années, les efforts de Nok Yollada porteront leurs fruits.

Foucault (1976) a expliqué comment le discours de contrôle sur la sexualité – discours institutionnalisé par le régime d'État, la religion, le système biomédical et la psychiatrie entre autres –, a engendré un effet inattendu : il a permis l'apparition de sexualités multiples et la consolidation de sexualités périphériques. Ainsi, il a donné une existence concrète à de nouvelles catégories de sujets sexuels. Aussi pourrait-on attendre le même effet des discours médiatiques et populaires sur les *phu-ying-kham-phet*. En effet, les médias jouent un rôle très important dans l'évolution des identités de *phet* thaïlandais.

Jackson a déjà montré le lien étroit entre l'émergence de l'identité gay et le développement des magazines spécialisés destinés aux lecteurs homosexuels dans les années 1970 (Jackson 2009). L'émission *Woody talks* a marqué le lancement de l'identité *phu-ying-kham-phet*. L'usage, la répétition et la banalisation du mot, à travers les autres médias et les réseaux sociaux *via* internet, pourraient également contribuer à la consolidation progressive de la catégorie *phu-ying-kham-phet* en tant qu'identité socialement reconnue, ainsi qu'à l'avancement des projets politiques d'égalité et de droit des personnes transgenres.

Il est trop tôt pour dire si la catégorie *phu-ying-kham-phet* modifiera les rapports sociaux entre les genres ou si ce nouveau modèle identitaire aura un impact sur les manières dont les personnes transgenres MTF se définissent et socialisent. Il est possible que la catégorie *phu-ying-kham-phet* devienne un nouveau modèle identitaire pour les jeunes générations. Selon nos observations, beaucoup de jeunes transgenres adhèrent aux réseaux sociaux de l'Association des *transfemales* thaïlandaises. Elles intègrent le discours et le modèle identitaires de Nok Yollada. Notre travail de terrain en 2005–2006 sur les *kathoeys* en Thaïlande montre qu'elles se définissent souvent en tant que femmes de second type. « *Kathoey* est toujours *kathoey*, on ne peut pas concurrencer les femmes », concluaient nos informatrices. Il est possible que dans quelques années cette vision change, mais il va falloir attendre pour en percevoir les effets concrets. Il est donc nécessaire d'effectuer de nouvelles recherches de terrain afin de suivre l'évolution de l'identité *phu-ying-kham-phet* pour mieux apprécier ses impacts sur la société thaïlandaise. De futurs travaux doivent interroger l'interdépendance et l'interchangeabilité entre les catégories *kathoey* et *phu-ying-kham-phet*, et surtout se pencher sur les parcours par lesquels cette dernière deviendra indépendante – ou pas – dans dans la conception de *phet* thaïlandais.

Cheera Thongkrajai, Institut d'ethnologie méditerranéenne, européenne et comparative, Maison méditerranéenne des sciences de l'Homme, 5 rue du château de l'horloge, 13 094 Aix-en-Provence, France. Courriel : cheera.thongkrajai@gmail.com.

Notes

1 Le Code des trois sceaux était utilisé durant l'époque de l'Ayutthaya jusqu'à l'époque de Rattanakosin, soit du XVIIIe siècle jusqu'à la fin du XIXe siècle. Il a été aboli avec la Réforme du roi Rama V (1868–1910) (Document électronique sur le site http://kanchanapisek.or.th, consulté le 3 janvier 2014).

2 *Woody talks* est un talk-show présenté par Woody Milintachinda, diffusé depuis 2008 sur la chaîne 9. *Woody talks* s'intéresse aux sujets d'actualité du milieu des médias et des spectacles. Des célébrités et des vedettes thaïlandaises et internationales sont souvent invitées pour une entrevue exclusive.

3 *Phu-ying* signifie « femme » et *kham-phet* veut dire littéralement « transsexuel ».

4 Nok Yollada est une figure importante de la communauté transgenre thaïlandaise. Elle a participé et gagné plusieurs concours de beauté. Après des études supérieures, elle est devenue une femme d'affaires en créant sa propre entreprise de joaillerie. Elle a également mis sur pied une chaîne de télévision internationale consacrée aux diamants. C'est une activiste militante qui travaille pour la reconnaissance juridique des personnes MTF opérées. Elle a soutenu le projet de loi de 2006 sur le changement d'état civil pour les personnes ayant changé de sexe, mais il n'a pas été adopté à cause de l'instabilité politique. En 2012, elle a été élue membre du conseil général de la province de Nan dans le nord du pays. Nok Yollada est la première femme politique transsexuelle.

5 Mum Laconik ou Wallop Maneekhum, née en 1958, vient d'une famille de musiciens. Après des études en langue étrangère, elle a créé son premier groupe folk rock nommé Abnormal pour montrer le caractère anticonformiste du groupe. Mum a sorti plusieurs albums avec le groupe Laconik entre 1984 et 1986. Elle est devenue célèbre en 1989 avec le titre « Term-jai-hai-khan » (เติมใจให้กัน). En 2009, elle a donné un concert « Mum Show Man Comedy Concert » à Bangkok.

6 Jim Sarah est d'origine chinoise. À l'âge de 22 ans, elle s'est proposée comme cobaye pour une opération de changement de sexe en Angleterre. Après ses expériences à l'étranger, elle est rentrée en Thaïlande et s'est investie dans un projet d'hôtellerie destiné aux touristes homosexuels. Elle a également travaillé dans le cinéma. À la fin des années 1990, la crise économique a frappé le pays ; son entreprise en faillite, Jim Sarah a décidé de partir en Nouvelle-Zélande pour recommencer sa vie. Elle s'est mariée et a pu obtenir le changement de son état civil en Nouvelle-Zélande.

7 Moh Pat ou docteur Khatkhumphu Petcharat est un biologiste et un spécialiste des cellules. Il a fait ses études aux États-Unis et a travaillé à Villa Medica en Thaïlande.

8 *Konkonkon* est une émission reportage produite par TV Burapa company qui présente la vie quotidienne des Thaïlandais ordinaires ou des personnes marginalisées. Cette émission est diffusée depuis 2003 sur la chaîne 9. En 2011, l'émission a collaboré avec l'Association des *transfemales* de Thaïlande en produisant un reportage sur le projet « Sister's hand ».

9 Connu sous le nom de Gay Nathee, Nathee Theerarodjanapong est l'un des premiers activistes homosexuels en Thaïlande. Né en 1956, il a fait des études de médecine et de sciences politiques. En 2004, il a créé le groupe Gay karn-muang, un groupe activiste homosexuel qui promeut la participation des homosexuels à la politique du pays. En 2006, il s'est présenté comme candidat à l'élection parlementaire dans une agglomération de Bangkok, mais il n'a pas été élu. Gay Nathee est réputé conservateur, il

milite aussi pour la conservation de la culture locale dans le nord du pays.

10 Voir leur site internet : http://stp2012.info/old.

11 L'expression *hi-so* vient de l'anglais *high society*, qui indique la haute société ou la classe supérieure.

Références

Aeusruvonngse, Nithi
    2002 Talk about Sex in Thailand (ว่าด้วยเพศ). Bangkok: Matichon.

Altman, Dennis
    1997 Global Gaze/Global Gays. GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies 3(4):417–436. http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/10642684-3-4-417.

Association des transfemales de Thaïlande
    N.d. www.tf101.com, site consulté le 3 janvier 2014.

Association Mplus Thailand
    2011 Le changement de sexe sur critères sociaux, c'est pour qui? (แปลงเพศ เอื้ออาทร... เพื่อใครกันแน่). Document électronique, http://www.thaitga.com/index.php/library/articles/67-sex-change-for-who, consulté le 3 janvier 2014.

Butler, Judith
    2005 Trouble dans le genre : pour un féminisme de la subversion. Paris: La Découverte.

Chonwilai, Sulaiporn
    2004 Femmes qui aiment femmes : d'autres féminités. (หญิงรักหญิง: ผู้หญิงของความเป็นอื่น). *Dans* La vie marginale : l'identité et la signification (ชีวิตชายขอบ ตัวตนกับ ความหมาย). C. Koranantakul Parrita, dir. Pp. 96–137. Bangkok: Centre de recherche anthropologique Sirindhorn.

Daily News
    2011 Daily News, 21 avril. Document électronique, http://www.dailyews.co.th/newstartpage/index.cfm?page=content&contentID=134143&categoryID=38, consulté le 3 janvier 2014.

Foucault, Michel
    1976 La volonté de savoir, vol. 1. Histoire de la sexualité. Paris: Gallimard.

Jackson, Peter
    1997a Thai Research on Male Homosexuality and Transgenderism and the Cultural Limits of Foucaultian Analysis. Journal of the History of Sexuality 8(1):52–85.
    1997b Kathoey> <Gay> <Man: The Historical Emergence of Gay Male Identity in Thailand. *In* Sites of Desire, Economies of Pleasure: Sexualities in Asia and the Pacific. Lenore Manderson et Margaret Jolly, dirs. Pp. 166–190. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
    1999 Tolerant but Unaccepting: The Myth of a Thai "Gay paradise". *Dans* Gender and Sexualities in Modern Thailand. Peter Jackson et Nerida M. Cook, dirs. Pp. 226–260. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.
    2000a Male Homosexuality and Transgenderism in the Thai Buddhist Tradition. *Dans* Queer Dharma: Voices of Gay Buddhists Vol. 1. Leyland Winston, dir. Pp. 55–89. San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press.
    2000b An explosion of Thai Identities: Global Queering and Reimagining Queer Theory. Culture, Health & Sexuality 2(4):405–424. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13691050050174422.
    2003 Performative Genders, Perverse Desires: A Bio-History of Thailand's Same Sex and Transgender Cultures. Intersection 9. Document électronique, http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue9/jackson.html, consulté le 3 janvier 2014.
    2009 Capitalism and Global Queering National Markets, Parallels among Sexual Culture, and Multiple Queer Maternities. GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Guy studies 15(3):357–395. http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/10642684-2008-029.

Khomklong, Yallada
    2007 Kathoey, kathoey (กะเทย กะเทย). Bangkok: Theeyaaksorn.

Krangphibul, Khatawut
    2011 La négociation et la lutte identitaire : Arrêtez de dire que les *kathoeys* sont malades. (ช่วงชิงการอธิบาย หนีตายจากการชิงชัง: หยุดที่บอกว่ากะเทยป่วย!!!). Document électronique, http://www.thaitga.com/index.php/library/articles/66-stop-trans-patologization, consulté le 3 janvier 2014.

Malikheaw
    2010 Lorsque « *kathoey* » opérées veulent être une « femme » légalement (เมื่อ "กะเทย แปลงเพศ" ขอเป็น "หญิง" ตามกฎหมาย). Document électronique, http://aids-cpp.net/site/Issue4-When-the-transgenders-ask-for-being-female-legally.aspx, consulté le 3 janvier 2014.

Manager Online
    2011 Manager Online, 1er mars. Document électronique, http://www.manager.co.th/QoI/ViewNews.aspx?NewsID=9540000024711, consulté le 3 janvier 2014.

Morris, Rosalind C.
    1994 Three Sexes and Four Sexualities: Redressing the Discourses on Gender and Sexuality in Contemporary Thailand. Positions 2(1):15–43. http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/10679847-2-1-15.

Nattawat_86
    2011 « *Kathoey* » le *phet* exclu de la *phu-ying-kham-phet*. ("กะเทย" เพศที่ถูกปฏิเสธจาก "ผู้หญิงข้ามเพศ"). Document électronique, http://www.thaitga.com/index.php/library/articles/70-kathoey-are-discrimination-from-transwomen, consulté le 3 janvier 2014.

Organisation mondiale de la santé
    N.d. International Classification of Diseases. Document électronique, http://www.who.int/classifications/icd/en/, consulté le 11 janvier 2014.

Ramittanon, Chaladchai
    2002 Dynamisme social à travers le regard d'un intellectuel: 60 ans de Chaladchai Ramittanon. (พลวัตสังคมผ่านสายตานักวิชาการไทย: หกสิบปีฉลาดชาย รมิตานนท์). Chiang Mai: Mingmuang.

Sinnott, Megan
    2011 The Language of Rights, Deviance and Pleasure: Organisational Responses to Discourses of Same-Sex Sexuality and Transgenderism in Thailand. *Dans* Queer Bangkok: 21st century Market, Media and Right. Peter Jackson, dir. Pp. 205–228. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.5790/hongkong/9789888083046.003.0012.

Stop Trans Pathologization
2012 www.stp2012.info, site consulté le 3 janvier 2014.
Storer, Graeme
1999 Rehearsing Gender and Sexuality in Modern Thailand: Masculinity and Male- Male Sex Behaviours. *Dans* Lady Boys, Tom Boys, Rent Boys: Male and Female Homosexualities in Contemporary Thailand. Peter Jackson P et Gerard Sullivan, dirs. Pp. 141–159. New York: Harrington Park Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1300/J041v09n02_07.
Thai Transgender Alliance
N.d http://www.thaitga.com/index.php/about-us, site consulté le 3 janvier 2014.
Totman, Richard
2003 The Third Sex: *Kathoey*, Thailand's Ladyboys. London: Souvenir.
Van Esterik, Penny
2000 Materializing Thailand. Oxford: Berg.
Winter, Sam
2002 Why are there so many *kathoey* in Thailand? Document électronique, http://web.hku.hk/~sjwinter/TransgenderASIA/paper_why_are_there_so_many_kathoey.htm, consulté le 3 janvier 2014.

2008 Transpeople (*Khon Kham Phet*) in Thailand: Acceptance or Oppression. Communication présentée lors de la Conférence internationale de Thai Studies, Bangkok, janvier 2008. Document électronique, http://www.transgenderasia.org/paper_transpeople_in_thailand_eng.htm, consulté le 3 janvier 2014.
Winter, Sam, Pornthip Chalungsooth, Yik Koon Teh, Nongnuch Rojanalert, Kulthida Maneerat, Ying Wuen Wong, Anne Beaumont, Loretta Man Wah Ho, Francis "Chuck" Gomez et Raymond Aquino Macapagal
2009 Transpeople, Transprejudice and Pathologisation: A Seven-Country Factor Analytic Study. International Journal of Sexual Health 21(2):96–118. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/19317610902922537.

Colonizing Surveillance: Canada Constructs an Indigenous Terror Threat

Craig Proulx *St. Thomas University*

Abstract: This article addresses the range and prevalence of continuing surveillance forms and practices imposed on indigenous peoples wherein indigenous peoples are constructed as potential insurgents, terrorists and criminals collectively or individually threatening the security of the Canadian oligarchic state. I discuss how "securitization spreads out to connect diverse issues together" and how "the discursive framework of securitization therefore links issues in a selective way that reflects an *underlying political rationality*" (Gledhill 2008: 4–5, emphasis added). That underlying state rationality is colonialism.

Keywords: indigenous peoples, surveillance, securitization, colonialism, protests, demonization

Résumé : Cet article décrit la portée et la prévalence des formes et pratiques de surveillance continue imposées aux populations autochtones, où celles-ci sont mises en scène tels des insurgés, des terroristes et des criminels potentiels qui, à titre individuel ou collectif, menacent la sécurité de l'État oligarchique canadien. Je discute comment « la sécurisation s'étend pour relier entre eux divers enjeux » et comment « le cadre discursif de la sécurisation relie donc des enjeux de manière sélective reflétant une *rationalité politique sous-jacente* » (Gledhill 2008: 4–5, nous soulignons). Cette rationalité d'État sous-jacente n'est autre que le colonialisme.

Mots-clés : peuples autochtones, surveillance, sécurisation, colonialisme, protestations, démonisation

Introduction

Canada has a long history of surveilling indigenous peoples. Indian Act Status cards, the reserve pass system (LeRat 2005) and Inuit numbered identification disks (Scott et al. 2004:36–37) allowed the colonial state to monitor the lives of those forced to bear them. Brown and Brown (1978) note that one of the earliest acts of state surveillance of indigenous peoples occurred as "federally, the North West Mounted Police made defending the Canadian Pacific Railway part of their mandate, guarding it against 'Indians, non-indigenous peoples and their own employees'" (de Lint 2004:4). In the period between 1877 and 1927 a "vast network of machinery" (Smith 2010:1) ensured that "no other group of people were subjected to similar levels of observation ... for such an extended period of time" (17). Oka, Ipperwash, Gustafsen Lake, Burnt Church and Caledonia show how surveillance combined with military and para-military actions are used by the colonial state to suppress self-determination threats in the "perpetual low-intensity warfare against Indigenous peoples" (Hussain 2004:para 8). The aims of surveillance have not changed. Surveillance is used due to fears of indigenous resistance to colonial projects (Thomas 1994:105) that challenge non-indigenous peoples' knowledge and understandings of land, capitalism and governance. Non-indigenous peoples fear the economic and political costs of activism, protests and blockades, constructing indigenous peoples as potential insurgents, terrorists and criminals threatening the security of the Canadian state. Moreover, Canada's neoliberal police and security services are "increasingly empowered to determine and distribute troublesome and problem populations according to an interpretation of the targets' productive and consumptive value" (de Lint 2004:6).

In this article, I discuss how "securitization spreads out to connect diverse issues" and how "the discursive framework of securitization therefore links issues in a selective way that reflects an *underlying political*

rationality" (Gledhill 2008:4–5, emphasis added). That underlying state rationality is colonialism wedded to neoliberalism (Gordon 2013). I examine technologies of power (Foucault 1979)—various forms of surveillance of indigenous peoples by entities within the oligarchic state—enabling non-indigenous peoples' denial of the continuing exploitation of indigenous peoples. This surveillance is part of continuing colonial projects subjecting indigenous peoples to the oligarchic state through various forms of power/knowledge (Foucault 1980). The oligarchic state, collectively and individually, socially "sort[s]" (Lyon 2007: 55) indigenous peoples engaged in resistance to non-indigenous people's land and resource theft while minimizing or delegitimizing indigenous self-determination and resistance.

This article is an ethnography of oligarchic state practices based on recently available public domain documentation, media reports, activist blogs, grey literature and reports from people who have been targeted by security services. Given the methodological challenges cited in the following, this paper does not delve in-depth into one ethnographic case. Instead, it ranges widely to reveal the *continuing and pervasive* surveillance of indigenous peoples in Canada by surveying surveillance actors, mechanisms and rationales.

Methods

Security state actors are insulated from the public and, therefore, direct access to them, their motivations and their strategies is difficult. The "opacity" of corporations presents problems of getting inside them to know whether and how they are involved with surveillance. The mining industry, for example, is opaque due to their "notorious reluctance to expose themselves directly to ethnographic scrutiny, a condition exacerbated by a corresponding willingness to monitor and enforce corporate security" (Ballard and Banks 2003:290). Access to Information Requests (ATIRs) can also be opaque due to varying levels of redaction by the state before release. In addition, information from third parties, for example corporations, is considered secret, so ATIRs will only reveal industry spying by mistakes in redaction (T. Groves, pers. comm., 29 September 2013). Lastly, the huge distances between indigenous communities, the large geographic breadth of oligarchic state projects requiring surveillance, the transnational nature of corporations involved and the secrecy of state organs such as the military, CSIS, the RCMP and provincial police are huge barriers to in-depth ethnographic case study methods. Given these methodological challenges, how can one expose corporate and state surveillance of indigenous peoples in Canada?

Oligarchic state surveillance uses human resources but also publically available "open source" information. I used open-source methods, surveying investigative journalism and Internet sources with access to indigenous stakeholders to expose state surveillance of indigenous peoples. Second, I used ATIRs to access state documents detailing surveillance. Third, using Scribd, a document-sharing website that allows state and other users to post documents, I accessed unredacted state documents and PowerPoint slides. Fourth, while there are many forms and instances of oligarchic state surveillance of indigenous peoples, I *briefly* discuss only one case emblematic of the intrusions to which indigenous activists are subjected.

Definitions

Indigenous inclusively defines all peoples of indigenous ancestry (First Nations, Metis, Inuit and urban indigenous peoples). *First Nations* encapsulates First Peoples with land bases, whether they live on their land or not and whether or not they have treaties.

Anthropologists have long debated the nature of the state (e.g., Kapferer 2005; Sharma and Gupta 2006; Trouillot 2001). New social, economic and political relations involving flows of peoples, goods, services and funds across state borders and "quasi-state-like institutions," like the World Trade Organization, can regulate states (Sharma and Gupta 2006:6), calling into question the Weberian notion of the state exclusively defined by control and sovereignty over territory. Moreover, corporations now have state-like effects (Trouillot 2001) in their

> appropriation of domains of public space and service, previously in control of states, through which state-governing institutions exercised control and regulation of populations. Also, I am pointing to the increasing determination of state policies by corporations and, as well, the formation of transnational or trans-territorial organizational structures in which corporate alliances (often involving governments as well) are beginning to have major force over the life-chances of populations. [Kapferer 2005:296 n.1]

Benson and Kirsch decry anthropology's focus on governmentality and the state, saying there is a greater need to focus on corporations and "how corporations shape the world in accordance with their pursuit of profit, growth and legitimacy" (2010:459) They also call "for ethnographic research on capitalism focusing specifically on how corporations shape the "social management of harm" they create (460). I think Kapferer's (2005:286) "oligarchic-corporate political emergence" describes the

Canadian state and allows for the kind of investigation that Benson and Kirsch (2010) call for. As Kapferer states,

> Current configurations of global, imperial and state power relate to formations of oligarchic control. A major feature of this is the command of political organizations institutions by close-knit social groups (families or familial dynasties, groups of kin, closed associations or tightly controlled interlinked networks of persons) for the purpose of the relatively exclusive control of economic resources and their distribution, these resources being vital to the existence of larger populations. For many theorists the state, throughout history and in its numerous manifestations, was born in such processes and continues to be so. [2005:285]

In Canada, the Westons, Thomsons, Bronfmans, Stronachs, Desmarais, Rogers, Bombardiers, Bronfmans, Zekelman, McCains, Irvings, Riddells, Katz, Pattisons and Richardsons, among others, control most of the major corporate holdings in the resource, food, media and manufacturing domains. All influence politico-economic policy through their patronage of, and intermarriage with, Canadian politicians (Adkin 2013; Duchesney 2011; Lifesitenews.com 2003; Marshall 2013; Martin 2013; Radia 2013; Robillard 2013; Whitacker, 2003). While governments may not be "dutiful lapdogs" to corporations, business activist groups such as the Council of Chief Executives (CCCE) advance corporate interests through the promotion of massive policy changes "aligned to the political priorities of Canada's corporate sector" (CCPA SK 2012:8–9; Climenhaga 2013). The structural power of corporations, "the ability of corporations to privately determine the allocation of investment and resources, which subsequently can impact levels of employment, consumption and economic growth within a region," make governments "reticent" to enact policies that might cause "capital flight" (CCPA SK 2012:8–9). Moreover, the oligarchic regime "carefully preserves the principles of elected legislative assemblies" while ensuring, through lobbying, that democracy does not harm corporate well-being (Curry 2012; Kempf 2012). It also manufactures of consent among subordinates (i.e., the public) for its accumulation of financial and political power (Carroll 2007:268). These corporate actors interlock (Carroll 2007; CCPA SK 2012) with each other and successive governments, forming the oligarchy (Duchesney 2011) currently abetted by voter disengagement and "resignation" (Benson and Kirsch 2010).

In the current context of extreme (Dobbin 2013), casino (Comaroff and Comaroff 2000) and globalized (Kapferer 2005:286) capitalism, capitalism's amorality and lawlessness (Harvey 2010), accumulation by dispossession (Harvey 2005) and neoliberalism (Fillmore 2013; Gordon 2013; Harvey 2005), the Canadian oligarchic state focuses on being the raw resource provider to the world, while dispossessing indigenous peoples. Rod Marining, chair of the BC Environmental Network, commenting on the surveillance of anti-fracking groups in Quebec, claims "we are now a petro-state," because "the Harper government has repositioned the entire Canadian economy to be increasingly reliant on oil and gas exports, and has declared the exploration and development of the country's natural resources as 'in the national interest'" (Chisholm and Uechi 2013:para 26). Oil, mineral and forest extraction for export provide mega-profit to corporations, while the state uses its cut of the profits ostensibly to reduce deficits largely caused by the financial meltdown of 2011 and by neoliberal tax reduction schemes (CCPA SK 2012; Fillmore 2013). State neoliberal austerity ideology led to cuts to social programming, privatization of assets and services, and government size reduction (Kapferer 2005:287; Klein 2008; Radia 2013), so much so that even the International Monetary Fund (2012) called for its amelioration (Fillmore 2013; Himelfarb 2013). Neoliberal praxis causes untold damage to the Canadian poor and indigenous peoples while profiting corporations (Fillmore 2013). The oligarchic corporate state is, therefore, engaged in accumulation by dispossession of indigenous peoples with and without treaties who have serious economic, environmental, cultural and sovereignty concerns about oligarchic state resource extraction on and under their territories and resource transportation through their territories.

The state is, therefore, understood as the Canadian oligarchic state, comprising a multiplex of politicians and government departments, and their policies and practices, including various police, intelligence, military and corporate actors involved in, among others, resource extraction and transport, as well as the corporate media. This does not suggest that this oligarchic state is a monolith, completely agreeing on strategies, tactics and actions in pursuit of its goals. Clearly, decision-making involves degrees of agency among the various parts that compose the oligarchy (Ballard and Banks 2003; Trouillot 2001).

The oligarchic state requires knowledge to reduce risk and exert control and order over populations (Lyon 2007:38) considered as threats to profit and order. The oligarchic state, therefore, focuses on risk management, surveillance and security (Lyon 2007:38). "Security and surveillance have become a major concern for the corporate state, in many ways a means for protecting ruling interests against the public" (Kapferer 2005:293), in this

case the indigenous and environmentalist population in Canada.

Classically, surveillance is understood "as an outgrowth of capitalist enterprises, bureaucratic organization, the nation-state, [with] a machine-like technology and [with] the development on new kinds of solidarity, involving less 'trust' or at least different kinds of trust" (Lyon 2007:51). Surveillance is a technology of power used by the state to protect and extend security. It is the usual, routine and everyday ways through which "attention is paid to personal details [and group details] by organizations that want to influence, manage, or control certain persons or population groups" (Lyon 2002:5). Hence, the "geo-political power of states is buttressed by surveillance" (2–4). Surveillance is a bureaucratic rationalizing process of "record keeping and monitoring behaviours," operating at larger or smaller scales, with greater or lesser degrees of privacy penetration, as it makes visible the identities and the behaviours of people of interest to the agency in question (3). The primary goal "is to obtain data to classify persons in terms of potential risk" (3). External geopolitical surveillance rationales now apply to *internal* threats, as surveillance is used to assess indigenous peoples, among others, as "direct threats to the well-being and prosperity of the nation" (C. Bell 2006:155). Surveillance and information gathering in intelligence-led policing are thus dissent management tools (de Lint 2004:12).

Colonialism is defined herein as "colonial project," that is, "a socially transformative endeavor that is localized, politicized and partial, yet also engendered by longer historical developments and ways of narrating them" (Thomas 1994:105). Colonial projects such as non-indigenous peoples' land and resource theft, for example, proceed through the intentionally glacial land claims process (see CBC News 2008a) or through ignoring established treaties or interpreting them in ways not intended by their framers. Among other outcomes, these projects enable illegal Canadian and foreign corporate resource extraction on, or development of, disputed lands.

It is important not to essentialize non-indigenous peoples. Individuals are conditioned to or enculturated into the dominant cultures' commonsense, taken-for-granted truths about reality according to their positioning within fields of social and political power (Furniss 1999:14–15). Non-indigenous peoples' levels of racism and denial toward indigenous peoples vary in terms of gender, class, ethnicity, location and occupation, among others. For example, some working-class non-indigenous peoples are committed racists (Stormfront 2013), while others are anti-racist (CAERS 2013). Perusing the comments appended to newspaper articles or webpages on indigenous issues illustrates the animus that many non-indigenous peoples feel about indigenous peoples (Angus 2013). Other non-indigenous peoples from different class and political backgrounds, for example Mark Vandermass (2013) and Garry McHale (2013) on their respective webpages, tend to couch their racism in liberalism (Smith 2010), such as equality-as-sameness and rule of law discourses, while ignoring or revising history. Women are also involved in this sort of covert racism, but Michele Tittler (2013) is far more overt. Tittler ignores or selectively uses history while couching her diatribes in entitlement and accountability discourses. Non-indigenous conservative academics (Flanagan 2000; Smith 1996) and journalists (Blatchford 2010; Murphy 2013) couch their ethnocentric (at the very least) views on indigenous peoples in outmoded archaeology, doctrines of liberalism, accountability and private-property discourses to make their cases for assimilation and the backwardness and criminality of indigenous peoples. What many non-indigenous peoples across the variables discussed here have in common are levels of racism and denial of personal responsibility for the state of indigenous/non-indigenous relations both historically and currently; ideas that indigenous peoples get special treatment unavailable to non-indigenous peoples; an unwillingness to engage and learn the history of indigenous/non-indigenous relations; a willingness to "blame the victim" for colonial inequality along a host of financial, social and political vectors; a willingness to criminalize some indigenous businesses and indigenous political protests; a tendency to see indigenous views on and practices of religion and science as irrational; and a propensity to deflect attention from the over-arching white privilege that is at the heart of non-indigenous peoples' identity. Non-indigenous peoples' identity is constructed on congratulatory visions of non-indigenous peoples as tough, industrious conquerors of a "frontier," a wide, wild, empty northern land, and civilizers of the "primitives" they found there living nasty, brutish and short lives (Furniss 1999; Mackey 2002). Not all non-indigenous peoples hold all of these views at all times but these interpretative repertoires, and actions based upon them, are at the heart of Canadian identity (Foster 1996; Mackey 2002; Palmater 2011b; Proulx 2011, 2003; Smith 2010).

Non-indigenous Peoples' Fear

In earlier stages of colonization, non-indigenous peoples freely took First Nations' resources and lands through preemption (e.g., squatting) and illegal means (Furniss 1999). Today, non-indigenous peoples fear the actual or potential resistance of indigenous peoples and their allies along many vectors. They fear the high standard

of honourable dealing (*R v. Sparrow 1990*:paras 52–63) legally requiring the Crown to consult with and accommodate indigenous peoples "when the Crown contemplates conduct that might adversely impact potential or established indigenous or Treaty rights" (Minister of the Department of Indigenous Affairs and Northern Development Canada 2011; see also *Haida Nation v. British Columbia, Minister of Forests* 2004; *Mikisew Cree First Nation v. Canada, Minister of Canadian Heritage* 2001; *Taku River Tlingit First Nation v. Ringstad et al.* 2004). They fear treaty clauses that limit provincial jurisdiction to authorize on-reserve natural resource development (*Keewatin v. Ontario, Natural Resources* 2013). While capitalists may pay lip service to it, "the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples which Canada supported, also guarantees protections for First Nations lands and resources and reaffirms that states require First Nation consent" (Palmater and Dumas 2013). The oligarchic state fears profit-losing delays and potential development/extraction and transportation system shutdowns due to the legal requirements to consult arising out of cases such as *Haida Nation, Taku, Mikisew* and *Keewatin*. The state is frightened of the growing indigenous activism fighting the inequality in resource development and transportation (Palmater and Dumas 2013) and the environmental destruction resulting from it. The 2013 RCMP over-reaction to the peaceful anti-fracking protest by the Elsipogtog First Nation in New Brunswick illustrates this claim and the failure to diligently consult (Palmater 2013) by the New Brunswick provincial government and Southwestern Energy. From 2007 to 2010 the RCMP shared "intelligence reports about First Nations *with the private sector including energy companies*" (emphasis added), fearful of indigenous protests (Groves and Lukacs 2011). In 2010, Natural Resources sponsored briefings for energy companies using classified materials provided by the RCMP and CSIS on potential threats by environmentalist and First Nations to help corporations "plan and develop measures to protect their facilities" (Groves 2012). Enbridge will not confirm that it supplied "unspecified industry reports" to the RCMP on potential indigenous protests over the proposed Northern Gateway pipeline (Lukacs and Groves 2012). In 2011, industry spied on indigenous peoples and reported to the RCMP. When confronted with Wet'suwet'en resistance to tar-sands and pipeline development near Morice River, "industry reports that a small blockade may have been set up in the area near where the Unist'ot'en camp has been set up" (E-Division Indigenous Policing Services 2011:5; Groves, per comm., 29 September 2013). In northern Alberta, capitalists fear a united front of "individual saboteurs, eco-terrorists and mainstream environmentalists, First Nations and Metis peoples" who will engage in "extralegal and even violent resistance to industrial development" (Flanagan 2009:6). This fear caused the Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute to commission Tom Flanagan (2009:6) to write a threat assessment on this *potential* united front. Bland (2013) builds on capitalist fears by opining on the "feasibility" of an indigenous armed revolt against Canada's economy (read: natural resources and transportation networks or critical infrastructure). Hence, many non-indigenous peoples are essentially "treating First Nations as enemies of the state" (Palmater 2011c)

The oligarchic state deals with its fears through legislation, for example the omnibus Bill C-45, passed in 2012 de-fanged environmental assessment (EA) requirements, thus weakening consultation procedures with First Nations. It changed the Navigable Waters Act, removing protections from many bodies of water, "from 2.8 million to less than 100 in Canada" (Horton 2013). Both of these reduce indigenous consultation barriers to capitalist resource extraction and oil and gas pipeline construction on First Nations land and unceded, so-called Crown lands (Horton 2013; Visconti 2013). Provinces are allowed to "substitute" their own environmental assessments and forgo federal EAs (Harper 2013:A8, para 20). In British Columbia, "ninety-nine per cent of projects have been historically approved under B.C.'s EA process. One gets the sense that the B.C. government does not like saying 'no' to industry" (Harper 2013:A8, para 20). Another way that non-indigenous peoples calm their fears is by re-classifying indigenous political dissent and resistance. Legal questions surrounding land claims and indigenous political actions outside of the legal system are "securitized" as these issues pass "from the realm of ordinary politicized questions into an issue that threatens the very survival of states and their citizens" (Gledhill 2008:1). The above-mentioned Resource Industries and Security Issues in Northern Alberta report (Flanagan 2009) and Bland's (2013) feasibility thesis are perfect examples of this securitization. Indigenous political protesters are re-framed as insurgents on par with Islamic terrorists or as economic and environmental criminals standing in the way of progress (Government of Canada 2011; McCarthy 2012). Demonization and fear creation are standard oligarchic state technologies of power used to deflect attention from capitalist profit-taking, incomplete or shoddy consultation with indigenous stakeholders, and democratic rights to protest.

But protesting is not terrorism or criminality. Protests are legitimate means of expressing dissatisfaction with the oligarchic state. Protests educate the state in alternative praxis. Hedican maintains that

> certain sectors of the Canadian population think that anyone protesting and confronting the police is somehow inherently wrong ... [what is] mistaken about this captious attitude toward authority is that Canadians have a democratic right to peaceful assembly; this right is guaranteed under section Two of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. [Hedican 2013:192]

But "peaceful" is often interpreted very narrowly by the oligarchic state. In Elsipogtog a few hunting rifles and unspecified death threats by a few hotheads to security personnel guarding fracking equipment were enough to deem the protest not peaceful (Morris 2013:A1), leading to a massive para-military over-reaction. I now turn to the various mechanisms and actors involved in the current round of the surveillance of indigenous peoples.

Critical Infrastructure, Integrated Threat Assessment Centre (ITAC), Multi-issue Extremism and the Construction of Terror Identities

The events of 9/11, the consequent war on terror, threats to neoliberal globalization, indigenous environmentalism, and the Occupy and Idle No More movements have changed the security context, with a new, wide-ranging and interconnected "threat environment" (C. Bell 2006:152) emerging from the perspective of the oligarchic state. Not only bringing about "order" but also "directing and regulating disorder" have become central to new national security policy (161–162). This resulted in "the largest government reorganization strategy in Canadian history, bring[ing] together formerly disparate public administration measures into a structure of security management" (162). Now there are many new policies of, and forms for, cross-administrative and cross-police coordination and information sharing. These deal with both external and internal threats and risks to the Canadian state. As early as 2004, the Privy Council Office declared "domestic extremism" as a threat to the political and economic security of Canada, particularly with regard to "critical infrastructure" (Privy Council Office Canada 2004; C. Bell 2006:152). Indigenous peoples, constructed as domestic extremists, became a prime target of the security state.

Those targets are watched by the following state actors. In 2007, INAC established a Hot Spot Reporting System (INAC 2007) whose "goal was to identify the

First Nations leaders, participants and outside supporters of First Nation occupations and protests and to closely monitor their actions" (Diabo and Pasternak 2011:para 2). The RCMP also has a partnership platform in their Suspicious Incident Reporting (SIR) platform mandated to protect Canada's critical infrastructure (RCMP 2011). The RCMP's Integrated Security Unit (ISU) component Joint Intelligence Group (JIG) (Shephard and Talaga 2010) has a "mandate to collect and distribute intelligence about situations involving First Nations" (Groves and Lukacs 2011:para 2; see also Joint Intelligence Group 2009; Warrior Publications 2011). ISUs are "unprecedented multi-agency amalgams for domestic security" that "centralize police and intelligence functions" (Monaghan and Walby 2011:1). Each of these is linked through new information sharing networks such as the Integrated Threat Assessment Centre (S. Bell 2008; Monaghan and Walby 2011). ITAC now coordinates "threat assessments" and, in particular, multi-issue extremism (MIE) threats, which focus on external security threats but also on internal "activist groups, indigenous peoples, environmentalists and others who are publically critical of government policy" (Monaghan and Walby 2011:2).

The evolution of ITAC and MIEs were accompanied by a "blurring" of the categories of terrorism, extremism and activism into "an aggregate threat matrix," leading to "net-widening where a greater diversity of actions are governed through surveillance processes and criminal law" (Monaghan and Walby 2011:2). Expanding on Deukmedjian and de Lint (2007), Monaghan and Walby (2011) note, "one set of intelligence targets disappears from reports while grass-roots political opposition receives more scrutiny" (10). Surveillance now focused on "social movement suppression" wherein non-terroristic "political opposition is removed from the frame" (3). Subversive and simply suspicious conduct became lumped together under categories of terrorism and extremism (14), leading to the criminalization of dissent (Nigam 2013). Any grassroots group dissenting with state policies and actions replaced terrorism as the "target of these intelligence clusters in Canada" (Monaghan and Walby 2011:15). Monaghan and Walby (2011), longitudinally using 25 classified Threat Assessment Reports from CSIS and the RCMP through the Access to Information Act, show how indigenous extremists actually or potentially involved in the sabotage of critical infrastructure (breaking windows, protests and blockades), protesting the Olympics on unceded indigenous lands, and protesting infringement of indigenous rights were included in the construction of new terror identities.

The federal government has recently set up new counter-terrorism entities called Integrated National Security Enforcement Teams (INSETs), with the newest in Alberta, "to protect the province's natural resources and infrastructure" (Tait 2012:para 1). These are part of "the trend of committing more and more national security and counter-terrorism resources without a corresponding basis in any kind of particular threats" and has less to do with "threats to civilians" than it has to do with "economic infrastructure," such as oil pipelines (Tait 2012:para 11). Today, indigenous peoples and allies fighting against oil pipelines are also constructed as MIEs (McCarthy 2012). Indigenous peoples are targeted by surveillance programs, thus criminalizing legitimate social and political dissent that challenges the status quo of continuing colonial projects. I now illustrate how and why some of the above actors surveil indigenous peoples.

Military Surveillance

The Canadian Armed Forces have consistently undertaken military actions against First Nations (e.g., Oka, Gustafsen Lake, Ipperwash) to protect state and capital interests federally, provincially and municipally. Norrell (2007) and Curry (2007) exposed the Department of National Defence (2005) Draft Counterinsurgency Manual, wherein radical Native American organizations, particularly the Mohawk Warrior Society, were cited as insurgent security threats without differentiating them from Hezbollah and Islamic Jihad. The state went into damage-control mode as it was caught ascribing a terror identity to indigenous organizations not engaged in terrorism. Then Defence Minister O'Connor typically blamed the "previous government," claiming the report was just an evolving draft while asserting that "the final version will not contain references to any current indigenous organizations" (Curry 2007:para 5). O'Connor also claimed that "the draft manual does not make comparisons between indigenous organizations and insurgent groups"; it only provides "examples of past insurgencies from Canada" (Curry 2007:para 6). The actual passage reads as follows:

> The rise of radical Native American organizations, such as the Mohawk Warrior Society, can be viewed as insurgencies with specific and limited aims. Although they do not seek complete control of the federal government, they do seek particular political concessions in their relationships with national governments and control (either overt or covert) of political affairs at a local/reserve ('First Nation') level, through the threat of, or use of, violence. [Department of National Defence 2005:11]

The offending passage was removed from the manual. But the unjustifiable labelling of indigenous political activists as insurgents was exposed, as was surveillance of, and military planning against, indigenous peoples in Canada.

The National Counter-Intelligence Unit: Monitoring and Denial

The military spies on native groups through the National Counter-Intelligence Unit. This unit is "charged with identifying, investigating and countering threats to the security of the Canadian Forces and the Department of National Defence from foreign intelligence services, or from individuals/groups engaged in espionage, sabotage, subversion, terrorism, extremism or criminal activities" (Chase 2011a:para 8). ATIRs showed that at least eight "Counter-Intelligence Information Reports" were assembled by the National Counter-Intelligence Unit on the "activities of native organizations between January 2010 and July 2011" (para 2). Outlined were threats such as plans for indigenous protest blockades, a potential backlash by indigenous groups over Ontario's introduction of the harmonized sales tax, protests and lobbying on Parliament Hill involving the Assembly of First Nations, the Algonquin Anishinabeg Nation Tribal Council and Red Power United (para 5). The "spectre of conflict similar to the Caledonia, Ontario land claim dispute" was prominent in an April 2010 report (para 6). Strangely, given the surveillance activities noted in the reports, a National Defence spokesman claimed that they do not "monitor indigenous or other groups"; they only watch "activities" (Chase 2011a:paras 6–7), as if *activities* can be divorced from *groups* that do them. Denial of agency to escape responsibility for their actions is a typical oligarchic state technology of power.

NDP defence critic Jack Harris understands why surveillance of indigenous peoples near military assets might be reasonable but notes that "most of the unit's recent counter-intelligence reports aren't focused near Forces personnel or property" (Chase 2011a:paras 16–17). Why, then, are military personnel watching peaceful *activities* posing no threat to "security of the Canadian Forces and the Department of National Defence" (para 8)? Indigenous peoples, from former AFN Chief Fontaine to Grand Chief Stewart, President of the Union of BC Indian Chiefs, were unsettled to discover that the military was labelling indigenous peoples as insurgents and doing intelligence surveillance of native groups. Current AFN Chief Shawn Atleo said,

The fact that Canada would expend national defence resources to monitor our activities amounts to a false and highly offensive insinuation that First Nation advocacy is akin to terrorism or threats to national security ... The reality is that all events monitored in the documents released were peaceful demonstrations conducted with the full co-operation and notification of all relevant authorities. [Chase 2011b:para 4]

Indigenous Joint Intelligence Groups: Non-indigenous Peoples' Reality vs. Indigenous Perception

RCMP Joint Intelligence Groups (JIGs) were created to secure the G8 and G20 summits and the Vancouver Olympics. Composed of Primary Intelligence Investigation Teams and Covert Operations Teams, JIGs conduct intelligence investigations on possible threats and suspicious, and criminal activity (G8–G20 ISU JIG 2010). Perceived threats to national security result in national security criminal investigation proceedings under the Security and Offenses Act, the CSIS Act, and the Criminal Code of Canada (G8–G20 ISU JIG 2010). The RCMP Criminal Intelligence Aboriginal Joint Intelligence Group Report categorizes indigenous activists and activist groups (traditionalists, moderates, militants and extremists) on a threat continuum. These are ranked according to each group's level of threat to critical infrastructure defined as "infrastructure, both tangible and intangible, that is essential to the health, safety, security or economic well-being of Canadians and the effective functioning of government" (RCMP Criminal Intelligence 2009–10:3). The critical infrastructure of most concern is "the energy, transportation and communications and information technology sectors" (RCMP Criminal Intelligence 2009–10:10). This Aboriginal JIG is partnered with various RCMP divisions, the Vancouver 2010 Integrated Security Unit Joint Intelligence Group, RCMP National Security Criminal Investigations and Critical Infrastructure Criminal Intelligence (CICI), the Sûreté du Québec and Ontario Provincial Police (OPP), and the Integrated Threat Assessment Centre (ITAC) (RCMP Criminal Intelligence 2009–10:5). Criteria used to judge threats from indigenous communities include the history of violence in the community; the history of tension or conflict toward police involvement; militants operating within the community; and threats against critical infrastructure and external influences (RCMP Criminal Intelligence 2009–10:6). This JIG surveilled the G8 and G20 summits, the National Day of Reconciliation and various Olympic events, because they would "present the opportunity for Indigenous communities and activist groups to draw attention to outstanding issues and grievances" (RCMP Criminal Intelligence 2009–10:9).

The Aboriginal JIG was particularly fearful of "the pattern of convergence among activist groups" and of how all of the aforementioned threats and alliances "contribute to increased uncertainty and concern regarding Indigenous activity in 2009/10" (RCMP Criminal Intelligence 2009–10:14). Indigenous activists and activist groups that were "socially sorted" (Lyon 2007:55) and watched included, for example, the Native Youth Movement (NYM) and the Olympic Resistance Network (ORN) (RCMP Criminal Intelligence 2009–10:10). The JIG also watched "multiple issue groups with little or no direct link to Indigenous communities" (RCMP Criminal Intelligence 2009–10:10), as if lack of indigenous links invalidates indigenous allies' legitimacy to dissent and protest oligarchic state actions involving indigenous peoples. The Aboriginal JIG listed 17 "Indigenous Communities of Concern," encompassing First Nations from Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba and Alberta, to be watched due to the real or perceived issues that contribute to unrest in indigenous communities locally, regionally or nationally. Interestingly, their National Outlook section reveals a few pervasive colonial projects that interweave in non-indigenous peoples representations of indigenous political dissent. The report recognizes that

> only a small number of Canadian Aboriginal communities have experienced tensions and conflicts which have escalated to civil disobedience and unrest in the form of protests actions. *Typically these protest actions are undertaken by small factions within the community, representing their own interests.* [RCMP Criminal Intelligence 2009–10:7, emphasis added]

This passage socially sorts (Lyon 2007:55) and demonizes community activists, relegating legitimate treaty, land and resource complaints by them to mere minority *interests* as opposed to the serious sovereignty issues faced by First Nations. This is a technology of power that minimizes and delegitimizes activists as *small factions* who are, supposedly, unsupported by the whole community. There is a willful myopia in this construction of how dissent and protest begins and grows within communities. Often it is a few analytic and courageous individuals who band together, taking on the burden of raising uncomfortable and controversial community issues because the larger community may be captured by inertia, fear government reprisal or have benefited from the status quo, making them unable or unwilling to see the need for change and activism. By relegating protest actions to interested small factions, the report avoids mentioning these deeper colonial currents, flowing below the surface in reserve communities, that go far beyond these

demonized unrepresentative groups selfishly pushing their own interests. The report states that "within the past 12 months, no violent acts associated to Indigenous extremism were reported," then immediately *criminalizes* political dissent and protest on and off reserve without any contextual information:

> However, illegal acts were committed within Aboriginal communities or by Aboriginal activists, and they include breaking and entering of band offices, extortion of construction companies, illegal blockades on highways and disobeying court orders. [RCMP Criminal Intelligence 2009–10:11]

In one part of the report, fears are fed to justify the need for past and future surveillance by pointing out substantive issues that contribute to unrest in indigenous communities. However, in the National Outlook, dissent and protest are attributed to the criminal interests of unrepresentative factions within communities. I see this as more than poor report writing. This report is a reiteration of non-indigenous peoples fear-mongering, divide-and-rule technologies of power that deflect attention from the program of power at the heart of oligarchic state projects.

PowerPointing Threats, Selling Integration

Further understanding of the surveillance of indigenous peoples is possible when the RCMP Criminal Intelligence 2009–10 report is read in tandem with an Aboriginal JIG PowerPoint presentation by the National Indigenous Policing Services Program Oriented Work Planning Committee (McPherson 2009). This presentation was given to the Aboriginal JIG's corporate and state clients, exposing the integration of surveillance across oligarchic state platforms outlined above and revealing the day-to-day surveillance activities of the JIG. It serves the dual purpose of providing information on surveillance while selling the Aboriginal JIG to security state partners and to corporate partners.

The mandate of the joint intelligence group opens the presentation. It focuses on tensions and conflicts in indigenous communities and *surrounding areas* (corporate interests bordering communities or on unceded lands) that may escalate into civil disobedience and unrest. Land claims, treaty disputes, environmental issues, economic and sovereignty disputes, and internal conflict and social issues are again labelled as mere *grievances* (McPherson 2009:1). The Aboriginal JIG focuses on threats to critical infrastructure (blockades, protests or gatherings concerning the energy sector) and on conflicts that could lead to these kinds of actions, including band council and election issues. Its primary interest is

public safety and the building of stronger indigenous communities (McPherson 2009). The JIG sets priorities, providing information experts to the wider RCMP by offering, among others, a national perspective and assessments of indigenous community volatility (McPherson 2009:3–6). It concentrates on surveilling the convergence of activists and tracking how they move across Canada. Lastly, it has a continuing liaising role with the RCMP, its partners in government and law enforcement.

Note how band council and election issues are identified as potential threats to neoliberal corporate economic well-being. Democratic reserve politics cannot be allowed to threaten cash conduits. Local politics are too immature or factionalized and prone to following community interests over corporate interests, so they need to be watched. These are standard colonial interpretative repertoires that have long histories (Harding 2005; Mackey 2002; Palmater 2011b; Proulx 2011, 2003; Razack 2002; Smith 2010).

The Aboriginal JIG provides four main products to its approximately 450 law enforcement, government and energy/private-sector clients (McPherson 2009). First, it provides a weekly situation report derived from a combination of open sources and intelligence gathered by both internal and external partners (McPherson 2009:4). Second, it issues a weekly, or as required, Aboriginal Communities Public Safety Special Bulletin that provides information on a particular event or development that causes some concern to public safety (3). Examples of the surveillance in one bulletin were indigenous protests over the 2012 Olympic Canadian Pacific Spirit Train or a video posting calling for direct action in support of outstanding indigenous land claims that also gives information on how to shut down railway traffic (3). Third, the JIG provides an annual Aboriginal Communities of Concern Strategic Intelligence Report used to identify communities considered highly volatile, individuals who cause concern to public safety, and information and analysis on current ongoing issues (3). Lastly, it issues developing situation reports on direct actions currently taking place via a limited e-mail distribution list to senior law enforcement at headquarters. E-mails summarize the event and issues, providing a public safety assessment as to whether the event is peaceful or non-peaceful. These products, then, illustrate the breadth of surveillance on indigenous communities and individuals by the oligarchic state. They indicate the speed with which the Aboriginal JIG can collate information and the comprehensive ways in which information about indigenous political dissent and protests affecting critical infrastructure can be disseminated.

While the JIG may not have been directly active in the case I discuss below, it is clear that the JIG was surveilling indigenous communities and activist groups, as the RCMP Criminal Intelligence 2009–10 report and the PowerPoint presentation (McPherson 2009) indicate above. An e-mail exchange between Tim Groves and an RCMP media relations officer illustrates how corporations helped the JIG spy on indigenous peoples:

> Private sector critical infrastructure owners and operators provided information on their view of the current criminal threat environment for their facilities. This information was analyzed with other information and intelligence for the purposes of the report. [Groves, pers. comm., 8 October 2013]

Corporations not only supplied information but viewed the indigenous threat as criminal, rather than as the democratic right to protest. The RCMP say that the Aboriginal JIG was never considered "permanent" and that they "dismantled" it last year, at "least at headquarters" (Groves and Lukacs 2011:para 4). However, the RCMP will not "confirm that RCMP divisions are not performing Aboriginal JIG activities under another name of program" (Groves and Lukacs 2011:para 5).

Indigenous Hot Spots Surveillance

In 2006, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) set up their own cross-intelligence platform with the RCMP to improve communications and collaboration between INAC and Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Canada to mitigate indigenous occupations and protests. A Standing Information Sharing Forum was set up and chaired by the RCMP, with members from the Privy Council Office Security and Intelligence, CSIS, Fisheries and Oceans Canada, Natural Resources Canada and Transport Canada, among others (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada 2007). This group engaged in weekly conference calls and intensive real-time information sharing during incidents. They organized the INAC Hotspot Reporting System to do continuous environmental monitoring and continuous information dissemination of existing and emerging risks involving indigenous protests and occupations. A Hot Spot Binder, summarizing and analyzing case files, was circulated to all the above members, as well as to the Government of Canada, the Integrated Terrorism Assessment Centre and Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Canada (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada 2007).

The Binder focused on the nature of indigenous hot spots resulting from disputes over lands, resources, claims negotiations, development activities on traditional territories and quality of life. It focused on leadership of protests, for example, those highly structured and transparent protests sanctioned by the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs such as the Manitoba Day of Protest. It also concentrated on less transparent incidents involving multiple competing power groups that may have involved involve illicit agendas, such as smuggling (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada 2007). Most controversial, though, was the framing of the leadership in protests such as the Douglas Creek Estates occupation in Caledonia, the occupation of a quarry in Desoronto, Ontario, and the Blockade of Route 117 in Manawaki, Quebec, to name but three. These unpredictable protests were the led by splinter groups existing outside negotiation processes.

Disengagement with so-called splinter groups is portrayed as an effort to streamline negotiations through clearly delineated lines of communication. However, the choice of leaders to negotiate with is often mediated by the following colonial discursive practice. Only Indian Act leaders are seen as legitimate, transparent and disciplined, while non-Indian Act leaders are demonized as unrepresentative extremists who are more willing to be violent. Only leaders who are conservative, claim the middle ground, are accommodating and promote incremental change are seen as legitimate negotiating partners. This leaves any other leader (female leaders, traditional leaders, Warriors, activist individuals) on the margins. This same discursive colonizing move is also prevalent in the corporate media (Proulx 2011:161–163).

Warriors, for example, are a long-term target of non-indigenous peoples' factionalization strategies. Smyth (2000:59) discusses how "the warrior rearticulates colonial stereotypes of Native violence, treachery, and savagery and is supported by a chain of stereotypes that includes the stereotype of the Native as victim." The next link in this chain is non-indigenous peoples' distinctions between "more peaceful native groups and warriors" (63). Here warriors are demonized as smoke-shack thugs working for criminal native leaders and victimizing their own peace-loving, law-abiding fellow community members (Smyth 2000:63; see also Bland 2013; Harding 2005:312; Swain 2010; Valentine 2012:127). The plight of these native victims is used to delegitimize, criminalize and isolate warriors demanding political action on land title, resource use and assertions of sovereignty (Smyth 2000:59). Hence, the divide-and-rule principle (Alfred and Lowe 2004:3) is clearly visible in the RCMP Criminal Intelligence 2009–10 report, the military's Counter-Insurgency Manual and the Hot Spots reporting system.

In essence, the oligarchic state fears factionalized indigenous communities while simultaneously creating the conditions for factionalization by giving legitimacy

to one favoured group over all others. Non-indigenous peoples conveniently forget their inception of factions in the past and their continued patronage of factions into the present. The state imposed Indian Act governments on reserves that created factions from the very beginning (Smith 2010). Diabo and Pasternak (2011) discuss a further state factionalization innovation with the "Crown dividing First Nations into ... 'progressive' Indian Bands and ... backward or 'traditional' Indian Bands" (para 35) while developing a cross-department "approach to reward the 'progressive' Indians and punish the 'traditional' Indians" (para 36). This reward–punishment system is applied within individual First Nations through funding formulas and patronage of individual reserve families and individuals as outlined in the following (Diabo and Pasternak 2011:para 37).

Hence, the Standing Information Sharing Forum's demonization of splinter groups is part of the ongoing non-indigenous peoples' selective remembering of past events. This selective memory is a filter enabling the oligarchic state to deceive itself about its role in the genesis of the very splinter groups it now fears. It enables non-indigenous peoples to ignore their responsibility for the inequality, poverty and crooked dealing that, in turn, create the conditions for the emergence of factions. Lastly, non-indigenous peoples will not allow that indigenous politics can proceed in the same democratic way as non-indigenous peoples' politics. Yet non-indigenous peoples ignore how their politics are a factionalized, ever-changing battlefield where leaders fade away and suddenly emerge.

This system of rewards and punishments has been rationalized further. Band councils and chiefs who have had the long-term support of, and career advancement through, the state are legitimized by the state. Uncooperative chiefs and leaders are punished by, for example, having their funding requests ignored (Diabo and Pasternak 2011). What is worse is that "in some circumstances the federal government will even support 'splinter groups' to take out the offending Chief or Leader," as has happened recently "to the Algonquins of Barriere Lake in Western Quebec, and historically at the Six Nations Grand River Territory" (Diabo and Pasternak 2011:para 39). Hot-spot reporting, particularly as concerned with splinter groups, is, therefore, based on colonial selective memory, reward and punishment resulting in information that confirms preferred state positions. Diabo and Pasternak (2011) also perceptively framed the cozy cooperative relationship between INAC and the RCMP. INAC has claimed that it has always been an institution of reconciliation and negotiation. Yet its actions—collaborating in hot-spot reporting with the RCMP—indicates that INAC is not what it claims to be. INAC is in fact "a management office to control the costs of Native unrest, and they are willing to work closely with law enforcement to accomplish this task" (Diabo and Pasternak 2011:para 9). While I personally have worked with some INAC people of good will, I agree with Diabo and Pasternak that INAC was, and remains, a main progenitor of colonial projects, a collaborator in others and a duplicitous administrative enforcer for the state. First Nations are "a closely monitored population ... who clearly are causing a panic at the highest levels of Canadian bureaucracy and political office" (Diabo and Pasternak 2011:para 4). The state's intensification of intelligence gathering and surveillance procedures and its demonization of indigenous people on a spectrum from criminals to terrorists, when they are simply defending their lands, is unjustifiable save through the lens of oligarchic state fear.

All of this effort and expense is expended to watch and inform on indigenous peoples, rather than on fixing the colonial root causes of indigenous discontent, anger and dissent. This is one of the central policy/practice disconnects that now exist in Canada. The non-indigenous state is aware of this disconnect, as it has been repeatedly publicized in indigenous media. Repeated Royal Commissions on indigenous peoples have told the state this. Why, then, does it prefer to spend money reacting through surveillance and policing rather than putting those resources and efforts toward proactive, collaborative solutions to the root causes? Perhaps the oligarchic state's calculations tell it that it is cheaper to exert punitive social control rather than non-punitive beneficial social action? Perhaps the state has also calculated that the colonial assimilative project (Bill C-31, Bill C-3) is proceeding apace and will succeed in getting rid of the expensive status Indian problem through discriminatory marriage rules (See Clatworthy 2001; Palmater 2011a). Or, perhaps policy-makers know that ruinously expensive legal delays (for indigenous peoples) in the treaty process will forestall outstanding claims, allowing the oligarchic state to continue to rob First Nations of resources and revenue from them on treaty and unceded lands. The continuing federal and provincial jurisdictional/ fiduciary disputes over responsibilities to indigenous peoples provide convenient cover for inaction. Perhaps all of these issues combine to create a policy inertia best characterized by a "damned if you do, damned if you don't" attitude. These questions were legible before the 2012 reset of the relationship summit on indigenous issues between the Assembly of First Nations chiefs and Prime Minister Harper and will likely continue to be legible. It is my conclusion, based upon past inaction

and recent political pronouncements, that oligarchic state leaders only want to surveil, police and incrementally fiddle with solutions (when they are forced to).

Surveillance of Individuals

In recent years several indigenous activists, their allies and leaders of non-First Nations organizations have had their phones and social media accounts tapped (The Current 2011; Palmater 2012), been followed at major events (Pablo 2009) and been visited at their homes by agents of the oligarchic state security (Lukacs 2010). They have been surveilled at government and privately organized meetings (The Current 2011). The state constructed these individuals as a threat. Here is an example of one of these cases.

Shawn Brant and Ontario Provincial Police Wiretaps

The oligarchic state has contended with increasingly widespread indigenous protest, as exemplified by the Aboriginal Day of Action, 29 June 2007. The threat posed by peaceful and direct action protests led to extraordinary surveillance, for example, the illegal Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) wiretaps of activist leader Shawn Brant, his brother and two friends (CBC News 2008b). The OPP obtained no judicial approval for the wiretaps, claiming that they did not have time to go through the normal procedures. The OPP claimed they used Section 184.4 of the Criminal Code, which authorizes wiretaps without a judicial warrant in exceptional circumstances if the situation is too urgent to get a judge's permission and there is a threat of a crime causing serious harm to any person or to property (CBC News 2008a). James Stribopoulos, a professor at Osgoode Hall Law School, said, "the use of wiretaps in the Brant case appears to go beyond the intended use of the emergency provision, since there was no evidence that anyone was threatened with physical harm" (Seglins 2009:para 30). Ontario NDP justice critic Peter Kormos said it is hard to believe that police didn't have time to seek judicial approval when there were warnings about the protests several days in advance (CBC News 2008b). Kormos continued, "Judges are available 24 hours a day, seven days a week ... I think it's pretty outrageous and pretty frightening that the OPP are using these extraordinary wiretaps when they knew this action was going to be taking place" (CBC News 2008b:para 20). Kormos noted that in preliminary hearings the Crown Attorney in charge did not argue that Brant's privacy rights had been violated by illegal wiretaps but rather asked for a publication ban on the whole case (CBC News 2008b:para 22). Kormos charged that "the attorney gen-

eral went to lengths to make sure the press, the media, the public wouldn't have access to this information, either the information about the wiretaps without judicial authorization or the context of the conversations" (CBC News 2008b:para 23). Interestingly, the OPP will not say who authorized the wiretaps. This case also shows a major public figure retaliating against Brant: "In a wiretapped phone conversation, [Police Chief Julian] Fantino threatened Brant that 'your whole world's going to come crashing down' adding that he would 'do everything I can within your community and everywhere to destroy your reputation'" (CBC News 2008a:para 10).

The Brant case raises serious concerns for all Canadians, particularly now that Fantino is a minister in the Harper government and in the context of the state's attempt to authorize wider police Internet surveillance powers, in some cases without a judicial warrant, in the withdrawn Bill C-30. Emergency wiretaps remain highly secretive, with no requirements for police to keep records or report on their use (Seglins 2009). Karen Bastow, a Vancouver lawyer, says, "The peril is the case where one doesn't ever know that one's been intercepted. A member of the public could have their phones intercepted and never know about it ... unless it went to trial. There's no accountability" (Seglins 2009:para 14). In a world where demands for indigenous accountability are pervasive, the OPP was not accountable for their illegal surveillance actions. Indigenous activists are criminalized as threats, yet a major police figure issued threats with relative impunity. The OPP was allowed to ignore the non-indigenous peoples' rule of law; yet, Shawn Brant, who was protesting colonial oppression, was arrested for doing so.

In the end the Crown dropped most of the charges on Brant and slapped his wrist on others, largely because it feared "facing numerous defense motions that would have laid bare police actions" (CBC News 2008a:para 1). This enabled the oligarchic state to sweep under the carpet some inconvenient truths, such as the OPP's agreement not to charge Brant if the 2007 blockade was lifted peacefully and promptly, which it was (para 8). Had the case gone to trial, Brant's defence would have "challenged the constitutionality of the Criminal Code's emergency wiretap provisions, which the OPP used during the national day of action for Indigenous peoples to bug the phones of Brant and his fellow organizers" (para 12). The state would have been subjected to the politics of embarrassment for promise breaking to indigenous peoples (again) and, potentially, to having the legality of Section 184.4 of the Criminal Code, one of the state's main surveillance tools, questioned publically

and legally. It is noteworthy how one element of the state scratches the back of another element when surveillance malfeasance is exposed.

Conclusion

This article exposes oligarchic state surveillance actors, their aims, their techniques of power, their integration across multiple platforms and the political rationality of colonialism underpinning them all. Continuing state fears of illegitimacy due to its historical and current exploitation of indigenous land, resources and people, coupled with corporate capitalist practices, lead non-indigenous peoples to see indigenous peoples as threats to their good life. First Nations and indigenous peoples are, therefore, socially sorted, securitized and discursively constructed as criminals, internal threats and terrorists (although the state works hard to deny this) for exercising their political right to dissent and protest. This is done to demonize First Nations and individuals; de-legitimatize, minimize or deny indigenous political rights; factionalize communities to divide-and-rule; persuade non-indigenous peoples that the state is protecting *their* democratic rights; and deflect non-indigenous peoples' attention from the state's historical and current responsibilities to First Nations and indigenous peoples. Colonial relations embodied in critical infrastructure must be defended for *all* over and above the needs of subjected indigenous peoples who are putatively part of this *all*. Overall, I show how oligarchic state surveillance is part of continuing colonial structural violence committed by non-indigenous peoples across a host of vectors. This article exposes surveillance as a colonial project and attempts to publicize and crack open the "simplistic assertions of the powerful" (Forte 2011:16) to make colonial constructions legible and comprehensible for various publics within and outside of academic institutions.

Craig Proulx, Department of Anthropology, St. Thomas University, 51 Dineen Drive, Fredericton, New Brunswick, E3B 5G3, Canada. E-mail: cproulx@stu.ca.

References

Adkin, David
  2013 We Pay Thousands for Jim Flaherty's Elite Gabfest. Winnipeg Sun, August 21. http:// www.winnipegsun.com/2013/08/21/we-pay-thousands-for-jim-flahertys-elite-gabfest, accessed November 9, 2013.
Alfred, Taiaiake and Lana Lowe
  2004 Warrior Societies in Contemporary Indigenous Communities. http:// www.attorneygeneral.jus.gov.on.ca/inquiries/ ipperwash/policy_part/research/pdf/ Alfred_and_Lowe.pdf, accessed February 15, 2014.

Angus, Charlie
  2013 Stand Up to Online Bullying and Racism against Indigenous Peoples. Rabble, July. http://rabble.ca/ blogs/bloggers/charlie-angus/2013/07/stand-to-online-bullying-and-racism-against-Indigenous-peoples, accessed November 9, 2013.
Ballard, Chris and Glenn Banks
  2003 Resource Wars: The Anthropology of Mining. Annual Review of Anthropology 32(1):287–313. http:// dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.32.061002.093116
Bell, Colleen
  2006 Surveillance Strategies and Populations at Risk: Biopolitical Governance in Canada's National Security Policy. Security Dialogue 37(2):147–165. http:// dx.doi.org/10.1177/0967010606066168
Bell, Stewart
  2008 Indigenous Protests Watched by CSIS. Canada.com, June 27. http://www.canada.com/ch/chchnews/ story.html?id=da773a08-a596-4325-8b59-f2d9f13ddce2, accessed November 9, 2013.
Benson, Peter and Stuart Kirsch
  2010 Capitalism and the Politics of Resignation. Current Anthropology 51(4):459–486. http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/653091
Bland, Douglas
  2013 Canada and the First Nations: Cooperation or Conflict? Aboriginal Canada and the Natural Resource Economy Series, 2. Ottawa: Macdonald-Laurier Institute. http://www.macdonaldlaurier.ca/ files/pdf/2013.01.05-MLI-Canada_FirstNations_BLAND_vWEB.pdf, accessed November 9, 2013.
Blatchford, Christie
  2010 Helpless: Caledonia's Nightmare of Fear and Anarchy and How the Law Failed All of Us. Toronto: Doubleday Canada.
Brown, L. and C. Brown
  1978 An Unauthorized History of the RCMP. Toronto: James Lorimer.
CAERS (Canadian Anti-racism Education and Research Society)
  2013 Canadian Anti-racism Education and Research Society–CAERS. http://www.stopracism.ca/content/ canadian-anti-racism-education-and-research-society-caers, accessed November 9, 2013.
CCPA SK (Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives Saskatchewan Office)
  2012 Mapping Corporate Power in Saskatchewan. Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, December 17. http://www.policyalternatives.ca/publications/ reports/mapping-corporate-power-saskatchewan, accessed November 9, 2013.
Carroll, William
  2007 From Canadian Corporate Elite to Transnational Capitalist Class: Transitions in the Organization of Corporate Power. Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology. La Revue Canadienne de Sociologie et d'Anthropologie 44(1):265–288.
CBC News
  2008a Mohawk Protester Brant Gets Light Penalty for Blockades. September 29. http://www.cbc.ca/news/

canada/story/2008/09/29/brant-charges.html, accessed November 12, 2013.

2008b Ontario Police Avoided Judge in Wiretaps of Native Protest, Brant Charges. July 22. http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/story/2008/07/22/opp-wiretaps.html, accessed November 12, 2013.

Chase, Steven
2011a Military Intelligence Unit Spies on Native Groups. Global Research, October 14. http://www.globalresearch.ca/canada-military-intelligence-unit-spies-on-native-groups, accessed November 11, 2013.

2011b Natives Decry Military's Comparison of Protests to Terrorism. Globe and Mail, October 18. http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/natives-decry-militarys-comparison-of-protests-to-terrorism/article2200798/, accessed November 11, 2013.

Chisholm, Mike and Jenny Uechi
2013 CSIS Spying on Citizens at Alarming Rate, FOIs Reveal. Vancouver Observer, February 25. http://www.vancouverobserver.com/politics/investigations/canadian-security-intelligence-service-spying-citizens-alarming-rate-fois, accessed November 9, 2013.

Clatworthy, Stewart
2001 Reassessing the Population Impacts of Bill C-31. Winnipeg: Four Directions Projects Consultants. http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/webarchives/20071213113854/ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/ra/rpi/rpi_e.pdf, accessed November 9, 2013.

Climenhaga, David J.
2013 Albertans Want Election-spending-limit Law but Are Unlikely to Get One from Redford PCs. Rabble, May 10. http://rabble.ca/blogs/bloggers/djclimenhaga/2013/05/albertans-want-election-spending-limit-law-are-unlikely-to-get-o, accessed November 9, 2013.

Comaroff, Jean and John L. Comaroff
2000 Millennial Capitalism: First Thoughts on a Second Coming. Public Culture 12(2):291–343. http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/08992363-12-2-291

The Current
2011 Government Surveillance of Native Youth Advocate Cindy Blackstock. CBC Radio, November 17. http://www.cbc.ca/thecurrent/episode/2011/11/17/govt-surveillance-of-native-youth-advocate-cindy-blackstock/, accessed November 9, 2013.

Curry, Bill
2007 Final Version of Terror Report Will Not Refer to Natives, O'Connor Says. Native Unity, April 2. http://nativeunity.blogspot.ca/2007/04/canadas-military-manual-exposed-to.html, accessed November 11, 2013.

2012 Boardroom Confidential: What CEOs Are Asking of Jim Flaherty. Globe and Mail, August 15. http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/boardroom-confidential-what-ceos-are-asking-of-jim-flaherty/article4483479/, accessed November 9, 2013.

Department of National Defence
2005 Draft Counterinsurgency Manual. ceasefireinsider.files.wordpress.com/2007/04/counter-insurgency-operations-manual.pdf, accessed November 9, 2013.

Diabo, Russell and Shiri Pasternak
2011 First Nations Under Surveillance: Harper Government Prepares for Unrest. Media Co-op, June 7. http://www.mediacoop.ca/story/first-nations-under-surveillance/7434, accessed November 11, 2013.

de Lint, Willem
2004 Public Order Policing in Canada: An Analysis of Operations in Recent High Stakes Events. http://www.attorneygeneral.jus.gov.on.ca/inquiries/ipperwash/policy_part/research/pdf/deLint.pdf, accessed November 9, 2013.

Deukmedjian, John Edward and Willem de Lint
2007 Community into Intelligence: Resolving Information Uptake in the RCMP. Policing and Society 17(3):239–256. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10439460701497337

Dobbin, Murray
2013 The Crisis of Extreme Capitalism. The Tyee, July 15. http://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2013/07/15/Extreme-Capitalism-Crisis/, accessed November 9, 2013.

Duchesney, Morgan
2011 The Canadian Council of Chief Executives: Northern Oligarchy. Humanist Perspectives 176:14–21.

E-Division Indigenous Policing Services
2011 Monthly Intelligence Report. September. https://paroxysms.ca/cbsa_stash/A0109036.PDF, accessed November 9, 2013.

Fillmore, Nick
2013 Austerity Chokes Canada's Down-and-out as Harper, Flaherty Look the Other Way. August 13. http://nickfillmore.blogspot.ca/2013/08/austerity-chokes-canadas-down-and-out.html, accessed November 9, 2013.

Flanagan, Tom
2000 First Nations? Second Thoughts. Quebec: McGill-Queen's Press.

2009 Resource Industries and Security issues in Northern Alberta. Calgary: Canadian Defense and Foreign Affairs Institute.

Forte, Maximillian C.
2011 Beyond Public Anthropology: Approaching Zero. Keynote Address to the 8th Annual Public Anthropology Conference: Re-defining Power: Paradigms of Praxis. American University, Washington DC, October 14–16. openanthropology.org/pacfortekeynote2.pdf, accessed November 9, 2013.

Foster, Cecil
1996 A Place Called Heaven: The Meaning of Being Black in Canada. Toronto: HarperCollins.

Foucault, Michel
1979 Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. New York: Vintage Books.

1980 Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977. Colin Gordon, ed. New York: Pantheon Books.

Furniss, Elizabeth
1999 The Burden of History: Colonialism and the Frontier Myth in a Rural Canadian Community. Vancouver: UBC Press.

G8–G20 ISU JIG
2010   JIG Operational Plan. http://www.scribd.com/doc/
        75652495/JIG-Operational-Plan, accessed November
        9, 2013.
Gledhill, John
2008   Anthropology in the Age of Securitization. Annual
        Joel S. Kahn Lecture, La Trobe University,
        Melbourne, Australia.
        jg.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/Conferences/
        Anthropology%20in%20the%20Age%20of%20
        Securitization.pdf, accessed November 9, 2013.
Gordon, Todd
2013   Canadian Capitalism and the Dispossession of
        Indigenous Peoples. New Socialist Webzine, August
        27. http://www.newsocialist.org/714-canadian-
        capitalism-and-the-dispossession-of-indigenous-
        peoples, accessed November 9, 2013.
Government of Canada
2011   Building Resilience Against Terrorism: Canada's
        Counter-terrorism Strategy. Ottawa: Public Works
        and Government Services Canada. http://
        www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/rsrcs/pblctns/rslnc-gnst-
        trrrsm/rslnc-gnst-trrrsm-eng.pdf, accessed November
        9, 2013.
Groves, Tim
2012   Canada's Spy Groups Divulge Secret Intelligence to
        Energy Companies. The Dominion, October 10. http://
        www.dominionpaper.ca/articles/4640, accessed
        November 9, 2013.
Groves, Tim and Martin Lukacs
2011   Mounties Spied on Native Protest Groups. Toronto
        Star, December 4. http://www.thestar.com/news/
        canada/2011/12/04/
        mounties_spied_on_native_protest_groups.html,
        accessed November 11, 2013.
Haida Nation v. British Columbia (Minister of Forests)
2004   Supreme Court of Canada 73.
Harding, Robert
2005   The Media, Indigenous People and Common Sense.
        Canadian Journal of Native Studies 25(1):311–335.
Harper, Margo
2013   Coal Mining Protest in B.C. Set to Erupt. Globe and
        Mail, September 21: A8. http://
        www.theglobeandmail.com/news/british-columbia/
        coal-mining-protest-in-bc-set-to-erupt/
        article14450240/, accessed November 9, 2013.
Harvey, David
2005   A Brief History of Neoliberalism. Oxford: Oxford
        University Press.
2010   The Enigma of Capital and the Crisis of Capitalism.
        Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Hedican, Edward J.
2013   Ipperwash: The Tragic Failure of Canada's
        Aboriginal Policy. Toronto: University of Toronto
        Press.
Himelfarb, Alex
2013   The trouble with Austerity: Cutting is More About
        Ideology than Economics. Toronto Star, February 24.
        http://www.thestar.com/opinion/editorialopinion/2013/
        02/24/the_trouble_with_austerity_cutting_is_more_
        about_ideology_than_economics.html, accessed
        November 9, 2013.
Horton, Robert Animiki
2013   Idle No More Sees Bigger Issues than C-45. Idle No
        More, June 16. http://www.idlenomore.ca/
        idle_no_more_sees_bigger_issues_than_c_45,
        accessed November 9, 2013.
Hussain, Samir
2004   Canada Myths and Realities. http://
        www.zcommunications.org/canada-myths-and-
        realities-by-samir-hussain, accessed November 9,
        2013.
Indian and Northern Affairs Canada
2007   RCMP Operational Response to Indigenous
        Occupations and Protest: Indigenous Hot Spots and
        Public Safety. scribd.com/doc/57758476/Indigenous-
        Hot-Spots-and-Public-Safety-INAC-Presentation,
        accessed November 9, 2013.
International Monetary Fund
2012   World Economic Outlook: Coping with High Debt and
        Sluggish Growth. Washington DC: International
        Monetary Fund. http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/
        weo/2012/02/pdf/text.pdf, accessed November 9, 2013.
Joint Intelligence Group
2009   National Indigenous Policing Services 2009 Program
        Oriented Work Planning Committee. http://
        www.scribd.com/doc/74793808/indigenous-Jig-Ppt,
        accessed November 9, 2013.
Kapferer, Bruce
2005   New Formations of Power, the Oligarchic-corporate
        State, and Anthropological Ideological Discourse.
        Anthropological Theory 5(3):285–299. http://
        dx.doi.org/10.1177/1463499605055961
Keewatin v. Ontario (Natural Resources)
2013   Ontario Court of Appeal (ONCA) 158. http://canlii.ca/
        en/on/onca/doc/2013/2013onca158/2013onca158.html,
        accessed November 9, 2013.
Kempf, Herve
2012   Society: From Oligarchy to the New Challenge of
        Global Politics. Canadians for Emergency Action on
        Climate Change, May 9. http://climatesoscanada.org/
        blog/2012/05/09/societe-from-oligarchy-to-the-new-
        challenge-of-global-politics/, accessed November 9,
        2013.
Klein, Naomi
2008   The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism.
        Toronto: Vintage Canada.
LeRat, Harold
2005   Treaty Promises, Indian Reality: Life on a Reserve.
        Saskatoon, SK: Purich Publishing.
Lifesitenews.com
2003   Paul Desmarais' Web of Influence Over Canada.
        http://www.lifesitenews.com/news/archive//ldn/2003/
        may/030502a, accessed November 9, 2013.
Lukacs, Martin
2010   CSIS Agents Visit, Harass Barriere lake Solidarity
        Activist. Media Co-op, June 13. http://
        www.mediacoop.ca/index.php?q=blog/martin-lukacs/
        3622, accessed November 9, 2013.

Lukacs, Martin and Tim Groves
    2012 RCMP Exposed: Police Spying on Opponents of
        Enbridge Pipeline, Documents Show. Rabble, May 10.
        http://rabble.ca/news/2012/05/rcmp-exposed-police-
        spying-opponents-enbridge-pipeline-documents-show,
        accessed November 9, 2013.
Lyon, David
    2002 Editorial: Surveillance Studies: Understanding
        Visibility, Mobility and the Phenetic Fix. Surveillance
        & Society 1(1):1–7.
    2007 Surveillance Studies: An Overview. Cambridge: Polity
        Press.
Mackey, Eva
    2002 The House of Difference: Cultural Politics and
        National Identity in Canada. Toronto: University of
        Toronto Press.
Marshall, Andrew Gavin
    2013 Meet Canada's Ruling Oligarchy: Parasites-a-Plenty!
        http://andrewgavinmarshall.com/2012/05/10/meet-
        canadas-ruling-oligarchy-parasites-a-plenty/, accessed
        November 9 2013.
Martin, Sandra
    2013 Behind the Scenes, Paul Desmarais Was a Force in
        Canadian Politics. Globe and Mail, October 9. http://
        www.theglobeandmail.com/report-on-business/behind-
        the-scenes-paul-desmarais-was-a-force-in-canadian-
        politics/article14768860/?page=all#dashboard/
        follows/ accessed November 9, 2013.
McCarthy, Shawn
    2012 Ottawa's New Anti-terrorism Strategy Lists Eco-
        extremists as Threats. Sierra Club Prairie, February
        11. http://prairie.sierraclub.ca/node/4985, accessed
        November 9, 2013.
McHale, Garry
    2013 CANACE-Canadians for Charter Equality. http://
        joincanace.wordpress.com/, accessed November 9,
        2013.
McPherson, Carrie Ann
    2009 National Indigenous Policing Services 2009 Program
        Policy Oriented Work Planning Committee. RCMP
        slide-show presentation. http://www.scribd.com/doc/
        74793808/indigenous-Jig-Ppt, accessed November 9,
        2013.
Mikisew Cree First Nation v. Sheila Copps, Minister of
Canadian Heritage, and the Thebacha Road Society
    2001 Federal Court (fct) 1426. http://decisions.fct-cf.gc.ca/
        site/fc-cf/decisions/en/item/38189/index.do, accessed
        November 9, 2013.
Minister of the Department of Indigenous Affairs and
Northern Development Canada
    2011 Indigenous Consultation and Accommodation:
        Updated Guidelines for Federal Officials to Fulfill the
        Duty to Consult. QS-7105-002-BB-A1 Catalogue No.
        R3-111/2012E-PDF. http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/
        DAM/DAM-INTER-HQ/STAGING/texte-text/
        intgui_1100100014665_eng.pdf, accessed November 9,
        2013.
Monaghan, Jeffrey and Kevin Walby
    2011 Making Up 'Terror Identities': Security Intelligence,
        Canada's Integrated Threat Assessment Centre and

Social Movement Suppression. Policing and Society
        21:1–19.
Morris, Chris
    2013 Firearms, Explosives Recovered at Protest Site.
        Daily Gleaner, October 19: A1.
Murphy, Rex
    2013 A Rude Dismissal of Canada's Generosity. National
        Post, October 19. http://fullcomment.nationalpost.com/
        2013/10/19/rex-murphy-a-rude-dismissal-of-canadas-
        generosity/, accessed November 9, 2013.
Nigam, Sonia
    2013 The Criminalization of Dissent. Canadian Lawyer,
        March 11. http://www.canadianlawyermag.com/4561/
        The-criminalization-of-dissent.html, accessed
        November 9, 2013.
Norrell, Brenda
    2007 Canada's Plan Exposed to Assassinate Mohawks.
        Censored News: Indigenous Peoples and Human
        Rights. April 1. http://bsnorrell.blogspot.ca/2007/04/
        canadian-government-back-peddles.html, accessed
        November 9, 2013.
Pablo, Carlito
    2009 Native Activist Gord Hill Describes Surveillance.
        Straight, October 28. http://www.straight.com/article-
        266476/native-activist-describes-surveillance, accessed
        November 9, 2013.
Palmater, Pam
    2011a Beyond Blood: Rethinking Indigenous Identity.
        Saskatoon, SK: Purich Publishing Ltd.
    2011b From Savages to Terrorists: Justifying Genocide of
        First Nations. Indigenous Nationhood, May 15. http://
        indigenousnationhood.blogspot.ca/2011/05/from-
        savages-to-terrorists-justifying.html, accessed
        November 9, 2013.
    2011c More than Empty Promises: Canada's Military Still
        Fighting Indians Today. Indigenous Nationhood,
        October 13. http://indigenousnationhood.blogspot.ca/
        2011/10/more-than-empty-promises-canadas.html,
        accessed November 9, 2013.
    2012 When Advocating for First Nations Is Considered a
        National Security Risk. Indigenous Nationhood,
        January 4. http://indigenousnationhood.blogspot.ca/
        2012/01/when-advocating-for-first-nations-is.html,
        accessed November 9, 2013.
    2013 Feathers versus Guns: The Throne Speech and
        Canada's War with the Mi'kmaw Nation of
        Elsipogtog. Rabble, October 18. http://rabble.ca/blogs/
        bloggers/pamela-palmater/2013/10/feathers-versus-
        guns-throne-speech-and-canadas-war-mikmaw-nat,
        accessed November 9, 2013.
Palmater, Pam and Arlen Dumas
    2013 Manitoba's Epic Failure: Manitoba and Mining
        Companies Work Together to Deny First Nations
        Rights. Indigenous Nationhood, August 30. http://
        indigenousnationhood.blogspot.ca/2013/08/manitobas-
        epic-failure-manitoba-and.html, accessed November 9,
        2013.
Privy Council Office Canada
    2004 Securing an Open Society: Canada's National Security
        Policy. Ottawa: National Library of Canada. http://

publications.gc.ca/collections/Collection/CP22-77-2004E.pdf, accessed November 9, 2013.

Proulx, Craig
  2003 Reclaiming Indigenous Justice, Community and Identity. Saskatoon, SK: Purich Publishing.
  2011 A Critical Discourse Analysis of John Stackhouse's Welcome to Harlem on the Prairies. *In* Indigenous Peoples in Canadian Cities: Transformations and Continuities. Craig Proulx and Heather A. Howard, eds. Pp. 143–169. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.

R. v. Sparrow
  1990 S.C.J. (Supreme Court Judgements) No. 49, at paras. 52–63, [1990] 1 S.C.R. 1075 at 1105–09. http://scc-csc.lexum.com/decisia-scc-csc/scc-csc/scc-csc/en/item/609/index.do, accessed November 11, 2013.

Radia, Andy
  2013 Jim Flaherty Criticized for Latest Exclusive Meeting with Canada's Corporate Elite Canada Politics. Yahoo News Canada, August 22. http://ca.news.yahoo.com/blogs/canada-politics/jim-flaherty-criticized-latest-exclusive-meeting-canada-corporate-181335850.html, accessed November 9, 2013.

Razack, Sherene H.
  2002 Race, Space and the Law: Unmapping a White Non-indigenous peoples Society. Toronto: Between the Lines.

RCMP
  2011 Privacy Impact Assessment – Suspicious Incident Reporting (SIR) Executive Summary. http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/pia-efvp/sir-ris-eng.htm, accessed November 9, 2013.

RCMP Criminal Intelligence
  2009–10 Indigenous Communities Issues, Events and Concerns 2009/10. scribd.com/TiGroves/d/74792393-IndigenousJIGreport2009–10, accessed November 11, 2013.

Robillard, Alexandre
  2013 Karl Peladeau Invited to Key Quebec Cabinet Meetings. Globe and Mail, October 9. http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/pierre-karl-peladeau-gets-invited-to-key-quebec-cabinet-meetings/article14789701/#dashboard/follows/, accessed November 9, 2013.

Scott, James C., John Tehranian and Jeremy Mathias
  2004 Government Surnames and Legal Identities. *In* National Identification Systems: Essays in Opposition. Carl Watner and Wendy McElroy, eds. Pp. 11–55. Jefferson, NC: McFarland.

Seglins, Dave
  2009 Secret Police Wiretaps Fly Under the Radar: Warrantless Eavesdropping Prompts Questions Over Privacy. CBC News, June 29. http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/secret-police-wiretaps-fly-under-the-radar-1.783612, accessed November 9, 2013.

Sharma, Aradhana and Akhil Gupta
  2006 The Anthropology of the State: A Reader. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Shephard, Michelle and Tanya Talaga
  2010 Where the JIG Is Really Up. Toronto Star, June 22. http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/torontog20summit/article/827036-where-the-jig-is-really-up, accessed November 9, 2013.

Smith, Kevin D.
  2010 Liberalism, Surveillance and Resistance: Indigenous Communities in Western Canada 1877–1924. Edmonton, AB: Athabasca University Press.

Smith, Melvin H.
  1996 [1995] Our Home OR Native Land: What Government's Indigenous Policy Is Doing to Canada. Toronto: Stoddard.

Smyth, Heather
  2000 The Mohawk Warrior: Re-appropriating the Colonial Stereotype. Topia 3:58–79.

Stormfront
  2013 Introduction to Stormfront. http://www.stormfront.org/forum/t538924/, accessed November 9, 2013.

Swain, Harry
  2010 Oka: A Political Crisis and Its Legacy. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre.

Tait, Carrie
  2012 Ottawa Launches Alberta Counterterrorism Unit. Globe and Mail, June 6. http://www.theglobeandmail.com/report-on-business/industry-news/energy-and-resources/ottawa-launches-alberta-counterterrorism-unit/article4236422/, accessed November 11, 2013.

Taku River Tlingit First Nation v. Ringstad et al.
  2004 Supreme Court of Canada. http://scc-csc.lexum.com/decisia-scc-csc/scc-csc/scc-csc/en/item/2190/index.do, accessed November 9, 2013.

Tittler, Michele
  2013 End Race Based Law. https://www.facebook.com/ENDRACEBASEDLAW, accessed November 9, 2013.

Thomas, Nicholas
  1994 Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph
  2001 The Anthropology of the State in the Age of Globalization: Close Encounters of the Deceptive Kind. Current Anthropology 42(1):125–138. http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/318437

Valentine, John
  2012 New Racism and Old Stereotypes in the National Hockey League: The Stacking of Indigenous Players into the Role of Enforcer. *In* Race and Sport in Canada: Intersecting Inequalities. Janelle Joseph, Simon Darnell, and Yuka Nakamura, eds. Pp. 107–139. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press Inc.

Vandermass, Mark
  2013 Caledonia Victims Project. http://caledoniavictimsproject.wordpress.com/, accessed November 9, 2013.

Visconti, Grace C.

    2013 Grassroots Movement Idle No More Fueled by Bill C45 – Tanya Kappo. Digital Journal, January 9. http://digitaljournal.com/article/339898, accessed November 9, 2013.

Warrior Publications

    2011 Insurgency and Counter-Insurgency. warriorpublications.wordpress.com/2011/02/10/ insurgency-counter-insurgency/, accessed November 9, 2013.

Whitacker, Christine

    2003 Desmarais Finger Found in Many Pies. Discourse and Disclosure 8(2):31. http:// discourseanddisclosure.com/BackIssues/issue31/ CONTENT/Articles/article05.asp, accessed November 9, 2013.

Fault-Lines and Fishing: Bioregulation as Social Struggle on Island Newfoundland

Wayne Fife *Memorial University*

Abstract: The bioregulation of salmonid species on island Newfoundland shows how specific social fault-lines can enhance, cross-cut or combine in new ways to affect larger structural formations, such as class and rural/urban divides. Seemingly innocuous regulatory bureaucracies involving sport versus subsistence fishing can serve as technologies of power and disguise larger issues involving social and economic control over rural and lower-class populations. Fault-lines show that these forms of control do not have uniform effects and can result in a complicated practice that has to take into account pressures emitting from the regulators and the regulated.

Keywords: fault-lines, salmonid fishing, bioregulation, rural/urban, class, Newfoundland

Résumé : La bioréglementation des espèces de salmonidés sur l'île de Terre-Neuve montre comment des lignes de faille sociales peuvent s'exacerber, se recouper ou se combiner pour affecter des formations structurales plus importantes, telles que les divisions en termes de classe sociale et entre milieux urbains et ruraux. Des bureaucraties de réglementation en apparence inoffensives qui mettent en opposition les pêcheries de subsistance et la pêche sportive peuvent s'avérer des technologies de pouvoir camouflant des enjeux plus larges faisant intervenir un contrôle social et économique sur des populations rurales et de classe inférieure. Les lignes de faille montrent comment ces formes de contrôle n'ont pas un effet uniforme et peuvent générer une pratique compliquée devant tenir compte des pressions émanant à la fois des organismes de réglementation et des personnes soumises à leur régulation.

Mots-clés : Lignes de faille, pêche aux salmonidés, bioréglementation, ruralité/urbanité, classes sociales, Terre-Neuve

Introduction

As researchers, we are used to observing conflicts and struggles both within and between groups of people who occupy what we commonly identify as larger social positions, such as economic class or rural versus urban interests. In this article, some historically specific social and cultural conditions associated with the bioregulation of fishing on island Newfoundland are considered to illustrate how less obvious economic, symbolic and bureaucratic trends can combine to form micro-tensions that cut across these larger social formations.[1] I refer to these areas of pressure as "fault-lines," which are lines of uneven tension that may eventually create the kind of sliding friction that results in substantial social conflicts. These tensions are typically smaller and of a subtler quality than those we associate with larger social structures. The pressures of fault-lines *are* implicated in other larger conflicts but may also oppose, conflate, diminish or enhance the social tensions associated with these more structural social formations.[2] Another way to think about this difference is to understand that both fault-lines and broader social tensions are historically contingent. In the broader categories of tension, historical trends tend to combine into relatively large conflicts (such as class struggle), which are both more predictable (on a long-term scale) and also related to larger structural/institutional systems of social organization (such as capitalism). In comparison, fault-lines are often less predictable and gain power from smaller moments of micro-history that may involve unique or semi-unique juxtapositions involving localized social and cultural formations. As such, they are prone to be historically affected in more substantial ways by individual decisions, small-group actions and shorter-term historical trends.

In this particular case, I make use of current conditions associated with the political ecology of fishing for salmonid species (specifically brook, brown and rainbow trout, as well as Atlantic salmon; or *Salvlinus fountina-*

lis, *Salmo trutta, Oncorhynchus mykiss*, and *Salmo salar*) on island Newfoundland to show how the idea of fault-lines can help us better understand the complexity of conflicts involving different social classes and urban versus rural populations. David Harvey (2001:121) has noted that the logic of contemporary capital accumulation leads to a restless search for new product lines, new lifestyles and new places to colonize to make a profit (on the necessity of constant expansion, see Marx 1990). I would add that it also leads to the neocolonization of old places, such as rural spaces in wealthy countries. I would further suggest that this neocolonization of old places makes use of specific forms of rationalization. Michel Foucault (1990:140–141) argued some time ago that modern human populations have historically had their behaviour partially regulated through biopower. Statistical norms, medicalized bureaucratic regulations and the institutionalization of specific forms of knowledge that constitute our ideas about human nature (e.g., regarding sexuality, mental health and criminal activity) have all been part of the biopolitics of exercising power in relation to human populations (Foucault 1997). Specific forms of biopolitics become important components of the technologies of power (see Fife 2001; Foucault 1984). In this sense, it is an important part of the production of social domination. Similarly, Sharon Roseman (2004:12) has extended the concept of biopower, suggesting that we can use the idea of *bioregulation* to consider how this form of institutionalization has been cultivated in European states, such as Spain, in an effort to influence human populations in rural areas *through* the regulatory control of the production and circulation of domesticated animal and vegetable species (for an unrelated but parallel analysis, see Tuan 1984; for more on the struggle over rural spaces, see Fife 2010; Roseman 2003). Roseman (2004:10) suggests in her study that the scientific and bureaucratic disciplining of food consumption through regulatory devices is an important component in the production of what comes to be counted as social and economic "truth." In this way, one particular form of discourse becomes institutionalized and other forms of truth become marginalized in relation to it. I wish to extend Roseman's idea here to explore how the bureaucratic use of bioregulations to control non-domesticated fish species can also help to control and even dominate the behaviour of human populations who live in rural areas. As Eric Wolf (1999:7) suggested, "Just as all social arrangements, including those of communication, involve relations of power, so also is that true of ideas." In the case of Newfoundland, the contemporary communication I am referring to as a bioregulatory fault-line can help us understand how both class and

urban/rural relations in that particular location become complicated through competing lines of tension. While we explore this issue, we might also keep in mind the injunction of Bruno Latour (2004:28) that "there has never been any other politics than the politics *of* nature and there has never been any other nature than the nature *of* politics."

The research for this article comes from ethnography, documentation and auto-ethnography (see Fife 2005 on standard ethnographic research methods). I have been carrying out ethnographic research on tourism issues, including sport fishing, since 2000. Both secondary historical sources and contemporary documentary sources have been widely consulted for this specific article (for the importance of documents in social science research, see Riles 2006). Finally, I have learned a great deal from direct participation in sport fishing on island Newfoundland, both as part of my tourism research and as a personal leisure activity. Heewon Chang (2009) notes the important role that auto-ethnography can play in qualitative research. The summer of 2006 provided particularly salient information for this article and will be drawn upon for auto-ethnographic data, as that is when I started seriously researching sport fishing on the island and when I first began to personally experience the frustrations for sport and subsistence fishers because of the new bioregulatory scheme in Newfoundland. It should be noted that this article is written largely from the perspectives of those who are confronted with the fault-line that creates little earthquakes here and there through the bioregulatory regime, rather than from the points of view of the government regulators who put such a regime in place (adding the latter perspective more fully here would require its own history and much more space than is available in a single article).

Subsistence versus Sport Fishing in Newfoundland

European populations have been coming to Newfoundland over the last five hundred years to exploit the great stocks of Atlantic cod that have existed on various banks inshore and offshore of the island. In the last two decades, these stocks have declined to such an extent that a moratorium prohibiting most commercial cod fishing has been in effect since 1992 (see García-Orellán 2006; Palmer and Sinclair 1997). As Miriam Wright (2001:1) stated, this has been "not only a major ecological disaster but has also been devastating for the province's economy and society." The commercial cod fishery, in many ways, can be considered a victim of bioregulation gone awry, but tracing this lies beyond the scope of the present article. What is important here are two things: (1) fishing

has always been a key component of the cultural identity of European-derived populations on the island, and (2) increasing problems associated with raw resource extraction industries (e.g., ocean fisheries, forestry, mining) over the last several decades have helped to create a tremendous desire in Newfoundland[3] for a "diversified economy." In particular, there is a clamour for a more service-oriented economy to go along with the newer industry of largely off-shore oil extraction, both of which are thought to be more in keeping with early 21st-century capitalism. In the service side of this economy, activities associated with a burgeoning tourism industry are often viewed as a key to the financial formation of a contemporary Newfoundland (Fife 2004; Overton 1996). In this economy, the trout and salmon of inland waters become "too valuable" for subsistence usage and are increasingly reserved for the consumption of tourists who travel to rural areas from the urban centers of the province, mainland Canada, the United States and Europe. That is, salmonid species are now largely viewed by government regulators as too valuable as tourism commodities to continue to allow the large-scale use of them as part of the foodways of local islanders.

Although considerable social and economic differences existed historically in various parts of the island, it is fair to say that the vast majority of people involved in the cod fishery who inhabited the main outports[4] of Newfoundland profited relatively little from their part in the industry. Financial ruin was always close, and the ability to provide basic foodstuffs and other necessities for themselves and their families was often in question (e.g., for Newfoundland see Cadigan 1995; Sider 2003; for Labrador, see Kennedy 1995). In this type of economic environment, home production through gardening (root crops such as potatoes, turnips, and carrots) and limited animal husbandry (sheep and cattle) was vital to economic survival. Given that the surface environment of Newfoundland is made up largely of boreal forest, barrens and boglands (Macpherson and Macpherson 1981), the available soils and other environmental conditions put substantial limitations on what could be achieved through home production. Therefore, the pursuit of seasonal subsistence foods through hunting, fishing and gathering was equally important for economic survival (Dyke 1968; Hanrahan and Ewtushik 2001; Omohundro 1994; Ryan 1986). Hunting larger game, such as caribou and moose (post-1904, the year that moose were successfully introduced on the island) or smaller game, such as hares or ducks, fishing for trout or salmon, picking berries and other inland-based subsistence activities have been critical historically for pro-

viding both a quantity of foodstuffs for many rural families and for creating a more healthily varied diet (e.g., Omohundro 1994, 1995). The importance of subsistence fishing and hunting to both the historic maintenance of Newfoundland rural populations and as a contemporary symbol of country life in Newfoundland itself can hardly be overestimated. Unlike many parts of North America, a substantial percentage of the Newfoundland population remains in rural areas. The rural population has actually been relatively steady in absolute numbers over the past 60 years—moving from 206,621 to 208,970 people between 1951 and 2011 (all statistics are from Statistics Canada 2011). In the past 40 years, the percentage of the rural population has also remained remarkably stable, changing from 43 per cent of the total provincial population in 1971 to 41 per cent in 2011. This does not, of course, necessarily mean that the exact make-up of the population has not changed (e.g., the out-migration of younger Newfoundlanders in search of work elsewhere in Canada). It does mean that the symbols of country living, including the idea that wilderness is still "out there" available to experience, remains extremely important to the collective psyche of the people of Newfoundland and Labrador (for similar urbanized myths about the rural countryside in England, see Williams 1973).

The Importance of Inland Fishing

Fishing salmon in coastal and inland waters such as rivers historically has been both a commercial and subsistence activity. Having come primarily to fish cod, Europeans quickly noticed the abundant Atlantic salmon in the rivers and estuaries of the island. These salmon had made up an important part of the subsistence base of various indigenous populations inhabiting the island before European arrival and also of the co-present indigenous population of the Beothuck (Pastore 1992). Early salmon fishing among European populations on Newfoundland in the 1600s was also primarily for subsistence use (Pope 2004:339), as prices were so low that few were enticed to bother with commercial fishing for salmon in any of the eastern parts of North America until the 1700s (Montgomery 2003:95). As a commercial enterprise, Atlantic salmon began to be worthwhile as a commodity in the mid-1700s, peaking in the mid-1800s and beginning to decline thereafter. In Newfoundland, commercial salmon exports dropped by almost half from 1842 to 1846 (103). A decreasing supply of Atlantic salmon, however, meant that prices rose, ensuring at least some Newfoundlanders remained interested in the commercial market. Netting was the main method of

catching quantities of salmon in Newfoundland (with some spearing in salmon pools as well), and its expansion by Europeans on the island was one of the main reasons conflicts escalated between them and the soon-to-be-extinct indigenous population of the Beothuk (O'Flaherty 1999:73; also see Marshall 1996; Pastore 1992). This fishery was prosecuted as an industry under the direction of the larger settlement-based merchant families and could be seen as one of the earlier instances of the clash of rural interests in subsistence resource usage versus town-based commercial interests. In the earlier period, however, bioregulation remained virtually absent as a factor in the conflict. Smaller scale salmon fishing for either market or subsistence use was also carried out on an ad hoc basis by rural families in various locations on the island. As late as the 1970s, some families on the Northern Peninsula, for example, caught and canned salmon on a relatively small scale for the market (Burzynski 1999:197–198; Parks Canada 2006:1–2).

In what might be thought of as the modern fishery, salmon was also often a limited but important part of the commercial fishery in many small communities. John Omohundro (1994) notes that, since the early 1930s, fishers had anchored nets on the western side of the Great Northern Peninsula during migration periods in what were known to be productive salmon waters. Even though Atlantic salmon stocks took a considerable downturn in the 1960s, the salmon fishery remained an "important component of the fisherman's income" well into the 1980s in this area (174). In 1992, the same year as the cod collapse, a moratorium was also declared for the salmon fishery. Since that period, Atlantic salmon increasingly came to be seen by government regulators as the key to sport-fishing tourism on Newfoundland and periodic calls by rural fishers for the revitalization of the commercial inshore salmon fishery have failed.

This is not to say that salmon has totally disappeared as an important commercial component of the rural economy of Newfoundland. Rather, it has been transformed to become part of the competing interests of sport-fishing enterprises versus aquaculture interests. Salmon has joined steelhead trout (non-native, ocean-going rainbow trout) as key species in an expanded aquaculture industry on the island.

From 2003 to 2010, aquaculture production in the province for finfish (steelhead trout, Atlantic salmon, Atlantic cod) went from 2,600 to 12,899 metric tonnes, changing in worth from $15.9 million to $116 million (Newfoundland Aquaculture Industry Association 2013:n.p.). There is considerable controversy in the province (as in other parts of Canada and the United States) over the impact that this has had on "wild stocks" (especially in-

volving the Atlantic salmon) and the concomitant sports fishery (e.g. Anderson 2007; Doubleday 2001; Monastersky 2005; Van Zyll de Jong et al. 2004). In an article entitled "What's Killing the great Atlantic Salmon?" Michael Parfit (2007:1) writes that, "one of the suspects is aquaculture, as farmed fish can escape and mix with wild salmon, spreading disease."

My ethnographic research has taught me that there is a major divide in Newfoundland over the aquaculture issue. Most rural and working-class people strongly support the industry and its apologists (see Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency 2007; Fisheries and Oceans Canada 2005; St. Alban's 1997), seeing it as one of the few hopes for sustainable communities in rural areas in the face of the cod and salmon moratoriums and also as in keeping with the much longer local history of commercially exploiting Atlantic Salmon and other species to make a living from the sea. Middle-class and urban-based fly-fishers, whether from home or away, are generally opposed to the expansion of this industry, seeing it as a threat to sport fishing for salmon and ocean-going Brook Trout. They typically side with conservation arguments (e.g., Atlantic Salmon Federation 1999, 2000, 2004; Miramichi Salmon Fishing Association 2005; Parks Canada 2004a, 2004b) about the potential for the "genetic pollution" of and disease transfers to wild stocks (Van Zyll de Jong et al. 2004:187; also Doubleday 2001; Monastersky 2005; Parfit 2007). These two pressure groups, who might seek to exert influence over government-based bioregulations, are, predictably, not always in mutual alignment.

An excellent example of the difference between these two sets of ideologies can be seen in an incident that occurred in the Bay d'Espoir area, which is heavily involved in aquaculture and had, in 2000, a major escape of farm fish into the Bay. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation announced nationwide that "big, fat farm-bred fish, all escaped from fish farms near St. Alban's when Hurricane Michael hit the province last weekend. The fishing is great. People have come from all over Newfoundland to take part, given special permission, to catch the escaped steelheads" (CBC News 2000:1). What the news did not relate was that most of these fishers were likely working-class people who came from both rural and urban areas. At the time, I asked several urban-based, middle- to upper-class fly-fishers if they were going to fish for the steelheads, and every one of them said they would not be going. I did not understand why these keen fly-fishers would not take advantage of the situation. Pressing one professor, whom I knew fly-fished for only ocean-going brown (and the occasional brook) trout and I thought would "naturally" be inter-

ested in ocean-going rainbow trout, finally yielded the answer: "Wayne, they are not even real fish. There is no sport to it. There are guys down there taking them out in nets or with bait rods. That's not fishing." In contrast, a construction worker that I spoke with, who had taken a substantial part in the fishing, called it "great fun" and said he was very happy to fill his freezer with free aquaculture-raised salmon. He added that he did not see the difference between this fishing and any other fishing, relating it to the right Newfoundlanders have to live off of the land: "If it escapes, it's ours."

Those who write in celebration of fly-fishing (e.g., Checchio 2001; Gierach 1988, 2003; Leeson 1994; Reid 2005; Richards 2001; Tapply 2004; Wickstrom 2004) extol the virtues of fishing for "wild" salmon, trout and other species, assuming that only wild stocks can be canny fighters, cautious adversaries and able to engage "fairly" with the fly-fisher. In opposition to this attitude, the overwhelming number of rural and working-class fishers with whom I have worked over the last decade would say that a "fish is a fish." For example, a working-class woman in her fifties who has fished since childhood and regularly goes fishing with her boyfriend, told me about one excursion: "We were out on the weekend and caught maybe half a dozen trout. Some were mud trout [a local term for brook trout] but I don't know what the others were." She apparently knew that some were the native mud trout by the taste, not by their coloration. When I asked, she could not tell me the coloration of any trout nor had ever heard of brook, rainbow or brown trout. This indifference to one kind of trout over another (or "wild" from "domestic" fish) is not uncommon among rural and urban working-class Newfoundlanders. It is primarily middle- or upper-class and largely urban-based fly-fishers from Newfoundland and elsewhere who worry about the purity of sport fishing and who, therefore, see an opposition between sport fishing and aquaculture industries or a threat in the possible return of commercial salmon fishing. It is these people who are apt to argue most forcefully for restrictive rules in relation to salmonid fishing.

The Bioregulations of Inland Fishing Practices

It is only in the contemporary period that trout has become commercialized in substantial ways (e.g., in the form of value-added products associated with sports fishing and as part of the aquaculture industry) in Newfoundland.[5] "Trouting" for subsistence use, despite regional variations in availability and fishing methods, has a long history among European populations in Newfoundland. In many ways, trouting remains *the* symbol

for islanders of the continuous attachment they have to what is thought of as the wilds of Newfoundland. The province remains one of the few places in Canada where residents do not require a license for trout fishing. This is largely because of the political costs such a regulation would place on any government foolish enough to insist on requiring residents to obtain licenses before they could exercise what most consider to be their God-given right to fish for trout. As I show below, this does not mean that the catching of trout is not subjected to significant bioregulations.

Customarily, most rural Newfoundlanders fished, and still fish, for salmonids, especially brook trout (and to a lesser extent the introduced brown trout and rainbow trout in a few areas of the island), to eat it. "Subsistence fishing has always been an important source of protein" (Omohundro 1995:113) for outport people living on the Northern Peninsula. Omohundro goes on to note that, despite the gendered division of labour for most work activities, women and children participate with as much enthusiasm as the men during the period of spring trout fishing in freshwater ponds. The historic importance of residential fishing for salmonid species for recreational (though seldom for subsistence) reasons has often been acknowledged in official government reports, along with calls to discourage local fishing in favour of non-resident sport fishing (e.g., Buchanan et al. 1994; Department of Tourism 1994; Economic Planning Group of Canada 1996; Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 1993). In the 1990s, these and similar documents signalled an overt policy shift for inland fishing that favoured a move from a subsistence and limited commercial fishery to a sport fishery. As one of the primary consulting groups hired by the provincial government put it, "One of the major requirements is that more emphasis needs to be placed on policies that support the sports fishery [i.e., for non-residents] rather than the recreational fishery (resident casual fishing) with recognition given to the outfitting sector as a commercial industry with the potential to generate significant revenues for the province" (Economic Planning Group of Canada 1996:23). This shift was partially based on a desire to market sport fishing in the province as a pristine wilderness experience (e.g., Department of Tourism 1994; Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 1993). The human history of the province, including some thousands of years of indigenous occupation and roughly five hundred years of European populations' hunting, fishing, gathering, mining, logging, creating hydroelectric developments and otherwise using and significantly altering both the flora and fauna of the province, was largely ignored in the rush to capitalize

on the idea that Newfoundland and Labrador was somehow a "pristine wilderness" and could be marketed as such to non-residents.[6]

Many urbanites, including those who moved into urban centers from rural areas, also have a strong emotional attachment to trout fishing "in the wilderness." As Harold Horwood has written,

> Of all the varieties of sport fishing available at St. John's, trouting remains by far the most popular. On May 24, the fisherman's holiday, the city is practically empty of men. "Going trouting" on that day is not just a sport, it is a ritual, a religion. Anyone who doesn't do it is regarded as a little bit odd. [Horwood 1969: 223–224]

Angling trout for food, as a conflation of subsistence and recreational practice, is embraced most profoundly by populations of the working/lower classes. Members of the middle and upper classes, whether they live in urban or rural parts of Newfoundland, are much more likely to embrace a "sporting" interpretation of trout fishing, with its attendant call for "conservation" through strict licensing, season and catch regulations and the pressure to embrace catch-and-release fishing practices.[7] I was reminded of these differences one day when a woman from a fishing family in a rural area laughed at me after I mentioned that I usually practiced catch-and-release fishing: "I just don't get you people; why would you catch a nice juicy salmon and throw it back? It just makes no sense to me a'tall. Bring it to me and I'll cook it—I can tell ya' that!"

For most rural and urban working-class Newfoundlanders (as well as for many middle- or upper-class urbanites indulging in a little Newfoundland nostalgia), a classic fishing day begins with angling and ends with a boil-up.[8] The boil-up is thought of as a rural (and working-class) tradition and involves boiling a pot of water over a campfire to make strong tea, as well as frying up whatever one has at hand for a snack (see O'Brien 1999). If fresh fish such as trout or salmon were caught, then at least some of them end up on the pan. Without a boil up, many people feel they really have not been fishing. Or, as one older man living in rural Newfoundland said to me about the current regulation regarding the minimum size of trout for retention, "Eight inches be damned. If I catch it, I'm eat'ng it." A man in his twenties had this to say during a discussion with me in the summer of 2006 about whether or not he attempted to obey complex rules such as the following: "On scheduled rainbow trout waters, Shoal Harbour River and on Clarenville Brook, rainbow trout may be retained as part of a bag limit of 12 trout [which might also include Brook or Brown trout], or five pounds + one trout. However, from September 8 to October 7, only rainbow trout may be retained" (Fisheries and Oceans Canada 2006: 39). "Yeah, whatever. I don't really pay much attention to details. To me twelve trout is twelve trout. Most people I know think that. You'd go crazy trying to obey all those rules. How'm I 'sposed to weigh 'em while I'm fishing?"

What most complicates rural/urban and class interests involving trout or salmon fishing in Newfoundland are the specific forms of bioregulation that have been created to try to control inland fishing. There is no time to properly consider the full history of these regulations, but it is valuable to consider a few moments in the history of policy formation and then go on to evaluate how contemporary rules have helped to create specific fault lines.

Prior to the middle of the 1800s, inland fishing (like hunting) was largely unregulated in official terms (with the exception of ad hoc punishments by administrative authorities who interpreted laws from Britain as they saw fit). As Montevecchi and Tuck (1987:209) stated about that period, "North American wildlife was treated as a resource rather than as an object of sport ... and wild animals, like all natural resources, were public domain, free for the taking." Early English settlers in places such as Newfoundland broke with British concepts of limiting hunting and fishing to property-owning sportsmen and women. Hunting and fishing were for everyone, not just a landed elite. It wasn't until 1845 that Newfoundland obtained its own game laws, which were largely aimed at seasonally regulating wildfowl hunting (e.g., McGrath 1994; Montevecchi and Tuck 1987). Even into the late 1800s, enforcement of game laws was left largely in the hands of local authorities, who were as likely to be breaking the rules as anybody else. Captain W. R. Kennedy (1885), for example, who, as a captain of the Royal Navy, was responsible as a sort of surrogate magistrate in Newfoundland, was more interested in fishing and hunting in the new land (going so far as to publish a book about "sport and adventure") than in regulating it (also see Moyles 1975:70). Well into the mid-1950s, magistrates were reluctant to impose penalties on rural people who harvested wildlife to feed their families (Montevecchi and Tuck 1987:213). Something similar can be said about the enforcement of inland fishing regulations, especially as it was not until 1898 that the government established a Department of Marine and Fisheries. Prior to this period, a sportsmen's organization was responsible for the appointment of the few game wardens in the province (McGrath 1994:211). Trout were pretty much taken

as desired and even salmon were indifferently regulated in terms of casual fishing. D. W. Prowse noted that "salmon fishing [i.e., individual angling rather than commercial fishing] has been especially good during the season of 1894; one commander killed thirty fair-sized salmon and grilse for his own rod in one day" (Prowse 2002:716–717). He went on to say that sea trout were even more abundant and were taken in similar large numbers. Prowse included a section in his book on the "Game Laws of Newfoundland" in an appendix, which stated quite simply that salmon and trout could not be taken in any lake, river or stream between the dates of 15 September and 31 December. No bag limits were given, nor were there any special regulations about equipment (717). He summarized the laws for fishing and hunting in 10 largely one-sentence paragraphs.

The province and even the island of Newfoundland itself constitute large areas of land, much of it inhabited by small pockets of people and there have never been more than a handful of game wardens to try and enforce hunting and fishing regulations. Widespread poaching has been and continues to be common in Newfoundland, remaining strong even as fish and game laws became more comprehensive and complex over the years (e.g., CBC News 2010, 2013; McGrath 1994, 2001; Okihiro 1997; Overton 1996). In short, people in Newfoundland have not always meekly accepted the imposition of bio-regulations. Although there is no room here to properly consider poaching in relation to fishing in inland waters in Newfoundland, this does suggest a long attachment among rural populations (and perhaps others) on the island to the idea that wildlife is, or should be, free for the taking.

Early regulations were largely an expression of a desire to impose some limited seasonality on inland fishing. In the early 1900s, increasing numbers of sportsmen's organizations became active in Newfoundland, coinciding with what Darrin McGrath (1994:211) refers to as a period when "wildlife resources had been transformed from a resource that was free-for-the-taking into a recreational/sporting resource governed by laws." Washabaugh and Washabaugh (2000:5) have noted that, wherever and whenever these sorts of fishing clubs appear, there is a tendency for them to help create an opposition between what is viewed as genteel and sportsmanlike fly-fishing and the vulgarity of bait and spinning-rod fishing engaged in by local people who are not club members. Clubs and associations, then and now, create a location for lobbying efforts on behalf of "sports fishing" rather than subsistence or commercial fishing.

In 1934, a Newfoundland Ranger Force was created with a mandate to help regulate game and forestry laws (e.g., Horwood 1986; McGrath 1994). This they did with only limited success (e.g., Parsons 2003). It was after confederation with Canada in 1949 that pressures would begin to be exerted for the new province's wildlife regulations to coincide with what was happening in the rest of the country. This included pressures to set aside tracts of land for national and provincial parks, as well as protected wilderness areas (e.g., MacEachern 2001). Beginning as early as the late 1800s, specific groups and individuals agitated for increasing regulations aimed at "protecting" wildlife so that it could be used by sportsmen and women. Clubs and associations, along with individuals associated with steamship and railroad interests, helped along after 1949 by federal pressures, all pushed in the 1900s for a greater bioregulation of inland fisheries (e.g., McGrath 1994, 2001). After what is generally referred to as the "collapse" of cod and to a lesser extent salmon stocks marked by the 1992 moratoriums, these agitations became a chorus of voices leading to the current arena of inland water bioregulation.

Where Can I Fish Now?

In looking at contemporary forms of bioregulation, here I focus on only three specific aspects. Taken as a whole, they act as exemplars of a much more complex process of bioregulation that helps to form a specific social fault-line in present day Newfoundland. The three aspects relevant here involve the complexity of inland fishery regulations, disguising control over trout fishing through the use of salmon regulations[9] and attempting to exert considerable influence over the use of angling technology.[10]

In the summer of 2006, when I first committed a serious amount of time to field research involving sport fishing on the island of Newfoundland, the official angler's guide contained 48 pages of small print, along with a large fold-out map that showed special regulations for 14 zones and 174 rivers for the island portion of the province alone.[11] Possessing both a Ph.D. and nearly three decades experience as a scholar working with documents, my first impression after reading through the guide as a neophyte fisher was "Whoa, I don't get this. Where and when can I actually fish?" The guide was so dense that its writers felt obliged to offer a condensed section called "Points to Remember" on page four. This contained 25 points and such "simplified" instructions as point number three:

> In the case of a non-resident, a person can only retain a salmon with a salmon license and must have a non-resident trout license to retain trout while angling for salmon. A non-resident can angle on scheduled waters with a non-resident trout license without being the holder of a salmon license if only angling for trout. [Fisheries and Oceans Canada 2006:4]

One problem is that, along with the general regulations for salmon and trout fishing, there were many exceptions. For example, there were no less than 13 specific water systems that had special "watershed management plans." In addition, these regulations were written as if they presupposed that the reader had an intimate local knowledge of each place involved. For example, a two-page section that described 49 fishing areas that were "closed for the season" included as one of its simplest and shortest entries the following: "A section of Robinson's River, including Chatter Pool, upstream to Big Falls at Mile 18" (21). The common response to this kind of rule by anyone who does not live in this specific area of the river system and is not an experienced salmon angler is, "I don't understand, what 'section' are they talking about? What *is* a pool and where, exactly, is Chatter Pool?" The specialized sub-areas that are typically named in many regulations almost never appear on provincial maps and 10 years of fishing in different parts of the island have taught me that it is the rare exception rather than the rule to find wayfaring signs posted on rivers, streams or ponds (e.g., explaining that this is Mile 18, or this is Chatter Pool). The lack of signage and seeming reluctance to share specific information about an area has a long history in the province. In 1977, for example, Kenneth Cox noted in his "Survey of Anglers" that "Many non-residents thought that information regarding recreation activities, events, places of interest and sportfishing were scarce and incomplete" (1977:28). Perhaps this helped to explain why 92 per cent of resident anglers in that same period indicated that they much preferred to fish in a local area, near their own homes (Cox 1977). I have had many conversations with wandering fishermen and women who "come from away" or even from other parts of the island, rather than from an area near the current river system we were on at the time.[12] Many of these short conversations were variations of "Excuse me, can you tell me where I am on the river and whether or not this is open to trout (or salmon) fishing? Am I anywhere near bridge A or pool B?"

These are not small matters, as those who transgress regulations are potentially subject to prosecution for poaching, which can cost you a fine, your fishing equipment and whatever you used for transportation that day (e.g., a truck, car, snowmobile or all-terrain vehicle). During the summer of 2006, I had the experience of trying to figure out where, exactly, I could fish for salmon on the Exploits River system through the use of the then-current fishing guide. Under the "Closed for the Season" heading, two separate notations indi-

cated that the following sections were closed: "Exploits River from Stoney Brook up to the Grand Falls dam" and "Exploits River below the Bishop Falls dam: on the south side, from the dam down 200 metres to the foot of the rapids and on the north side, from the dam downstream to the tailrace of the hydro-electric generating station" (Fisheries and Oceans Canada 2006:20). To confound me even further, I found out in a different section of the guide that the Exploits River and its tributary streams are divided up into five different sub-sections, each of which was rated as Class II, III or IV. This meant that if I caught a salmon and wanted to keep it, I would have to immediately place a different coloured tag on the fish, depending on the specific section of the river system I was fishing. After wandering alongside the river for some time and not finding any clear signs about where I could cast a line into the water, I finally gave up and went in search of local residents. I found several older men sitting under a canopy in a small nearby park who looked like they might be people who fished. They were in fact able to tell me that, yes, I could fish in the particular part of the river I had been looking at but, if I went say, 25 feet further up the river bank toward the dam, then I could get into trouble. "And, anyway, don't let your line go out too far. You know, don't let it go out to the middle of the river. The local warden don't like it and he might get you for it." I had no idea how or why the local warden could "get me" for letting my fly-fishing line go out too far into the river (were they just pulling my leg?), but I was happy enough to go back to the river and try my luck. I was even able to buy some local flies tied by one of the men. He kept the flies in the back of his near-by truck for just such occasions; apparently confused fishers looking for local advice were a common occurrence, and he sold several dozen flies each summer in just that way. Even armed with this information, I remained nervous that I was relying on only the word of several men who I came across by accident, though I did begin to feel somewhat more confident when two other fly-fishers showed up and began to fish in an area fairly close to myself, until I had the thought—"But what if they think I know what I'm doing and we are all in the wrong place?"

This experience made me understand exactly what an older Newfoundland man meant the next evening when, as we sat discussing fishing regulations and trying to figure out the angler's guide, he said, "Oh that—the Anger's Guide we call it." This was a man who had been a fishing guide in the summers for over 15 years but who gave it up several years earlier because he became

too frustrated by the regulation that forbade a guide to fish while guiding clients: "Can't even bring a fish home for the family to eat anymore. That was it for me." My own experiences fishing in the province, as only very partially recounted above, also helps make sense of conversations that I have been having over the last half-dozen years with urban and rural anglers. Most middle- or upper-class urban and rural fly-fishers who live in Newfoundland whom I have spoken with indicated that they had been all over the island and even in parts of Labrador fishing for trout and salmon. In contrast, most working-class rural and urban people indicated to me that almost all of their fishing occurred within a relatively small area, closer to home (echoing, though I did not know it until recently, the 1977 survey). When I expressed surprise,[13] those in the latter group often appeared uncomfortable and mentioned not knowing the ponds, rivers or streams of other areas and therefore not knowing where to fish in them. When they did go on fishing expeditions to other areas of the province, they invariably went there in the company of a local resident, usually a relative, who could be relied upon to know the fishing scene. In this sense, the complex and often abstract writing that can be found in the provincial fishing guide or other official publications seems to successfully screen many island areas from heavy usage by a large percentage of rural and working-class Newfoundlanders and save these areas for both local residents and urban-based middle- and upper-class anglers from Newfoundland and away. This helps create a complex fault-line that exists because of historically constituted bioregulations that are at once both highly abstract and highly local—a fault-line that both complements and cuts through some of the social class and urban versus rural population interests that are also associated with inland fishing.

As the short example above shows, the practice of fishing for trout or salmon can be even more complex than the regulations themselves. For example, as a provincial resident I do not have to buy a trout license. However, this is actually quite misleading. In 2013, if provincial residents actually want to fish in any of the river systems that are known as good trouting rivers, they end up having to purchase a salmon license. There are 174 scheduled salmon rivers on the island of Newfoundland, divided into 14 different zones. Each zone is classified as a class I, II, III or IV river system, and each classification has somewhat different rules (rivers not listed are V or Unclassified and are also subject to specific rules in relation to salmon). The primary difference involves the likelihood that a specific river system might be closed down for fishing at a moment's notice, depending on the current water temperature; thus, a class IV river system is much more likely to be closed than a class I system. Bag limits and regulations about which coloured tags to use on a retained salmon also differ by river classification number. To know whether or not a specific river is open at any given moment, the potential fisher is supposed to call a special phone number that contains recorded information about river closures. In practice, phoning this number does not always result in anyone answering the line. When the phone is answered, by a recorded announcement, one has to listen very carefully for any information that might be relevant to fishing at a particular place on a specific river, as it goes through a complex list involving specific river systems (or even sub-areas on that system). Several people told me that they had checked the phone system in the morning, only to find the river closed before they got to it in the afternoon. I have even had professional guides indicate to me that they were sometimes unsure about the legality of fishing on stretches of their own river systems and that they spent an inordinate amount of time trying to ensure that they did not steer their clients wrong in this regard. A fisher might be forgiven for thinking, as many do, that these regulations are aimed at encouraging people to hire professional guides so that worries about getting the regulations right can be left to them. Many "serious" fly-fishers already assume that a local guide is necessary if one is to "get the best out of a river." This taken-for-granted attitude can be easily seen while reading through important industry fly-fishing magazines such as *The Canadian Fly Fisher*; *Fly Fusion*; *Flyfishing and Tying Journal*; and the *Atlantic Salmon Journal* and echoed in the words of anthropologist and life-long fly-fisher William Douglass in his book about his global fly-fishing experiences: "Whether fishing in a boat or on the bank, there is always a second presence—your guide" (Douglass 2002:125). Given the complexity of inland fishing regulations in Newfoundland and elsewhere, it becomes easy to see how an assumption about the necessity for the expensive services of a professional guide has come about. It is also easy to see how the bioregulations that underlie this "necessity" create complicated tensions both between and among fishers from different social classes and urban versus rural origins in Newfoundland. Having the right to fish in your own provincial waters, without the help of an expensive guide, does not necessarily translate into the ability to do so either comfortably or even, perhaps, legally.

Salmon fishing can only be done legally with the use of specific fly-fishing gear. Single, barbless hooks with fly dressing are required for both salmon and trout fishing, if carried out on a scheduled salmon river. In the long history of trouting on the island, very simple and inexpensive gear (e.g., bait or spinning reels and rods) has always been favoured among those living in rural areas and by working-class fishers from urban areas. For example, even when using flies for trout fishing on ponds (or lakes) today, most rural and many working-class urban people prefer the local custom of using a bait or spinning rod and attaching two flies on separate leaders that are in turn attached to a piece of wood (such as a sawn-off portion of a broom handle) so that they dangle downward from each end. The wood piece acts as both a weight for casting (considerable distances) and as a bobber on the water. This gear is illegal on all scheduled salmon waters because it is not classified as proper fly-fishing gear.

I have already mentioned a few rules about retaining trout for eating. Rules for salmon are much more complex and involve six tags, which are divided into three colours (red, green and blue). A tag must be affixed to any retained salmon. Tags must be affixed to fish in a certain order of usage, and only some colours may be used on specifically classified river systems. For example, on a class IV system, no salmon may be retained and no tags used; on a class II system, four fish may be retained overall but no more than two in one day, and tags 1–4 (two red, then two green) must be used; and on a class I system, six fish may be retained overall but no more than two per day and tags 1–6 may be used (red, green then blue). In addition, retained salmon must not be larger or smaller than a certain size, which changes according to the zone that contains a specific classified river system. In 2006, the guide offered this regulatory summary for the retention of salmon:

> Small salmon, measuring 63 centimetres or less from the tip of the nose to the fork of the tail, may be retained in zones 3 to 14 A and B. One large salmon, measuring 63 centimetres or greater, may be retained in Zone 1 and in unclassified scheduled and non-scheduled rivers in Zone 2. A large salmon must be tagged with green tag number 4. In Zones 1 and 2, only red and green tags are used to retain salmon. If a fourth small salmon is retained, it must be tagged with green tag number 4. [Fisheries and Oceans Canada 2006:11]

In the 2013 guide, 11 special watershed plans are listed (each with its own complex regulations) that overlay the 14 separate fishing zones (Fisheries and Oceans Canada 2013). The result is so complex that there is no longer any attempt in the current guide to offer an overview of the tagging rules. This helps make sense of even professional guides telling me they would not try to take people outside of their own home areas. One guide said, "I've learned more or less what is okay on my home river. You know, what you can fish with, what tags to use and stuff like that, pretty much through years of guiding and listening to the other guides and the older people who live here. It is hard enough to keep up with changes each year on just my river." Or, as another guide bluntly stated, "They want catch-and-release. So that we don't use up the fish [salmon] and keep the work going. I get that."

The two national parks on the island of Newfoundland each require separate licenses to fish. Each has its own fishing regulations in conjunction with but not fully parallel to the provincial inland fishing regulations. For example, the fishing season may roughly coincide with the provincial season but the park waters can be individually closed for specific periods according to the independent decisions of park personnel. Sheets of regulations for fishing in a park are supposed to be given to the fisher when he or she purchases a park license but, in practice, I have found they may or may not be made available on an almost ad hoc basis. In addition, having fished extensively in both of the island national parks and having closely questioned park personnel on several occasions about specific regulations or even which pond or river is open or closed for fishing, I have been disconcerted to find that the same questions often yield different and contradictory answers from various personnel. To make things more complex, scheduled salmon rivers located within or adjacent to park boundaries are also subject to provincial fishing regulations and a provincial license is required to fish in them.

To show how difficult obeying regulations can be in practice, I want to present a short narrative by a man, whom I will refer to as Martin, who had inadvertently broken fishing regulations. Martin comes from an urban area of Newfoundland, but lives about 300 kilometres away from the national park involved in the story. Possessing both the proper provincial and national park licenses, Martin had taken his wholly legal fly-fishing gear and walked out along a beach path one morning to fish in a wooded area that contained a small river

system. Along the way, he stopped and chatted for 10 minutes with a park interpreter who was working on the trail. They spoke about fishing in the park, though it became obvious to him that she did not know much about it. The interpreter wished him good luck and he proceeded to go fishing for about three hours, catching and releasing two medium-sized brook trout. It was a nice day and he enjoyed himself, despite the small catch. Returning along the same path, a man who was sitting on the beach with his family rushed up to Martin and said, "Watch out, the warden is sniffing around." Martin told him that this was not a problem, as he had a park license. Much to his surprise, the reply was, "Doesn't matter, they closed the fishing season yesterday and he can grab everything [i.e., Martin's fishing gear and even his truck] if he catches you." Martin was furious; he had phoned ahead to the park the day before he came (which was only two days before the incident) to check on fishing and was told that everything was open as usual. In addition, none of the hiking or fishing trails had any notices on them about the sudden closure (which occurred weeks before the seasonal norm). Perhaps most annoying of all, the park interpreter he had met had said nothing to him about a closure—even though they spoke about fishing, he was carrying fishing gear openly and he had told her he was on his way to fish in the river. As Martin put it, "What else could I do—I did everything possible and far more than most." When he went to the main interpretive centre in the park to inquire further, the centre itself did not have any notices posted about the closure, which remained true for several more days, when a single typed line on an ordinary lined piece of paper went up on the bulletin board. It was only upon talking to park interpreters sitting behind the main desk that the closure was finally officially confirmed. When he complained to the warden in the centre about the lack of signage or notification about the closure, he was told that it was the fisher's responsibility to know about closures. *How* he was to know about this information apparently was not the warden's problem.

On a different occasion, while interviewing a middle-aged working-class couple about fishing, I heard a different kind of story. Fred and Margaret had been camping in one of the national parks and were telling me about how great the mud [brook] trouting had been and how they enjoyed a boil-up each night around the campfire with fresh trout fillets. I asked them where exactly they had been fishing. They named a specific river in the park. As I knew that they only used bait-fishing methods, I mentioned that they should be careful as they were actually fishing illegally by not using fly-fishing gear

according to both the fishing guide and park rules. Margaret looked at me in a surprised manner and said, "Oops, good thing we didn't get caught. Well, we never look at those things, they're just way too complicated and we can't make head nor tail out of 'em."

Conclusion

As Norman Okihiro has written: "The end result of the intensive and heavy-handed enforcement effort aimed ... at the recreational fishery has been a feeling of harassment and victimization among many outport residents. This has been exacerbated by the imposition of severe penalties for fishing for purposes of family consumption, something that has always been done in the outports and that usually involves small quantities of fish" (Okihiro 1997:158). These tensions are part of the larger rural/urban divide that we can view through the lens of fishing practices on the inland waters of Newfoundland. In particular, subsistence versus sport fishing and the related issue of the commercial fishing of salmon tend to polarize residents who live in rural versus urban areas. Many rural dwellers experience a push toward sport fishing at the expense of subsistence, commercial or even leisure fishing of inland waters by Newfoundlanders as a kind of urbanization of rural spaces. Fault-lines produced by the bioregulation of freshwater fishing through such trends as the restriction of trout fishing in the name of salmon conservation exacerbate these divisions. The push for specialized fly-fishing on prime river systems and the complexity of the overall regulations enhances rural/urban divides and increases already existing forms of class conflict. This process can be thought of as a specialized form of the overall trend in capitalism to alienate labour from direct involvement in non-capitalist forms of economic reproduction (see Marx 1990; Wood 2004).

Simultaneously, the bioregulatory fault-lines in Newfoundland are historically specific and help create social tensions that cut across class and urban/rural divides. Virtually everyone in Newfoundland, for example, agrees that fishing for trout and salmon is a birthright, much as they may disagree about how this fishing should occur. Urban and rural dwellers and members of the lower and upper classes can also often agree on the importance of sport fishing to the rural tourism industry and that there is a "real wilderness" out there to protect (a space that is often thought of as somehow existing outside of and largely unaffected by human practices such as capitalism). However, fishers from all social groups or classes on the island are likely to be annoyed by national park practices and the bias of their rules toward non-consumptive activities.

A fault-line can therefore act as both an enhancer *and* a dampener of existing class and rural/urban antagonisms. An excellent example is the way the complex history of salmonid fishing regulations has resulted in rules that are both highly abstract and highly localized (in terms of geographical knowledge), seemingly serving both the local desire to fish *and* the desire to build a thriving non-resident sport fishery. The new outsiders to these regulations become rural Newfoundlanders from non-local areas. In a parallel fashion, regulating trout fishing through salmon rules both helps to diffuse rural/urban tensions by acknowledging the "right" of all residents to fish for trout, while simultaneously fueling class antagonisms between those who can and those who cannot afford to hire guides.

Taken as a whole, what this article shows is that broader analytical categories (e.g., social class; urban versus rural interests) are necessary but not sufficient in themselves to understand the complexity of social tensions in every geo-political situation. The concept of fault-lines adds to our ability to understand how larger structural formations become enhanced, cut across or combined in new ways within specific geo-political situations because of localized patterns of historical action.

Wayne Fife, Department of Anthropology, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador, A1C 5S7, Canada.
E-mail: wfife@mun.ca.

Notes

2 I am not suggesting here that authors who have written primarily about larger social divisions such as class struggle or urban/rural divides have necessarily omitted a consideration of the finer-grained social tensions that I discuss under the notion of fault-lines. What I am suggesting is that making these smaller tensions more visible, by overtly naming the way that some of them come together within actual social arenas, can only enhance our understanding about some of the social, economic and cultural pressures

that line up with, or cut across the grain of, these larger analytical categories.

3 In 2001, the name of the Canadian province in which this research is based was officially changed to "Newfoundland and Labrador," a move initiated in 1992 in order to ensure that the continental portion of the province was equally recognized. Before this period, the whole province was customarily referred to by the name "Newfoundland," while the island portion of the province was also normally referred to as Newfoundland and the continental portion of the province as Labrador. To avoid confusion, I will follow current usage and make use of the term Newfoundland and Labrador when referring to the province as a whole. When writing about the island portion of the province solely, which is the primary focus of this paper, the name Newfoundland is used. When referring specifically to the continental portion of the province, the name Labrador is used.

4 "Outport" is the name commonly given to small rural communities located along the coastal areas of island Newfoundland that were originally settled because of their proximity to good ocean fishing grounds. The people who lived in them pursued, until very recently, a seasonally based form of life. In the right time periods, which differed according to micro-climates around the island's coastlines, they pursued cod fishing (and to some extent, depending on local environments, other more limited fisheries for species such as salmon, herring or caplin) for both commercial and subsistence needs. In other seasons, they looked inward to the land to pursue other avenues of subsistence work. In some communities, but not all, this also involved the physical movement of the whole population between summer and winter quarters (e.g., Pocius 1991) and a localized form of transhumance.

5 Some small amount of trout were caught and sold as part of the inshore fishery (e.g., sea-going trout as by-catch) or in limited quantities in the rivers for market sales, but this was never in large numbers or amounts (as attested to for catches for the years 1955–1993, with all commercial trout catches ending in 1989; see Newfoundland Statistics Agency 1994:119).

6 For a parallel attempt at "disappearing" people from formerly common-use lands in order to create an image of wilderness park, see Fife (2006).

7 For an excellent summary of class differences associated with trout fishing, see Washabaugh and Washabaugh (2000).

8 According to the second edition of the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* (Story, Kirwin and Widdowson 1990:56), the term *boil-up* refers to "a brew of tea, and sometimes a snack, taken during a rest from work in the country or on a vessel."

9 For instructive examples of attempts to disguise the true transformation of local fisheries in Mexico and Cuba, see Doyon (2002, 2007).

10 For an excellent comparison to the identity politics involved in regulating bear hunting in Ontario, see Dunk (2002).

11 The 2013 angler's guide, which will be drawn upon later in the article, remains very similar to the 2006 version of

the guide. There are, for example, still 14 separate fishing zones and 174 rivers listed for the island portion of the province alone.

12 To be a "come from away (CFA)" denotes someone who is a stranger; that is, someone who was not born and raised on the island of Newfoundland. Having come to Newfoundland to live as an adult 13 years ago, for example, I will be considered to be a "come from away," no matter how long I remain on the island. As this article indicates, most Newfoundlanders have a very strong sense of who does, and who does not, constitute a "true Newfoundlander" and what this should mean in terms of usage rights on the land and in the water.

13 For example, I was surprised on one occasion to find out that a life-long and enthusiastic salmon fisher I knew had never fished for salmon in the world-famous Humber River, which was located just several hundred kilometres via automobile away from where he lived. This kind of a decision was generally a matter of choice rather than financial restraint, as many of the working-class men and women whom I knew owned relatively expensive trucks or all-terrain vehicles and spent substantial amounts of money on other leisure pursuits such as playing hockey and snowmobiling in the winter.

References

Anderson, D.
 2007 Newfoundland Faces Another Invasive Species: Rainbows on the Northern Peninsula. http//canflyfish.com/2007/Nov07-Conservation.asp, accessed February 12, 2013.
Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency
 2007 Council of Conne River Band Expands Steelhead Trout Aquaculture Operation. http://www.acoa.ca/e/media/press/press.shtml?436, accessed February 12, 2013.
Atlantic Salmon Federation
 1999 Newfoundland and Labrador: Rainbows Infest Salmon Rivers. http://www.asf.ca/Journal/1999/Wint99/w99cnbk/cnbk499nf.html, accessed February 6, 2013.
 2000 Rainbows in Newfoundland. http://www.asf.ca/Research/2000/rainbows2000.html, accessed February 5, 2013.
 2004 Atlantic Salmon Aquaculture—a Primer. www.asf.ca, accessed February 6, 2013.
Buchanan, R.A., T.A. Pinfold, L.S. Carter, J. Baird and J. Christian
 1994 Strategy for the Development of Recreational Fisheries in Newfoundland and Labrador. St. John's, NL: Canada-Newfoundland Cooperation Agreement for Salmonid Enhancement/Conservation.
Burzynski, Michael
 1999 Gros Morne National Park. St. John's, NL: Parks Canada.
Cadigan, Sean T.
 1995 Hope and Deception in Conception Bay: Merchant-Settler Relations in Newfoundland, 1785–1855. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
CBC News
 2000 Fish Escape Creates Fishing Bonanza. http://origin.www.cbc.ca/news/story/2000/11/02/nf_derby001102.html, accessed November 14, 2012.

 2010 Found Salmon, Says Mayor Accused of Poaching, CBC News, September 13, 2010. http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrado/story/2010/09/13/salmon-poaching-mayor-913.html, accessed January 10, 2013.
 2013 Poaching More Likely in Wake of Cuts, say Wildlife Advocates, CBC News, April 3, 2013. http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/story/2013/04/13/nl-wildlife-cuts-poaching-worries-403.html, accessed April 5, 2013.
Chang, Heewon
 2009 Autoethnography as Method. San Francisco, CA: Left Coast Press.
Checchio, Michael
 2001 Being, Nothingness and Fly Fishing: How One Man Gave Up Everything to Fish the Fabled Waters of the West. Guilford, CT: The Lyons Press.
Cox, Kenneth W.
 1977 Sportfishing in Newfoundland: A Survey of Anglers. Ottawa: Fisheries and Environment Canada.
Department of Tourism
 1994 An Adventure Tourism Strategy for Newfoundland and Labrador. St. John's, NL: Department of Tourism, Culture, and Recreation.
Doubleday, W.G.
 2001 Is Atlantic Salmon Aquaculture a Threat to Wild Stocks in Atlantic Canada? Canadian Journal of Policy Research 2(1):114–120.
Douglass, William
 2002 Casting About in the Reel World: Fishing on the Fly. Oakland, CA: RDR Books.
Doyon, Sabrina
 2002 The Structural Marginalization of Artisanal Fishing Communities: The Case of La Boquita. Anthropologica 44(1):83–98. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/25606062
 2007 Fishing for the Revolution: Transformations and Adaptations in Cuban Fisheries. MAST 6(1):83–108.
Dunk, Thomas
 2002 Hunting and the Politics of Identity in Ontario. Capitalism, Nature, Socialism 13(1):36–66. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/104557502101245369
Dyke, A.P.
 1968 Subsistence Production in the Household Economy of Rural Newfoundland. In Viewpoints on Communities in Crisis. M.L. Skolnik, ed. Pp. 26–60. St. John's, NL: ISER Books.
Economic Planning Group of Canada
 1996 Newfoundland and Labrador Product Market Match Study: A Strategy for Fishing. St. John's, NL: Economic Planning Group of Canada.
Fife, Wayne
 2001 Creating the Moral Body: Missionaries and the Technology of Power in Early Papua New Guinea. Ethnology 40(3):251–269. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3773968
 2004 Penetrating Types: Conflating Modernist and Postmodernist Tourism on the Great Northern Peninsula. Journal of American Folklore 117(464):147–167. http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/jaf.2004.0036

2005   Doing Fieldwork: Ethnographic Methods for Research in Developing Countries and Beyond. New York: Palgrave MacMillan. http://dx.doi.org/10.1057/9781403980564

2006   National Parks and Disappearing People: Romantic Landscapes and the Urbanization of Rural Spaces in Newfoundland. *In* Galicia and Terranova and Labrador: Comparative Studies on Economic, Political and Socio-cultural Processes. Xaquin Rodrigues Campos and Xose Santos Solla, eds. Pp. 31–54. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela Press.

2010   Internal Borders as Naturalized Political Instruments. Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power 17(2–3):255–279. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10702891003733484

Fisheries and Oceans Canada

2005   Report of the Task Force on Fostering a Sustainable Salmon Farming Industry for Atlantic Canada. http://www.mar.dfompo.ca/communications/Maritimes/taskforce-e.html, accessed January 10, 2013.

2006   Newfoundland and Labrador Angler's Guide. St. John's, NL: Fisheries and Oceans Canada, Communications Branch, Newfoundland and Labrador Region.

2013   Newfoundland and Labrador Angler's Guide. St. John's, NL: Fisheries and Oceans Canada, Communications Branch, Newfoundland and Labrador Region.

Foucault, Michel

1984   The Foucault Reader. Paul Rabinow, ed. New York: Vintage.

1990   The History of Sexuality, vol. 1. New York: Vintage.

1997   Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the College De France 1975–1976. New York: Picador.

García-Orellán, R.

2006   Codfish on the Grand Banks: From Abundance to Scarcity. *In* Galicia and Terranova and Labrador: Comparative Studies on Economic, Political and Socio-cultural Processes. Xaquin Rodrigues Campos and Xose Santos Solla, eds. Pp. 153–167. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela Press.

Gierach, John

1988   Trout Bum: Fly-Fishing as a Way of Life. New York: Simon and Schuster.

2003   At the Grave of the Unknown Fisherman. New York: Simon and Schuster. Government of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Government of Newfoundland and Labrador

1993   Toward an Adventure Tourism Strategy for Newfoundland and Labrador: A Discussion Paper. St. John's, NL: Department of Tourism, Culture, and Recreation.

2007   Bay d'Espoir Leads the Way in Aquaculture Production. http://www.fishaq.gov.nl.ca/publications/REVIEWAQ/BAYDESPOIR.htm, accessed February 19, 2013.

Hanrahan, M. and Marg Ewtushik

2001   A Veritable Scoff: Sources on Foodways and Nutrition in Newfoundland and Labrador. St. John's, NL: Flanker Press.

Harvey, David

2001   Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography. New York: Routledge.

Horwood, Harold

1969   Newfoundland. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

1986   A History of the Newfoundland Ranger Force. St. John's, NL: Breakwater.

Kennedy, John

1995   Peoples of the Bays and Headlands: Anthropological History and the Fate of Communities in the Unknown Labrador. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Kennedy, William Robert

1885   Sport, Travel and Adventure in Newfoundland and the West Indies. Edinburgh: Nobel Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.38790

Latour, Bruno

2004   Politics of Nature. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Leeson, Tedd

1994   The Habits of Rivers: Reflections on Trout Streams and Fly Fishing. New York: Penguin.

MacEachern, Alan

2001   Natural Selections: National Parks in Atlantic Canada, 1935–1970. Montréal, Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Macpherson, A.G. and J.B. Macpherson

1981   The Natural Environment of Newfoundland, Past and Present. St. John's, NL: ISER Books.

Marshall, Ingeborg

1996   A History and Ethnography of the Beothuk. Montréal, Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Marx, Karl

1990 [1867]   Capital, vol. 1. London: Penguin Books.

McGrath, Darrin

1994   Salted Caribou and Sportsmen-Tourists: Conflicts over Wildlife Resources in Newfoundland at the Turn of the Twentieth Century. Newfoundland Studies 10(2):208–225.

2001   Got to Get Me Moose B'y: Some Thoughts on Big Game Poaching in Newfoundland and Labrador. *In* From Red Ochre to Black Gold. D. McGrath, ed. Pp. 64–75. St. John's, NL: Flanker Press.

Miramichi Salmon Association

1999   Keeping our Rivers Alive. http://www.inmgroup.net/msa/salmonnews/september1999.html, accessed December 14, 2012.

Monastersky, R.

2005   The Hidden Cost of Fish Farming. Chronicle of Higher Education 51(33):A18.

Montevecchi, William and Leslie Tuck

1987   Newfoundland Birds: Exploitation, Study, Conservation. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Nuttal Ornithological Society.

Montgomery, David
2003 King of Fish: The Thousand Year Run of Salmon. Cambridge: Basic Books.

Moyles, R.G.
1975 Complaints is Many and Various, but the Odd Divil Likes It. Nineteenth Century Views of Newfoundland. Toronto: Peter Martin.

Newfoundland Aquaculture Industry Association
2013 NL Production Stats. http://naia.ca/nl-aquaculture/nl-production-stats/, accessed on July 12, 2013.

Newfoundland Statistics Agency
1994 Historical Statistics of Newfoundland and Labrador. St. John's, NL: Newfoundland and Labrador Statistics Agency.

O'Brien, A.
1999 "There's Nothing Like a Cup of Tea in the Woods": Continuity Community and Cultural Validation in Rural Newfoundland Boil-Ups. Ethnologies 21(1):65–83.

O'Flaherty, Patrick
1999 Old Newfoundland: A History to 1843. St. John's, NL: Long Beach Press.

Okihiro, Norman
1997 Mounties, Moose and Moonshine: The Patterns and Context of Outport Crime. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Omohundro, John
1994 Rough Food: The Seasons of Subsistence in Northern Newfoundland. St. John's, NL: ISER Books.
1995 Living off the Land. In Living on the Edge: the Great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland. L.F. Felt and P.R. Sinclair, eds. Pp. 103–127. St. John's, NL: ISER Books.

Overton, James
1996 Making a World of Difference: Essays on Tourism, Culture, and Development in Newfoundland. St. John's, NL: ISER Books.

Palmer, Craig and Peter Sinclair
1997 When the Fish Are Gone: Ecological Disaster and Fishers in Northwest Newfoundland. Halifax, NS: Fernwook Books.

Parfit, M.
2007 What's Killing the Great Atlantic Salmon? http://smithsonianmagazine.com/issues/2002/april/lostsea.htm, accessed November 22, 2012.

Parks Canada
2004a Freshwater Facts. http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/pn-np/nl/grosmorne/natcul/natcul6.aspx, accessed February 12, 2013.
2004b Impacts of Exotic Rainbow Trout in the Trout River Watershed, Gros Morne National Park of Canada, Newfoundland. http://www.pc.gc.ca/pnnp/nl/grosmorne/plan/plan4k_E.asp, accessed February 12, 2013.
2006 Broom Point (Cultural Heritage). http://www.pc.gc.ca/pn-np/nl/grosmorne/natcul11_E.asp, accessed February 18, 2013.

Parsons, John
2003 Probably Without Equal: Frank Mercer and the Newfoundland Rangers. Shearstown: Grassy Pond Publishing.

Pastore, Ralph
1992 Shanawdithit's People: The Archaeology of the Beothuks. St. John's, NL: Breakwater Books.

Pocius, Gerald
1991 A Place to Belong: Community Order and Everyday Space in Calvert, Newfoundland. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Pope, Peter
2004 Fish into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Prowse, Daniel W.
2002[1895] A History of Newfoundland. Portugal Cove–St. Philip's: Boulder Publications.

Reid, Dennis
2005 Fishing for Dreams: Notes from the Water's Edge. Surrey: Touchwood Editions.

Richards, David
2001 Lines on the Water: A Fisherman's Life on the Miramichi. Toronto: Anchor Canada.

Riles, Annelise, ed.
2006 Documents: Artifacts of Modern Knowledge. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Roseman, Sharon R.
2003 Spaces of Production, Memories of Contention: An Account of Local Struggles in Late-20th Century Rural Galicia (Spain). Dialectical Anthropology 27(1):19–45. http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/A:1025470303650
2004 Bioregulation and Comida Caseira in Rural Galicia, Spain. Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power 11(1):9–37. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/725289017

Ryan, Shannon
1986 Fish Out of Water: The Newfoundland Saltfish Trade 1814–1914. St. John's, NL: Breakwater Books.

St. Alban's
1997 The Town of St. Alban's: The Aquaculture Industry. http://www.stalbans.ca/aqua.htm, accessed November 12, 2012.

Sider, Gerald S.
2003 Between History and Tomorrow: Making and Breaking Everyday Life in Rural Newfoundland. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Statistics Canada
2011 Population Urban and Rural, by Province (Newfoundland and Labrador Table). http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/l01/cst01/demo62b-eng.htm, accessed January 22, 2013.

Story, G.M., W.J. Kirwin and J.D.A. Widdowson, eds.
1990 Dictionary of Newfoundland English. 2nd ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Tapply, William G.
2004 Gone Fishin': Ruminations on Fly Fishing. Guilford: The Lyons Press.

Tuan, Yi-Fu
1984 Dominance and Affection: The Making of Pets. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Van Zyll de Jong, M.C., R.J. Gibson and I.G. Cowx
2004 Impacts of Stocking and Introductions on Freshwater Fisheries of Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada. Fisheries Management and Ecology 11(3–4):183–193. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2400.2004.00390.x

Washabaugh, William and Catherine Washabaugh
  2000 Deep Trout: Angling in Popular Culture. Oxford: Berg Publishers.
Wickstrom, Gordon
  2004 Late in an Angler's Life: Essays on the Sport. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
Williams, Raymond
  1973 The Country and the City. New York: Oxford University Press.

Wolf, Eric
  1999 Envisioning Power: Ideologies of Dominance and Crisis. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Wood, Allen W.
  2004 Karl Marx. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.
Wright, Miriam
  2001 A Fishery for Modern Times. New York: Oxford University Press.

The Anthropology of Historical Photography in a Protected Area: Life and Death in Waterton Lakes National Park, Alberta

Trudi Lynn Smith   *University of Victoria*

Abstract: This article offers an ethnographic and anthropological investigation of historical photography carried out in Waterton Lakes National Park, Alberta. I recount my attempts to precisely retake a photograph from its historical location. Once there, I scrutinize photography's presences to better understand how a photograph emerges as an event. Photography can be used to understand human–wind encounters, the force of effort, the conventions that shape place, the impact of available water and how these come to bear on visibility and invisibility, life and death, in the present.

Keywords: photography, archives, national parks, posthumanism, International Boundary Commission, G. M. Dawson, Canada

Résumé : Cet article concerne ma recherche ethnographique et anthropologique sur la photographie historique du Parc national Waterton Lakes en Alberta. Je relate mon attention à reproduire avec le plus d'exactitude possible une photographie dans sa localisation originale. De là, j'examine ce qui est présent dans l'image afin de mieux comprendre comment une photographie appert tel un événement. La photographie peut être utilisée pour déchiffrer les rencontres entre l'humain et le vent, pour mieux saisir la force de l'effort, les conventions qui se matérialisent, et l'impact de l'eau. Il s'agit d'apprécier comment ces facteurs touchent, au moment présent, le visible et l'invisible, la vie et la mort.

Mots-clés : photographie, archives, parc nationaux, post-humain, Commission de la frontière internationale, G. M. Dawson, Canada

Introduction

In the 1885 *Canadian Militia Gazette*, an anonymous writer proposes that "circumstances alter photographs" (Greenhill and Birrell 1979:116). Taking this statement as a starting point, I investigate the visual practices of the 1873–74 International Boundary Commission by focusing on one photograph, taken inside present-day Waterton Lakes National Park, a federally protected area in western Canada. Two aims inspire this article. First, I recount my attempt to return to the exact location of Figure 1 to re-photograph it. I walk with this archival document to scrutinize photography's presences and to better understand how a photograph emerges as an event. Through extensive ethnographic and anthropological research (2002–present) of historical photography in Waterton—including abundant time loitering in the park with archival photographs in hand—I find photography is "relationally entangled rather than taxonomically neat" (Haraway 2008:105). Photography can be used to understand human–wind encounters, the force of effort, the conventions that shape place, the impact of available water and how these come to bear on visibility and invisibility, life and death, in the present. Second, I provide examples of photography's absences— events that escape representation and do not appear in photographs and archives. How does the visible impact the photographically invisible and vice versa?

Approach: The Photograph as Event

In this article I am interested in considering the *photograph as event*. To Elizabeth Povinelli (2013), the ethical and political implications of prioritizing the event over the fact is a practice in locating the otherwise or the monstrous and these can break the actuality of neoliberal and late liberal forms of social imaginary. Bringing this approach to bear on photography, I focus on the event-ness rather than the essence of photography. This is to move beyond considering photographs as images of something or objects you can hold to consider

Figure 1: Waterton Lake Alta., from the north shore. 4 miles North of Boundary line and 757 miles West of the Red River (August 1874). International Boundary Commission. Library Archives Canada.

how a photograph becomes possible though multiple forces.

To focus on the various agents at play in photographs is to refuse the categorization and purification of photographs and parks as images or objects, science or art, nature or culture, but to place attention on the process of flow and transformation (Ingold 2012) in the making of a photograph. Recognition of and accounting for the more-than-human world that photographers are a part of provides ground for the embodied complexity of the event—an assemblage of wind, conversation, humans, technology, sun—all agents with their own uneven forces (Bennett 2010). How can photography account for these entanglements and the vividness of their effects? Here, I focus on the making of photographic expertise through George Mercer Dawson's iconic *Waterton Lake*. I address the complexity of historical records and their influence on the present through fleshing out an anthropology of historical photographic practices. This approach draws on the work of Donna Haraway (2004), Bruno Latour (1993) and Tim Ingold (1993, 2012), whose scholarship seeks to replace

humans within the world and reveal the endless enmeshment of the human and more-than-human (see also Abram 1996; Braun 2008). In particular, Haraway's work on multispecies relations provides a ground for my study. Haraway writes that we in North America are in the midst of "reinvented pastoral-tourist economies and ecologies," which raises basic questions about "who belongs where and what flourishing means for whom" (2008:41). As a way to investigate "flourishing," I consider photographic practices in a more-than-human world and build on phenomenological ideas about change and movement that have been integrated into anthropological theory (Bender 1993; Ingold 1993, 2011; Tilley 1994). Feminist, queer, anti-colonial and activist critiques provide ground to investigate the world through specific embodied practices that pay attention to the foregrounding of embodiment and affect (Culhane 2011) to emphasize non-species specific "interactions rather than disembodied observation" (Hayles 1995:51). I consider photography as a process embedded in the more-than-human world, one that has never corresponded to imposed binaries and linear processes of time.

In her book on art, photography and landscape, Liz Wells (2011:356) describes why the stakes are high in photography: "Most particularly, photographs are afforded an authority, founded in the authenticity that has been ascribed to the photographic since its inception."[1] Photography is presented as a simple representational technology that tells an objective truth about places. The search for change, movement and under-recognized phenomena challenges photography's association with truth, objectivity and visibility. Visual anthropology provides a framework to focus on how the visual is created through use as sensorially integrated, embodied and experienced (Banks and Ruby 2011; Edwards and Bhaumik 2008; Edwards and Hart 2004; Grimshaw and Ravetz 2005; Pink 2006). Anthropology of the senses recognizes "the multisensory nature of embodied experience," which challenges "the supremacy of sight as the historical articulator of modernity" (Porcello et al. 2010:61).

Method: Walking with Archives

Taking into account the presence of archives in colonial photography, Foucault's (1969) "question of the archive" and Derrida's *Archive Fever* (1996) each address the archive as a way of knowing (Steedman 2002). Foucault and Derrida are interested in how an archive is not a thing, but a representation of whatever power is being exercised now, anywhere, in any place or time (Derrida 1996; Povinelli 2011; Steedman 2002). While it can be analyzed as a process that inscribes and commemorates (Kaplan 2002), tracking this kind of power has limitations. Elizabeth Edwards points to the importance of approaching the history of the archive and photographs in a detailed and focused way and warns that critique and investigation into archives and photography must be a series of "micro-intentions as much as a universalizing desire" (2001:7).[2] What counts as an archive (or photograph)? What gets included and excluded? (Povinelli 2011) As things are included, how does the archive then produce an event as much as it records it? (Derrida 1996) I draw the larger historical, aesthetic and political questions into the specific, local micro-intentions and multisensory aspects of photographic practice. I explore how uncertain knowledge starts to take shape to become archival facts and to come to bear on flourishing on the ground.

Re-enacting photographs addresses the conditions of production—from the relationships between the photographer's stance and the image produced, between wind and the sharpness of the image, between what is found inside and just outside the frame of the photograph—and how these come to bear on interpretation and knowledge (Bedford 2009; Smith 2007). This method brings power and the effect of structures together with the process of meaning-making. Taking archives on a walk and attempting to find the exact location from where a photograph was made becomes a process of revealing the tangible and intangible aspects of experience in the world (Smith 2007). I worked with wardens, ecologists, biologists, philosophers, tourists, friends and alone to re-enact many hundreds of photographs over the course of several years. The photographs came from various archives and eBay, and I brought them back to Waterton for examination. At the location of *Waterton Lake*, I re-photographed images and simultaneously conducted participant observation among those taking photographs themselves. As I have written elsewhere (Smith 2007), re-enactment creates a particular type of looking. Using a photograph to try to locate a particular point in space and working back and forth between a set of intersections and comparisons focuses the anthropologist's attention, fine-tuning her perceptual skills and producing what Ingold, following James Gibson, calls an "education of attention" (Ingold 2000:23; Gibson 1966). Christina Grasseni (2004:17, 21) describes the exercise of looking through the lens of a camera as a catalyst of her attention, as an education in better understanding her subjects while they were conducting skilled practice. The attempt to re-enact a photograph likewise facilitates a way into a perceptual environment.

Waterton Lakes National Park

The photographs I work with were taken inside present-day Waterton Lakes National Park, a federally controlled space in western Canada managed by Parks Canada. In 1895, Waterton was designated a forest reserve in response to local citizen action (Parks Canada 2010c:8) and, in 1909, it was designated a national park. The park is located at the hunting grounds, spiritual sites and pathways of the Upper Kutenais and Nitsitapii peoples (Campbell 2011; Parks Canada 2010c; Reeves 1994).

However, beginning even before Waterton was formally established, colonial visuality produced traveller's tales, scientific photographs, geological surveys and popular publicity accounts for an anticipating Canadian public. While the practices of the Upper Kutenais and Nitsitapii peoples had long been shaping the region when it was encountered by colonial science, it was presented in photographs as an empty, unpeopled wilderness, thus ensuring the government could lay claim to the territory and resources within. Like other national parks in Canada and the United States, practices of mutual obligation between indigenous groups dwelling in these

places has been interrupted and obscured, and dispossession and displacement of people from their homes and economic practices in and around national parks is common to make the way for uninhabited nature (Fife 2006; MacLaren 1999; Sandlos 2007; Winthrop 2001). Despite this violence, there is ongoing resistance to settler governmental control (see Reeves 1994; West et al. 2006). Two Nitsitapii groups, Piikani and Kainai, who live near Waterton in the present, "continue to hold Waterton as a sacred and powerful place" (Parks Canada 2010b:9) and use vision quest sites within park boundaries (Reeves 1994).

National parks are deeply symbolic in Canada, mandated by Parks Canada as places for human use and enjoyment and ecological integrity (Parks Canada 2010b). A recent Focus Canada survey reported that 72 per cent of Canadians found national parks important, ahead of the national anthem, multiculturalism, literature and music and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (Environics Institute 2010:17). It is crucial to study the genesis of photographic images of national parks in Canada, as they maintain a pervasive grip on how governments and publics relate to national parks in the present. In summer 2010, as part of a 125th anniversary celebration, Parks Canada held a job competition for "Canada's Greatest Summer Job": to visually document parks in photography and film. Thirty-two students were placed at Parks Canada field units across the country to promote parks as "unique and exceptional places that represent the very essence of Canada. [To] tell its story and offer an unforgettable and unique experience for visitors who are looking to discover the real Canada" (Parks Canada 2010a).

The visual production of what counts as the "real Canada" directly relates to the ongoing history of artists and photographers who worked to promote Canadian national parks. For example, in 1884, well-known photographer William Notman was outfitted by the Canadian Pacific Railway with a rail car equipped with a darkroom, and he spent 15 years documenting Banff National Park and surrounds to encourage tourism (McCord Museum:n.d.). Wayne Fife (2006:32) has shown how the creation of Gros Morne National Park in Atlantic Canada was supported by visual images by government and commercial interests, which "have resulted in the formation of a romantic image of the park as a peaceful uninhabited 'nature' just waiting to be enjoyed by the spiritually starved urban middle-class" despite the history of other practices and engagements in the area such as fishing, hunting and gathering.

The photographic methods used by the Boundary Commission to construct knowledge in Waterton Lake continue to inform contemporary visual practices in Waterton. Over the past 139 years, many people—scientists, tourists, artists, commercial photographers, wedding photographers and recently even the Google Street View camera operator (Figure 2)[3]—have converged at the spot where Waterton Lake was first imaged in 1874. I create a tangible relationship, joining historical photographs to present practices in Waterton, and examine the first photograph taken from the popular viewpoint in Waterton to provide insight into how visual practices in Waterton become the "real Canada."

Photography's Presences: "Waterton Lake Alta., From the north shore"

On a mid-September morning in 2007, I walk up a hill slope at the end of Upper Waterton Lake. I am tracking the first photograph taken in this location and hold a copy of *Waterton Lake*, which I retrieved from Library Archives Canada in Ottawa almost 3,000 kilometres due east. At first, I follow a dusty path, then the photograph leads me away into knee-high grasses. I stop at the edge of a hill and turn toward mountains framing a large body of water that slips out of view into the distance. The sun shines overhead, warming me and there is a light breeze from the south, forming ripples on the water but scarcely disturbing the grasses where I stand. I set my camera on a tripod and bend slightly forward to look through the viewfinder. The blues and greys of the water, sky and mountains contrast with the gold of the grasses. I compare the black and white photograph in hand with what I see through the viewfinder. There are differences between what I see through the lens and in the photograph in hand, so I wander around, experimenting and trying to get closer to the spot. I move slightly forward, slightly back, side to side; I lower the tripod. The wind picks up. Eventually, I compose a photograph and make an exposure.

Nearby, up the gentle slope and to the west, there is a group of people who also stand facing south. Most of these people hold cameras in front of their bodies and point them down toward the lake. Some frame people in front of their cameras as these people turn their backs to the lake view. Others, like me, wait to make sure people are not in the frame and then make exposures.

This is not the first time people have gathered together in this location to form part of a photographic event. It's not my first time. As I wander with photographs in hand, my performance draws attention from those standing on the hill.

A few metres behind us stands a multi-story hotel, a gift shop, several restaurants, a water tower and employee residences. The hotel website claims that, since it was constructed in 1927, the building is the most photographed in the world. But it is the view of the

Figure 2: Google Street View camera operator at the site of photograph Waterton Lake, 2013. Courtesy Parks Canada/C. Koerselman.

lake and mountains that dominates the visual record— re-enacted and found in records ranging from postcards (available in the gift shop) to tourist snaps to professional photography to scientific records. We are located in the centre of a national park, overlooking the town site at the most prominent vista in the park. From the main road, visitors drive up to the nearby parking lot and walk up trails from the main town site to visit the viewpoint and hotel. People sit inside the hotel and gaze out the window at this view and witness the flux and flow of groups of people engaging the viewpoint with cameras (Figure 3).

I loiter near a small group of people who each stand with cameras pointed down toward the lake. Together and, for a moment, we form a community of practice, bringing our singular and non-repeatable experience up against the universality of photography (Richter 2010; Derrida and Kamuf 2002). And yet, what event do we re-enact? Derrida writes that

> photography always bears witness by interrogating us: What is an act of witnessing? Who bears witness to what, for whom, before whom? The witness is always singular, irreplaceable, unique, he presents himself in his physical body … but as a third party he attests and testifies exemplarily to the universality of a law, a condition, a truth. [Richter 2010:xxiv]

Visual Practices in Science

In late August 1874, Dawson and his men produced the image *Waterton Lake*, marking the end of a field season and the close of a two-year mapping project by the International Boundary Commission that ran 1,300 kms along the 49th parallel between Lake of the Woods (Ontario) and Waterton (Alberta). The discovery of gold on the Thompson River prompted the demarcation of a line between the United States and the geopolitical space of Canada.[4] During the 1873 and 1874 field seasons, a Canadian team and an American team leapfrogged one another to trace a fictional line on the ground across muskeg, grasslands, mountains and glaciers. In their construction of the boundary, the Canadian team used photography alongside field notes and measurements.

In addition to training as a geologist and his eventual role as the Surveyor General for the Geological Survey of Canada (GSC), G. M. Dawson is considered a precursor to professional anthropology in Canada (Darnell 1998). Dawson wrote a letter of introduction for Victoria-bound Franz Boas in 1886, and Regna Darnell (1998) points out that Dawson's father, John William Dawson was principal of McGill University for more than 40 years, making him central in the development of academic institutions in Canada. J. W. Dawson collected specimens, a foundational activity of the GSC, and later

Figure 3: Photographic practices on the Prince of Wales Hotel Hill 2009.

these collections provided material for the construction of the Museum of Civilization (recently rebranded as the Canadian Museum of History) under the direction of Edward Sapir. Known for his photography, the visual collections that G. M. Dawson brought together through his fieldwork and his descriptive reports continue to have implications for resources in Canada (C. Smith 2002:17). The GSC and the academic institution were entangled, as the GSC, with a focus on demarcating boundaries, charting and claiming resources and collecting specimens using technological advances such as cameras, "provided an incipient framework for professional anthropology in Canada" (Darnell 1998:11).

In his extensive 387-page report introducing the 1873–74 field season, Dawson notes that he is single-handedly undertaking the natural history work of the survey. The report solidifies Dawson's scientific reputation (Dawson and Jenkins 2007), and it is worth quoting his words to get a sense of his geographic desire:

In undertaking single-handed the care of the Natural History work in connection with the Boundary Commission, it was obvious that in attempting too much it might happen that nothing should be well done. I therefore decided to give the first place to geology; and in that field to endeavour to work out as far as possible the structure of the country and to make illustrative collections of rocks and fossils, rather than to amass large local collections at the expense of general information. [1875:iii]

This entry places particular emphasis on visual means of translation and knowledge generation in Canada and reflects the interests of the surveyors in creating permanent records using photographs. Technology was key to the modernist pursuit of collecting data and to legitimating the geological project toward colonial ends, and photography was a necessary part of this project. Through the emphasis on illustrative collections that can be examined later from the comfort of his office,

Dawson may have helped ignite a connection between photography and survey in Canada. In the 1880s, Surveyor General E. G. Deville developed a unique phototopographical survey for mapping high mountain areas in Canada, known in international circles as "The Canadian Method" (MacLaren et al. 2005; Smith 2004; Webb 2003).

The early survey photographs were embedded in the middle of a struggle not only to constitute and make claims about the space they colonized, but for what constitutes vision and what an observer is (Crary 1992). Dawson and the four camera operators received their training in England, and their use of photography in the 1873–74 survey reflects lively debates, ones that Edwards finds between proponents of pictorialism and of survey photography in England "about the very nature and purpose of photography itself, about relations between the document and the aesthetic, and the social expectations which cluster around it" (Edwards 2009:5).

In Canada, the possibilities of photography were entwined with the colonial effort to categorize and by extension, exert control over people and places, including plans for "a network of Photographic Stations spread all over the world, acting under systematic instructions and having its results permanently recorded at the [British] War Department" (Birrell 1996:13). The institutionalization of photographs in colonial archives parallels what Edwards (2009) names a desire for an externalized collective memory bank that would define the past, present and future.

The practices of the visual figure prominently in Dawson's 1874 account as a key technology in record making (and, by 1881 the camera is fully incorporated into his work with the GSC). Yet, it is easy to find signs of uncertainty in photography in the first field season of the same survey of 1860–61. At the onset, recommendations to use the technology were couched in terms of the potential for description, truth and accuracy (Donnelly in Birrell 1996) but, in the final report, the camera surprised: It was considered a burden, the technology of photography full of discontinuity, mistakes and ruptures (Hawkins in Birrell 1996). The American counterpart carried camera equipment on the 1860–61 survey but no training was provided for the men who were expected to use the gear in the field and so they failed to produce usable materials (Birrell 1996).

Photography is not just a technology the skilled engineers learned to control: It has its own liveliness. Nineteenth-century photography was demanding, requiring strong actinic rays of the sun to create chemical reactions, long exposure times, abundant water, time carved from the busy work of boundary measurements

and good weather. The survey team built a relationship with it and learned from their failures. By 1874, the IBC was tasked to generate illustrative collections of natural history and geological features, but it was well understood that "circumstances alter photographs," a phrase reported in the *Canadian Militia Gazette* in 1885 that would resonate with me a century later (Greenhill and Birrell 1979:116). These circumstances not only alter but shape the archival record. This is made clear in Birrell's 1996 history of survey photography. He explains that hot summer months and drought-like conditions meant that few photographs were taken in the plains region. Entering the mountains with a chain of lakes and rivers meant an abundance of water for their photographic needs. Birrell notes, normally dry diary entries, became lyrical (1996:118).

These relationships set the stage for the events that produced the 28 photographs in the Waterton area that dominate the survey collection, making their way into archives, books, personal collections, scientific reports and government documents. The bulk of the images were made in the span of a few kilometres. These images have been in continual circulation over the course of 139 years, bringing Waterton into a particular visibility in the present. In reading survey reports, relocating, rephotographing and analyzing the visuality within the 28 images, I found that the surveyors' discomfort in structuring the country was met with an openness to techniques of aesthetics, documentary and even (what we would consider today) experimental photography. The visuality of these photographs is complex and greatly varies. As a result, some of these photographs are continually re-enacted through to the present (e.g., *Waterton Lake*, Figure 1), while others are never re-enacted although they are pictured side-by-side in archives.

Photography's Absences: Human–Wind Encounters

Learning to photograph is a practice in listening and responding to the demands of a more-than-human world and the demands of history. My grounded attempts to re-enact a photograph come up against the structures of a 19th-century model of vision that was understood to capture a "pre-given world of objective truth" (Crary 1992:39), a world that was never there and, yet, a power and force that still animates photography.

The most striking thing about *Waterton Lake* is the weather: Dawson writes about cloud cover and the force of wind. One day he writes, "Lake under the influence of the strong and continuous south wind making a noise like the sea" (1875:155). Yet, neither evidence of wind

nor cloud cover is to be found in the 1874 photograph. Instead, Dawson and his men wait to make the photograph that makes its way into history. In my fieldwork I found that the photograph shows a very unusual—almost impossible—view: mountains reflected in the calm waters of Upper Waterton Lake. Trying to re-enact the photograph in Waterton contests the effortless look of the photograph. In present-day Waterton, the weather remains a social organizer and, as I witnessed over the course of my research, when it is windy, visitors stay inside. In the summer, the hill is a busy place where buses unload, bike tours converge, wedding photographs are framed and high tea is served. All of this movement is in view of the site where *Waterton Lake* was staged. Hotel guests amble past the photo location and then carry on down a rustic pathway to the main town site. Standing at this promontory, more often than not the ephemeral nature of wind moves the large groups of people who stand to take in the scene and practice photography. This is particular to Waterton, known for its extreme wind: in the sudden rise of the wind, I would watch visitors rush away. Vibratory blasts of wind would send small, light pieces of reddish brown shale forcefully through the air, and the sharp sting of shale on my bare face became a testament to the way the wind mediates and influences experience, emotions and thoughts. The hill remained empty until the arrival of calm, permitting practices of photography. Then people would return, flowing from the hotel, up and along pathways from the town.

Yet practices of weather are largely absent from the visual record. As Ingold points out, there is little scholarly literature that can be found on the question of how the weather impacts on practices of vision, "for the most part, you would think that there is no more weather in the world than in the studio, laboratory or seminar room" (2008:377). This is of little surprise. The legacy of the Cartesian perspectivalist scopic regime is the removal of vision from the body (Crary 1992). To Ingold (2008:388), "weather is not what we have a perception of, it is rather what we perceive in." To consider that wind influences photographic event—the driving wind drives out the possibility of picture taking—then it seems that photography, valued as direct and straightforward observation, actually indexes the particularity of experience (Edwards 2009). In Waterton, visitor experience is deeply influenced by the force of wind. It influences the movement to take a picture or not.

Wind is a shared event among visitors to the hill. It brings up an awareness of inside and outside, convenience and disruption. Locals and tourists alike complain and joke about the wind, and the biography of the Prince of Wales Hotel is aptly named "High on a Windy Hill" (Djuff 1999). Ray Djuff (1999) reports that the hotel sits at an angle because the force of driving wind shifted the building on its foundation when under construction. The whistle and moan of the wind through a more than $200-per-night room is part of the rustic charm. Photographs are linked to the weather. The practice of photography in Waterton is about force, not only the force of the sun's actinic rays onto lively sensitive emulsion or an image sensor, but also the force of wind creating movement. The long exposures needed to expose a plate in 1874 would require the still of the wind.

Conditions co-produce place in highly specific ways. The objective and detached eye of 19th-century visual culture is dismantled and bodies are situated: basking in the heat of the sun, being moved by the rise of wind and annoyed by the hum of mosquitoes. The wind contributes to the world's becoming—found not only in the aesthetic charm of wind-shaped trees that huddle the shoreline, but also in the very absence of wind that provides an opening to a photographable moment. Dorian Sagan writes that "Anthropology—the study of (hu)man—obeys this same logic of the return of the ghost of what was excluded, in this case all the systems, living and nonliving which make our kind possible" (Fuentes 2011:n.p.). To focus on the relationship between wind and photography in 1874 is to return to the ghosts of what makes us human.

Aesthetic Practices in Scientific Programs

Dawson and the surveyors operated the camera in a specific historical moment through which scientific inquiry, aesthetic reflection and economic and political calculations touch down for an instant onto a photo-sensitive glass plate coated with silver halide chemicals to capture a spectral trace of the world. The Boundary Commission wait for *Waterton Lake* to emerge. After two days of clouds "clinging round the peaks," the weather clears. It is calm and partly cloudy, and there are "beautiful effects of light and shade on the mountains ... The lake a magnificent sheet of water long and river-like and running South a long way bordered by almost precipitous mountains" (1874:120). Several days later Dawson describes the scene again: "scenery is wonderful the lake running away south among magnificent mountains" (1874:149). The two meanings of magnificent—beauty and wealth—are at the centre of what Dawson and his men visualize: *Waterton Lake* is made with a wealthy focal length, an expansive view from an elevated viewpoint, constituting a visual depiction of a wealthy geography, a way of picturing Canada that has become an important concept to Canadian identity (Berland 1991).

In this narrative, timber is visible as far as the eye can see, water is in abundance and geology is found in the interesting and complex folds of the Lewis overthrust: "The lower beds are brought up by an irregular anticlinal fold, which crosses the lake near its north end" (1875:57). Beauty and wealth are united through the perception of the pristine. To be pristine is to be separate, "unspoilt by human interference" (especially industrial), as per a definition found as early as 1910 in Encyclopedia Britannica: "this presence of the pure, the pristine, the virginal in the verse, this luminousness, spaciousness, serenity in the land" (OED online 2012). The pristine denotes value and power (Berland 1991). Contemporary scholarship on national parks in Canada recognizes that to generate the pristine is to create the conditions for the designation of national parks (Braun 2002; Fife 2006; Loo 2006; MacLaren 1999). This colonial visuality runs through contemporary practices in Canada and can be found in a recent description of the parks system:

> Protected and preserved for all Canadians and for the world, each is a sanctuary in which nature is allowed to evolve in its own way, as it has done since the dawn of time. Each provides a haven, not only for plants and animals, but also for the human spirit. A place to wander ... to wonder ... to discover yourself. [Parks Canada 2008:n.p.]

Despite a division in the 19th century over the meaning and role of photography as art or science, the survey photographs are tangled in both registers. The picturesque is a part of the scientific toolkit of the International Boundary Commission. In his article "The Aesthetic Map of the North, 1845–1859," Ian MacLaren (1985:89) establishes that aesthetic principles of the picturesque and sublime, alongside astronomical computations for charting landscape, were instruments British explorers used to identify new lands in a way that would be familiar to British and European readers. The picturesque "grew out of the habit of viewing tracts of land as if they were landscape paintings" (90). Dawson frames Waterton in his written account: "A very perfect double lunar rainbow visible about 8.45 P.M. The colour of the inner very distinct. The whole placed in exact symmetry over one of the ranges of mountains and looking like a gigantic frame" (1874:155). MacLaren explains that the picturesque was important to England:

> The Englishman who discovered the Picturesque abroad, therefore, was achieving three purposes: he was affirming England's belief in its own imperial destiny by stamping foreign tracts as English in appearance; he was conducting his travels/explorations in a sufficiently orderly manner to be able to perceive the composed qualities of nature; and most importantly, he was nourishing his own aesthetic identity as an Englishman, which required sustenance in proportion to his temporal distance from the gentle hill-and-dale topography of his Home. [1985:90]

Through the picturesque convention, Dawson and his men established *Waterton Lake* as a calm, orderly and pleasant view. The photograph is made from an elevated prospect point, the foreground looks down onto a middle ground with a water course running through it and "onto a rising background that encloses or contains the view." (MacLaren 2007:45). The photograph is harnessed for scientific use to illustrate the geology, botany and geography of the country and its art, fixing the picturesque into a frame ready for a museum or gallery. Both art and science are linked responses to the same historical moment and the same uncertainty, anxiety and desire.

Practices of Commensurability: Following What Has Come Before

The surveyors searched for commensurability to make Waterton like places that they have experienced before. In conversation, Featherstonhaugh, the head of one of the units of the Boundary Commission, compared Waterton Lake with Lake Lucerne in Switzerland. This resonated with the men, and Dawson notes the comment in his journal. The power of conversation to shape relations and experience generates a particular visuality. The photographer is in all likelihood a part of the conversation and draws his knowledge of Lake Lucerne, and the way it might be pictured, into his imagination to compose the photograph accordingly—a move to the east, a step north away from the edge of the hill to dip down, effectively lowering the height of the vantage point. Featherstonhaugh's subjective desires, his longing for Switzerland, are realized. In *Waterton Lake*, scientific scrutiny is made material through a mix of subjective memory recounted in conversation in a group and that translation by the hand and eye of the camera operator onto a glass plate. Found in Featherstonhaugh's utterance about Lake Lucerne is confirmation of the power of conversation in shaping relations to cultural experience. By finding similarity, Dawson and his men make Switzerland present. The ability to imagine a commensurability between Switzerland, a space they had seen before, and the space they were encountering is perhaps another reason so many photographs from the Waterton area can be found in the record. While crossing the prairies was arduous, making photography more difficult than in Waterton, it is also possible that the Commission found it challenging to frame the experience into an existing visuality.

Imaginary relationships between places—Waterton as Switzerland—eventually become material practice in more than photographs. In 1933, the Prince of Wales Hotel was built by Great Northern Rail on the spot where the Boundary Commission was camped that day. Famous for its Swiss-style chalet architecture with a steep roof, the dormers and rustic beams imitate the architecture found in photographs and postcards of towns such as Trieb on Lake Lucerne, a popular destination for travel in the late 19th century and a place greatly valued for its beauty. The colonial enterprise stamps Switzerland onto Canada. Yet, the intense wind produces a hybrid agency alive in the experience of the park: Waterton as Switzerland is off-kilter as the force of wind re-shapes the experience of Switzerland in the form of a tilted hotel.

Practices of Imagination and Verification

While Dawson expressed a desire to order and to make sense of his experience, there is also a rebellious liveliness at play. Dawson writes about beauty and magnificence, "nightmarish and weird" things, like his sense of bison:

> The appearance of the animal altogether nightmarish and weird, looking like a survivor of a bygone age or a reverified Tertiary monster. They stalk slowly along in lines one after another or feed in little herds ... Their bellow has a hoarse hollow metallic sound and has a peculiarly eerie effect when heard coming across the prairie after dark. As I write, a great herd are lowing and bellowing within earshot. [1874:174]

Imagination is also part of the lively production of geographic visual knowledge on the ground. First, standing behind the camera to make an exposure is an imaginative act. Looking at the subject they photographed, Dawson and his men imagined what it will show. Not only is this a practice of imagining the outcome but also how it will be interpreted once out of the field, removed from the referent. This includes the potential of the subject in the future: it was both actual and imagined resources that led the Boundary Commissions in Canada and the United States to form and agree to delimit the international boundary.

And yet what does this imagination show? In *Waterton Lake* smoky haze from forest fires in the area or atmospheric haze or an effect from the printer's touch in the darkroom make it impossible to properly see the details of distant mountains or even the end of the lake. This slippage in the possibility of photography as a way to make something known is reflected in Dawson's

accounts of his fieldwork and the failure to verify the lakeshore represented in the photograph. He writes in his report,

> The southern end of Waterton Lake, I was, however, unable to examine in any detail, from the precipitous and impassible nature of the mountains surrounding it, and the impossibility, in the short time at our disposal, of making a serviceable boat or raft. [1875:58]

Dawson set off to circumnavigate the lake in pursuit of a structure of the country. After several improvisations and attempts by foot, horse and raft, he gave up, expressing frustration at the unknown.

Historical Photography: A Live Wire

The vista produced in *Waterton Lake* is found in art mixing into scientific accounts, and in the liveliness of imagination, conversation and commensurability. Dawson and his men loitered in Waterton, waiting for the right moment: a calm, bright, late summer morning. These conditions coalesce providing an opening for a photograph to be made. Dawson encountered a world unruly and in flux, and his diaries recount falling trees that rerouted pathways and made travel difficult, painful and slow, the danger of raging fires that they or other travellers set and that they had to put out, the violence and death of wars that were being fought, sickness and accidents that injured. All of this was present in their experience and built into their visual practices. Despite this unruliness or because of it, *Waterton Lake* enters the archive, and what Dawson describes in his journal as nightmarish and weird and in his report as calm and orderly, to appear as an effortless instant where light exposed the glass plate. The survey collection was printed by the well-known Notman and Sons in Montréal, and the touch of the printer's hand smooths out and softens the image, later passed between the various party members while they were writing their reports. Despite the haze and the failure of Dawson to verify what was in the distance, the photograph can be successfully narrated by the boundary commission: in *Waterton Lake* they find the "structure of the country."

Absences count as much as presences. The photographic collection is made up of middle and distant vistas, rather than close-up views of botanical, geological or geographical detail. In part a technological limitation (e.g., the focal length of the lens), it was also the most practical way to claim "pristine" space. Survey photography is not close-up views of geological detail, portraits of people you know, indigenous guides or existing pathways. While their photography denied these possibilities
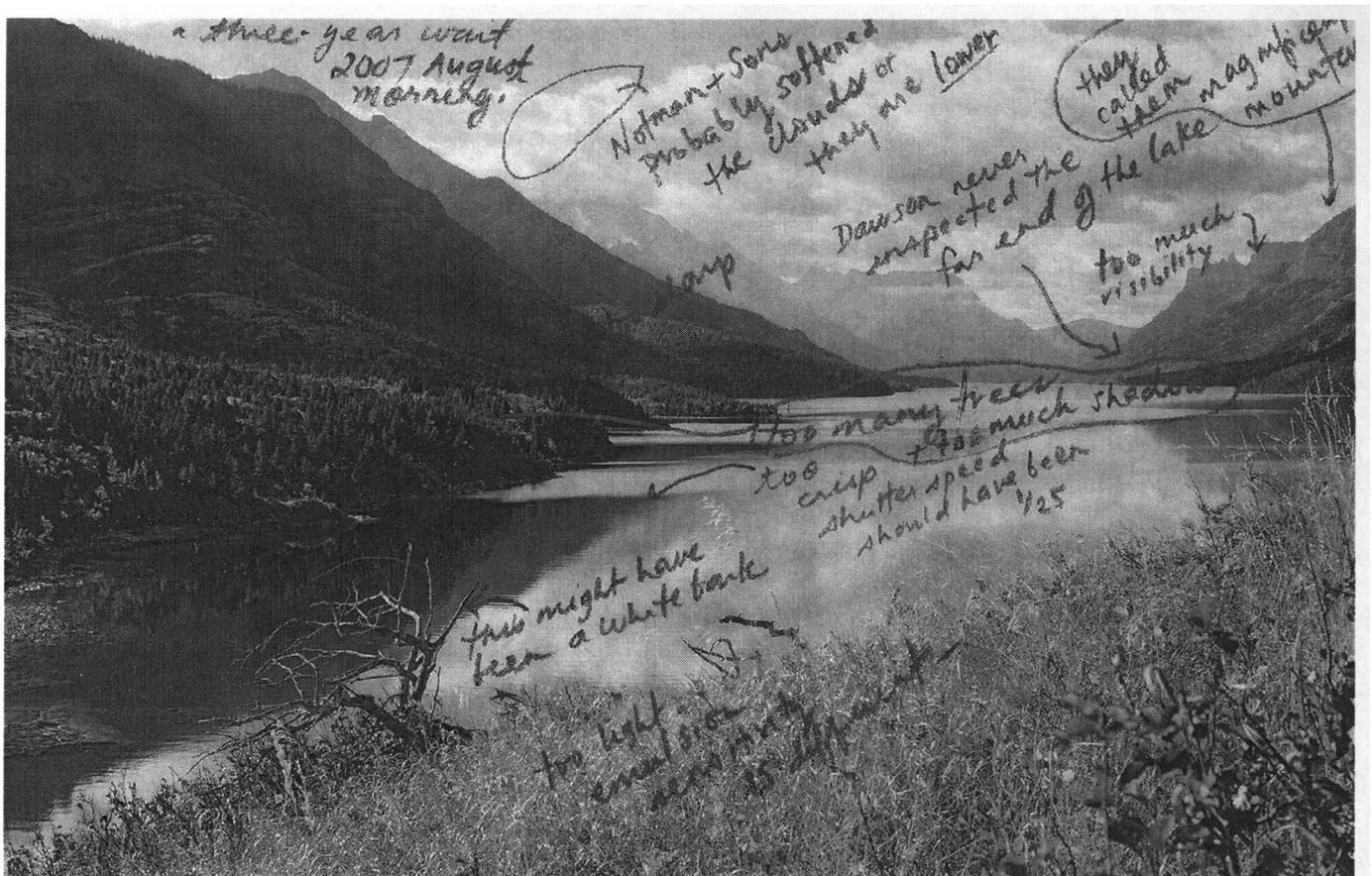
Figure 4: Waterton Lake Alta., from the north shore. 4 miles North of boundary line and 757 miles west of the Red River, after the International Boundary Commission. August 2007. Photograph by author with field notes describing the gap between the historical photograph and repeat.

through omission, the surveyors encountered more than they recorded: Dawson's photographic practices located on the nearby slope of South Kootenay Pass were enabled by walking on pathways inscribed over time by travel by particular indigenous peoples such as the Nitsitapii, whose descendants remain in the surrounding area but whose access to the park is in part scripted by the same colonial accounts that excluded their ancestors' inhabitance from representations of the pristine. These political implications of photographic visuality deny the very access points that made the views possible. In the negation of what might be there—a history that includes human dwelling as a part of parks—the camera was used for its instrumental potential, "a silence that silences" (Sekula 1986:6).

Taking photographs is a re-iterative act to "internalize and repeat earlier displacements which over time take on the appearance of common sense" (Willems-Braun 1997:43) (Figure 4). The powerful performance that produced the International Boundary Commission

photograph in 1874 was first re-enacted by the United States Geological Survey in 1901. In the 20th century, the lenses of outfitters, commercial photographers and tourists framed their views in relationship to Dawson's geological description. These events carry into the present when many thousands of visitors arrive in the summer months and walk well-travelled paths that lead them within a few metres of the photographic location. People stand close to one another and, from the height of the edge of the hill, gaze south and record the lake framed by the mountains. The view remains important to how parks are visualized at present: A recent Facebook posting from Parks Canada of a Google Earth camera operator suited up in the very location where the 1874 Boundary Commission photograph was taken provides an example of the power of certain sites for photography over time (Figure 2).

To attempt to re-enact *Waterton Lake* is about connecting to a story that is larger than one person (Weems 2009). It is not only that visitors to parks expressively

engage the experience through walking, reading guide-books, comparing and contrasting experiences, searching and organizing, but visitors also come to know the history of photography through their bodies embedded in the world: looking, peering, bending, stilling their bodies by holding their breath, and waiting for a lull in the wind, a break in the clouds, for the clouds to lift off the mountains.

Life and Death in Waterton

In writing about the picturesque aesthetic in the Sub-Arctic, MacLaren makes an important contribution by carefully thinking through the consequences in forcing the shape of England, "by making a northern valley into an English gallery by means of an imported schema is the danger of not apprehending the terrain's own unique qualities" (1985:91). The danger to the explorers was real. Buildings placed on hilltops to produce a more picturesque view, rather than in more forgiving valleys, meant that, for explorers in the Sub-Arctic, "aesthetics had precluded saving themselves" (1985:91). Their resistance to attuning themselves to the specificity of their surrounds cost them their lives.[5]

In Waterton the force of wind shifting the angle of the Prince of Wales Hotel is not the only consequence of the habit of photography. While Dawson and his men remained relatively safe in making *Waterton Lake*, the re-enactment of the picturesque convention affects flourishing in the present. The material performance of parks and photography can be found in the inscription of roadway pullouts and pathways leading to distant vistas for the purpose of photographic practices. In summer months, hundreds of visitors travel up the Akamina Parkway each day on their way to Cameron Lake, a 30-minute drive from the town. In archives, by re-enacting the photographic record, and by observing photographic events, I found a parallel history to the *Waterton Lake* location. Over two summers I conducted fieldwork in the area and found that generally people travel to the lake with family and friends and take distant views of the lake and the mountains (including many photographs containing people posing for the camera, framed by the lake and mountains).

On July 17, 2007, I was riding my bike to Cameron Lake when the air became animated with the fleeting movements of migrating butterflies. The sky was transformed by their grey, yellow and blue hues. I stopped to witness and document butterfly movements and mass death as they crossed one of the two highways that intersect the park. Countless of these tiny travellers were hit and killed by windshields, caught in car grates

and crushed under tires of recreational vehicles that were travelling up to the lake, filled with people on their way to take pictures of the lake and mountains. In this act of continuing on, human travellers overlooked the butterflies as something that counts as park experience. The butterflies, it seemed, were not a part of Waterton as a "sanctuary in which nature is allowed to evolve in its own way, as it has done since the dawn of time." Nor, it seemed, was Waterton "a haven, not only for plants and animals, but also for the human spirit" (Parks Canada 2008:n.p.). The challenge of unexpected butterfly migrations is that they do not show up in the photographic record.

The lively movements and fleeting nature of their migration render the butterflies outside of the visuality of Parks Canada's "real Canada." Non-recognition of the fleeting nature of butterflies descends directly from the transfer of the picturesque from England into Canada. A failure to recognize the specificity of the surrounds is an inheritance from colonial pasta and promotes not just our own human danger but also the danger for the rest of life. I followed the cars up to the Cameron Lake, where a few people pointed out the butterflies while walking across the parking lot area to the shoreline to make photographs of the lake and mountains.

A non-recognition of migration helps to re-enforce park borders and the movements that flow across them. In mid-summer 2002, I found an interpretive sign on the north side of the park that read, "National Parks are living museums of nature preserved for the benefit education and enjoyment of this and future generations." Through the visuality of images like *Waterton Lake*, this lively place is materialized as a "living museum," one unable to contain the temporal and spatial reality of butterfly migrations on the move.

The butterfly migration was arresting. It raised questions about recognition of the real and about providing an ethics of care for a species on the move. It provided a shape for what counts, by showing what does not. But the butterfly migration also caused a literal arrest. One of the Parks Canada employees I worked with relayed a story from the townsite: A visitor to the park, moved by the experience of the butterflies, stopped his car, stepped out and tried to stop other cars from killing the butterflies. His act of agitation and resistance was considered by some to be weird—we might say monstrous, even—as he acted outside of what was considered acceptable, normal human behaviour in a national park. Parks Canada employees squelched the disruption by escorting the man to the park gates and
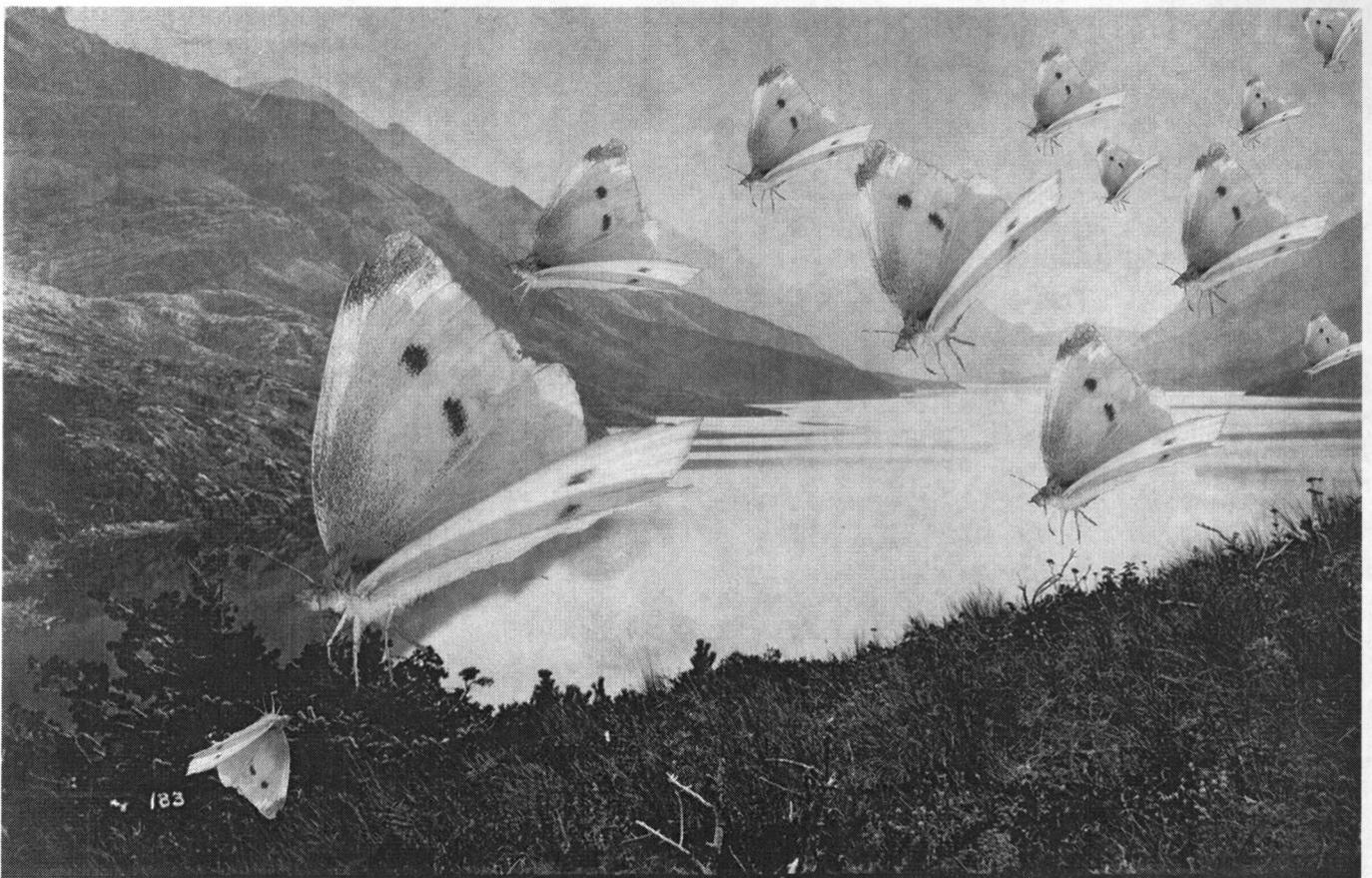
Figure 5: New relations: Dawson (1874) and a butterfly retrieved from migration (2007). Collage by author, 2013.

evicting him from the park. His act of defiance reveals the possibility of recognizing the world that goes beyond a hunger for the scripted experience of taking a picturesque view. In their visible invisibility, butterfly migrations reveal parks and photography as constructions that are exceeded by reality (Figure 5). How does recognizing things like butterfly migrations—eventful outside of the photographic record—provide an opening to ongoing, unrecognized, more-than-human forms of relations or new forms of relations?

Parks Canada scientists record over 100,000 images each year in Waterton on their remote wildlife cameras (Parks Canada 2013:n.p.). In a recent online Parks Canada publication entitled "Wild in Waterton: Images from Waterton's Remote Cameras," an issue was devoted to "Rare Images." The web page reported that some species like deer and elk are photographed thousands of times, while other species are less apt to trigger cameras (either because of habitat or a physical inability to trigger cameras like pileated woodpeckers or low-density populations like wolverines). Parks Canada is addressing the problem of the remote camera tech-

nology to overlook certain relationships and to pick up the trace of some lives and not others. Extending visibility of the more-than-human world is often the purpose of the cameras; yet, the question of photographic invisibility remains important. To return to Haraway's idea that North America is in the midst of "reinvented pastoral-tourist economies and ecologies" that raise basic questions about "who belongs where and what flourishing means for whom" (2008:41), we might ask what kind of flourishing is possible in protected areas? Given the visual history of parks, how might we encounter *more* than we might expect? And given the promise of new forms of record-making, like time-lapse cameras (e.g., as non-intrusive ways to record the more-than-human), how might photography connect to flourishing, life and death in the future?

Conclusion

Photography and national parks are not static containers but rather are lively and on the move. At the same time, the photographs by Dawson live in the past, present and the future. They live in archives, in texts,

in memory, in current photographic re-enactments, in ideas about protected areas and in paths inscribed on the ground. To analyze their event-ness is to construct and flesh out a fuller account of human relationships through a more-than-human anthropology. Recognizing multisensory and more-than-human connections to photographic practices offers an affirmative critique of the practices of colonial photography as a way to show how the past comes to echo in the present—one that we need to take responsibility for. Challenging the hegemony of photographic practices can provide ground for knowledge, experience and liveliness that brings into fuller view how humans are situated in an emergent world.

Trudi Lynn Smith, School of Environmental Studies, University of Victoria, PO Box 3060, STN CSC, Victoria, BC V8W 3R4, Canada. E-mail: trudis@uvic.ca.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1 For example, we only need look as far as one of the very first photographs made, the famous *Boulevard du Temple* image by Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre, who is credited with the invention of photography. Due to lengthy exposure time the boulevard appears empty, but in actuality, it was a busy street. Daguerre introduces the photographic process, writing that "The DAGUERROTYPE is not merely an instrument which serves to draw Nature; on the contrary it is a chemical and physical process which gives her the power to reproduce herself" (1839, quoted in Batchen 1997:66). Yet, what or whose Nature is this? This photograph was never as it would have appeared to a human bearing witness to the event, and it reveals that

photography is not simply a reflection of "reality." At the same time it reveals that in photography, movement is often perceived as an absence, and of something that did not really happen.

2 This is important because sometimes it is the very way that people misbehave, the way they resist doing the job "right," that leads some things to remain archived when they should not have been. For example, the Dominion Land Survey phototopographical survey consists of tens of thousands of glass plates that were supposed to be destroyed by the Geological Survey of Canada and Library Archives Canada. For some reason, they were overlooked and remained in auxiliary storage outside of Ottawa for many years until "rediscovered" by researchers at the University of Alberta and have now found a new life as part of the present-day Mountain Legacy Project, including their accessioning into the Library Archives Canada (http://thediscoverblog.com/2013/09/26/the-mountain-legacy-project-an-archive-based-scientific-project/).

3 In 2010 visitation to Waterton numbered 380,000 visitors, down from over 400,000 in the late 1990s (Waterton Lakes National Park Management Plan 2010:12).

4 The survey ended a process that was started in 1861, but then interrupted due to civil war in the United States.

5 The Franklin expedition is the most famous example of this phenomenon. Parks Canada's present involvement in this story provides a complex connection between parks and explorer accounts; see http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/franklin-searchers-find-bones-artifacts-but-no-ships-1.1862083

References

Abram, David
    1996 The Spell of the Sensuous: Perception and Language in a More-Than-Human World. New York: Pantheon.
Banks, Marcus, and Jay Ruby
    2011 Made to Be Seen: Perspectives on the History of Visual Anthropology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226036632.001.0001
Batchen, Geoffrey
    1997 Burning With Desire: The Conception of Photography. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Bedford, Christopher
    2009 Qualifying Photography as Art, or, Is Photography All It Can Be? *In* Words Without Pictures. Alex Klien, ed. Pp. 4–11. New York: Aperture.
Bender, Barbara
    1993 Introduction. Landscape—Meaning and Action. *In* Landscape Politics and Perspectives. Barbara Bender, ed. Pp. 1–18. Oxford: Berg.
Bennett, Jane
    2010 Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Berland, Jody
    1991 Fire and Flame, Lightning and Landscape: Tourism and Nature in Banff, Alberta. *In* Between Views and Points of View. Daina Augaitis and Sylvie Gilbert, eds. Pp. 12–17. Banff: Walter Phillips Gallery.

Birrell, Andrew J.
  1996 The North American Boundary Commission. Three
        Photographic Expeditions, 1872–74. History of
        Photography 20(2):113–121. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/
        03087298.1996.10443633
Braun, Bruce
  2002 The Intemperate Rainforest: Nature, Culture and
        Power on Canada's West Coast. Minneapolis:
        University of Minnesota Press.
  2008 Environmental Issues: Inventive Life. Progress in
        Human Geography 32(5):667–679. http://dx.doi.org/
        10.1177/0309132507088030
Campbell, Claire Elizabeth
  2011 Introduction Governing a Kingdom: Parks Canada,
        1911–2011. In A Century of Parks Canada 1911–2011.
        Claire Elizabeth Campbell, ed. Pp. 10–19. Calgary:
        University of Calgary Press.
Crary, Jonathan
  1992 Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity
        in the 19th Century. October Book. Cambridge, MA:
        MIT Press.
Culhane, Dara
  2011 Introduction to New Directions in Experimental and
        Engaged Anthropology. Anthropologica 53(2):201–
        206.
Darnell, Regna
  1998 Toward a History of Canadian Departments of
        Anthropology: Retrospect, Prospect and Common
        Cause. Anthropologica 40(2):153–168. http://
        dx.doi.org/10.2307/25605894
Dawson, George Mercer (G.M.)
  1874 The 1874 Journal of George Mercer Dawson. http://
        www.ourheritage.net/index_page_stuff/
        following_trails/Dawson/Dawson_74/
        Dawson_1874_Intro.html, accessed February 2013.
  1875 Report on the Geology and Resources of the Region
        in the Vicinity of the Forty-ninth Parallel from the
        Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains.
        Montréal: Dawson Brothers. http://dx.doi.org/10.5962/
        bhl.title.62419
Dawson, George Mercer with Phil Jenkins
  2007 Beneath My Feet: The Memoirs of George Mercer
        Dawson. Toronto: Emblem.
Derrida, Jacques
  1996 Archive Fever. A Freudian Impression. Chicago:
        University of Chicago Press.
Derrida, Jacques and Peggy Kamuf
  2002 Without Alibi. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University
        Press.
Djuff, Ray
  1999 High on a Windy Hill: The Story of the Prince of
        Wales Hotel. Surrey: Rocky Mountain Books.
Edwards, Elizabeth
  2009 Unblushing Realism and the Threat of the Pictorial:
        Photographic Survey and the Production of Evidence
        1885–1918. History of Photography 33(1):3–17. http://
        dx.doi.org/10.1080/03087290802586153
Edwards, Elizabeth and Kaushik Bhaumik
  2008 Visual Sense and Cultures of Sight: An Introduction.
        In Visual Sense. A Cultural Reader. Elizabeth

Edwards and Kaushik Bhaumik, eds. Pp. 3–16.
        Oxford: Berg.
Edwards, Elizabeth and Janice Hart
  2004 Mixed Box: The Cultural Biography of a Box of
        "Ethnographic" Photographs. In Photographs Objects
        Histories. On the Materiality of Images. Elizabeth
        Edwards and Janice Hart, eds. Pp. 47–61. London:
        Routledge.
Environics Institute
  2010 Focus Canada 2010: Public Opinion Research on the
        Record. Serving the Public Interest. Toronto:
        Environics Institute. http://www.queensu.ca/cora/
        _files/fc2010report.pdf, accessed May 2012.
Fife, Wayne
  2006 National Parks and Disappearing People: Romantic
        Landscapes and the Urbanization of Rural Spaces in
        Newfoundland. In Galicia and Terranova and
        Labrador" Comparative Studies on Economic,
        Political and Socio-Economic Processes. Xaquin
        Rodriguez Campos and Xose Santos Solla, eds. Pp.
        31–54. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de
        Santiago de Compostela.
Foucault, Michel
  1969 [1972]
        The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on
        Language. A.M. Sheridan Smith, trans. New York:
        Pantheon Books.
Fuentes, Agustin
  2011 The Whole Is More Than the Sum of the Parts:
        Extended Minds and Extended Selves. Fieldsights—
        Theorizing the Contemporary, Cultural Anthropology
        Online. http://www.culanth.org/fieldsights/230-the-
        whole-is-more-than-the-sum-of-the-parts-extended-
        minds-and-extended-selves, accessed April 23, 2011.
Gibson, James J.
  1966 The Senses Considered as Perceptual Systems.
        Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
Grasseni, Cristina
  2004 Video and Ethnographic Knowledge: Skilled Vision in
        the Practice of Breeding. In Working Images: Visual
        Research and Representation in Ethnography. Sarah
        Pink, László Kurti and Ana Isabel Afonso, eds. Pp.
        16–29. New York: Routledge.
Greenhill, Ralph and Andrew Birrell
  1979 Canadian Photography:1839–1920. Toronto: The
        Coach House Press.
Grimshaw, Anna and Amanda Ravetz
  2005 Introduction: Visualizing Anthropology. In
        Visualizing Anthropology. Anna Grimshaw and
        Amanda Ravetz, eds. Pp. 1–16. Bristol, Portland:
        Intellect.
Haraway, Donna Jeanne
  2004 The Haraway Reader. New York: Routledge.
  2008 When Species Meet. Posthumanities, vol. 3.
        Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Hayles, N. Katherine
  1995 Searching for Common Ground. In Reinventing
        Nature? Responses to Postmodern Deconstruction.
        Michael E. Soule and Gary Lease, eds. Pp. 47–63.
        Washington, DC: Island Press.

Ingold, Tim

    1993 The Temporality of Landscape. World Archaeology 25(2):152–174.

    2000 The Perception of the Environment. Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill. London: Routledge. http://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9780203466025

    2008 The Eye of the Storm: Visual Perception and the Weather. *In* Visual Sense. A Cultural Reader. Elizabeth Edwards and Kaushik Bhaumik, eds. Pp. 377–386. Oxford: Berg.

    2011 Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description. London: Routledge.

    2012 Toward an Ecology of Materials. Annual Review of Anthropology 41(1):427–442. http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev-anthro-081309-145920

Kaplan, Elisabeth

    2002 "Many Paths to Partial Truths": Archives, Anthropology and the Power of Representation. Archival Science 2(3-4):209–220. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/BF02435622

Latour, Bruno

    1993 We Have Never Been Modern. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Loo, Tina

    2006 States of Nature. Conserving Canada's Wildlife in the Twentieth Century. Vancouver: UBC Press.

MacLaren, Ian

    1985 The Aesthetic Map of the North, 1845–1859. Arctic 38(2):88–103.

    1999 Cultured Wilderness in Jasper National Park. Canadian Studies 34(3):7–58.

    2007 Introduction. *In* Culturing Wilderness in Jasper National Park: Two Centuries of Human History in the Upper Athabasca River Watershed. I.S. MacLaren, ed. Pp. xv–xliii. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press.

MacLaren, Ian, Eric Higgs and Gabrielle Zezulka-Mailloux

    2005 Mapper of Mountains. M.P. Bridgland in the Canadian Rockies. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press.

McCord Museum

    n.d. Notman, William McFarlane. http://www.mccordmuseum.qc.ca/scripts/explore.php?Lang=1&tableid=1&tablename=artist&elementid=00479_true, accessed July 19, 2010.

Parks Canada

    2008 National Parks System. http://www.pc.gc.ca/progs/np-pn/pr-sp/index_e.asp, accessed February 2013.

    2010a Canada's Greatest Summer Job 2010: Parks Canada news release, Parks Canada Newsroom online, April 14. http://www.pc.gc.ca, accessed April 2010.

    2010b Parks Canada Charter. http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/agen/chart/chartr.aspx, accessed August 2010.

    2010c Parks Canada Waterton Lakes National Park of Canada: Management Plan. Ottawa: Government of Canada.

    2013 Wild in Waterton: Images from Waterton's Remote Cameras, Parks Canada Waterton Lakes National Park of Canada. http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/pn-np/ab/waterton/ne/ne5/ne5l.aspx, accessed December 2013.

Pink, Sarah

    2006 The Future of Visual Anthropology: Engaging the Senses. Oxon: Routledge.

Porcello, Thomas, Louise Meintjes, Ana Maria Ochoa and David W. Samuels

    2010 The Reorganization of the Sensory World. Annual Review of Anthropology 39(1):51–66. http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.012809.105042

Povinelli, Elizabeth

    2011 The Woman on the Other Side of the Wall: Archiving the Otherwise in Postcolonial Digital Archives. Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies 22(1):146–171. http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/10407391-1218274

    2013 The Anthropocene Project: An Opening. Keynote presentation. Haus der Kulturen der Welt. Published on January 20, 2013. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W6TLlgTg3LQ, accessed April 2013.

Reeves, Brian (Barney)

    1994 Ninaistákis—the Nitsitapii's Sacred Mountain: Traditional Native Religious Activities and Land Use/Tourism Conflicts. *In* Sacred Sites, Sacred Places. David L. Carmichael, Jane Hubert, Brian Reeves and Audhild Schanche, eds. Pp: 265–296. London: Routledge.

Richter, Gerhard

    2010 Between Translation and Invention: The Photograph in Deconstruction. *In* Copy, Archive, Signature: A Conversation on Photography. Pp. ix–xxxviii. Jacques Derrida. Jeff Fort, trans. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Sandlos, John

    2007 Hunters at the Margin: Native People and Wildlife Conservation in the Northwest Territories. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Sekula, Allan

    1986 The Body and the Archive. October 39:3–64. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/778312

Smith, Charles H.

    2002 Rock Stars: George Mercer Dawson: Pioneer Explorer of Western Canada. GSA Today 12(8):16–17. http://dx.doi.org/10.1130/1052-5173(2002)012<0016:RSGMDP>2.0.CO;2

Smith, Trudi Lynn

    2007 Repeat Photography as Method in Visual Anthropology. Visual Anthropology 20(2–3):179–200. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08949460601152815

    2004 Vantage Points, Scientific Photography in Jasper National Park. The Bridgland and Repeat Photography Projects. MA thesis, interdisciplinary, University of Victoria (ProQuest).

Steedman, Carolyn

    2002 Dust. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Tilley, Christopher

    1994 A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths, and Monuments. Oxford: Berg.

Webb, Jenaya

    2003 Imaging and Imagining: Mapping, Repeat Photography, and Ecological Restoration in Jasper

National Park. MA thesis, Department of
Anthropology, University of Alberta (ProQuest).

Weems, Carrie Mae
    2009 Compassion. Art 21: Season 5. Art in the Twenty-
    First Century. PBS.

Wells, Liz
    2011 Land Matters: Landscape, Photography, Culture and
    Identity. London: I.B. Tauris.

West, Paige, James Igoe and James Brockington
    2006 Parks and Peoples: The Social Impact of Protected
    Areas. Annual Review of Anthropology 35(1):251–277.
    http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/
    annurev.anthro.35.081705.123308

Willems-Braun, Bruce
    1997 Buried Epistemologies: The Politics of Nature in
    (Post)colonial British Columbia. Annals of the
    Association of American Geographers 87(1):3–31.
    http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/0004-5608.00039

Winthrop, Kathryn
    2001 Historical Ecology: Landscapes of Change in the
    Pacific Northwest. *In* New Directions in
    Anthropology and the Environment. C. Crumley, ed.
    Pp. 203–222. Walnut Creek,CA: Altamira Press.

Sharing Identity through Indigenous Tourism: Osoyoos Indian Band's Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre

Katie Bresner *University of Victoria*

Abstract: Expressing a visual, indigenous identity in tourism can be a balancing act between maintaining a level of recognition and familiarity that mirrors the expectations of the public imagination and conveying a representation that is locally meaningful and emblematic to hosts. This article addresses this issue through the example of the Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre, owned and operated by the Osoyoos Indian Band (OIB) of British Columbia. Semiotic and visual analyses were used to explain the messages about OIB identity that the Centre communicates and to provide a framework to discuss three main issues in tourism discourse: control, hybridity and authenticity.

Keywords: indigenous tourism, semiotics, visual identity, authenticity, hybridity, museum

Résumé : L'expression visuelle de l'identité autochtone dans le secteur touristique s'avère parfois un exercice d'équilibre. Il faut maintenir un niveau de reconnaissance et de familiarité qui répond aux attentes et aux imaginaires du public, mais aussi projeter une représentation qui est localement signifiante et caractéristique des hôtes. Cet article s'intéresse à ce sujet au travers de l'exemple du Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre de la bande indienne Osoyoos (BIO) de la Colombie-Britannique. Les messages concernant l'identité de la BIO que véhicule le centre sont étudiés à partir d'analyses sémiotiques et visuelles qui offrent également un cadre pour considérer trois grands enjeux propres au discours sur le tourisme : le contrôle, l'hybridité et l'authenticité.

Mots-clés : tourisme autochtone, sémantique, identité visuelle, authenticité, hybridité, musée

Introduction

In general, all tourist destinations must create a product and market themselves to attract tourists. Indigenous tourism is no different, except for the fact that this niche promotes indigenous people and their specific histories and cultures as the primary attraction or is owned and operated by indigenous peoples (Butler and Hinch 2007:5). Generally, it can be said that indigenous peoples are familiar with setting boundaries around cultural identity; indeed, westerners have been creating boundaries for them since the colonial period. For many of the world's indigenous peoples today, survival is often based on the validation of their identity as "indigenous" to gain political power and recognition, as well as land, resource and intellectual property rights (Niezen 2003, 2004). In tourism, they can also use cultural identity to compete in the industry.

Despite being a fluid concept and a process of interaction, as it is largely understood in anthropology today, culture is redefined and reimagined as something discrete to make it commercially viable in the tourism industry. Culture, ethnicity (Wood 1998:230), identity or heritage (Butler and Hinch 2007:326; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998 in Chambers 2010:99; MacDonald 1997), regardless of how these are differentiated, becomes a resource and a product. In her study of Tribal Tours, a company that offers tours of Tlingit culture and history in Sitka, Alaska, Bunten writes that

> in the same way the Native arts are simplified for non-Native consumption, culture itself must be simplified for tourist consumption, with the culture on display transformed into iconic visuals such as traditional dress, digestible sound bites such as a greeting in the Native tongue and standardized ethnographic information presented on tour. [Bunten 2008:386]

Various elements of history and culture are simplified, including the most desirable aspects (and often excluding those undesirable aspects) of a group's identity,

culture, history and heritage. What is included and what is excluded are decisions made under both internal and external influences, from in-group preferences (in cases where the group on display has some control over their representation), to consumer expectations and desires, economic interests, industry guidelines, tourism markets, aesthetics and opinions about what constitutes a "good product." In addition, "increased competition among travel firms forces them to seek further for more undiscovered destinations or to reinvent existing destinations and their populations according to the latest marketing intelligence reports or consumer trends" (Burns 2006:14). The commodification of culture enforces an understanding of culture not unlike perspectives that drove colonialism and social evolutionists in the past. Cultures are seen as isolated pockets of distinct people with distinct ways of life. In tourism, this is further reduced to permit fleeting engagements with outsiders, as that is the nature of the typical tourist's experience.

Two concepts work to reconcile the apparent conundrum just described. These are authenticity and hybridity. However, the element of control is crucial to their manifestation in practice. In this article, I consider authenticity and hybridity through the case study of the Osoyoos Indian Band's (OIB) Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre (NDCC) by investigating how OIB identity is displayed in this tourism setting. First, I build the theoretical framework behind this investigation, discussing the issue of power and control in tourism. I then define authenticity and hybridity before outlining indigenous tourism in Canada more generally. Finally, I take three exhibits at the NDCC—the film *Coyote Spirit*, the Inkameep Day School exhibit and the Okanagan village—to explain how messages about OIB identity are shared at the NDCC and the important roles that authenticity and hybridity play in their exhibition. Flowing from the example of the NDCC, I reconsider the issues of control, authenticity and hybridity to conclude that (1) authenticity cannot be usefully defined without first considering cultural hybridity, and (2) the issue of control is at the root of both discourses.

The Issues of Control, Authenticity and Hybridity

Power and Control

The issue of control in tourism is complex and multifaceted, functioning within the myriad of relationships that support and structure the industry. This complexity is amplified for Indigenous peoples because they typically share a history of cultural appropriation and exploitation. Political, social and economic marginalization leaves them particularly vulnerable to some individuals, indigenous and non-indigenous, who see their distinctive cultures as an exploitable attraction. Control over their participation in tourism is sometimes the difference between continued colonization and exploitation, on the one hand, and sovereignty, self-determination and empowerment, on the other.

Following Hinch and Butler's (2007:6) interpretation of "Indigenous Tourism," the level of power indigenous hosts have at a tourism destination or attraction is a reflection of the level of their control over the destination. However, what Hinch and Butler call the "Indigenous Tourism System" (7) complicates this simplistic cross-section. The system considers the political, economic, social and physical environments that surround indigenous tourism destinations and their hosts, as well as the various elements of the tourism industry that affect them. Capturing this intricacy, Cheong and Miller (2004) summarize the tourism system in a Foucauldian, tripartite structure of relationships among hosts, guests and tourism brokers.

Hosts are restricted by their technical and financial capabilities, as well as intra-community power relations, which are unequal and heterogeneous. Guests are also subject to varying degrees of knowledge about what they experience at a tourism destination or attraction, as well as their preconceived ideas about what to expect. Finally, tourism brokers have the power to influence decisions made on the part of hosts and guests. In addition, popular discourse and government policies toward tourism all play a role in limiting the views and interactions of visitors at tourism destinations and attractions. In combination with host priorities and the actual experience sold to visitors, certain interpretations of sites are favoured. Meethan (2006:5) argues that the travel materials tourists encounter before a trip are "a form of control which channels tourist experiences into predetermined forms. The spaces of tourism are constructed, more or less consciously, to fulfill—or attempt to fulfill—such expectations." He further states that "dominant metaphors, discourses and gazes, [and] the narratives of place created and sold by tourism professionals" (9) shape tourist expectations and experiences in situ.

"The tourist gaze is constructed through signs, and tourism involves the collection of signs" (Urry 1990:3). The tourist gaze, according to Urry (1990), is in essence the visual expectations that tourists carry with them abroad: the visual in situ consumption of Meethan's "pre-determined forms." While the power of the tourist may be limited to the gaze, authenticity can sometimes get lost among the mêlée of gazes when tourists would prefer to see what they expect, rather than what is

perhaps the reality (Rojek 1997:71). The tourist's position of power is an unstable one and, because tourism operators construct sites, they have the power to direct and construct the tourist's gaze. (MacCannell in Urry 1990:9). As Bruner (2004) discovered in his study on three Masaai attractions, despite efforts by operators to send particular messages to visitors, there was a mix of reactions from them—seeing did not necessarily equate to understanding or acceptance and satisfaction. He writes that

> Urry's tourist gaze is too empiricist, too monolithic, too lacking in agency and too visual to encompass these varied tourist reactions. The gaze does not have the power of Foucault's panopticon, for it is not all-seeing and enveloping. It is variable, and there are seepages and doubts. [Bruner 2004:151]

Strain (2003:11) suggests that the real question of the tourist gaze is in understanding "how individuals see across cultural difference in an era of increasingly commercialized and global culture." To understand how tourists "see," it is useful, particularly to this study, to first understand how hosts intend to be seen and how they direct the gaze and transgress boundaries of cultural difference in an era of increasingly commercialized and global culture.

In reality, power is not evenly distributed among tourists, hosts and brokers and the relationships between them vary by case study. While it is clear that indigenous peoples do occupy a place within the tourism system, Ryan (2005:73) states that the real issue of power becomes a question of whether or not indigenous peoples "occupy those key nodes wherein they begin to own the messages and direct the information flows." Since power in tourism is multifaceted, even when the host is in control of the images and messages conveyed through the tourism experience, that host is not entirely in control of the decisions made about what to display, how to display it and how it is interpreted.

Authenticity

MacCannell's *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (1976) was one of the first authoritative texts on authenticity in tourism. MacCannell argued that the primary motivation for tourists to travel is to find the "authentic" (Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003:23)—authentic landscapes, authentic cultures, authentic people and so forth. MacCannell concludes (Burns 2006:14) that the authentic does not exist in tourism; it is something unachievable since the "backstage" space sought after by tourists in the search for the authentic is violated by their presence. The process of commodification inevitably "inauthenticates" culture, thus, "in MacCannell's

terms, this standardization ... is itself evidence of inauthenticity and alienation" (MacDonald 1997:156). MacCannell's argument is based on the binaries of authentic and inauthentic, which subsequent anthropological scholarship has more or less entirely dissected (e.g., see Bruner 1994, 2004; Handler and Linnekin 1984; MacLeod 2006; Olson 2002; Schouten 2006). What these authors have in common is an understanding that authenticity, rather than being something inherent in an object or experience, is a culturally constructed notion. For instance, as Handler and Linnekin summarize, "authenticity is always defined in the present. It is not pastness or givenness that defines something as traditional. Rather, the latter is an arbitrary symbolic designation; an assigned meaning rather than an objective quality" (1984: 286). In this sense, the same can be said directly about authenticity, in that it has an "assigned meaning rather than an objective quality."

However, indigenous tourist destinations and attractions can be faced with the challenge of presenting an easy-to-consume version of identity, one that will meet or exceed tourist expectations. Part of creating displays (for instance, in the context of a cultural centre) and developing marketing and branding, requires the use of imagery that reinforces discrete conceptions of culture. Here one is met with a paradox—culture and authenticity are boundless concepts; yet, in a sense, tourism forces these into bounded categories.

One might conclude that "real," "authentic" culture does not exist so much as all cultures are real and authentic (Bruner 2004:146). However, MacCannell (1999) and Chambers (2010) draw an important line—the limits of authenticity extend only so far as people have significant control over the changes that occur in their society. "Authenticity ... is determined primarily by people's ability to choose for themselves those elements of stability and change that make their lives meaningful" (Chambers 2010:5). Power and control are therefore important components to understanding authenticity.

As Edward Bruner points out, while all cultures in and of themselves are real and authentic, "this is quite different from the concept of 'authenticity,' which implies an inherent distinction between what is authentic and inauthentic, applies labels to cultures, and values one more than the other" (2004:146). In his study of New Salem, Bruner argues that there are four meanings of authenticity: (1) to be credible and convincing; (2) to be a complete and immaculate simulation; (3) to be an original, as opposed to a copy; or (4) to be duly authorized, certified or legally valid (1994:399–400). Even further, Bruner asserts that "the more fundamental question to ask here is not if an object or site is authentic, but rather who has the authority to authenticate, which

is a matter of power" (1994:400). Much like the Foucauldian tripartite power structure described previously, as power is divided unevenly, I argue that tourism brokers, visitors and indigenous hosts share the authorization of authenticity. This authorization follows that structure of power: authenticity gains or loses meaning as it mirrors relationships of power, as these affect the validity of a visual display or message.

Hybridity

Some anthropologists (see a summary in Nash 1996) have considered the economic development of indigenous communities through tourism to be a form of acculturation. It is a process of globalization and an example of homogenization. Tourism, by its very nature, is intercultural (Nash 1996). Particularly with indigenous tourism, part of the desire to travel is for one "culture" to meet another. It exists among other indigenous and non-indigenous institutions, such as government bodies, tourism brokers, tourism media and the discourses that inform interpretation and representation. Does entering the tourism industry and global economy mean the indigenous host is becoming more like the capitalist world majority by "developing" through tourism? Or is another process in action? Another interpretation is hybridization, which is the process I argue is occurring in the NDCC.

Following Appuradai's translocalities, hybridization is "where a variety of circulating populations create new types of communities" (Wood 1998:222). Hall explains the process of hybridity:

> Everywhere, cultural identities are emerging which are not fixed but poised, in *transition*, between different positions, which draw on different cultural traditions at the same time and which are the product of those complicated crossovers and cultural mixings that are increasingly common in a globalized world. [1992:310]

This explanation fits well into the understanding that cultures are not fixed, but amorphous. Mahon summarizes how hybridity influences questions about authenticity, homogenization and heterogeneity:

> The undeniable hybridity of the contemporary global scene is accompanied by anxiety about purity and authenticity, on the part of both the producers and the anthropologists who write about them. Often, in reference to third and fourth world populations, anthropologists who encounter what Feld calls the homogenization-heterogenization debate, in which mixing, creolization and hybridization are opposed to tradition, cultural authenticity and integrity. Is "indigenous" involvement with media, for example, a

> means through which people add their voices to the cultural discourse of the world? Or is it more evidence of "Cultural homogenization"? [2000:480]

Mahon's definition of hybridity is useful in understanding the concept, but carries an important assumption. Mahon's suggestion that authenticity and hybridity are mutually exclusive is deceptive, since it assumes an authenticity that is defined by some sort of true cultural form. This, as Marwan Kraidy (2005:75) points out, speaks to the "myth of cultural purity."

As illustrated by Sahlins (1993) and Hall (1992:305), "societies of the periphery have *always* been open to Western cultural influences and are now more so." And vice versa. Hybridity is "undeniable" (Mahon 2000:480). For instance, as Doxtator demonstrates, even some things that are today considered "traditional" are past hybrids:

> Ribbon shirts, fancy baskets and trade silver are often deemed to be aspects of traditional Rotinonhsyonni culture, yet all of these are expressions which have come into being as a result of contact with Europeans. We have borrowed songs, words and technologies from other Ogwehonwe nations over thousands of years of trading and interacting with one another. [Doxtator 1995:12]

Hybridity can be understood as a process, which is useful in understanding identity formation, if it is assumed that culture derives meaning from both internal and external relations (Burns 2006:16; Burns and Novelli 2006:3).

As people develop tourism within their communities, there are changes in production as objects shift from having domestic value to having commercial value (Chambers 2010:112; also Gmelch 2004:16) and a change in context as both the tangible and intangible are put on display or sold. This can in turn change the meanings attached to objects and the production processes (Chambers 2010:112–113; Gmelch 2004:16). Tourism can even change how a community sees itself (Chambers 2010:33–34) but this does not necessarily equate to inauthenticity. Hybridity and control are both key to understanding authenticity.

Myers states that indigenous peoples' engagement with "western" business worlds is "an assertion of indigenous meanings rather than homogenization" (1991:38). While his study is of contemporary Australian Aboriginal art, it applies to tourism as well. Considering acculturation or the changes in identity that occur as communities, art, and social, economic and political realities change, Myers continues that "to see these claims— their identities—as 'our' product (as from colonization)

is to colonize doubly by denying them their own histories" (1991:50). And, one might add, denying them their contemporary realities. Hybridity is a concept that accepts the porous nature of culture, and taking this theory as a foundation allows for a broader understanding of "authenticity" and gives greater merit to social and cultural history. By emphasizing hybridity as a part of cultural history and identity, the tourist gaze can shift from seeking something predetermined to viewing a cultural identity that is more representatively authentic, as is the case at the NDCC.

Indigenous Tourism in Canada

Seeing Indigenous North America

There are enduring perceptions of North America's indigenous populations that were created during colonization and have been maintained through time by academics, artists, marketers, moviemakers, museums and writers (Doxtator 1992a:13–14, 45). These images are based on ideas that "real Indians" exist in the past and are located in North America's heritage and history (Doxtator 1992a:26, 31; Root 1996:68). Canadian perceptions of indigenous people include close associations with nature, history and a spiritual and non-technological lifestyle. They have been seen as wild people, exotic, unpredictable, dangerous, violent, primitive, outside of society and unable to function in modernity (Doxtator 1992a:18, 27, 45, 59). In the past, these ideas were used to justify Canadian policies of non-indigenous settlement and non-indigenous control over indigenous people (59).

In tourism, one result of stereotyping indigenous peoples in North America is a desire to encounter the "real Indian," which is, of course, largely fictional. From Edward Curtis (Griffiths 2002:236) to today (Forte 2010:1), the idea of the "real Indian" remains pervasive. It has also influenced what has been called a "pan-Indian" identity, where distinct groups are lumped together under umbrella terms, ideas and expectations:

> In the case of the indigenous peoples of North America, the mass media powerfully shapes tourists' expectations of Native peoples, in part by lumping them all together and ignoring each nation's distinctive history and culture. This results in a blurred, generic "seen one Indian, seen 'em all" image that expects the teepees and feather bonnets of the Plains to appear on the Pacific Coast. [Pitchford 2008:99]

In some situations, the "cultural centre" has become a means for indigenous communities to represent their own culture and history, while remaining well within the framework of the traditional museum. The primary difference, of course, is that, unlike a museum, the assumed proprietor is not a federal, provincial, municipal or academic body but a tribal or band council. Certainly, in reality, even indigenous-run museums do not exist in isolation without external influence or support from whatever bodies they happen to be associated with. For this reason and their essential structure as museums, cultural centres occupy a hybrid space where communities are able to represent themselves and challenge popular cultural stereotypes.

The Osoyoos Indian Band (OIB)

The OIB was formed in 1877, a year after the passing of the first Indian Act. Like other communities in the Okanagan, life was forever changed by a smallpox epidemic that reduced the population by 80 per cent and by the arrival of Europeans that followed at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The gold rush, fur trade and missionaries brought settlers. The first reserves were established in the 1860s and the Indian Act made assimilation and the repression of Okanagan tradition, language and culture federal policy. Across Canada, since the 1860s and into the 1980s, Aboriginal children were removed from their families and communities to be sent to residential schools, where "education" was imposed by these misguided policies. The story on the Inkameep Reserve went differently.

Chief Baptiste George established the Inkameep Day School in 1915, built and staffed through the OIB's funds. As Anthony Walsh described him, Chief George "was ahead of his time in that he wanted his children taught within their own background, not sent away to residential schools" (Walsh n.d.). Chief George "foresaw a need to empower his people, as he realized a new era was beginning in the Inkameep Valley, an era for which he wanted his children and his people to be prepared" (Baptiste 2005:17). Anthony Walsh taught at the Inkameep Day School from 1932 to 1942 and, valuing Okanagan traditions, language and culture, he encouraged the Day School children to share and express their identities through the visual and performing arts (Virtual Museum of Canada 2004: "Chief Ba[p]tiste George"). The extraordinariness of this style of teaching in a climate where forced assimilation and cultural repression through the residential school system were the norm cannot be understated. The school closed eight years after Walsh left; the drawings produced by the Day School students are now displayed prominently in the NDCC.

The Band has continued to be influenced by the leadership and philosophy of Chief Baptiste George. In 1962, the OIB initiated an economic development project by leasing reserve land to the Cherry Grove Golf Course

and Cherry Grove Motel. Electricity came to the reserve in 1965, followed closely by more developments, including the establishment of the Inkameep Campground and Inkameep Vineyards. In 1981, the Okanagan Nation Alliance was formed, which, as the inaugural First Nations government in the Okanagan, represents seven other communities as well as the Coleville Confederated Tribes in the United States. The Alliance works "collectively to advance and assert Okanagan nation Title and Rights over the Okanagan Nation Territory" (Okanagan Nations Alliance 2010). After the 1982 Repatriation of the Canadian Constitution and Constitution Act, Section 35, which recognized and affirmed existing indigenous territory and treaty rights, several land claim settlements returned land to the Okanagan Nation and the OIB was awarded economic compensation.

The economic and political power of the OIB continued to grow under the leadership of Chief Clarence Louie, who succeeded his grandfather as Chief in 1985. "Since he took over ... his band has gone from bankruptcy to annual revenues of more than $13 million" and, by 2006, the Band had created more jobs in Osoyoos than there were band members to fill them (Pulfer 2007). The NDCC is only one of the Band's many businesses. For Chief Clarence Louie, the self-sufficiency created through entrepreneurship and business development "is the best way to secure the right of his people to be who they are, to take pride in their heritage and to protect the fragile desert landscape in which a good part of their cultural identity is forever rooted" (Anderson et al. 2006:52). This message is precisely what is expressed through the exhibits at the NDCC.

The Nk'mip Desert Cultural Centre (NDCC)

The NDCC opened in 2006 as part of the 200-acre Nk'Mip Resort. This $9 million, state-of-the-art cultural centre was designed by Aldrich Pears Associates, a Canadian design firm; the architecture is the work of Hotson Bakker Boniface Haden Architects. The design and architecture were the result of an ongoing consultation process between these firms and the OIB. The Band's budget limited the size of the Centre, its location and the extent of the exhibitions, as well as influencing the choice of what and how to exhibit. The investment put into the Centre was based partially on consumer feedback and market patterns in an attempt to build a business that, at the very least, breaks even. Primarily, the purpose of the NDCC is to teach visitors who the OIB are.

The NDCC's mandate is twofold: to promote Okanagan Indigenous culture and heritage and to aid in the conservation of the rare desert plant and animal species found in the area. The Centre and its displays are organized around three themes: the lands, the legends and the people. These themes are expressed through the various displays, exhibits and programming at the Centre. They are overlapping since the displays and themes at the Centre are not isolated. Learning about the lands also teaches visitors about the people in terms of how they used, and are still using, the land. Sharing legends incorporates messages of land use and, by extension, a glimpse into the OIB's perspectives and understandings of the land, themselves and the relationships in-between.

Methodology

For the average visitor to the NDCC, by and large, the experience is visual. Save for the NDCC's additional programming, visitors spend time watching films and looking at the Centre's galleries. When I visited the NDCC during the off-season, I spent a week with the manager of the Centre, Charlotte Stringam, who was also a councillor on the OIB Chief and Council at the time of writing. As this project seeks to understand visual interpretation and the conscious catering of exhibits and displays to visual experience, my own visual experiences at the NDCC paired with semiotic analysis are useful tools to illustrate how identity is expressed at the Centre. Additional information was provided by formal interviews with key OIB members: Charlotte; Chief Clarence Louie; Bob Etienne, a cultural interpreter at the Centre; and Brenda Baptiste, previous co-manager and developer of the NDCC.

Semiotic analysis has been used in previous studies of marketing and tourism, primarily in the analysis of advertising (Bhattacharyya 1997; Echtner 1999; Hopkins 1998; Jenkins 2003; Mick 1986; Nelson 2005; Pennington and Thomsen 2010). While usefully applied to the analysis of advertisements, semiotic analysis is also a helpful tool for organizing and revealing the meanings embedded in the visuals presented to a tourist in situ. It is through the analysis of exhibits experienced visually that one can begin to understand what is being communicated to the Centre's visitors. However, it is important to recognize that semiotic analysis is an analysis of interpretation, and results are not comprehensive. This is why it is also important to take into serious consideration the contemporary context in which these visuals are presented, as well as the historical context that empower sign meanings, which is why this project is also well informed by the related literature and data derived from interviews. It should also be noted that not all exhibits and displays lend themselves well to semiotic analysis—some, such as the Okanagan village, are not purely
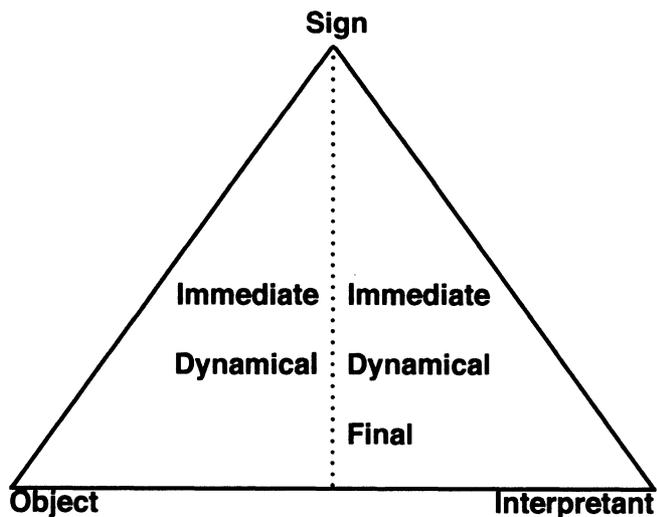
Sign

Figure 1: My semiotic model.

visual experiences but are also tactile, audial and embodied. For this reason, I limit my semiotic analysis to the Inkameep Day School Gallery.

The semiotic model used to assess visual displays was generated from the combination of two models of the sign, the first provided by Metro-Roland (2009) and the second by Pennington and Thomsen (2010). Both of their studies apply the Peircian semiotic model to tourism. Metro-Roland's (2009:273) model breaks down Peirce's sign into its three parts: the object, the representamen and the interpretant. Peirce used the term *representamen* almost interchangeably with sign—essentially it connects the object to the interpretant in the process of semiosis. Metro-Roland quotes Peirce's definition of a sign, or representamen, "as anything which is so determined by something else, called its Object, and so determines an effect upon a person, which effect is called its Interpretant, that the latter is thereby mediately determined by the former" (2009:272). The object and interpretant are broken down further. The object is broken down into two parts: the immediate and dynamical. The immediate object is the tangible visual being assessed. The dynamical object, on the other hand, is not represented in situ, but is something that is represented *by* the immediate object of the sign. Metro-Roland summarizes the dynamical object as "the object external to the semiotic process of representation, it compels the sign and offers resistance and the boundaries within which interpretation can take place" (2009:273). For example, a library is a tangible, physical structure that exists: the immediate object. Yet, it is also a dynamical object. For a student, it is a place to find information, to succeed academically or to otherwise carry

out one's sentence. For the librarians, it is their place of work.

The interpretant is separated into three parts: the immediate, dynamical and final. The interpretant is essentially understood as the interpretation of the sign and, as such, is a process that results in an interpretation that is either right or wrong. Metro-Roland writes that "the immediate interpretant is the *possibility* of interpretation as embodied in the sign, the 'meaning' of the sign before *an* actual interpretation, which [Peirce] terms the dynamical interpretant" (2009:273). The final interpretant is "the deliberately formed self-analyzing habit" (273)—the naturalized, automatic reaction elicited by the interpretation of the sign. For example, a driver sees a yellow road sign with the silhouette of a deer in the centre of it. The driver's recognition of the object as a road sign is the immediate interpretant. The driver's understanding that the sign depicts a deer and his comprehension that it is alerting him to the possible presence of the animal make up the dynamical interpretant. The driver scanning the road and roadside for any sign of deer about to jump onto the road is the final interpretant. Built into the interpretation process is what Peirce calls *collateral experience*, which is the prior knowledge or preconceived ideas that inform the interpretation (Pennington and Thomsen 2010:36). Collateral experience is also informed by referents: "The actual object in the world to which the sign is related" (Rose 2001:74). Pennington and Thomsen create a simpler model based on the same principle: the sign is made up of an object and interpretant (2010:36). I combined these models for the semiotic analysis of the Day School Gallery (see Figure 1).

The following visual analysis of the NDCC is based on the average visitor experience, taken from the explanations provided by interviewees and my personal experiences, including the tour that I received in situ (the same tour most tourists receive when visiting). While the visuals at the Centre are based on the themes of the lands, legends and people, they also carry messages about OIB identity—primarily, transformation, temporality and authenticity. I will describe how these messages were expressed at the Centre through the examples of the film *Coyote Spirit*, the Inkameep Day School Gallery and the Okanagan village. Finally, I will discuss what this adds to the discussion of power, authenticity and hybridity in tourism discourse.

Coyote Spirit and Transformation

One of the first exhibits visitors experience at the NDCC is a viewing of the film *Coyote Spirit* (2006), which is significant to the OIB for at least two reasons.

First, it shows much of the physical landscape and locations of cultural and historical significance, such as the reserve cemetery and Spotted Lake. It also features local actors. Second is the message of the film, which Brenda Baptiste described simply as "transformation" (Interview, 9 March 2011), a message repeated throughout the Centre.

Coyote Spirit tells the story of a young girl raised off-reserve who reluctantly visits her grandparents on-reserve and, over the course of her summer there, learns to embrace her heritage, history and culture. The story of the young girl's transformation is one that was experienced by many of the Band members with whom I spoke. Bob Etienne (pers. comm., 10 December 2010) and Charlotte Stringam (pers. comm., 8 December 2010) told me about their similar experiences, both having left Osoyoos to return years later. The intention behind the film is to share this relatable experience with visitors to create a contemporary setting and mental framework and a perspective from which to understand the rest of the Centre. For Brenda, it goes even further:

> If you go back far enough, all people are indigenous. They all have a culture and a belief and a way of looking at the world through a spiritual, cultural lens. It's ... what makes up your identity. You get your identity from your great grandparents, which [is] passed on to your grandparents and to your parents. You still hold onto that. And what we wanted was [for] people to engage and understand that their indigenous roots were just as powerful as ours. [pers. comm., 9 March 2011]

The film is intended to go beyond sharing a common story and important local landmarks. As it builds a mental framework for visitors to view the rest of the Centre, it is meant to simultaneously break down any perceived cultural barriers between host and guest. It is not just a film about the OIB, but, fundamentally, a film about being human and coming to terms with our identities. All people have a heritage and family history, and from this foundation, *Coyote Spirit* uses spirituality and attachment to place to bring about transformation. It is also with this foundation that visitors can begin to relate and refocus their gazes as they tour the rest of the Centre.

Coyote Spirit is also meant to inspire other indigenous communities and to stand as an example of what is possible. It is meant to evoke actual personal transformation and the hope in transformation for communities that may be struggling to maintain or rebuild a culture, a language or a history that was also victim to systematic discrimination and attempted obliteration. It

encourages viewers to celebrate and be proud of their heritages and cultures. These messages of transformation are found throughout the Centre in its visual displays and the stories that they tell, through its impressive architecture and technology and, perhaps most compelling, simply through the Centre's existence.

Imperative, too, in *Coyote Spirit* is its honesty. While it is a fictionalized account of a collective story, the story itself is based on a common experience. It emphasizes, as well, the hybrid world that the OIB live in—indigenous identities are not confined by the boundaries of reserves, nor are they bound by time. While *Coyote Spirit* invites visitors into the Centre with an open mind, it also shows viewers an authentic slice of OIB reality through storytelling. Notably, it shares a story that acknowledges the hybridity of this reality by crossing boundaries, from the literal boundaries of the reserve to temporal boundaries, by playing with more traditional aspects of Okanagan spirituality and place within a contemporary context.

The Inkameep Day School Gallery and Temporality

The Centre's main exhibit is the Inkameep Day School Gallery, which tells the story of Anthony Walsh and the school. Walsh encouraged the children to express their mixed reality, European and Okanagan, through visual arts and performance. The result is one of the most significant collections of children's art from this period in Canadian history.

A large triptych display case makes up the bulk of this exhibit. It presents a collage of photographs, paintings and drawings by Inkameep Day School students, information placards containing text and material objects and artifacts to convey aspects of the Inkameep Day School story, the history of the OIB and, of course, the lands, the legends and the people. The drawings found within the display cases are all framed by wood and white matting, which visually connects the three parts of the display. These drawings are the product of the Day School and a period of history that is so important for the OIB to share; they are the purpose for the exhibit as a whole and a vehicle for expressing contemporary and collective OIB identity. For these reasons they were the visual anchors for the semiotic analysis of the display.

Moving from left to right, the sections of the triptych display case are titled Discovery of Talent and Culture, People of the Land and Traditions Old and New. The semiotic analysis of the display began with the Discovery of Talent and Culture, though it should be noted that the display is set up in such a way that the sections

Girl with Deer | Francis (Jim) Baptiste, Sis-hu-lk

Immediate
- Teepees
- Girl in buckskin and headdress

Dynamical
- Village scene
- Closeness to animals
- Easily recognizable portrayal of a First Nations woman
- Day School drawing

Immediate
- Recognize the image as a drawing

Dynamical
- Comprehend that this drawing depicts a First Nations woman, outdoors, in a village (or temporary settlement), with a deer
- Understand that this is a drawing from the day school

Final
- Understand that this is a drawing from one of the Day School children

Object

Interpretant

Figure 2: The Discovery of Talent and Culture. Semiotic analysis, part 1.

can be experienced in any order. The content of each section is also arranged in such a manner that the eye moves randomly across it, from point-of-interest to point-of-interest. Viewing and interpretation is thus subjective. Where the viewer begins to look at the display, the path their eyes follow over the display and what is overlooked in the display will vary from person to person. Therefore, analyses of this display are not exhaustive and are based on my personal experiences and interpretations.

"Girl with Deer" by Francis Baptiste, *Sis-hu-lk*, is one of the seven children's drawings found in the Discovery of Talent and Culture section of the exhibit display. I chose to begin with this drawing because of the familiarity of it. Figure 3 reveals why it seems familiar, as it is paired directly with a letter from Walt Disney Productions (which is easily recognizable due to Disney's presence in popular culture). In reality, the two

images are viewed almost simultaneously. As with the other elements of the display, which elements are viewed in relation to each other is determined both by the items' proximity and subjective interpretation. However, for the purposes of demonstrating these relations through semiotic analysis, I begin with Figure 2.

It is immediately apparent that there are several signs found within this drawing: the teepee, the deer, the girl and the trees. Collectively, they make up a drawing, which in itself is considered a sign made up of a combination of icons, indices and symbols. As demonstrated by Figure 2, some knowledge must be present to begin the interpretation of this drawing. First of all, knowing that this is an exhibit showing drawings done by children from the Inkameep Day School leads one to assume that this is an example of such and its creator must have attended the school during Anthony Walsh's tenure. Second, familiarity with iconography that is rep-

resentative of North American "Plains Indian" culture—the teepee, the buckskin clothing, the feather headband, closeness to nature illustrated by the landscape and animals—and, of course, awareness that they are in a band's cultural centre, allows the viewer to comprehend what the scene depicts. It is a drawing of an Okanagan woman, holding an apple, near a village (or temporary settlement), with a deer. Further examination of the image shows a basket of apples at the woman's feet and an apple orchard in the background. Beyond the obvious imagery, little more can be correctly extracted from this drawing without any additional knowledge.

In the immediate vicinity of the drawing, viewers are given much more information through additional content. The content—a photograph, a letter and an information placard—all inform each other, adding information to help enhance viewers' understanding of each element. In Figure 3, viewers see the photographed portrait of Francis Baptiste, *Sis-hu-lk*. Though, to know this, one has to consult the display's legend that contains additional textual information, primarily titles and artist names, matched on a numbered map. With the aid of the legend, it becomes clear that the man pictured above is the artist responsible for "Girl with Deer." The letter from Walt Disney Productions placed with the drawing slightly overlapping it suggests a relationship. Viewing these elements and acknowledging the Disney-like style of "Girl with Deer," one might conclude that Francis Baptiste was influenced by the drawings and animation of Walt Disney studios. Reading the information placard also provides more information about the display as a whole. The placard briefly describes Anthony Walsh's efforts to submit his students' artwork to international competitions, where they were very successful and were awarded with international acclaim. Upon learning that the talent the children possessed was acknowledged and respected well outside the boundaries of the reserve, in my experience, added a greater appreciation for the children's art. External verification of the worth of the art lowers the value of the viewer's personal aesthetic taste and heightens the value of the art. If international authorities have acknowledged it as valuable, then it must be so. In this sense, one can see authenticity working within a power relationship on two levels—that of the host and of an external authority.

As the view expands to engage with more of this section of the display (Figure 4), visitors consume more information about the Day School story and the OIB. A drawing of soldiers going off to war paired with a photograph of Ernest Baptiste, who lost his life in Italy during World War II, provides a frame of reference by offering a familiar part of world history. A drawing,

"Chief Wearing Headdress," overlaps the two. The physical proximity the drawing has to the photograph of Ernest Baptiste suggests that he is responsible for this drawing, and this is confirmed by the legend.

The other sections of the Inkameep Day School Gallery work in the same way as the Discovery of Talent and Culture section, in that they combine different elements to teach visitors something about the lands, the legends and the people, with particular respect to the story of Anthony Walsh and the Day School. People of the Land teaches visitors how the land was used in the past and how it is used today, and Traditions Old and New focuses on the performances created and executed by the Day School children and how the children of Osoyoos continue to perform them today. The exhibit uses visual cues and collage to communicate these messages of temporality.

Temporality is an inescapable theme at the NDCC. The stories that are shared in some cases delineate structured time through visual cues but written dates are few and far between. Overall, the Centre and its exhibits collapse linear conceptions of time by overlapping the past and present, and the Day School Gallery is an example of this. It provides a positive example of past and present OIB creativity and pride in identity, in addition to creating a platform for traditions to be continued today and into the future. For example, we learn that Day School plays continue to be performed and that stewardship of the land was and is an important factor in OIB decision-making, project management and identity. The gallery is a testament to a period of transformation in the Band's past, which mirrors the Centre as a whole, as the NDCC stands as a testament to a much more recent period of transformation under the leadership of Chief Clarence Louie.

The Okanagan Village and Authenticity

The final stop on the cultural tour of the NDCC is the replica Okanagan village. While I was there, the village was in the process of being reconstructed. The village represents both the summer and winter homes that Okanagan peoples used roughly 200 years ago. The teepee, used in the summer, was mobile and could be set up at temporary campsites in harvesting areas. The pit house was a winter home; it was semi-permanent and revisited annually. The construction of the Okanagan village was financially supported by the Government of Canada through the Department of Canadian Heritage's Museum Assistance Program. During my visit, the village was empty except for two pit houses: one old and one in the process of construction. While this diminished my visual experience of the village, it gave me
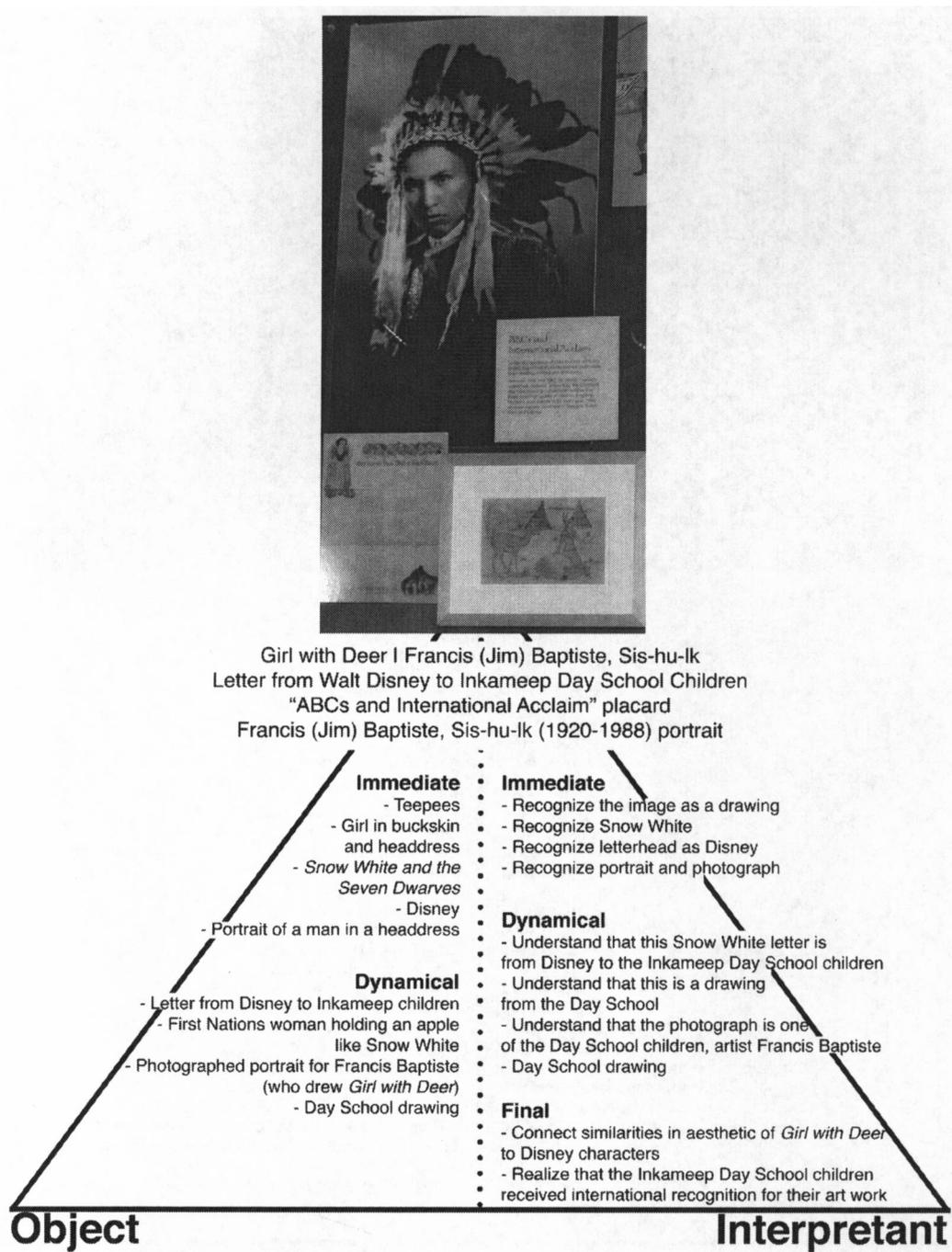
Figure 3: The Discovery of Talent and Culture. Semiotic analysis, part 2.

Girl with Deer I Francis (Jim) Baptiste, Sis-hu-lk
Letter from Walt Disney to Inkameep Day School Children
"ABCs and International Acclaim" placard
Francis (Jim) Baptiste, Sis-hu-lk (1920-1988) portrait

Immediate
- Teepees
- Girl in buckskin and headdress
- *Snow White and the Seven Dwarves*
- Disney
- Portrait of a man in a headdress

Dynamical
- Letter from Disney to Inkameep children
- First Nations woman holding an apple like Snow White
- Photographed portrait for Francis Baptiste (who drew *Girl with Deer*)
- Day School drawing

Immediate
- Recognize the image as a drawing
- Recognize Snow White
- Recognize letterhead as Disney
- Recognize portrait and photograph

Dynamical
- Understand that this Snow White letter is from Disney to the Inkameep Day School children
- Understand that this is a drawing from the Day School
- Understand that the photograph is one of the Day School children, artist Francis Baptiste
- Day School drawing

Final
- Connect similarities in aesthetic of *Girl with Deer* to Disney characters
- Realize that the Inkameep Day School children received international recognition for their art work

Object

Interpretant

the opportunity to learn about the development of the village, the types of decisions that are made in the creation of the village and the role of authenticity in its development, such as the importance of using traditional construction methods and adherence to the traditional design of the pit house.

One of the primary reasons the pit house was under reconstruction was because the previous version had been built with too many inaccuracies and mistakes.

For instance, the wood had been machine-stripped, the walls were built too high, and the opening in the roof was too large in comparison to traditional pit houses. While much of the preparation for construction was assisted with power tools, the wood used for the new pit house was hand-stripped and, with the supervision of local pit house expert, Thomas Louie, much more care and attention to detail were put into the construction.

Girl with Deer I Francis (Jim) Baptiste, Sis-hu-Ik
Letter from Walt Disney to Inkameep Day School Children
"ABCs and International Acclaim" placard
"At School on the Reserve" placard
"At School Today" placard
Francis (Jim) Baptiste, Sis-hu-Ik (1920-1988) portrait
Chief Wearing Headdress I Ernest Baptiste
Going to War I Unknown Artist
Former Day School Student Ernest Baptiste
Games at School I Edith Kruger
2004 Summer Camp Group, Sen Pok Chin School

Immediate
- *Girl with Deer*
- Disney letter
- Scenes of war
- Children painting
People performing
activities
- Portrait and drawing of men
in headdresses

Dynamical
- Letter from Disney to
Inkameep children
- Drawings are by children
- Photographs of recent ancestors of the OIB
- OIB children continue to participate
in visual arts in school
- Ancestors of OIB members participated in WWII

Immediate
- Recognize the images as drawings
- Recognize photographs as portraits
- Recognize photographs as contemporary/historical
- Recognize placards containing textual information

Dynamical
- Understand that these are
drawings by Day School children
- Understand that these are portraits
of people who attended the Day School
- Recognize that black-and-white signifies
photography from the past, and colour
signifies a more recent photograph
- Read and comprehend placard information

Final
- While the children at the Day School were talented
and internationally recognized, creativity and the arts
are still alive with the OIB
- Maintaining this is an important part of OIB culture
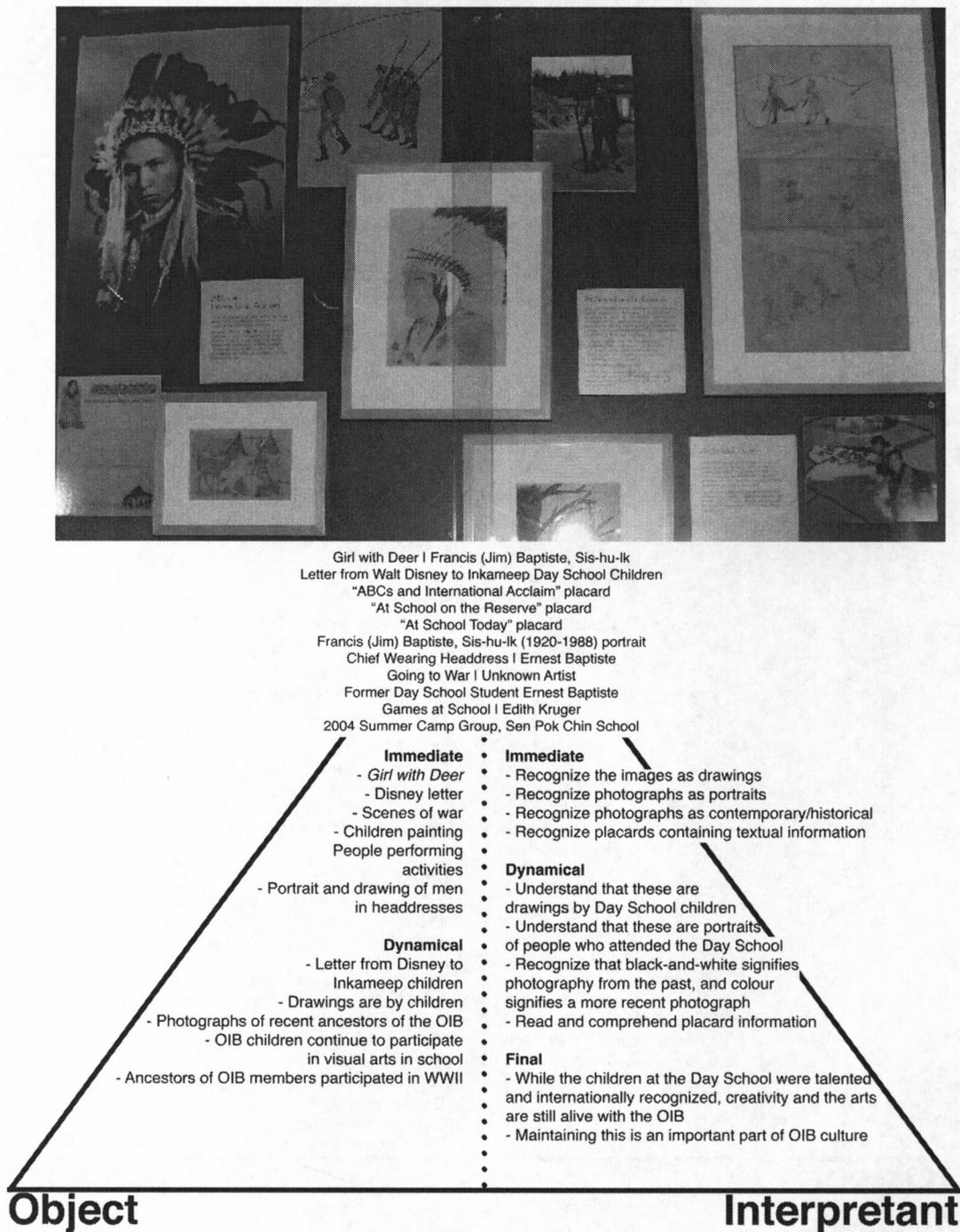
Object

Interpretant

Figure 4: The Discovery of Talent and Culture. Semiotic analysis, part 3.

In this reconstruction, a concern for authenticity carried more weight than before.

While the village is technically referred to as a "restoration project," this is misleading, as a 200-year-old village is not being restored. However, in the context that it exists, the actual restoration of an ancient village would be impractical, if not impossible. The function of the village has changed and so the construction of the village—from the materials and tools used, to the shape and size of the entrances—may be altered to make the buildings more effective in their current context. The pit house was traditionally built to last the winter season and was shaped, formed and maintained by its residents—the pit houses at the NDCC are not built for residential use but for a pedagogical purpose and they need to be constructed to have a much longer lifespan

(since rebuilding a pit house every year is not economical or very efficient).

As I have mentioned, authority plays an instrumental role in defining authenticity. To have authority one must also have agency, which is to say, both control and some sort of external validation of qualification. How and by whom authority is determined can be complex, and perhaps more easily understood through Chief Clarence Louie's definition of authenticity: "Something is authentic ... [if it is] historically able to stand up to whatever story is behind it" (pers. comm., 9 December 2010). Thomas Louie's knowledge, historical research to construct the village and the support of the Canadian government gives the village social, historical and political authority. In this case, we can draw a parallel to Bruner's first and second meanings of authenticity: (1) to be credible and convincing, and (2) to be a complete and immaculate simulation (1994:399–400). It fulfills its purpose in teaching visitors about local history. The village is not advertised as "authentic" according to Bruner's third meaning in that it is an "original"; its status as a replica is not concealed. While it is not authentic in the sense that past Okanagan people lived within the dwellings, it is, however, an authentic device for learning about the way Okanagan people used to live.

The Okanagan village exists in a hybrid space, between a true village that existed at some point in the past and a centre for education and the preservation of cultural heritage in the present. Thus, it is authentically hybrid in purpose and construction. It is imbued with the agency and authority from the OIB and their partners to be considered an authentic representation.

All of the exhibits at the Centre present objects that perform two functions: they work in relation to one another to express intangible messages and meanings, and they also work as learning tools to showcase expressions of Okanagan culture and history. They serve a tangible and intangible purpose simultaneously, which is bolstered by authority and agency. Authority and agency work together to legitimize something as authentic. The expertise of external agents, Thomas Louie and the Department of Canadian Heritage, as well as the efforts made by an internal agent, the OIB, to maintain the highest level of accuracy possible in the village's re-creation, give the village authority. The information placards at the site and the information provided by cultural interpreters work to inform the visitors of the relationships between authority and agent, positively reinforcing the authenticity of the Centre as a whole.

Conclusions: Control, Hybridity and Authenticity at the NDCC

The NDCC stands at the centre of a confluence of relationships. Its construction, design and development are the result of the relationships among the Band, permits, architects and advisors. The exhibitions and programming exist through support provided by the Band, chief and council, provincial and federal government organizations, and the Band's business partners, as well as the input and satisfaction of visitors. Power exists in different respects in each of these relationships, but it is because the OIB have the majority of control over how their culture, history and identities have been represented at the Centre that these messages have authenticity.

Beyond the number of relationships that have influenced the Centre, from its inception to everyday functionality, are the ideological systems that elicit a degree of control over the hosts, visitors and the tourism industry. The creation and transmission of identity through cultural property on exhibition is an action with its own embedded ideologies. Cultural norms and, by extension, the authoritative ideology of the museum can shape decisions on what to display, how to display it and how it is interpreted by host and visitor. The museum is also an "ideologically loaded space" (Griffiths 2002:11), and the mere act of viewing the objects in a cultural centre is also subject to relationships of power.

Through semiotic analysis one can see relationships of power at work. The curator creates an exhibit intentionally. In the case of the Day School Gallery, for example, it is arranged by theme. As we have seen, the objects in the exhibit also work together within relationships of power to inform, verify and legitimize. The viewers of the exhibit exert power in several ways—through their level of engagement with the exhibit, through their relationship with the exhibits' referents, and through their preconceived notions and expectations. The process of semiosis, that is, of interpretation, is a power negotiation among the exhibitor, the exhibit and the viewer.

Understanding the various levels of systems of power at work in the NDCC is crucial to understanding authenticity and hybridity. Authenticity is not a "non-issue" (Niezen 2005:532–536), nor is it impossible. Defining authenticity according to agency and authority allows one to understand how it is actually negotiated. It also gives additional value to the different categories of authenticity that, for example, Bruner (1994) or MacLeod (2006) describe and values such as the material, conceptual, contextual and functional (Schouten 2006) by illustrating these as processes.

The fact that the OIB retains control over their representations makes them an agent capable of lending authority to the exhibits of the NDCC. The irrefutability of this fact by the external community, including visitors and the tourism industry as a whole, also authorizes that agency. In turn, the OIB are accepted as the agents of their own heritage and culture, and, where appropriate, they enlist the help of external agencies. The stories that the NDCC shares with visitors are authentic because the OIB retain the power to grant them authority and this is, in turn, externally verified.

The messages of transformation, authenticity and temporality at the Centre also evidence a particular OIB reality: cultural hybridity. The NDCC is an authentic product of the OIB and the NDCC is a hybrid space. Collectively, the NDCC reflects the authenticity of the identity held within it, which is itself hybrid. Traditional and modern, Aboriginal and European, the contemporary OIB represented at the Centre is not one or the other, but value the influence of both to the contemporary collective self. This message of identity is reflected in the importance of demonstrating temporality, transformation through time and the authenticity of those stories.

As Doxtator notes,

> The past and present of Indian situations must be dealt with together because they are inextricably connected ... Emphasis is placed not on the point of division or disruption between time periods but on the continuity between eras. [Doxtator 1992b: 27]

The Day School Gallery and the story it shares is an excellent example to illustrate this point. Through the tutelage of Anthony Walsh, the Day School children were given the opportunity to creatively express the reflection of their reality—a reality that captured a generation in transition, caught between a traditional past and a world that was changing around them, forcing transformation for better or worse. The NDCC creatively reflects the OIB reality today, again capturing a generation in transition and period of transformation. The internal and external cannot be easily defined; Aboriginal and European cannot be isolated as distinct elements. There is a loss of the "Other" and the result is something new, something hybrid, and a presentation that is authentically OIB.

Katie Bresner, Department of Anthropology, University of Victoria, 3800 Finnerty Road, Victoria, British Columbia, V8P 5C2, Canada.
E-mail: katiebresner@gmail.com.

References Cited

Anderson, Robert B., Leo Paul Dana and Teresa E. Dana
  2006 Indigenous Land Rights, Entrepreneurship, and Economic Development in Canada: 'Opting-in' to the Global Economy. Journal of World Business 41(1):45–55. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jwb.2005.10.005
Baptiste, Zoey
  2005 Chief Baptiste George *In* Nk'Mip Chronicles: Art from the Inkameep Day School. Andrea Walsh, ed. Pp. 17–19. Osoyoos: Osoyoos Museum Society and Osoyoos Indian Band.
Bhattacharyya, Deborah P.
  1997 Mediating India: An Analysis of a Guidebook. Annals of Tourism Research 24(2):371–389. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383(97)80007-2
Bruner, Edward M.
  1994 Abraham Lincoln as Authentic Reproduction: A Critique of Postmodernism. American Anthropologist 96(2):397–415. http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/aa.1994.96.2.02a00070
  2004 The Maasai and the Lion King: Authenticity, Nationalism, and Globalization in African Tourism. *In* Tourists and Tourism: A Reader. Sharon Bohn Gmelch, ed. Pp. 127–156. Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press.
Bunten, Alexis Celeste
  2008 Sharing Culture or Selling Out? Developing the Commodified Persona in the Heritage Industry. American Ethnologist 35(3):380–395. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1425.2008.00041.x
Burns, Peter M.
  2006 Social Identity and the Cultural Politics of Tourism. *In* Tourism and Social Identities: Global Frameworks and Local Realities. Peter Burns and Marina Novelli, eds. Pp. 13–24. Oxford: Elsevier. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-045074-2.50005-9
Burns, Peter M. and Marina Novelli
  2006 Tourism and Social Identities: Introduction. *In* Tourism and Social Identities: Global Frameworks and Local Realities. Peter Burns and Marina Novelli, eds. Pp. 1–11. Oxford: Elsevier. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-045074-2.50004-7
Butler, Richard and Tom Hinch
  2007 Conclusions: Key Themes and Issues in Indigenous Tourism. *In* Tourism and Indigenous Peoples: Issues and Implications. Richard Butler and Tom Hinch, eds. Pp. 319–331. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-7506-6446-2.50032-6
Chambers, Erve
  2010 Native Tours: The Anthropology of Travel and Tourism. Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press.
Cheong, So-Min and Marc L. Miller
  2004 Power Dynamics in Tourism: A Foucauldian Approach. *In* Tourists and Tourism: A Reader. Sharon Bohn Gmelch, ed. Pp. 239–252. Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press.
Coyote Spirit
  2006 Dir. Roy Haytor. Prod. Cliff Craven. New Journey Productions. DVD.

Doxtator, Deborah
1992a Fluffs and Feathers: An Exhibit on the Symbols of
Indianness: A Resource Guide. Brantford, ON:
Woodland Cultural Centre.
1992b Reconnecting the Past: An Indian Idea of History. *In*
Revisions. Helga Pakasaar, curator. Pp. 25–33. Banff,
AB: Walter Philips Gallery.
1995 Basket, Bead and Quill. *In* Basket, Bead and Quill.
Janet Clark, curator. Thunder Bay, ON: Thunder Bay
Art Gallery.
Echtner, Charlotte M.
1999 The Semiotic Paradigm: Implications for Tourism
Research. Tourism Management 20(1):47–57. http://
dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0261-5177(98)00105-8
Forte, Maximilian C.
2010 Indigeneities and Cosmopolitanisms. *In* Indigenous
Cosmopolitans: Transnational and Transcultural
Indigeneity in the Twenty-First Century. Maximilian
C. Forte, ed. Pp. 1–16. New York: Peter Land
Publishing, Ltd.
Gmelch, Sharon Bohn
2004 Why Tourism Matters. *In* Tourists and Tourism: A
Reader. Sharon Bohn Gmelch, ed. Pp. 3–21. Long
Grove, IL: Waveland Press.
Griffiths, Alison
2002 Wondrous Difference: Cinema, Anthropology and
Turn-of-the-Century Visual Culture. New York:
Columbia University Press.
Hall, Stuart
1992 The Question of Cultural Identity. *In* Modernity and
its Futures: Understanding Modern Societies. Stuart
Hall, Tony McGrew and David Held, eds. Pp. 273–
324. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Handler, Richard and Jocelyn Linnekin
1984 Tradition, Genuine or Spurious. Journal of American
Folklore 97(385):273–290. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/
540610
Hinch, Tom and Richard Butler
2007 Introduction: Revisiting Common Ground. *In*
Tourism and Indigenous Peoples: Issues and
Implications. Richard Butler and Tom Hinch, eds. Pp.
1–12. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann. http://
dx.doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-7506-6446-2.50005-3
Hopkins, Jeffrey
1998 Signs of the Post-Rural: Marketing Myths of a
Symbolic Countryside. Geografiska Annaler. Series B,
Human Geography 80(2):65–81. http://dx.doi.org/
10.1111/j.0435-3684.1998.00030.x
Jenkins, Olivia
2003 Photography and Travel Brochures: The Circle of
Representation. Tourism Geographies: An
International Journal of Space, Place and
Environment 5(3):305–328. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/
14616680309715
Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara
1998 Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums and
Heritage. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Kraidy, Marwan M.
2005 Hybridity, or the Cultural Logic of Globalization.
Philadelphia:Temple University Press.

Low, Setha M. and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga
2003 Locating Culture. *In* The Anthropology of Space and
Place: Locating Culture. Setha M. Low and Denise
Lawrence-Zúñiga, eds. Pp. 1–47. Oxford: Blackwell
Publishing, Ltd.
MacCannell, Dean
1999 [1976]
The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class. 3rd
ed. Berkeley: University of California Press.
MacDonald, Sharon
1997 A People's Story: Heritage, Identity and Authenticity.
In Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and
Theory. Chris Rojek and John Urry, eds. Pp. 155–
175. New York: Routledge.
MacLeod, Nicola
2006 Cultural Tourism: Aspects of Authenticity and
Commodification. *In* Cultural Tourism in a Changing
World: Politics, Participation and (Re)presentation.
Melanie Smith and Mike Robinson, eds. Pp. 177–190.
North York, ON: Channel View Publications.
Mahon, Maureen
2000 The Visible Evidence of Cultural Producers. Annual
Review of Anthropology 29(1):467–492. http://
dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.29.1.467
Meethan, Kevin
2006 Introduction: Narratives of Place and Self. *In*
Tourism Consumption and Representation:
Narratives of Place and Self. Kevin Meethan, Alison
Anderson and Steve Miles, eds. Pp. 1–23. Oxford:
CABI Publications. http://dx.doi.org/10.1079/
9780851996783.0000
Metro-Roland, Michelle
2009 Interpreting Meaning: An Application of Peircean
Semiotics to Tourism. Tourism Geographies
11(2):270–279. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/
14616680902827225
Mick, David G.
1986 Consumer Research and Semiotics: Exploring the
Morphology of Signs, Symbols, and Significance.
Journal of Consumer Research 13(2):196–213. http://
dx.doi.org/10.1086/209060
Myers, Fred
1991 Representing Culture: The Production of Discourse(s)
for Aboriginal Acrylic Paintings. Cultural
Anthropology 6(1):26–62. http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/
can.1991.6.1.02a00020
Nash, Dennison
1996 Anthropology of Tourism. Oxford and New York:
Pergamon.
Niezen, Ronald
2003 The Origins of Indigenism: Human Rights and the
Politics of Identity. Berkeley: University of California
Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/california/
9780520235540.001.0001
2004 A World Beyond Difference: Cultural Identity in the
Age of Globalization. Malden, MA: Blackwell
Publishing. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/9780470776582
2005 Digital Identity: The Construction of Virtual Selfhood
in the Indigenous Peoples' Movement. Comparative
Studies in Society and History 47(3):532–551. http://
dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0010417505000241

Nelson, Velvet
  2005 Representation and Images of People, Place and Nature in Grenada's Tourism. Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography 87(2):131–143. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.0435-3684.2005.00187.x
Okanagan Nations Alliance
  2010 Who We Are. http://www.syilx.org/who-we-are/, accessed April 2012.
Olson, Kjell
  2002 Authenticity as a Concept in Tourism Research: The Social Organization of the Experience of Authenticity. Tourist Studies 2(2):159–182. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/146879702761936644
Pennington, Jody W. and Robert C. Thomsen
  2010 A Semiotic Model of Destination Representations Applied to Cultural and Heritage Tourism Marketing. Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism 10(1):33–53. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15022250903561895
Pitchford, Susan
  2008 Tourism: Imaging and Imagining the Nation. Wagon Lane, Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Ltd.
Pulfer, Rachel
  2007 Band on a Run: The Osoyoos Succeed Where Other First Nations Fail. Canadian Business 80(5):18–20.
Rojek, Chris
  1997 Indexing, Dragging and the Social Construction of Tourist Sights. In Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory. Chris Rojek and John Urry, eds. Pp. 52–74. London: Routledge. http://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9780203427736
Root, Deborah
  1996 Cannibal Culture: Art, Appropriation and the Commodification of Difference. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
Rose, Gillian
  2001 Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ryan, Chris
  2005 Who Manages Indigenous Cultural Tourism Product—Aspiration and Legitimization. In Indigenous Tourism: The Commodification and Management of Culture. Michelle Aicken and Chris Ryan, eds. Pp. 69–73. Oxford: Elsevier. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-044620-2.50011-0
Sahlins, Marshall
  1993 Cosmologies of Capitalism: The Trans-Pacific Sector of the World-System. In Culture/Power/History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory. Geoff Eley, Nicholas B. Dirks and Sherry B. Ortner, eds. Pp. 412–455. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Schouten, Frans
  2006 The Process of Authenticating Souvenirs. In Cultural Tourism in a Changing World: Politics, Participation and (Re)presentation. Melanie K. Smith and Mike Robinson, eds. Pp. 191–202. North York, ON: Channel View Publications.
Strain, Ellen
  2003 Public Places, Private Journeys: Ethnography, Entertainment and the Tourist Gaze. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
Urry, John
  1990 The Tourist Gaze. London: Sage.
Virtual Museum of Canada
  2004 Drawing on Identity: Inkameep Day School & Art Collection. http://www.museevirtuel-virtualmuseum.ca/sgc-cms/expositions-exhibitions/inkameep/english/story/baptiste_george.php, accessed January 2012.
Walsh, Anthony
  n.d.   The Inkameep Indian School. Osoyoos and District Museum and Archives. http://osoyoosmuseum.ca/index.php/exhibits/collections/inkameep-day-school/16-exhibits/specialexhibits/inkameep/61-the-inkameep-indian-school.html, accessed January 2012.
Wood, Robert E.
  1998 Touristic Ethnicity: A Brief Itinerary. Ethnic and Racial Studies 21(2):218–241. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/014198798329991

Médecine autochtone sud-africaine (*muti*) et innovation biopharmaceutique : connaître l'*umhlonyane*

Julie Laplante   *Université d'Ottawa*

Résumé : La plante médicinale *umhlonyane* ou *Artemisia afra* (Jaqu. Ex. Willd.) passe actuellement sous la loupe d'un essai préclinique au Cap, en Afrique du Sud. L'essai vise d'abord à tester son efficacité au niveau biomoléculaire en vue de son utilisation pour contrer une pandémie de tuberculose. Il vise ensuite la reconnaissance des savoirs autochtones procurant les indices de son potentiel thérapeutique. Je cherche ainsi à mieux comprendre comment « scientifiques », guérisseurs-divinateurs et herboristes « autochtones » collaborent et comment ils concilient leurs approches qui se distinguent dans des ontologies différentes.

Mots-clés : *Muti*, *Artemisia afra*, Afrique du Sud, essai préclinique, innovation biopharmaceutique, ontologie

Abstract: The medicinal plant *umhlonyane* or *Artemisia afra* (Jaqu. Ex. Willd.) is currently under examination by the preclinical trial in Cape Town, South Africa. The objective is to determine its efficacy at the biomolecular level in order to find a cure against the tuberculosis pandemic. In parallel, the trial aims to recognize indigenous knowledge hinting at its therapeutic potential. I thus aim to understand how scientists, indigenous healer-diviners and herbalists collaborate and conciliate their respective approaches which distinguish themselves in the ontologies they bring into being.

Keywords: *Muti*, *Artemisia afra*, South Africa, preclinical trial, biopharmaceutical innovation, ontology

Introduction

*U*mhlonyane en xhosa, *wilde-als* en afrikaans, *wild wormwood* en anglais et *Artemisia afra* (Jacqu. Ex. Willd) en latin dans la nomenclature botanique scientifique sont autant d'appellations différentes pour désigner une herbe « sauvage » de l'Afrique australe. Que la plante soit identifiée comme un remède, plutôt que comme une mauvaise herbe ou un aliment par exemple, indique la présence d'un certain consensus entre différents peuples au sujet de son usage. La manière dont la plante devient un remède varie cependant énormément selon les ontologies. En terre africaine, c'est grâce aux relations établies au quotidien par les hommes avec l'*umhlonyane* que celle-ci est considérée comme un remède et qu'elle est connue et reconnue en tant que plante médicinale. C'est aussi en raison de cette relation de proximité qu'elle fait toujours partie du quotidien dans le contexte sud-africain. Elle est également utilisée par les guérisseurs-divinateurs qui n'ont jamais cessé d'exercer malgré la criminalisation de leurs pratiques à partir de 1862 et malgré la pression des missionnaires chrétiens qui prenaient, dès 1890, les pratiques biomédicales comme des moyens explicites pour modifier les savoirs thérapeutiques autochtones concernant le corps, la maladie et la malchance (Flint 2008:95). Aujourd'hui encore, les savoirs « autochtones » sont finement ancrés dans des manières particulières de connaître l'*umhlonyane*.

Depuis la fin de la période d'apartheid dans les années 1990, les politiques de la renaissance du continent africain, qui reconnaissent l'importance des médecines autochtones sud-africaines diverses, contemporaines et ancestrales sous le terme « muti », redonnent à l'*umhlonyane* une place centrale. Déjà utilisée dans le cadre d'une médecine autochtone nationale sud-africaine, l'*umhlonyane* est aujourd'hui destinée à entrer dans les parcours scientifiques d'élaboration de remèdes biopharmaceutiques. Ainsi, quelles formes de savoirs entrent en jeu alors qu'un essai préclinique est mis en œuvre pour

contrer une pandémie de tuberculose, tout en nourrissant l'espoir de reconnaissance des médecines autochtones au niveau national, voire mondial ? Comment ces savoirs se tissent-ils (ou non) avec les savoirs ancrés dans le quotidien ? Je tente de répondre à ces questions en m'appuyant sur l'étude que j'ai menée auprès de « scientifiques », guérisseurs-divinateurs et herboristes « autochtones » collaborant au sein de l'essai préclinique de l'*umhlonyane* au Cap, en Afrique du Sud, entre 2006 et 2011.[1]

Dans cet article, je présente en premier lieu l'approche anthropologique qui guide ma lecture des savoirs qui s'entrelacent dans le cadre de l'essai préclinique en question. En second lieu, je décris le contexte de cet essai tel qu'il est mis en œuvre au sein du Centre de recherche international de phytothérapies autochtones (The International Center for Indigenous Phythotherapy Studies, TICIPS[2]), défilant les particularités d'ontologies diverses, scientifique ou autochtone. Dans un troisième temps, je décris la vitalité actuelle de la *muti* au Cap, plus particulièrement à travers les pratiques des *isangomas*[3] (guérisseurs-divinateurs) xhosa et des *inyangas* (herboristes) rastafaris. Je m'intéresse, par la suite, à deux politiques d'espoir qui se greffent sur l'essai clinique de l'*umhlonyane* : la « renaissance africaine » et l'intervention humanitaire. Ainsi, je décris comment l'espoir de la renaissance africaine, la promotion de la dignité autochtone africaine et la reconnaissance de la *muti* s'imbriquent dans l'essai préclinique. Enfin, mon cinquième et dernier point concerne l'intervention humanitaire et ses liens avec l'essai préclinique. Le projet de trouver un remède pour contrer une pandémie de tuberculose se dessine à l'intérieur d'une mission humanitaire voulant « sauver des vies », un espoir misant en grande partie sur l'innovation biopharmaceutique.

Approche anthropologique

Pour saisir les savoirs entourant l'*umhlonyane* qui se manifestent dans le contexte de l'essai préclinique, je me situe au sein de plusieurs courants qu'il importe ici de préciser. Mon approche anthropologique peut se comprendre en partie à travers les travaux de Foucault (1976) qui considère les pratiques biomédicales comme des formes de biopouvoir. Plus précisément, l'essai préclinique est ici compris comme une méthode de recherche permettant une cumulation de savoirs sur le corps du point de vue de la physiologie, nonobstant le contexte. Les pratiques biomédicales se fient sur les résultats de tels savoirs pour intervenir sur les corps malades, suivant ainsi des politiques du vivant, ou ce que Fassin (2000) désigne aujourd'hui comme une politique de la vie. En cela ce sont des savoirs pouvant se comprendre selon une ontologie que Descola (2005) qualifie de natu-

raliste et qui est propre aux sociétés occidentales caractérisées par une division entre nature et culture. Ces théories constituent pour moi les prémisses de ma compréhension de l'essai préclinique. Je tends ensuite vers une approche latourienne et ingoldienne qui se reflète dans la méthode que j'ai suivie sur le terrain.

Je retiens de Latour (2004, 2005) son invitation à suivre les acteurs humains et non humains alors qu'ils se rassemblent autour d'une controverse, ici l'essai préclinique d'une plante « autochtone ». Il s'agit d'une controverse en ce sens que l'essai préclinique rassemble des acteurs qui mettent en œuvre des ontologies distinctes : l'*umhlonyane* en tant qu'acteur non humain et les *isangoma*, les *inyangas* et des scientifiques (biologistes moléculaires, immunologues, pharmacologues), ainsi que des fermiers, des agents de conservation de la nature, des gestionnaires de la ville. À la différence de Latour, par contre, je me compte parmi les acteurs qui se rassemblent autour de l'essai préclinique puisque j'en fais partie à certains moments de la recherche, et évidemment du fait que j'offre ici un compte rendu. À cet égard, j'ai plutôt procédé selon ce qu' Ingold (2013) appelle « knowing from the inside » (connaître de l'intérieur). Ingold offre en cela une compréhension du savoir comme étant celle d'un apprentissage avec les personnes plutôt qu'un cumul d'informations à leur sujet, une approche qui correspond plus étroitement aux manières par lesquelles j'ai procédé sur le terrain; soit en portant attention aux espaces et mouvements au sein desquels les savoirs entourant l'*umhlonyane* se mettent en œuvre.

Ainsi, je tiens compte des lieux où se déroulent les activités spécifiques de l'essai préclinique (tels que les laboratoires, la ferme où les lieux de collecte de la plante) et des organisations d'où proviennent les sources de financement et d'expertise américaines. Mais je tiens aussi compte de l'environnement ouvert de la vie quotidienne de Cape Town, en Afrique du Sud. Il s'agit ainsi de comprendre les pratiques comme des « lignes de devenir » entrelaçant les acteurs concernés :

> Une ligne de devenir ne se définit ni par des points qu'elle relie ni par les points qui la composent; au contraire, elle passe entre les points, elle ne pousse que par le milieu, et file dans une direction perpendiculaire aux points qu'on a d'abord distingués, transversale au rapport localisable entre points contigus ou distants [...] une ligne de devenir n'a ni début, ni fin, ni départ, ni arrivée, ni origine, ni destination [...] (Deleuze et Guattari 1980:359–60).

Cette nuance est importante pour ma lecture des savoirs qui émergent au sein de l'essai préclinique puisque ceux-ci peuvent être compris en termes de mouvements qui se croisent et se poussent en directions multiples. Enfin,

j'emprunte à Annemarie Mol l'idée de saisir les ontologies telles qu'elles apparaissent en pratique, telles qu'elles sont soutenues ou sont laissées aller (Mol 2003:6). L'ontologie de l'objet multiple qu'elle propose guide ma lecture des formes de savoirs en ce sens que je suis les manières par lesquelles humains et non humains « se tiennent ensemble », se forment et se transforment tant dans leurs matérialités que dans les pratiques mises en œuvre.

Enfin, une dernière précision s'impose. Ma façon d'aborder les savoirs qui se défilent autour de l'*umhlonyane* dans le contexte de son essai préclinique est en lien avec la théorie de la perception de Merleau-Ponty (1945). Cet aspect des savoirs est crucial pour mon approche, car elle se distingue de la théorie de la perception généralement admise dans l'ontologie naturaliste qu'appliquent les sciences expérimentales, incluant celles faisant partie de l'essai clinique randomisé (ECR) en préparation. L'approche merleau-pontienne (aussi adoptée par Ingold 2000, 2011, 2013) soutient que l'apprentissage se fait *via* l'engagement dans le monde selon une éducation de l'attention ou un éveil des sens. Selon cette approche, le savoir s'acquiert dans un mouvement entre corps et esprit, entre voir et mouvoir (Merleau-Ponty 1964). Les objets n'existent donc pas *a priori*, mais ils sont toujours connus et reconnus selon de nouveaux engagements dans le monde. L'approche expérimentale considère par contraste le corps comme étant passif et sur lequel il est possible de tester les effets d'un stimulus (une molécule dans ce cas). Elle suppose en ce sens la possibilité de séparer les objets en « nature » d'un côté et en « culture » de l'autre. Dans l'essai préclinique, cela se traduit à travers l'idée d'un savoir « vrai », dont le mécanisme peut être décrit, reproduit et démontré d'un côté et de l'autre à partir d'une catégorie contextuelle de superflu sensoriel nommée « placebo ». Enfin, selon cette approche, le savoir « vrai » n'existe pas en dehors d'un environnement contrôlé de laboratoire ; or je m'intéresse ici au savoir qui se manifeste dans le « médium » ou dans « l'aire ouverte ». Ces notions, encore empruntées à Ingold, se réfèrent aux « processus dynamiques de formation-du-monde à l'intérieur desquels à la fois le percepteur et les phénomènes qu'ils perçoivent sont nécessairement immergés » (Ingold 2008:26, ma traduction). Cette approche permet de saisir les savoirs des guérisseurs ainsi que ceux des scientifiques qui sont d'abord et avant tout « dans le monde » en vue de connaître l'*umhlonyane* pour ses bénéfices de guérison.

L'essai préclinique de l'*umhlonyane*

Ce sont les pratiques relatives à l'usage de l'*umhlonyane*, comme moyen de guérir et telles qu'elles sont exercées dans la *muti*, qui incitent à procéder à un essai préclinique. Plus spécifiquement, le choix de tester l'*umhlonyane* se base sur les pratiques telles qu'elles sont documentées dans les herbiers. La liste de ses usages en Afrique du Sud couvre une grande étendue de malaises allant de la toux, du rhume, de la fièvre, de la perte d'appétit, des coliques, des maux de tête et d'oreilles, des maux occasionnés par les vers intestinaux jusqu'à la malaria, le diabète et l'influenza. La plante est utilisée sous forme de lavements intestinal ou corporel, de crèmes, de lotions, d'infusions. Elle est fumée, inhalée, infusée (Van Wyk et Gericke 2007:142, Hutchins et al. 1996). La curiosité scientifique entourant l'*umhlonyane*, ou plutôt l'*Artemisia afra* (Jaqu. Ex. Willd.) dans la terminologie de l'essai préclinique (que je signalerai ci-après sous son appellation écourtée *A. afra*), s'exprime pour la première fois dans une publication parue en 1922 s'intéressant principalement à assigner une structure chimique à ses huiles (Goodson 1922). Cet intérêt pour les effets thérapeutiques des huiles essentielles s'est poursuivi sporadiquement jusqu'en 1988. Mais l'*A. afra* a réellement commencé à intéresser les scientifiques dans les années 2000, et plus particulièrement à partir de 2005, alors que l'on compte en moyenne chaque année 18 publications consacrées à cette plante (Patil, Dass et Chandra 2011:2). Les études scientifiques dédiées à l'extrait d'*A. afra* se concentrent, entre autres, sur ses propriétés antifongiques, antibactériennes, antioxydantes, anticancéreuses, antipaludiques et antituberculiniques. L'essai préclinique qui nous concerne se préoccupe des propriétés antituberculiniques de la plante, en particulier celles pouvant atténuer la tuberculose mycobactérienne (MNTB).

L'essai préclinique de l'*A. afra*, en tant que médecine potentielle contre la MNTB, débute au Cap en 2005, alors que le consortium de recherche TICIPS obtient une subvention de 4 millions de dollars du Centre national de médecine complémentaire et alternative (NCCAM), une branche de l'Institut national de santé (NIH) des États-Unis. L'essai préclinique vise à la fois à trouver un moyen de contrer la pandémie de tuberculose, l'une des causes secondaires de décès du sida, et à faire reconnaître les médecines autochtones. La recherche clinique tente de répondre à un besoin urgent en matière de gestion de la tuberculose. En 1993, l'Organisation mondiale de la santé déclarait la tuberculose comme une urgence de santé publique alors que l'on comptait 7 à 8 millions de cas et 1.3 à 1.6 million de morts chaque année. En 2010, le nombre de cas de tuberculose s'échelonnait entre 8.5 et 9.2 millions tandis que les décès liés à la maladie étaient estimés entre 1.2 et 1.5 million, incluant les décès dus à la tuberculose parmi les personnes séropositives (Organisation mondiale

de la santé 2011:3). Le traitement de la tuberculose constitue un marché porteur pour un nouveau produit pharmaceutique, étant donné l'émergence croissante de souches résistantes à de multiples drogues sur le marché. Ces besoins pour un nouveau produit, combinés aux savoirs autochtones cumulés autour de l'*A. afra*, forment les bases du projet de l'essai préclinique. Mais c'est d'abord la préoccupation biochimique qui est priorisée. L'étude de l'*A. afra* s'organise et se prépare en fonction du modèle de l'essai clinique randomisé (ECR).

> Depuis plus d'un quart de siècle, pour qu'une molécule devienne un médicament disposant d'une autorisation de mise sur le marché (AMM), les industriels de la pharmacie sont obligés de lui faire subir une batterie de tests visant à garantir son innocuité et son efficacité. [Dalgalarrondo 2004:21]

Ces tests, dont le devis de recherche central est l'ECR, sont nécessaires pour valider les bénéfices de la molécule considérée dans les circuits de santé globale visés. L'une des bases de la méthode expérimentale, dont l'ECR est le standard d'objectivité scientifique le plus reconnu à l'heure actuelle en ce qui concerne un médicament, consiste en l'examen des propriétés physiques d'objets donnés et cela sous des conditions contrôlées de façon très rigoureuse. Cette pratique s'applique à la biologie moléculaire et cellulaire (Kollek 1995:97). C'est en fonction d'un ECR que s'orientent les étapes préparatoires de l'étude de l'*A. afra* dirigée par le TICIPS. Ces étapes consistent à isoler et à reproduire la plante en question de la manière la plus homogène possible; elles impliquent de reproduire des clones à partir d'un nombre limité de ladite plante, et cela dans un même endroit et sous les soins d'un même fermier[4]. Ensuite, elles prévoient d'isoler la configuration moléculaire particulière de l'une de ces plantes et d'évaluer son action sur une cellule animale et par la suite sur une cellule humaine. Et, dans l'objectif ultime de définir une relation de cause à effet « pure » de la molécule sur un mécanisme physiologique chez l'humain, relation qui, soi-disant, ne peut pas exister en dehors du laboratoire, la molécule est isolée de son monde-milieu en guise de préparation pour les quatre phases d'essais cliniques subséquentes[5].

Deux études publiées en lien avec l'essai préclinique de l'*A. afra* illustrent déjà ce qui peut en découler. La première étude, celle de Mukinda et Syce (2007), deux pharmacologues impliqués dans le TICIPS, vise à tester la toxicité de l'*A. afra*. Pour ce faire, une dose constante non toxique de l'*A. afra* est d'abord établie. Elle est ensuite testée sur des souris, puis sur des cellules humaines. Pour obtenir les doses exactes recherchées, la plante est d'abord bouillie pendant 30 minutes. La décoction obtenue est ensuite laissée à refroidir, puis elle est filtrée, gelée, séchée à froid et stérilisée par irradiation gamma. La décision de préparer l'*A. afra* sous forme de thé, en vue de tester sa toxicité, vise à suivre les pratiques « traditionnelles » les plus communes de consommation de l'*A. afra*. La conclusion de l'étude infirme par contre les bénéfices de l'*A. afra* ainsi bouillie, ce qui a pour effet potentiel d'interdire légalement[6] et de discréditer l'usage thérapeutique de l'*A. afra* consommé en thé, plutôt que de contribuer à la faire reconnaître. Suivant ces résultats, une seconde étude (Ntutela et al. 2009) s'est chargée de tester l'*A. afra* sous forme de pâte alimentaire plutôt que sous forme de thé. Il a été montré que cette préparation, impossible à reproduire sans technologies de laboratoire, pouvait moduler l'inflammation pulmonaire et ainsi ralentir le développement de la MNTB. Il est déjà possible d'entrevoir qu'il s'agit là d'un processus d'innovation ou de nouveau « devenir », s'éloignant de la *muti* plutôt que s'en rapprochant en vue de sa reconnaissance. Pour l'essai préclinique et clinique qui suivra, les apprentissages initiaux au sein des médecines autochtones constituent seulement un « indice » :

> les pratiques reliées aux savoirs traditionnels et l'usage d'extraits de plantes tel que retrouvé dans les pratiques médicinales procurent une excellente base de données pour l'identification potentielle des composés chimiques ayant des propriétés bioactives. [Ntutela et al. 2009:S34, ma traduction]

Mais au-delà de cette réduction de la *muti* à une « base de données » instrumentalisée en vue de l'innovation scientifique, une tout autre connaissance de l'*umhlonyane* s'impose.

Connaître l'*umhlonyane*

La connaissance de l'*umhlonyane*, dans le partage du quotidien au sein d'un même monde-milieu est souvent complexe et peu évidente. Contrairement au processus clinique, elle ne s'affiche pas comme la démonstration d'un « mode d'opération » ou d'un processus causal. Un immunologue du TICIPS y voyait là une tâche équivalente à celle de « chercher une aiguille dans 100 bottes de foin ». Il changea d'opinion lorsqu'il réalisa à quel point le traitement de la plante fait l'objet d'un travail d'entonnoir dont l'objectif est de rendre l'*umhlonyane* bénéfique à l'homme dans son milieu en l'utilisant sous des formes spécifiques, dans des lieux donnés, selon tels ou tels modes de préparation, de cueillette et de maintien. Ainsi, qu'il s'agisse de sens commun, de savoir « traditionnel » ou encore de rituels sophistiqués impliquant par exemple l'*embodiment* (incorporation)[7] de « sons » afin de communiquer avec et à travers la plante

Figure 1 : Buisson d'*umhlonyane* dans la cour de la demeure d'une famille d'herboristes rastafari, dans le *township* de Delft, à Cape Town, en Afrique du Sud. Photo par Mélissa Robertson.

afin de diagnostiquer ou de visualiser un malaise et sa solution, il existe bel et bien des savoirs thérapeutiques en lien avec l'*umhlonyane*, et ce, avant même qu'un essai clinique ne soit entrepris avec l'objectif de la reconnaître. Mais pour (re)connaître ces savoirs et pratiques s'y afférant, il faut adopter une conception du « savoir » qui ne soit pas restreinte à la démonstration d'un mode d'opération tel que l'implique l'essai préclinique. D'ailleurs, démontrer un processus causal ne fournit pas forcément un savoir utile à la guérison, ni dans l'immédiat ni dans l'objectif parfois lointain de contrôler une pandémie de tuberculose. La qualité et l'accessibilité de l'intervention humanitaire entrent ici en ligne de compte.

L'*umhlonyane* demeure pour l'instant accessible alors qu'elle se trouve à l'état « sauvage » sur toute la région subsaharienne, en particulier sur des côtes humides, le long de ruisseaux et aux marges des forêts à des altitudes variant entre 20 et 2,440 mètres. Elle est facile à reconnaître par son feuillage gris argenté, sa forte odeur sucrée et sa texture collante dès qu'on la touche ou la coupe. Elle s'accommode bien à la cour des maisons, dans les *townships*; plusieurs guérisseurs la gardant ainsi à portée de main pour un usage quotidien. Un couple d'*inyangas* rastafari entretenait ainsi un buisson d'*umhlonyane* dans la cour de leur lot du *township* de Delft (Figure 1) où elle était utilisée en infusions amères pour ses bénéfices contre la toux, préparée sous forme de cataplasmes avec de l'huile appliqués sur le ventre pour alléger la fièvre des bébés ou encore inhalée pour apaiser les maux de tête, pour ne nommer que quelques usages dont j'ai été témoin. Le savoir, pour Ingold (2013), est

précisément cette attention soutenue dans le monde, un processus transformateur des manières d'habiter le monde, ce qu'il nomme une *poetics of dwelling* (Ingold 2000) ou une manière de se situer dans le monde, une manière de s'y faire une place.

C'est ainsi en habitant le monde qu'on le connaît de prime abord, apprenant à mieux y vivre en entretenant des relations de proximité avec lui. Les plantes, telles qu'elles sont connues dans le quotidien, font ainsi partie de ce monde habité et c'est en partageant le quotidien avec elles que celles-ci sont connues. L'*umhlonyane* est aussi plantée dans la cour de plusieurs *isangomas* ou encore mise à sécher dans leur maison. Tous connaissent aussi les lieux où elle croît : les vallées, les montagnes et les champs environnants. Ce sont là des manières « autochtones » de connaître l'*umhlonyane*, des manières se rapprochant des savoirs de sens commun. Les *isangomas* xhosa, très nombreux dans les *townships* du Cap, démontrent par ailleurs des connaissances plus approfondies de l'*umhlonyane*. Les manières de connaître l'*umhlonyane* m'ont été transmises gestuellement par l'un des *isangomas* xhosa qui insistait sur la nécessité de développer des habiletés à travers l'incorporation de « sons », au moyen de sessions de tambours, de danses, de chants et d'autres pratiques visant une transformation du corps en relation avec le monde.

L'initiation à l'art divinatoire *isangoma* implique en premier lieu de ressentir les vibrations, les rythmes permettant d'entrer en relation avec les ancêtres, avec autrui, avec les plantes. Ces pratiques, incluant les sessions de tambour, se nomment *ngoma* et aspirent à la « fruition » [réalisation] (Janzen 2000:166), à l'aboutissement à un état de bien-être, au-delà de la santé ou de la guérison, un aboutissement qui fait aussi allusion à la procréation et à la croissance des récoltes ainsi qu'à l'appréciation de la performance, de l'art. Ainsi, pour comprendre l'utilité d'une plante faut-il éveiller les sensibilités nécessaires pour entrer en relation plus intime avec elle. Contrairement à l'ECR, c'est dans la libération des médiations standardisées et dans leurs liaisons organiques au monde que se situe le savoir légitime, lequel peut conduire à la guérison. La glossolalie dans laquelle s'engagent le guérisseur et tous ceux présents en vue d'une guérison est précisément un appel qui se situe au-delà même des catégories du langage (Csordas 1996). L'incorporation des « sons » et leur mise en mouvement par la danse visent ce même engagement intensifié au monde. L'*ubulawo* (*dream foam*), une mixture de plantes médicinales et d'eau, joue un rôle central dans la communication avec les ancêtres. Les ingrédients sont mélangés avec un bâton afin de former une mousse blanche qui démontre une connexion réussie

avec les ancêtres à travers les rêves; la mousse sur le dessus du liquide signifie le bon déroulement de l'opération. Des colliers, pour leur part, matérialisent et confirment les nouvelles connectivités entre le guérisseur, l'initié (s'il y a lieu) et les ancêtres. Les habilités d'incorporation de l'*isangoma* assurent l'usage bénéfique des plantes. Elles consistent en un mode particulier de codification approfondie des sens, comme l'explique Stroeken (2008:467) dans le cas des guérisseurs sukuma de la Tanzanie. Elles constituent une synesthésie de transformation à l'intérieur de laquelle le guérisseur fait entrer la personne à guérir; cette transformation fait partie du processus de guérison. Ainsi, le travail du guérisseur vise-t-il à mieux se lier à la personne à guérir. L'*umhlonyane,* dans ce contexte, est placée, la veille du rituel de guérison, sous le lit de la personne ayant un malaise, en vue de sa « purification »; ce geste vise à assurer la prédisposition à la guérison.

Ce qui importe ainsi dans l'*umhlonyane* collectée n'est pas tant le calcul de sa dose biologique que sa *qualified life* (vie qualifiée) pour reprendre l'expression de Fassin (2010), soit sa vie exacerbée en fonction des relations entretenues avec elle. Les *isangomas* s'entendent à cet égard avec les *inyangas* rastafaris. Bien qu'ils se rattachent à une autre tradition plus récente et en provenance de la Jamaïque, les *inyangas* rastafaris partagent avec les *isangomas* un apprentissage par les « sons et vibrations », un art de vivre ou une quête d'être particulière nommée « livity », en plus de se fier à une plante (la *dagga*) comme source de sagesse (Laplante 2009b, 2012). *Isangomas* et *inyangas* rastafari s'entendent aussi pour rejeter l'*umhlonyane* cultivée pour l'essai préclinique, considérant que la culture a fait subir une perte d'efficacité à la plante en raison des manipulations auxquelles elle a été soumise, à savoir une perte de la « vie » qui lui assurait autrement son efficacité. Le lieu où croît la plante importe pour les *isangomas* comme pour les *inyangas* rastafari compte tenu de la variabilité chimique des sols, mais ce qui importe surtout, ce sont les manipulations humaines particulières sur la plante, la sensibilité de la personne qui la cueille, la manière dont elle est cueillie, le moment particulier de sa cueillette et le tout en relation avec le malaise que la plante doit soulager. Exclues de ces lieux « acceptables » sont les terres cultivées pour la grande production, ces terres occupées par les Afrikaans ne constituant pas des terrains « neutres » dans l'Afrique du Sud du postapartheid. La « vie » de la plante demeure indemne lorsqu'elle est manipulée avec respect et attention et lorsque des relations de proximité entre les personnes et la plante dans le milieu partagé sont favorisées, sinon entretenues. L'engagement particulier « dans le monde »

permet à l'*isangoma* d'entrer en relation avec la vitalité de la plante, soit avec la vie dans sa globalité ou « dans le monde ». Ce monde et ce milieu sont ceux de l'histoire, des politiques, des ancêtres, de la terre, des dieux, du vécu actuel et de la proximité immédiate de tous ceux qui s'engagent dans une « manière d'être » plus performante.

Ainsi, le fait de chercher à établir « comment guérit l'*A. afra* », à partir des étapes de l'essai préclinique, apparaît incompatible avec les pratiques des *isangomas* qui démontrent comment une plante ne guérit pas par elle-même, mais bien en fonction des capacités acquises par le guérisseur. Ces habiletés permettent d'établir de plus ou moins bonnes relations avec la plante « dans un monde partagé ». Merleau-Ponty note l'attitude inverse dans le monde scientifique quand il dit que « la science manipule les choses et renonce à les habiter » (Merleau-Ponty 1964:9). Cette séparation du scientifique avec ce qu'il manipule est un exercice difficile qui implique de la discipline. Elle suppose la possibilité, voire l'obligation, de s'extérioriser du monde que l'on veut comprendre. Ceci est rendu possible dans le contexte d'une ontologie supposant une « nature » distincte de la « culture », voire une « nature » séparée de l'homme, une « nature » dont il est possible d'évaluer les effets de certaines parties (une molécule, par exemple) isolées sur l'homme. Cette division ontologique est unique et relativement récente, selon Descola (2005) qui la nomme « ontologie naturaliste », et elle renvoie essentiellement à l'ontologie occidentale suivant laquelle se déroule la recherche scientifique clinique. La « nature » séparée de la « culture », comme le corps séparé de l'esprit, n'a pas de signification dans la *muti*, où voir et mouvoir demeurent entrelacés et situés, tel que le propose d'ailleurs l'approche palliative merleau-pontienne s'inspirant du travail du peintre pour décrire ce positionnement (Merleau-Ponty 1964). Il s'ensuit que la théorie de la perception, qui découle du positionnement expérimental externalisé, et qui suppose un corps passif en attente d'un stimulus pour (ré)agir, n'est pas utile pour comprendre ces manières de connaître l'*umhlonyane.* « Savoir » guérir avec une plante chez les *isangomas* implique plutôt l'éveil que l'ignorance des sens.

Ainsi, les plantes ne sont pas des bioressources, ni l'environnement leur réservoir. Les plantes et l'environnement demeurent en tout temps en relation avec l'homme et ne peuvent s'en dissocier. Cette interrelation intime rend la plante incommensurable lorsqu'elle est évaluée en elle-même et lorsqu'elle est testée dans un essai clinique. C'est là la situation-problème qui se manifeste quand l'*A. afra* est testée hors de son contexte. Un autre exemple illustre ce problème. Dans le contexte

de l'essai clinique, l'*A. afra* est testée cliniquement en comparant les séquences d'ADN des souris à celles des humains. Mais la souris n'est pas un animal avec lequel les guérisseurs africains partagent leur environnement, ce qui rend totalement absurde à leurs yeux la mesure de l'efficacité de la plante sur un être avec lequel elle n'entretient aucun lien. D'autres chercheurs (Muganga 2004), peut-être pour cette raison, ont plutôt testé l'*A. afra* sur le singe vervet de l'Ancien Monde, soit celui de l'Afrique du Sud, qui partage le même environnement que les *isangomas*. Mais la mise en cage du singe, privé ainsi de son milieu partagé avec l'humain et confiné dans un espace restreint et contrôlé, pose problème. C'est dans la relation que l'homme entretient avec son milieu et à travers le développement de l'acuité des sens que se constitue la *muti*. À cet égard, l'essai préclinique est limitatif pour les scientifiques qui cherchent à reconnaî-tre les savoirs « autochtones », du fait même que le modèle qu'ils adoptent vise précisément à délaisser ces savoirs situés dans le monde-milieu, à briser et ignorer ce lien plante-environnement humain et matériel, voire à s'extraire eux-mêmes de ce monde dans leurs recher-ches au sujet de l'*umhlonyane*. Or, les politiques de la « renaissance africaine » peuvent, d'une certaine manière, dissimuler les difficultés inhérentes à l'essai clinique dans le but de favoriser la reconnaissance des savoirs autochtones.

La « renaissance africaine »

Dans le contexte sud-africain, la reconnaissance de la *muti* est liée à la recherche de dignité humaine engagée par les peuples porteurs de ces savoirs. Celle-ci est formulée par Nelson Mandela dans son discours d'inves-titure à la présidence en Afrique du Sud, le 10 mai 1994, alors qu'il souligne le besoin de renaissance d'un peuple opprimé durant toute la période de l'apartheid. Il se réfère à un désastre humain hors de l'ordinaire ayant eu lieu pendant trop longtemps, devant dès lors faire place à l'émergence d'une société dont toute l'humanité puisse être fière. Dans son discours, Nelson Mandela signale « qu'à chaque fois que l'un d'entre nous touche le sol de cette terre, nous ressentons un sens de renou-veau personnel » (Mandela 1994), chaque geste étant un nouvel engagement dans le monde. Il annonce que le temps est ainsi venu de guérir les plaies et de s'unir pour la naissance d'un nouveau monde, un monde à l'intérieur duquel cette belle terre sud-africaine, souf-frant de l'indignité, n'expérimenterait plus jamais cette oppression de l'un par l'autre. La terre, et plus particu-lièrement le lien avec elle, est un élément indissociable de la dignité humaine, un élément indissociable d'une « vie qualifiée », ce qui donne à la reconnaissance des

médecines pratiquées par ces peuples et demeurées liées avec la terre un rôle central dans la reconquête de leur dignité.

L'idée de renaissance d'un peuple digne en Afrique du Sud, formulée par Nelson Mandela, est reprise en 1997 par Vusi Mavimbela (1998) dans un document inti-tulé *The African Renaissance: A Workable Dream* (La renaissance africaine : un rêve réalisable). Elle est ensuite réutilisée par Thabo Mbeki, le second président postapartheid de l'Afrique du Sud, au sein de l'African National Congress (ANC), parti politique traditionaliste de la République de l'Afrique du Sud. En tant que poli-tique largement sud-africaine, la renaissance africaine est décrite comme « une composante de la politique d'image (et donc de puissance) du régime de Prétoria qui, affichée comme un modèle de "non-racialisme" et de démocratisation, se fait maintenant le chantre de la renaissance du continent » (Crouzel 2000:171). La renaissance africaine peut aussi être comprise comme une variante panafricaniste du XXe siècle. Elle cherche à confronter les défis de la globalisation sur le plan international (Kornegay et Landsberg 1998); elle tente de lutter contre l'envahissement d'une culture politique étrangère ou d'une doctrine politique étrangère émer-gente (Landsberg et Hlophe 1999). Dans un discours in-augural donné le 26 janvier 2007 au Ghana, le septième secrétaire général de l'ONU, Kofi Annan, décrit la re-naissance africaine comme une troisième vague politico-économique de l'Afrique – précédée par celle de la lutte contre la domination coloniale et par celle de la guerre civile, la gouvernance anti-démocratique et la stagnation économique (Kofi Annan 2007:10e paragraphe). Cette période est basée sur « la démocratie, les droits humains et le développement durable » (Ferguson 2006:114–115). Dans ce contexte, on entrevoit comment l'essai précli-nique d'une plante autochtone est susceptible de se lier à un projet de développement économique et culturel dans le cadre d'une stratégie d'« africanisation » et de communication largement fondée sur le désir de raviver les liens avec les racines africaines ancestrales, projet à l'intérieur duquel la *muti* joue un rôle clé. L'essai précli-nique de l'*umhlonyane* et la volonté de renaissance s'en-trelacent. Mais les moyens de procéder de l'essai précli-nique, en provenance même de ce monde responsable du désastre humain dont parle Mandela, ne permettent pas forcément de tenir cette promesse et les ajustements né-cessaires sont nombreux.

L'essai préclinique dirigé par le TICIPS se déroule dans l'espoir de voir l'*umhlonyane* atteindre les marchés mondiaux tout en conservant son emblème national sud-africain, et, de ce fait même, vise à accroître la dignité des peuples autochtones sud-africains. Certains *isango-*

mas se joignent au processus de l'essai préclinique avec ce même espoir de contribuer au « bien commun » de la nation. Une ambiguïté demeure cependant. Un projet entièrement financé par l'Institut national de santé américain, et rompu à ses standards cliniques en terrain sud-africain, devient pour plusieurs un acte colonial qu'il s'agit de transformer en une solution africaine. Les chercheurs du TICIPS ne s'opposent pas au modèle de l'ECR dans son ensemble. Ils souhaitent plutôt modifier son processus et le rendre plus apte à mettre en valeur les savoirs propres à la *muti*. Au-delà de l'isolement d'une molécule tel qu'il est requis par l'ECR, de même que par les autorités éthiques du Medicines Control Council (MCC) de l'Afrique du Sud, l'essai préclinique ici suivi vise à tester la plante entière. Dans le travail des *isangomas*, l'intérêt est dans la synergie entre les molécules ou autrement dit dans la « chimie de la vie » (Laplante, sous presse). Aussi, pour dépasser les limites imposées par les procédures de l'ECR, dont le processus se compare souvent à un pipeline fermé procurant la bonne molécule au « bout du tunnel », le directeur sud-africain du TICIPS, biologiste moléculaire de formation, m'a dessinée un tel pipeline en le perforant à de multiples endroits, indiquant par-là la nécessité constante de rester en relation avec les incidences du milieu et de demeurer dans « le monde » durant toute la période de recherche. Un nouveau modèle d'essai clinique a ainsi été envisagé en 2011. Il s'agit du modèle de « validation translationnelle » (Johnson 2011:7), un modèle utilisé par Patwardhan et Mashelkar (2009), en Inde, pour tester l'efficacité des remèdes ayurvédiques. Le nouveau modèle est une proposition de pharmacologie inversée : soit une proposition qui transforme la routine « laboratoire vers la clinique » en une routine « clinique vers le laboratoire » (Patwardhan et Mashelkar 2009:806). Une telle proposition est, dans son essence même, plus apte à tenir compte des savoirs autochtones, bien qu'elle donne toujours le dernier mot au laboratoire, plutôt que d'en faire une voix parmi d'autres. Il est aussi intéressant de noter qu'au moment même où l'on favorise ce modèle qui veut bien s'inspirer des savoirs autochtones, on supprime le terme « indigenous » de l'appellation du consortium de recherche du TICIPS : The International Center for Indigenous Phythotherapy Studies est renommé, en 2011, The International Center for Innovation Partnership in Science. Ainsi, il est proposé d'accommoder l'actuel modèle de l'ECR afin de faire place aux savoirs autochtones, mais tout en délaissant la qualification « autochtone ». Il est possible de constater que savoirs « autochtones » et savoirs « scientifiques » se renouvellent autour de l'*umhlonyane* dans l'essai préclinique – le passage de l'un à l'autre étant plutôt fluide.

La reconnaissance de la dignité d'un peuple est plus difficile à constater. En effet, la bio-techno-molécularisation ne reconnaît guère les savoirs dans-le-monde, ni ses liens intimes et spirituels avec la terre, ni son usage des sons, des danses, des visualisations, tels qu'on les trouve dans les pratiques des *isangomas*. Pourtant, la reconnaissance de la dignité africaine et du savoir autochtone convient, en quelque sorte, aux lois du marché, et même aux critères d'une reconnaissance internationale. En effet, le commerce de plantes médicinales sud-africaines est une industrie en expansion qui représente 5.6% du budget national de la santé (Mander et al. 2012). Des médicaments dérivés de plantes, tels que le *paclitaxel*, la *vincristine*, la *vinblastine*, l'*artemisinin* et le *camptothecine*, auraient rapporté sur le marché 65 milliards de dollars dans les dernières années (Johnson 2011:5). Le commerce des plantes « sauvages » est effervescent : il compte 27 millions de consommateurs. De plus, les produits « naturels » ont contribué à la reconnaissance de près de la moitié des petites molécules approuvées par les essais cliniques et les instances internationales de la santé globale lors des dernières décennies (Patwardhan et Mashelkar 2009:804). L'âge des drogues « blockbuster » serait en diminution, mais la frénésie européenne et américaine autour des « plantes sauvages » médicinales se fait sentir dans des marchés de toutes sortes, ce qui préoccupe du même coup. Le principal problème, soulevé lors de réunions auxquelles j'ai assisté avec des gestionnaires de la ville, des agents de conservation, des guérisseurs et des scientifiques impliqués dans les essais cliniques, est celui de la surexploitation des plantes médicinales par des marchands qui desservent une large clientèle et qui dévastent des secteurs entiers de la flore au sein de laquelle croissent des plantes recherchées. Le problème des vendeurs de rue, qui sont innombrables dans tous les quartiers du Cap, et qui vendent des plantes dont la qualité est incertaine, est aussi évoqué. La diminution des liens de proximité avec les plantes, leur transport sur des distances toujours plus grandes entre leur lieu de croissance et leur lieu de vente rendent aussi la logistique de conservation et d'identification des plantes plus hasardeuse. Ces enjeux touchent de près les pratiques des *isangomas* et des *inyangas* et constituent même des entraves à leur survivance et au maintien du dynamisme de leurs savoirs. La solution proposée par un *isangoma* afin d'assurer la préservation des savoirs sur les plantes serait d'avoir accès à une petite parcelle de forêt, n'importe laquelle, afin de pouvoir recréer un « savoir-vivant »; la proposition signale ainsi à la fois la rupture actuelle entre la plante et la terre et à la fois le besoin quotidien de proximité maintenue par une relation interactive avec les plantes.

Enfin, la question controversée des brevets vient aussi jouer sur la reconnaissance, voire la renaissance des savoirs autochtones liés à la terre. Le cas, par exemple, du cactus *Hoodia gordonii* découvert chez les Sans (Bochimans ou Bushmen du Kalahari en Afrique australe) et breveté sans notification par Pfizer en 1986, a résonné dans tout le pays. Il fait encore parler de lui aujourd'hui, alors qu'il s'est récemment résolu, du moins en partie, suite à de longs processus judiciaires (Thompson 2003). Il laisse cependant croire que l'usage du *Hoodia*, à son état sauvage et non industrialisé, a été restreint suite à ce brevetage. Bien que le brevet émis concerne uniquement le processus d'extraction d'un principe actif très spécifique du cactus (la substance P57), ce qui devrait nullement empêcher l'utilisation du cactus dans son entier, la résolution du cas laisse entendre que la vente dudit cactus sous forme de plante séchée peut constituer une violation du brevet[8], et donc que la vente de la plante est interdite. Quatre brevets utilitaires existent en lien avec l'*A. afra*. Deux brevets furent obtenus aux États-Unis et deux en Europe : deux d'entre eux se rapportent aux méthodes d'extraction de la plante en vue de soins contre le diabète, un autre brevet concerne son usage contre le cancer et le dernier son usage contre les maladies cardiovasculaires (Patil, Dass et Chandra 2011:3). Il est possible que l'usage au quotidien de l'*A. afra* ne soit pas limité par ces brevets puisque ses modes d'utilisation peuvent être appliqués à plusieurs espèces d'*Artemisia* et non exclusivement à l'*A. afra*. La question de la propriété intellectuelle usurpée liée aux savoirs traditionnels de l'*A. afra* n'a pas fait surface lors de mon étude sur l'essai préclinique. L'*A. afra* se glisse pour l'instant aisément au sein des politiques relatives aux ressources naturelles et les savoirs médicaux qui la concernent se revendiquent plutôt au niveau national, faisant appel au système de protection *sui generis* des savoirs traditionnels (Collot 2007). L'ambiguïté politico-légale des brevets (liée à celle des essais cliniques), l'accès de plus en plus restreint aux plantes du fait que les terres deviennent des propriétés privées ou des parcs nationaux, de même que la difficulté à obtenir des permis de cueillette, participent aux défis grandissants du maintien de la *muti*. Se situer au croisement des pratiques ancestrales où la nature fait partie du soi (et des autres) et du processus de la standardisation de la nature en biocommodité est un processus délicat. Bien qu'affichant des intentions de reconnaissance de la *muti* et de la dignité autochtone, l'essai préclinique tranche clairement en faveur de l'objectification dans le but de produire des savoirs distants, standardisés, capables de circuler dans les cercles internationaux, dont ceux de l'humanitaire.

L'intervention « humanitaire »

Derrière l'essai préclinique se profile un projet humanitaire visant à enrayer une pandémie de tuberculose telle qu'elle a été déclarée par l'Organisation mondiale de la santé. Bien que le TICIPS annonce sa volonté de participer au mouvement de reconnaissance des savoirs autochtones, également une politique de l'OMS depuis 1978, son moyen d'action (l'essai préclinique) s'inscrit dans un modèle préoccupé exclusivement par la vie biomoléculaire et physiologique. Dans l'essai préclinique de l'*umhlonyane*, on cherche à découvrir la « bonne » configuration moléculaire, celle qui agit de manière bénéfique sur la MNTB dans l'organisme humain, et c'est à l'intérieur de ces paramètres que doivent se dérouler les étapes de préparation de l'ECR. Ce devis de recherche est maintenu, autant que possible, par des moniteurs d'essais cliniques et des comités d'éthique qui s'assurent du suivi de la procédure au nom de sa neutralité et de son objectivité scientifique. À l'inverse des guérisseurs qui s'immergent de manière plus profonde dans-le-monde et avec la *muti* pour assurer l'efficacité de leurs pratiques, le biologiste moléculaire, l'immunologue et le pharmacologue doivent à tout prix s'en extraire, prendre de la distance par rapport à l'objet d'étude, tel que le prescrit l'ECR. Les scientifiques s'engagent bel et bien avec l'*umhlonyane*, mais par le biais de relations distantes avec elle, symbolisées par le simple port de gants. De plus, la plante n'est à connaître que partiellement puisqu'on en extrait un principe actif et qu'elle est déjà elle-même extirpée de son environnement et de ses relations avec les humains. La division entre nature et culture est ainsi maintenue, voire elle est essentielle.

> Le point de cette division apparemment innocente est qu'elle constitue un stratagème politique formidable. Le monde commun (duquel l'univers est vraiment composé) est connu par les scientifiques, mais invisible aux yeux du monde commun. Alors que ce qui est visible, vécu et ressenti est subjectivement essentiel, mais complètement inessentiel, puisqu'il ne s'agit pas de la manière dont le monde est composé. Cela veut dire que lorsque le temps vient de se mettre au travail politique par excellence, les scientifiques peuvent dire que la tâche est déjà complétée puisque les qualités primaires sont toutes rassemblées sous une Nature. [Latour 2000:118, ma traduction]

Dans l'essai préclinique, l'action de la molécule sur la maladie est la « réelle composition du monde » à connaître; le vécu et le ressenti de l'action de la molécule et de la maladie dans-le-monde deviennent dès lors superflus. Cette ligne fine est suivie en vue de sauver des vies hu-

maines et le moyen d'y parvenir réside dans l'innovation biopharmaceutique, ici dans l'extraction d'une partie active de la vie biologique d'une plante. La « vie qualifiée » ou politique, la vie expérientielle et existentielle liée à la dignité humaine demeurent au second rang. La vie qualifiée de la plante en relation avec l'humain est inexistante. Les prémisses aristotéliciennes qui distinguent la vie physique et la vie politique (entre le *zoe* et le *bios*) perdurent aujourd'hui, posant la vie biologique en tête de la hiérarchie (Fassin 2010:82). Il est d'ailleurs attendu que l'attention portée sur la vie biologique découlera nécessairement en possibilité de vie qualifiée. Tout se déroule sous le parapluie d'une vie biologique qui est primordiale.

Cette priorité biopharmacologique forme et se transforme en une politique d'intervention humanitaire qui tend à transcender les contextes sous le sceau de l'objectivité scientifique. Constituant un savoir de très haut prestige, la biologie moléculaire parvient ainsi à nouer un savoir au sujet des complexités des effets biomoléculaires à une politique d'intervention sur la vie. Dans le contexte sud-africain et par-delà, l'imposition d'une façon de concevoir les savoirs médicaux peut renvoyer à une forme de colonisation des corps biologiques et des bioressources. La « vie biologique », au cœur de l'essai préclinique, se révèle le moteur de la transformation des ressources du globe en biocapital (Sunder Rajan 2006), la vie qualifiée des plantes et des personnes y échappant, ainsi que leurs actions bénéfiques. Ainsi, les efforts explicites de l'OMS pour (re)donner vie aux « médecines traditionnelles » sur le plan de la santé internationale, ne portent pas les fruits voulus sous l'actuel devis de recherche qui trace les contours de l'intervention humanitaire. Pour cela, il faudrait vouloir habiter le monde que l'on manipule.

Conclusion

Dans le cas de l'essai préclinique, nous avons pu constater comment les politiques de la vie et les savoirs dans-la-vie participent à une connaissance de l'*umhlonyane*. Nous avons montré comment, pour le scientifique, la plante exige un effort soutenu pour s'en dissocier et comment, pour le guérisseur, la plante favorise un engagement plus profond dans-le-monde. Les premiers doivent refuser d'habiter le monde pour le connaître alors que ces derniers doivent mieux s'y immerger au moyen d'habilités corporelles *via* les « sons » et le mouvement. Les savoirs des guérisseurs trouvent un écho chez plusieurs scientifiques qui (re)connaissent leur pertinence sans avoir les moyens de s'y vouer. La procédure de l'essai clinique est de ce pas revisitée et suppose un questionnement peu banal dans la relation de cause à

effet recherchée et dans ce qui en découle, voire la nature même de l'efficacité du remède. Enfin, la reconnaissance d'un savoir autochtone dans l'essai préclinique fait bien l'affaire d'une politique africaine, de cette renaissance particulière à l'Afrique du Sud. Elle peut aussi, comme nous l'avons constaté, faire l'affaire des marchés internationaux de plantes sauvages en favorisant l'avènement possible d'innovations biopharmaceutiques. Ce qui se passe en Afrique du Sud autour de l'essai préclinique éveille la multiplicité des savoirs liés à une plante, ainsi que des manières différentes d'habiter le monde et de percevoir ce qui l'habite. Ce constat invite à redonner la vie aux choses et aux non-humains, à les habiter et à les comprendre « dans le monde » autant que dans l'environnement contrôlé d'un laboratoire. C'est cette direction qu'invitent à prendre les *isangomas* xhosa, les *inyangas* rastafari de même que plusieurs scientifiques dans leurs (re)connaissances de l'*umhlonyane*. Une telle approche peut à son tour inspirer l'intervention humanitaire en vue, bien entendu, de « sauver des vies » en terme de « vie biologique », mais aussi en vue d'apprécier et de tenir compte de la vie digne dans-le-monde et telle qu'immergée dans le monde plutôt qu'exclusivement en deçà.

Julie Laplante, Département de sociologie et d'anthropologie, Faculté des sciences sociales, Université d'Ottawa, 120 Université (10020), Ottawa, Ontario, Canada K1N 6N5. Courriel : jlaplan2@uottawa.ca.

Notes

1 Cette recherche fait partie d'un projet intitulé South African Roots towards Global Knowledge et se situe sous l'égide du projet Biomedicine in Africa. An Anthropology of Law, Organisation, Science and Technology, Max Planck institute für etnologische forschung, Halle, Saale, Allemagne (http://www.eth.mpg.de/cms/en/people/d/laplante/ index.html) (2006–2012). Le projet a été conduit en collaboration avec TICIPS et avec le département d'anthropologie et de sociologie de l'Université du Western Cape (UWC), en Afrique du Sud. Voir également Laplante (2009a, 2009b, 2012, sous presse) en lien avec le projet.

2 TICIPS est un centre global sur les médecines autochtones. Il constitue un consortium de recherche mené par l'Institut de médecine et de science phytothérapeutique sud-africain (SAHSMI) de l'Université de Western Cape (UWC) en Afrique du Sud et par l'École de médecine de l'Université du Missouri (MU) aux États-Unis. Il est basé à l'UWC. Il travaille également en partenariat avec l'École de médecine Nelson Mandela (Université Kwazulu-Natal) de l'Institut pour les maladies infectieuses, de la faculté de médecine moléculaire de l'Université de Cape Town et avec le Conseil médical de recherche de l'Afrique du Sud. Des scientifiques de la branche médicale de l'Université du Texas, des universités de Georgetown, du Mississippi et le Jardin botanique du Missouri sont rassemblés sous

l'égide de MU. Le consortium UWC-MU se centre uniquement sur les plantes médicinales et les systèmes de guérison africains et a comme mission première d'entrer en partenariat avec des guérisseurs traditionnels et des entrepreneurs clés sud-africains pour conduire des recherches rigoureuses sur les phytothérapies autochtones (TICIPS 2009).

3 Le terme *isangoma* est d'origine zulu, son équivalent isiXhosa est *igqirha* ou *amagqirha*. Bien qu'il s'agisse principalement dans ce travail de guérisseurs divinateurs d'origine xhosa, le terme *isangoma* est le titre généralement utilisé à travers l'Afrique du Sud et à Cape Town où se déroule l'étude. J'ai ainsi opté pour l'usage du terme *isangoma* aussi utilisé par les guérisseurs divinateurs xhosa pour s'auto-désigner.

4 L'expérience préalable avec deux fermiers en deux lieux géographiques différents a démontré une trop grande variation dans la composition biochimique de la plante.

5 Le devis de recherche de l'ECR implique quatre phases de recherche, un processus pouvant prendre entre 15 et 20 ans, et finement décrit dans la plupart des politiques d'éthique de la recherche scientifique.

6 Ce qui mènera Adams (2002) à parler de crime contrôlé randomisé dans les cas d'essais cliniques portant sur des médecines « traditionnelles ».

7 L'*embodiment* se réfère à l'expérience vécue ou ressentie telle que Csordas (1990) l'a définie. Ici, l'incorporation de sons désigne l'entrée de sons dans le corps, mais surtout l'expérience vécue ou ressentie des sons.

8 Certains avocats semblent interpréter la seule intention de vendre le *Hoodia* dans le marché comme la preuve suffisante d'une violation du brevet (Gruenwald 2005:29).

Références

Adams, Vincanne
2002 Randomized Controlled Crime: Postcolonial Sciences in Alternative Medicine Research. Social Studies of Science 32(5-6):659–690. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/030631270203200503.

Collot, Pierre-Alain
2007 La protection des savoirs traditionnels, du droit international de la propriété intellectuelle au système de protection *sui generis*. Droit et Cultures 53:181–209.

Crouzel, Ivan
2000 La « renaissance africaine » : un discours sud-africain? Politique Africaine (Paris, France) 77(1):171–182. http://dx.doi.org/10.3917/polaf.077.0171.

Csordas, Thomas
1990 Embodiment as a Paradigm for Anthropology. Ethos (Berkeley, Calif.) 18(1):5–47. http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/eth.1990.18.1.02a00010.
1996 Imaginal Performance and Memory in Ritual Healing. *Dans* The Performance of Healing. Carol Laderman et Maria Roseman, dirs. Pp. 91–114. New York: Routledge.

Dalgalarrondo, Sébastie
2004 Sida : la course aux molécules. Paris: École des hautes études en sciences sociales.

Deleuze, Gilles et Félix Guattari
1980 Mille Plateaux. Capitalisme et schizophrénie. Paris: Éditions de Minuit.

Descola, Philippe
2005 Par-delà nature et culture. Paris: Gallimard.

Fassin, Didier
2000 Entre politiques du vivant et politiques de la vie : pour une anthropologie de la santé. Anthropologie et Sociétés 24(1):95–116. http://dx.doi.org/10.7202/015638ar.
2010 Ethics of Survival: A Democratic Approach to the Politics of Life. Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development 1(1):81–95. http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/hum.2010.0000.

Ferguson, James
2006 Global Shadows. Africa in the Neoliberal World Order. Durham, Londres: Duke University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/9780822387640.

Flint, Karen
2008 Healing Traditions. African Medicine, Cultural Exchange, and Competition in South Africa, 1820-1948. South Africa: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

Foucault, Michel
1976 Histoire de la sexualité, vol. 1 : La volonté de savoir. Paris: Gallimard.

Goodson, John Augustus
1922 The Constituents of the Flowering Tops of *Artemisia afra*, Jacq. Biochemical Journal 16:489–493.

Gruenwald, Joerg
2005 *Hoodia*: Business Opportunity or Dangerous Business. Document électronique, http://www.nutraceuticalsworld.com/issues/2005-09/view_columns/eurotrends-hoodia-business-opportunity-or-dangerou/, consulté le 13 novembre 2013.

Hutchins, Anne, et al.
1996 Zulu Medicinal Plants: An Inventory. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

Ingold, Tim
2000 The Perception of the Environment. Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill. London: Routledge. http://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9780203466025.
2008 Earth, Sky, Wind and Weather. *Dans* Wind, Life, Health: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives. Elisabeth Hsu et Chris Low, dirs. Pp. 17–36. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
2011 Being Alive. Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description. London: Routledge.
2013 Making. Anthropology, Archaeology, Art and Architecture. London: Routledge.

Janzen, John M.
2000 Afterword. *Dans* The Quest for Fruition Through *Ngoma*. Political Aspects of Healing in Southern Africa. Rijk Van Dijk, Ria Reis et Marja Spierenburg, dirs. Pp. 155–168. Oxford: James Currey Ltd.

Johnson, Quinton
2011 Phytomedicines. From translation of IKS to Innovation for the Bioeconomy. Document électronique, http://d2zmx6mlqh7g3a.cloudfront.net/cdn/farfuture/RlzNYImCBOIlagOCQDqY-EOTUlHZmHGrSz2ganE4A4o/mtime:1381177787/files/docs/110907phytomedicines.pdf, consulté 13 novembre 2013.

Kofi Annan, Busumuru
    2007 Championing Africa's Renaissance – Kofi Annan,
        Inaugural Golden Jubilee Lecture, Accra
        International Conference Center. Document
        électronique, http://ghana.wordpress.com/2007/01/26/
        championing-africa%E2%80%99s-renaissance-kofi-
        annan/, consulté le 13 novembre 2013.
Kollek, Regine
    1995 The Limits of Experimental Knowledge: A Feminist
        Perspective on the Ecological Risks of Genetic
        Engineering. *Dans* Biopolitics. A Feminist and
        Ecological Reader on Biotechnology. Vandana Shiva
        et Ingunn Moser, dirs. Pp. 95–111. London: Zed
        Books Ltd.
Kornegay, Francis A. et Chris Landsberg
    1998 Mayivuke ¡Africa! Can South Africa lead an African
        Renaissance? Centre for Policy Studies 11(1).
Landsberg, Chris et Dumisani Hlophe
    1999 The African Renaissance as a Modern South African
        Foreign Policy. Paris: CERI, 30 septembre 1999.
Laplante, Julie
    Sous presse
        On Knowing and not Knowing "Life" in Molecular
        Biology and Xhosa Healing: Ontologies in the Pre-
        Clinical Trial of a South African Indigenous Medicine
        (*muti*). Anthropology of Consciousness, 25.
    2009a South African Roots towards Global Knowledge:
        Music or Molecules? Anthropology Southern Africa
        32(1–2):8–17.
    2009b Plantes médicinales, savoirs et sociétés: vue des
        rastafaris sud africains. Drogues, santé et sociétés
        8(1):93–121.
    2012 « Art de dire » rastafari: *dagga* et créativité musicale
        dans les *townships* sud-africains. Drogues, santé et
        sociétés 11(1):90–106.
Latour, Bruno
    2000 When Things Strike Back: A Possible Contribution of
        "Science Studies" to the Social Sciences. British
        Journal of Sociology 51(1):107–123. http://dx.doi.org/
        10.1080/000713100358453.
    2004 Why Has Critique Run out of Steam? From Matters
        of Fact to Matters of Concern. Critical Inquiry
        30(2):225–248. http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/421123.
    2005 Reassembling the Social. An Introduction to Actor-
        Network-Theory. New York: Oxford University Press.
Mandela, Nelson
    1994 Inaugural Speech. Statement of the President of the
        African National Congress, Pretoria. Document
        électronique, http://www.africa.upenn.edu/
        Articles_Gen/Inaugural_Speech_17984.html, consulté
        le 19 décembre 2013.
Mander, Myles, et al.
    2012 Economics of the Traditional Medicine Trade in South
        Africa. Document électronique, www.hst.org.za/
        uploads/files/chap13_07.pdf, consulté le 12 février
        2012.
Mavimbela, Vusi
    1998 The African Renaissance: A Workable Dream. *Dans*
        South Africa and Africa: Reflections on the African
        Renaissance. Garth le Pere, Anthoni van Nieuwkerk
        et Kato Lambrechts, dirs. Johannesburg: Fondation
        for Global Dialogue. Occasional Paper 17.

Merleau-Ponty, Maurice
    1945 Phénoménologie de la perception. Paris: Gallimard.
    1964 L'œil et l'Esprit. Paris: Gallimard.
Mol, Annemarie
    2003 The Body Multiple: Ontology in Medical Practice.
        Durham: Duke University.
Muganga, Raymond
    2004 Luteolin Levels in Selected Folkloric Preparations
        and the Bioavailability of Luteolin from *Artemisia
        afra* Aqueous Extract in the Vervet Monkey.
        Mémoire de maîtrise, département de pharmacologie.
        Université du Western Cape.
Mukinda, James et James Syce
    2007 Acute and Chronic Toxicity of the Aqueous Extract of
        Artemisia afra in Rodents. Journal of
        Ethnopharmacology 112(1):138–144. http://dx.doi.org/
        10.1016/j.jep.2007.02.011.
Ntutela, Siyabulela, Pete Smith, Lungile Matika, James
Mukinda, Hiram Arendse, Nasiema Allie, D. Mark Estes,
Wilfred Mabusela, Peter Folb, Lafras Steyn, et al.
    2009 Efficacy of *Artemisia afra* Phytotherapy in
        Experimental Tuberculosis. Tuberculosis (Edinburgh,
        Scotland) 89(SUPPL 1):S33–S40. http://dx.doi.org/
        10.1016/S1472-9792(09)70009-5.
Organisation mondiale de la santé
    2011 Global Tuberculosis Control 2011. Genève:
        Organisation mondiale de la Santé. Document
        électronique, http://www.who.int/tb/publications/
        global_report/2011/en/index.html, consulté le 10 mars
        2012.
Patil, Gayathri V., Sujata K. Dass et Ramesh Chandra
    2011 *Artemisia afra* and Modern Disease.
        Pharmacogenomics and Pharmacoproteomics 2(3):1–
        22.
Patwardhan, Bhushan et Raghunath Anant Mashelkar
    2009 Traditional Medicine-Inspired Approaches to Drug
        Discovery: Can Ayurveda Show the Way Forward?
        Drug Discovery Today 14(15–16):804–811. http://
        dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.drudis.2009.05.009.
Stroeken, Koen
    2008 Sensory Shifts and "Synaesthetics" in Sukuma
        Healing. Ethnos 73(4):466–484. http://dx.doi.org/
        10.1080/00141840802563923.
Sunder Rajan, Kaushik
    2006 Biocapital. The Constitution of Postgenomic Life.
        Durham: Duke University Press.
The International Center for Indigenous Phythotherapy
Studies
    2009 Mission statement. Document électronique,
        www.wlbcenter.org/ticips.htm, consulté le 9 avril 2009.
Thompson, Ginger
    2003 Twee Rivieren Journal; Bushmen Squeeze Money
        From a Humble Cactus. The New York Times, 1er
        avril. Document électronique, http://
        www.nytimes.com/2003/04/01/world/twee-rivieren-
        journal-bushmen-squeeze-money-from-a-humble-
        cactus.html, consulté le 10 mars 2012
Van Wyk, B.-E. et N. Gericke, dirs.
    2007 People's Plants. A Guide to Useful Plants of Southern
        Africa. Pretoria: Briza.

Kava Hangover and Gold-standard Science

S. (Apo) Aporosa   *Waikato-Tainui College for Research and Development*

Matt Tomlinson   *Australian National University*

Abstract: Kava, a beverage drunk in much of the South Pacific, is both celebrated and controversial. It is often considered an emblem of traditional indigenous practice but also criticized for its physical effects on heavy drinkers. This article reports the results of a study wherein tests were administered to schoolteachers in Fiji to measure effects of the previous night's drinking. The tests revealed that kava intoxication seems to affect processing speed but not working memory. The authors caution that the results must be balanced by acknowledgement of kava's role in bringing communities together in support of institutions such as schools.

Keywords: kava, intoxication, education, development, cognition, Fiji

Résumé : Le kava, une boisson fort répandue dans le Pacifique Sud, est à la fois prisé et objet de controverse. On le considère souvent comme un emblème des traditions indigènes, mais on critique l'effet qu'il peut avoir sur les buveurs excessifs. Cet article rend compte des résultats d'une étude où l'on a soumis des enseignants de Fidji à des tests mesurant l'effet de la consommation de la veille. Les tests ont montré que l'intoxication au kava semble affecter la rapidité d'exécution, mais pas la mémoire de travail. Les auteurs mettent ces résultats en perspective en rappelant le rôle que joue le kava dans les rassemblements communautaires concernant le soutien à des institutions comme les écoles.

Mots-clés : kava, intoxication, éducation, développement, cognition, Fidji

Introduction

How do you measure a hangover? The question might sound whimsical, but it has serious implications. From 2006 until the present, Aporosa has conducted research on kava drinking and education in Fiji, aiming to understand how Fijian educators might resolve a paradox: drinking kava is a central feature of much Fijian socio-cultural life and a key facilitator in the running of many Fijian schools; yet, overconsumption affects teachers who are hung over and struggle to teach their students about much more than the dangers of being hung over. The obvious solution—moderation in kava drinking—is one that educators routinely fail to achieve and, in 2000, Fiji's Ministry of Education characterized excessive kava drinking by teachers as one of several factors leading to student academic underachievement (Tavola 2000:169; see also Williams 2000:187).

Kava is a local substance, but also a global commodity, and in the past three decades anthropologists have paid especially close attention to changing practices of local production and consumption associated with the global circulation of consumer products. The landmark work is Mintz's (1986) analysis of how sugar in Britain was transformed from an elite luxury to a proletarian necessity; as he argues, "the heightened consumption of goods like sucrose was the direct consequence of deep alterations in the lives of working people, which made new forms of foods and eating conceivable and 'natural,' like new schedules of work, new sorts of labour, and new conditions of daily life" (Mintz 1986:181). Sugar's natural appeal became an economic imperative and a cultural necessity through a complex set of engagements that reshaped daily lives and political economies both in Britain and around the world, from Africans shipped across the oceans as slaves to indigenous Americans dispossessed of their lands.

Sugar was not the only comestible that helped shape the modern world, as Mintz notes, and many substances classified as drugs have been vital to the development of

modern bureaucratic work structures. One reason that "'soft' drugs—chocolate, the milder strains of tobacco from the Americas, coffee and tea from the East" gained such popularity in modernizing Europe was that "they were more compatible with the emergent capitalist order" (Courtwright 2001:59). Within the Pacific, anthropologists have focused on the transnational circulation of drugs including caffeine in soft drinks (Foster 2008), tobacco (Marshall 2013) and, of course, kava, which, as the definitive scholarly work on the subject puts it, is "a sacred drug, a social drink and a cash crop" (Lebot et al. 1997:198; Lindstrom 1987). Like other drugs, kava has been tangled in local debates about how it affects productivity, which we describe in this article, and speculation about its potential value on the global market (e.g., Courtwright 2001:53–54, 59–60; Lebot et al. 1997:197; Lindstrom 2009).

In this article we present the results of efforts to measure kava hangover, a project Aporosa undertook to propose recommendations to Fiji's Ministry of Education. The research faced a core challenge: randomized controlled trials are considered the "gold standard" for health research (Solomon et al. 2009); yet, such testing is next to impossible under the conditions in which kava is normally consumed. As is well established in studies of alcohol consumption, drinking has regular and measurable effects on physical and mental processes but the ways that drunkenness affects behaviour are culturally contoured (MacAndrew and Edgerton 1969) and not always testable in a laboratory. How, then, can one go beyond anecdotal evidence to obtain data about the effects of drinking—in the case of Fiji, kava hangovers—in a way that will be useful to civil and governmental groups who have expressed concern about kava's effects?

This article has three main sections. In the first, we give a brief overview of Fijian kava and its consumption. The second section presents the methods used to measure kava's hangover effects. In the third section, we offer our analysis of the results. In a brief conclusion, we emphasize the point that, although this study is not "gold-standard science," it reveals core facts about how kava is consumed and what its effects are. Such facts, we suggest, can guide the policies of organizations who maintain that overconsumption is a serious problem.

Kava in Fiji

Kava is a beverage drunk in much of Oceania. In Fiji, it is generally prepared by straining the dried, crushed roots of the *Piper methysticum* plant through water. Both the plant and the beverage are called *yaqona* in Fijian, but because *kava* has entered English usage, we will use that term in this article except where quoting others who use *yaqona*.

The formal presentation of the plant, in either its raw state or as an already prepared beverage, is integral to indigenous Fijian culture and identity (Aporosa 2011b:230–231; Singh 1981:61; Tora 1986:25; Turner 1986:209). Ritualized kava-drinking practices mediate hierarchy and equality in Fiji, bringing drinkers together in a ranked structure in which everyone participates equally in certain respects (see especially Toren 1988, 1990, 1999). Kava drinking is associated with the vital presence of non-Christian ancestral spirits, which can give it a somewhat dangerous aura (Katz 1993; Tomlinson 2004, 2007, 2009), but many members of Fiji's two largest churches, Methodist and Roman Catholic, drink the beverage frequently and enthusiastically. In Fiji's multiethnic population, kava is enjoyed by many non-indigenous groups, including Indo-Fijians, the descendants of migrants from South Asia who came to Fiji during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But it is a primary symbol of social identity especially for indigenous Fijians, many of whom consider kava to be an ingestible manifestation of their *vanua* (land, people, chiefdoms), an emblem of "Fijianness" and the Fijian way (Ratuva 2007:92–99). For many indigenous Fijians, participating regularly in kava-drinking sessions is considered a hallmark of behaviour that is *vakaturaga* (chiefly), although it is also drunk casually for hours each day, the ever-flowing lubricant of social life.[1]

When consumed in its aqueous form, kava's active properties, called *kavalactones*, dull receptors in the central nervous system, numb and slow the response time in muscles, limbs and the brain, and cause a relaxed, peaceful, lethargic feeling. This is known as kava "intoxication," although it is a significantly different experience than alcoholic intoxication (Aporosa 2011a:158–160). Unlike with alcohol, there are no aggressive feelings or euphoria during the kava intoxication experience; effects come on slowly and subtly, relaxing the muscles and bringing about a feeling of casual contentment combined, in the initial stages, with a clear-headedness that helps promote conversation (Keltner and Folkes 2005:522; Lewin 1964:223–224; Singh 2004:5).[2] When large amounts of kava are consumed, the drinker experiences double vision, imbalance and stupefaction (Cairney et al. 2002:660; Singh et al. 2004:150, 154; Thompson et al. 2004:248).

MediHerb, an industry newsletter produced by a company of the same name, recommends a maximum daily dose of 200 milligrams (mgs) of kavalactones (MediHerb 1994:2). This quantity is claimed to have therapeutic value without causing cognitive impairment (Mills and Bone 2005:484, 488). However, aqueous preparations in

Fiji are typically consumed in far greater quantities. For example, Duve and Prasad (1984:11) report that a "standard" *bilo* (a cup, often made from a coconut shell) of kava is usually 100 millilitres of liquid and contains an average of 247 mgs of kavalactones—already more than the recommended dose. Ethnographic sources suggest that the average rate of kava consumption within the traditional setting is six "standard" *bilo*s per hour, adding up to 1,482 mgs of kavalactones consumed per hour, more than seven times the recommended dose (Aporosa 2008b:43–44, 2011b:234; Qereqeretabua 2006). And most drinkers hardly stop after the first hour. Indeed, it is generally taboo for men to leave a kava session early and sessions can last long into the night.

Research conducted by Aporosa in 2006–07 suggested that it was common for teachers at rural schools in Fiji to consume kava for more than three hours on nights before teaching students in the classroom (Aporosa 2008b:75–77). In 2009 the survey was re-administered to 63 indigenous Fijian and Indo-Fijian teachers from 15 urban, semi-urban and rural schools. This study showed that, on average, these teachers were drinking kava for 5.8 hours on nights before teaching, a significant increase from the 2006–07 data (Aporosa 2011b:238). However, these figures do not distinguish between those who regularly consume a great deal of kava and those who habitually consume less. Moreover, on special occasions, such as funerals, the amount of drinking is much higher than during "regular" times, so a sample taken at such a ritual-heavy time would skew the numbers upward; it is possible that participants in 2009 were involved in more ceremonial activities than those in 2006–07.

In Aporosa's research from both 2006–07 and 2009, participants agreed unanimously that they experienced hangovers on mornings after they had drunk kava for several hours. They noted, however, that this kind of hangover was quite different from one following alcohol consumption (Aporosa 2011a:159; 2011b:238–239). Kava hangover was described as causing mental and physical lethargy: disruption of memory recall, a feeling of sleepiness, a lack of energy and procrastination, which encouraged a retreat from work (Aporosa 2008b:47–51, 86–88; 2010:28–29; 2011b:239). Young (1995:89) reports similar effects from his experience in Vanuatu. A travel writer describing his own experience in Vanuatu wrote that, on the one hand, kava intoxication was "nothing at all like a hangover," but, on the other hand, that two days after drinking too much he "felt like I had been mugged, taken unawares, slugged from behind … a lingering sense that I was in a place far, far away, in a world of my own" (Troost 2006:64). In Aporosa's

research, some participants said that hangover-like effects can take up to two days to subside. In 2000, the Fijian Ministry of Education expressed their concerns about kava hangovers:

> Many teachers in rural areas become involved in excessive *yaqona* consumption, with the result that they are less effective in their professional work … *Yaqona* has an ability to sap energy and support listlessness and there can be little doubt that it substantially inhibits performance of duties in non-traditional professional environments, including the civil service and teaching. [Tavola 2000:169]

In addition to the Ministry of Education's concerns, there have been calls in the Fijian media over the past 10 years for situational bans and prohibitions on kava use. Some argue that it "negatively impacts productivity" (Baba 1996:1; see also Nagalu 2007:9; Raicola 2008:2; Ralogaivau 2009:4); others argue that its use interferes with professionalism, discipline and due diligence (Fiji Times 2008b:18; Fiji Times 2010). Some churches, too, have complained about excessive kava consumption, and some have forbidden it outright, partly because of its physical effects and partly because of its links to non-Christian ancestors (Fiji Times 2008a:2; Vulaono 2001).

Following Aporosa's study, several indigenous Fijian kava drinkers questioned him personally about the reliability of the findings, arguing at first that kava did not produce any hangover effect. Subsequent discussions revealed the reason for this denial. "See," replied an informant whose opinion echoed that of many others, "the *yaqona* is sacred so we don't want to say that the *yaqona* can be bad." The implication was that to connect this cherished indigenous substance with negative effects was to criticize something that should be beyond criticism (Aporosa 2010:31–32).

Methods

Unaisi Nabobo-Baba, an education scholar, has developed a "*vanua* research" framework that emphasizes a participant-observation approach mindful of Fijian chiefly protocol (2006:24–36). Within this framework, Aporosa developed the kava research project, obtaining ethical clearance from Massey University and the Fijian Ministry of Education; all participants read and signed an informed consent form translated from English into both Standard Fijian and Fiji Hindi.

Two groups, each comprising 18 indigenous Fijian and Indo-Fijian participants aged between 25 and 29 years, were selected from a total of 15 rural, semi-urban and urban primary and secondary schools across Fiji by way of a self-administered questionnaire. One of the

Table 1: Active and control participants in Aporosa's trials of 2009.

ACTIVE PARTICIPANTS		Ethnicity	Participant	School designation	CONTROL PARTICIPANTS	
Sex	Age				Sex	Age
M	29	*Indigenous Fijian*	1	Rural	M	25
M	28	*Indigenous Fijian*	2	Rural	M	26
F	28	*Indigenous Fijian*	3	Rural	F	26
M	28	*Indo-Fijian*	4	Rural	M	28
M	26	*Indo-Fijian*	5	Rural	M	27
M	25	*Indo-Fijian*	6	Rural	M	26
M	25	*Indigenous Fijian*	7	Semi-urban	M	29
M	25	*Indigenous Fijian*	8	Semi-urban	M	28
F	29	*Indigenous Fijian*	9	Semi-urban	F	29
M	29	*Indo-Fijian*	10	Semi-urban	M	25
M	25	*Indo-Fijian*	11	Semi-urban	M	25
M	29	*Indo-Fijian*	12	Semi-urban	M	26
M	25	*Indigenous Fijian*	13	Urban	M	27
M	29	*Indigenous Fijian*	14	Urban	M	26
F	27	*Indigenous Fijian*	15	Urban	F	25
M	28	*Indo-Fijian*	16	Urban	M	29
M	26	*Indo-Fijian*	17	Urban	M	29
M	29	*Indo-Fijian*	18	Urban	M	25

groups consisted of kava consumers (defined as the active group), and the other consisted of non-drinkers (the control group). The active and control groups each contained two indigenous Fijian men and one indigenous Fijian woman as well as three Indo-Fijian men from each of the three teaching environments, as detailed in Table 1.[3] Indo-Fijian women were not included, as they consume kava comparatively less often than the other groups (Schultz et al. 2007:179–180). The self-administered questionnaire sought data on kava consumption quantities and duration for the previous night, with consumption the previous night being a prerequisite for inclusion in the active group.

Two modified Wechsler Intelligence Scale (WAIS-III) subtests, standardized to a wide international demographic (Kaufman and Lichtenberger 1999:10–11), were administered to all 36 teacher-participants. The teachers were tested between 8:00 and 9:00 a.m., in order for the data to reflect the approximate time (8:30) they would usually enter the classroom. The modified measures were the Digit-Span and Digit Symbol-Coding subtests. The choice to use these particular subtests, both of which are "Processing Speed Index" tests, was influenced by the work of Groth-Marnat (2003:150), who recommends them specifically for testing concentration, short-term memory and attention.

WAIS-III subtests assess specific cognitive functions—such as mental manipulation and auditory sequencing within the Digit-Span test and psychomotor speed and visual perception within the Digit Symbol-

Coding test—to inform the primary focus of each subtest. The Digit-Span subtest required participants to repeat (verbally) a series of numbers in both forward and reverse order to assess working memory, specifically short-term information retention and association (Tesche and Karhu 2000:919). The numbers, originally presented in English, were translated into Standard Fijian and Fiji Hindi as appropriate, although some participants chose to take the test in English. The second assessment tool, the Digit Symbol-Coding subtest, required participants to match and correctly draw numbered symbols within a 120-second time period. This measured the processing speed of basic information (Kaufman and Lichtenberger 1999:100–1; Zhu et al. 2004:61).[4] The test was modified by substituting two symbols inspired by indigenous Fijian art for two symbols in the original version.

Individual scores of participants were calculated using the WAIS-III conversion tables, producing a scaled score for each (Wechsler 1997:7, 9). These scores were then averaged and compared between the active and control groups—rather than to WAIS-III's standardization norm—to "compare apples with apples" by keeping the definition of normalcy within the sample population of Fijian kava drinkers and kava abstainers. The participant selection process, based on age, gender and ethnicity, complied with norms of "probability sampling [in that] members of [the] sample have known probabilities of membership" (McCready 1996:103) in either the active or control group. Finally, the scaled scores of the active and control groups were analyzed and compared

using group statistics and independent-sample 2-tailed inter-group comparison t-tests within the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), version 17. By using this combination of methods, the tests were designed to be both methodologically sound and culturally sensitive, set within Nabobo-Baba's "*vanua* research" framework but also acknowledging local differences.

A recent review of ten clinical trials dating back to 1987 (LaPorte et al. 2011:102) had limited relevance to the present study. Seven of these 10 trials used small, pharmacologically administered doses with ingestion levels considerably less than those routinely consumed in Fiji.[5] Although participants in two of the other trials consumed kava at volumes similar to everyday Fijian users, these were also problematic. In one case, consumers were not assessed until 24 hours after use (Cairney et al. 2003a:390–391), whereas the average time period between cessation of kava drinking and commencement of teaching is six hours (Aporosa 2008b:76–78). Although the second trial assessed participants in the early morning, not all active participants had consumed kava the previous night (Mathews et al. 1988:549–550), a prerequisite for inclusion in the active group in Aporosa's study. Thus, of the 10 trials reviewed by LaPorte and colleagues (2011), only one had strong relevance for this current investigation.

Cairney and colleagues (2003b:156–158) administered saccade[6] and Cambridge Automated Neuropsychological (CANTAB) computer touch-screen cognitive tests to 11 Northern Territories indigenous Australian participants eight hours after drinking kava. The authors concluded that "intoxicated individuals in the current study showed saccade abnormalities that indicated problems with motor coordination yet their cognitive performance was equivalent to controls suggesting that despite their intoxicated state, their thought processes remained clear. Thus the predominant feature of kava intoxication is motor incoordination that is accompanied by a slight and specific visual attentional deficit." The review concludes that "the current evidence suggests that kava has non-deleterious effects on cognition during acute administration or produces reduced visual attention at higher doses during cognitive demand" (LaPorte et al. 2011:110).

These findings contrast with those of Waqainabete (2003:6), who administered two cognitive measures (both digit symbol substitution tests similar to the WAIS-III Digit Symbol-Coding subtest) to 39 active and 41 control participants at the Fiji School of Medicine. Testing was done one and one half hours after the consumption of 13 *bilos* (cups) of kava by the active participants and again at the end of consumption, two and one half hours and

20 *bilos*. All participants were retested 24 hours after the end of kava drinking. Waqainabete (2003:16) reported "impaired neuropsychological function" evident among the active participants at both the one-and-one-half and two-and-one-half hour marks, with improvements noted following 24 hours' cessation of kava drinking.

In Aporosa's own trials, "gold-standard" methodological procedures such as placebo-driven randomized testing were not considered—nor could they have been without violating basic cultural expectations about kava drinking. Crucially, dose standardisation was not possible as the enforcement of these would have been culturally inappropriate and would not have reflected the actual drinking experiences of most participants. The data presented here are therefore exploratory, not definitive, and will hopefully prompt further investigation.[7]

Results and Analysis

The average age for the active-group indigenous Fijians across the three teaching environments was 27.2 years; for the Indo-Fijians it was 27 years. For the control participants the average age was 26.7 for indigenous Fijians and 26.6 for Indo-Fijians. Average ages for all participants in the active and control groups were 26.7 and 27.1 years, respectively, a negligible difference that does not affect the findings.

Using Duve and Prasad's figure of 247 mgs of kavalactones per "standard" *bilo*, together with the ethnographic data on estimated *bilo* intake rates per hour discussed above, kava consumption volumes were calculated for active participants using data from the self-administered questionnaires. This showed that Indo-Fijian teachers in the semi-urban areas consumed the least on the night before testing, averaging 4.8 hours of drinking for an estimated 29 *bilos* and 7,714 mgs of kavalactones. The heaviest drinkers were the Indo-Fijian teachers in rural locations, who averaged 8.6 hours for 52 *bilos* and 13,832 mgs of kavalactones— almost 70 times MediHerb's daily recommended dose. When the combined averages for both ethnicities across the teaching environments are considered, rural teachers are the heaviest consumers at 7.1 hours, followed by urban ones at 5.6 hours and semi-urban ones at 4.9 hours. Total consumption hours for all consumers was calculated, showing that on average the surveyed participants consumed kava for 5.9 hours on the night before cognitive testing. A breakdown of this data by ethnicity and teaching environment is presented in Table 2.

Table 3 presents the results of a group statistics t-test analysis using the Digit-Span subtest raw and scaled score data (the test in which participants were asked to repeat a series of numbers in both forward

S

Table 2: Average kava consumption of active participants by ethnicity and school location on the night before cognitive testing.

Ethnicity	School designation	Kava consumption previous night		
		Consumption hours	Estimated *bilos* consumed	Estimated kavalactone ingestion
Indigenous Fijian	Rural	5.6	34	9,044 mgs
Indo-Fijian	Rural	8.6	52	13,832 mgs
Combined ethnicities	Rural	7.1	43	11,438 mgs
Indigenous Fijian	Semi-urban	5	30	7,980 mgs
Indo-Fijian	Semi-urban	4.8	29	7714 mgs
Combined ethnicities	Semi-urban	4.9	29.5	7,847 mgs
Indigenous Fijian	Urban	6.6	39	1,0374 mgs
Indo-Fijian	Urban	4.6	28	7,448 mgs
Combined ethnicities	Urban	5.6	33.6	8,911 mgs

Table 3: Group statistics *t*-test analysis using the raw and scaled score data for the active and control participants assessed with the Digit-Span subtest.

Score analysis	Participants	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error Mean
Digit-Span raw score	Control	18	16.67	2.931	.691
	Active	18	16.22	3.703	.873
Digit-Span scaled score	Control	18	9.44	2.093	.493
	Active	18	9.17	2.550	.601

Table 4: Independent samples (2-tailed inter-group comparison) *t*-test showing the amount of difference between the control and active Digit-Span subtest scaled score mean values.

	t-test for Equality of Means			
	Degree of freedom	*p*-value significance (2-tailed)	Mean difference	Standard Error difference
Digit-Span scaled score	34	.723	.278	.777

and reverse order). The raw score is the value obtained directly from the scoring sheets; raw scores were converted to scale scores using WAIS III conversion tables. This conversion provided the numerical values used in the independent samples *t*-test (which will be discussed shortly). As the table shows, the control group answered, on average, 16.67 correct questions; the active participants answered 16.22 or, 0.45 fewer. The mean difference within the scaled score range is 9.44 for the control and 9.19 for the active group (0.27 points lower).

Table 4 shows the results of an independent samples *t*-test on the scaled score mean of the control and active groups who were assessed with the Digit-Span subtest data. The descriptor "degree of freedom" equals the "sample size minus [any] constraints" (Petrie and Sabin 2000:28) and "relate[s] to the number of observations

that are free to vary" (Field 2009:37). For the purposes of this study, the critical figure is the *p*-value of 0.723, also known as the probability or "significance (2-tailed)" value.

Tables 5 and 6 turn to the other batch of data, the results of a group statistics *t*-test analysis using the raw and scaled score data of the active and control participants assessed by the Digit Symbol-Coding subtest (the test in which they were asked to match symbols and numbers within a 120-second time period). As Table 5 indicates, the control group averaged 63.67 correct answers compared with the active participants who answered 8.45 fewer at 55.22. When using the converted scaled score, the mean is 8.00 for the control and 6.22 for the active group (6.22 points less).

Table 5: Group statistics *t*-test analysis using the Digit Symbol-Coding raw and scaled score data for the active and control participants.

Score analysis	Participants	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error Mean
Digit Symbol-Coding raw score	Control	18	63.67	20.167	4.753
	Active	18	55.22	10.814	2.549
Digit Symbol-Coding scaled score	Control	18	8.00	2.521	.594
	Active	18	6.22	1.517	.358

Table 6: Independent samples (2-tailed inter-group comparison) *t-test* showing the amount of difference between the control and active Digit Symbol-Coding subtest scaled score mean values.

	t-test for Equality of Means			
	Degree of freedom	*p*-value significance (2-tailed)	Mean difference	Standard Error difference
Digit Symbol-Coding scaled score	34	.015	1.778	.693

Finally, the Digit Symbol-Coding subtest scaled scores were analyzed using the independent-samples *t*-test, as shown in Table 6. As with the results of the Digit-Span test given above in Table 4, the critical figure for the purpose of this study is the *p*-value, which here is 0.015.

What, Finally, Do These Data Show?

In this study, the average time spent by the teacher-participants consuming kava on the night before cognitive assessment was almost six hours. (Like all averages, it hides interesting individual cases, including those who consumed for more than eight hours and one 26-year-old Indo-Fijian teacher from a rural school who reported drinking kava for 12.5 hours on the night before testing.) The Digit Symbol-Coding subtest raw scores given in Table 5 for the active and control groups indicate that the control participants averaged approximately 64 correct answers in two minutes compared with the average active participants who recorded 55, a difference of 9 correct answers. In terms of time, the active kava-drinking participants took approximately 0.31 seconds longer to answer each question compared with members of the control group, a difference of 16.5 percent.

A key finding is the difference between the *p*-values in the different tests. The present study calculated the *p*-value of the Digit-Span subtest results (the test of counting forward and backward) to be 0.723, but the *p*-value of the Digit Symbol-Coding subtest results (the test of matching symbols and numbers) to be 0.015. Pallant (2007:235) writes that when the value is 0.05 or more, it indicates "no significant difference between the

two groups" being compared, but that a value below 0.05 shows "a significant difference in the mean scores between the two groups." In short, the Digit-Span subtest suggests that there was no significant difference between the active and control group members in terms of their cognitive processes of working memory as assessed at the time they would normally enter the classroom to teach, whereas the Digit Symbol-Coding subtest data indicates that the groups did, in fact, exhibit a statistically significant difference in their cognitive aspects of processing speed at that time. As explained earlier, both subtests measure specific functions; Aporosa's results suggest impairment to visual memory, psychomotor speed, short-term visual perception, visual-motor coordination and visual-scanning ability, functions measured by the Digit Symbol-Coding subtest.

Kava hangover, in short, seems to affect processing speed but not working memory. Clinical investigations hint at similar findings with participants who had used both benzodiazepine and anticholinergic drugs, which have analogous effects to kava (Bone 2002:306; Dean 2000:1–2; Mindell 1998:36–37).[8] Lawlor and colleagues (1991:100–101) noted that anticholinergics had no effect on working memory when assessed by the Digit-Span subtest, whereas "the storage of new memories [was] disrupted," and they noted similar effects following benzodiazepine use (1991:103). In a more recent study, Ancelin and colleagues (2006:458) concur with these findings. During their longitudinal study among elderly users of anticholinergics, they established that those taking this antihistamine-based medication "had significantly poorer performance on psychomotor speed, primary and secondary visuospatial memory, narrative

recall and visuospatial construction than non-users." They add that they "found no significant difference for implicit memory or logical reasoning ability" (in other words, working memory) in those same participants (2006:458). These results mirror those of Aporosa's kava study. Ancelin and colleagues were unable to offer an explanation for the difference in their findings between processing speed and working memory but suggested it may be linked with cholesterol (2006:456).

When compared with the kava trials run by Cairney and colleagues with indigenous Australians (2003b, summarized above), Aporosa's findings are both complementary and contradictory. For instance, Cairney and colleagues stated that the "thought processes [of their participants] remained clear," confirming Aporosa's findings that the cognitive processes of working memory appeared to be unaffected when measured by the Digit-Span subtest. However, the Digit Symbol-Coding subtest findings contradict Cairney and colleagues, suggesting significant impairment to processing speed. The reason for the clash between results is not clear and might be a result of different cultural practices (e.g., who habitually drinks more kava and whether kava is usually consumed by itself or in combination with other substances, such as tobacco or alcohol) or the difference between Aporosa's use of Digit Symbol-Coding and Cairney and colleagues' use of CANTAB. There is, it must be noted, a strong consensus among findings by Cairney and colleagues of "motor incoordination ... accompanied by a slight and specific visual attentional deficit," Waqainabete's (2003:16) report of "impaired neuropsychological function," and Aporosa's finding of impaired processing speed, which includes the measurement of visual sequencing as part of the overall Digit Symbol-Coding subtest evaluation (Kaufman and Lichtenberger 1999:100–101; see also n. 4, below). The similarities and differences among these findings should motivate further research on kava-induced impairment.

Conclusion

Scholars outside of anthropology subscribe too often to static, structural-functionalist notions of culture that limit their appreciation of the dynamics of social change. For example, the development studies scholars Schech and Haggis (2008:53) argue that "development planners and scholars ... increasingly ... [recognize] culture as a kind of glue that holds societies together and gives them a coherent structure which can be used for development initiatives." Even when not invoking metaphors of solidity (glued-together or otherwise), many scholars err in seeing culture as merely a piece in a jigsaw puzzle, as in a

UNESCO (1995:21) report that culture and identity are necessary "psychosociological components" in development, carrying the same weight as technical, economic and scientific elements in contributing to the "success of the development plans or projects." The project described in this article has, in contrast, tried to achieve a developmental goal—understanding how Fijian education can be improved—by treating culture as a strategy, something people *use* in organizing and debating their knowledge and practices. To achieve the project's goal, a culturally appropriate methodology was of the utmost importance, but such a methodology means the results obtained from testing cannot be "gold-standard science." A scientific approach can be enriched, however, when it does not depend on the decontextualization of data.

By administering Digit-Span and Digit Symbol-Coding subtests to indigenous Fijian and Indo-Fijian schoolteachers, some of whom had drunk kava the night before and some of whom had not, Aporosa found that kava hangover affects processing speed but not working memory. Specifically, the consumption of kava in normal amounts—normal for daily practice in Fiji, not normal for a laboratory test and extremely far above one pharmacology company's recommended dose—results in a hangover that causes a 16.5 percent disruption to cognitive function associated with processing speed, functions that are necessary to performing well as a teacher in the classroom. This provides some support toward the argument heard in Fiji that kava affects productivity negatively. We hope, however, that these findings will not add fuel to the fiery rhetoric of anti-kava campaigners.[9] In Fiji, kava plays such a prominent role in public life that many schools cannot do without it: when kava drinking is banned, parents' contributions to the schools drop dramatically and the entire school—principal, teachers, students—suffers. And yet complaints about excessive kava drinking do have a basis in measurable cognitive effects and need to be taken seriously by anyone hoping to improve Fijian education.

Kava is immensely significant in Fijian cultural practice and identity, a fact that anthropologists have long recognized and something development theorists can work with in critically engaged projects of national development and economic growth. Kava's role as an emblem of identity and a sacred substance needs to be seen in light of consumption patterns that appear to affect education negatively. The consumption of kava for six hours on nights before teaching causes a hangover effect measurable as a 16.5 percent disruption to processing speed as assessed by the Digit Symbol-Coding subtest measure. This fact presents a daunting

challenge to education officials in Fiji, one which, we argue, is best met not with calls for prohibition but rather with new debate on how to maintain kava's significance as a cherished social lubricant, while acknowledging the effects of overconsumption. We hope this study will encourage further research on kava drinking in all its facets—research that is culturally sensitive but grounded in data rather than moral assertion.

S. (Apo) Aporosa, Waikato-Tainui College for Research and Development, PO Box 89 Ngaaruawaahia 3742, New Zealand. E-mail: apoa@waikatotainui.ac.nz.

Matt Tomlinson, School of Culture, History and Language, College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian National University, Canberra, ACT 0200. E-mail: matt.tomlinson@anu.edu.au.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1 The term *vakaturaga* combines the adjectival prefix *vaka-* with *turaga*, the term for "chief" or, in markedly Christian discourse, "Lord." Acting *vakaturaga* (or for women, *vakamarama*) encapsulates indigenous Fijian ideals, comprising noble values that people are expected to honour regardless of their own actual status, such as expressing respect (*veidokai*), humility (*vakarokoroko*), knowing one's place (*kila na iyatu*), fulfilling obligations (*qaravi tavi*), sharing and caring (*veiwasei kei na veikauwaitaki*), forgiveness (*veivosoti*), helpfulness (*veivukei*) and a quiet demeanor (*yalo malua*) For a detailed discussion of the *vakaturaga* concept, see Ravuvu (1987:18–19, 235).

Abramson's (2005) accurate observation that kava-drinking sessions are modified for tourists, presented publicly as an emblem of indigenous identity, does not detract from the practical and emotional force of non-commodified kava-drinking sessions.

2 The effects we describe are specifically for Fijian kava sessions and do not necessarily reflect effects experienced elsewhere; see Lebot, Merlin and Lindstrom (1997) for comparisons across Pacific Islands societies.

3 The work of Heinze et al. (1994:225) served as a reference point for participant numbers due to its use of similar cognitive assessments to measure 12 participants in a double-blind study using pharmacologically recommended doses of kavalactones. The age group of 25–29 years was chosen because it aligned with one of the 13 age scales within the WAIS-III and is above the age when most Fijians who drink kava begin doing so (usually in their mid to late teens). In addition, this age range increased the pool of available participants for cognitive testing as it commonly includes the "bachelor" demographic, whose members tend to be more socially active compared to other demographics.

4 Kaufman and Lichtenberger (1999:100–101) describe the cognitive functions measured by the Digit Symbol-Coding subtest as "perceptual organization, convergent production and evaluation of symbolic stimuli, sequential processing, encoding information for further cognitive processing, faculty with numbers, learning ability, reproduction of models, short-term memory (visual), visual sequencing [in order to access] processing speed, broad speediness, paper-and-pencil skill, visual-motor coordination, clerical speed and accuracy, [and] psychomotor speed."

5 These trials are reported in Russell et al. (1987:236); Saletu et al. (1989:170); Prescott et al. (1993:50); Foo and Lemon (1997:148); Heinze et al. (1994:225); Münte et al. (1993:43); and Thompson et al. (2004:244).

6 *Saccade* is "ballistic eye movements from one fixation to another ... a quick way to test how well someone's cerebellum [the area of the brain that aids motor control] is functioning" (Kalat 2005:243).

7 Other researchers have found fruitful results facing similar limitations. For example, Wyatt (1996) investigated work performance and industrial accidents in Papua New Guinea, administering the Digit-Span subtest to "28 male operators of earth movers ... after chewing *various* quantities of betel nut" (1996:451, 454–455, emphasis added). Participants were dispensed either one or one-and-one-half betel nuts prior to testing (1996:456), but dose accuracy could not be guaranteed or standardized as "all of the men were experienced betel nut chewers ... [who chewed] numerous times a day for more than five years" (1996:455).

8 Ashton (2002), in an online manual, describes "five major effects" of benzodiazepines: "anxiolytic, hypnotic, muscle relaxant, anticonvulsant and amnesic (impairment of memory)." These effects assist with an understanding of how kava works in the body and affects processing speed for subjects who are hung over. She adds, "Acquisition of new information is deficient, partly because of lack of concentration and attention. In addition, the drugs cause a specific deficit in 'episodic' memory, the remembering of

recent events, the circumstances in which they occurred and their sequence in time. By contrast, other memory functions (memory for words, ability to remember a telephone number for a few seconds and recall of long-term memories) are not impaired. Impairment of episodic memory may occasionally lead to memory lapses or 'blackouts.'" Lawlor et al. (1991:103) state that benzodiazepine use appears to affect "new memory formation without affecting access to previously learned information [although] it is difficult to say whether the effects of benzodiazepines on memory are specific or whether they are secondary to the sedative effect." In addition, Sadock, Kaplin and Sadock (2007:345) suggest that the heavy use of anxiolytic medications induces "impairment in attention." Yanagihara (1991:401) adds that benzodiazepine and anticonvulsant medications can cause "hazy memory ... affect[ing] concentration and decision-making, as well as delayed recall."

9 This occurred following the presentation of Aporosa's research findings at the Pacific History Conference held at the University of the South Pacific in December 2008. Although Aporosa stated on numerous occasions throughout the presentation that there was a need to balance the cultural importance of kava with its effects on education, a reporter from the *Fiji Times* focused on a single comment and quoted it out of context in a front-page article the following day. The article was titled "Kava abuse: Academic blames poor results on teachers" (Ratubalavu 2008:1; note, Aporosa's surname is misspelled in the article), a serious misrepresentation of the argument developed from the research. The publication of this newspaper article, which made no reference to the cultural importance of kava-drinking practice, resulted in Aporosa having to present several *matanigasau* (traditional apologies, accompanied, importantly, by kava) to groups who had been offended by his alleged opinion. Following a complaint to the editor of the *Fiji Times*, it was suggested to Aporosa that the reporter had been motivated by anti-kava sentiment influenced by religious beliefs. By way of an apology, Aporosa was invited to rebut the article in a two-page weekend special in the newspaper (Aporosa 2008a:15–17).

References

Abramson, Allen
   2005   Drinking to Mana and Ethnicity: Trajectories of Yaqona Practice and Symbolism in Eastern Fiji. Oceania 75:325–341.
Ancelin, Marie L., Sylvaine Artero, Florence Portet, Anne-Marie Dupuy, Jacques Touchon and Karen Ritchie
   2006   Non-Degenerative Mild Cognitive Impairment in Elderly People and Use of Anticholinergic Drugs: Longitudinal Cohort Study. British Medical Journal 332(7539):455–459. http://dx.doi.org/10.1136/bmj.38740.439664.DE. Medline:16452102
Aporosa, S. "Apo"
   2008a Abuse of Kava: Academic Takes Swipe at Teachers. Fiji Times Magazine, December 14:15–17.
   2008b Yaqona and Education in Fiji: A Clash of Cultures? Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag.

   2010   Na Yaqona kei na Vuli: E Rau Veicoqacoqa Li? / Yaqona and Education in Fiji: A Clash of Cultures? Domodomo 23(1–2):20–43.
   2011a Is Kava Alcohol?: The Myths and the Facts. Journal of Community Health and Clinical Medicine for the Pacific 17(1):157–164. Medline:23008981
   2011b Yaqona (Kava), Education and Development in Fiji. *In* Community Development and Managing Change for Growth among Pasifikans. Rukmani Gounder, ed. Pp. 227–253. Auckland: Masilamea.
Ashton, C. Heather
   2002   Benzodiazepines: How They Work and How to Withdraw. University of Newcastle (online manual). www.benzo.org.uk/manual/bzcha01.htm, accessed July 12, 2010.
Baba, Penny
   1996   Yaqona: Is It Getting the Nation Doped? Weekend: The Fiji Times Magazine, April 6: 1–4.
Bone, Kerry
   2002   Kava: A Safe Herbal Treatment for Anxiety. *In* Kava and Pacific Health. Pacific Health Research Council, ed. Pp. 306–321. Anthology Series 2. Suva: Fiji School of Medicine.
Cairney, Sheree, Paul Maruff and Allan R. Clough
   2002   The Neurobehavioural Effects of Kava. Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry 36(5):657–662. http://dx.doi.org/10.1046/j.1440-1614.2002.01027.x. Medline:12225450
Cairney, Sheree, Allan R. Clough, Paul Maruff, Alex Collie, Bart Currie and Jon Currie
   2003a Saccade and Cognitive Function in Chronic Kava Users. Neuropsychopharmacology 28(2):389–396. http://dx.doi.org/10.1038/sj.npp.1300052. Medline:12589393
Cairney, Sheree, P. Maruff, A.R. Clough, Alex Collie, Bart Currie and Jon Currie
   2003b Saccade and Cognitive Impairment Associated with Kava Intoxication. Human Psychopharmacology 18(7):525–533. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/hup.532. Medline:14533134
Courtwright, David T.
   2001   Forces of Habit: Drugs and the Making of the Modern World. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Dean, Ward
   2000   Kava Kava: A Safe, Effective, Legal Alternative to GHB? Vitamin Research News 14(6):1–2.
Duve, R.N. and J. Prasad
   1984   Efficacy of Extraction of Constituents in the Preparation of Yaqona Beverage, Part 2: Major Active Constituents. Fiji Agricultural Journal 46(1):11–16.
Field, Andy
   2009   Discovering Statistics Using SPSS. 3rd ed. London: Sage.
Fiji Times
   2008a Kava is Evil, Says Minister. August 24: 2.
   2008b Teleni Warns Against Yaqona. December 13: 18.
   2010   Kava Ban on Officers. April 21.

Foo, Hayley and Jim Lemon
    1997 Acute Effects of Kava, Alone or in Combination with
          Alcohol, on Subjective Measures of Impairment and
          Intoxication and on Cognitive Performance. Drug and
          Alcohol Review 16(2):147–155. http://dx.doi.org/
          10.1080/09595239700186441. Medline:16203421
Foster, Robert J.
    2008 Coca-Globalization: Following Soft Drinks from New
          York to New Guinea. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
          http://dx.doi.org/10.1057/9780230610170
Groth-Marnat, Gary
    2003 Handbook of Psychological Assessment. 4th ed.
          Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons.
Heinze, H.J., T.F. Münthe, J. Steitz and M. Matzke
    1994 Pharmacopsychological Effects of Oxazepam and
          Kava-extract in a Visual Search Paradigm Assessed
          with Event-related Potentials. Pharmacopsychiatry
          27(6):224–230. http://dx.doi.org/10.1055/s-2007-
          1014309. Medline:7870743
Kalat, James W.
    2005 Introduction to Psychology. 8th ed. Belmont, CA:
          Thomson Wadsworth.
Katz, Richard
    1993 The Straight Path: A Story of Healing and
          Transformation in Fiji. Reading, MA: Addison-
          Wesley.
Kaufman, Alan S. and Elizabeth O. Lichtenberger
    1999 Essentials of WAIS-III Assessment. New York: John
          Wiley and Sons.
Keltner, Norman L. and David G. Folkes
    2005 Psychotropic Drugs. 4th ed. St. Louis, MO: Elsevier
          Mosby.
LaPorte, Emma, Jerome Sarris, Con Stough and Andrew
Scholey
    2011 Neurocognitive Effects of Kava (Piper methysticum):
          A Systematic Review. Human Psychopharmacology:
          Clinical and Experimental 26(2):102–111. http://
          dx.doi.org/10.1002/hup.1180. Medline:21437989
Lawlor, Brian A., Trey Sunderland, Rick A. Martinez, Susan
E. Molchan and Herbert Weingartne
    1991 Drugs and Memory. In Memory Disorders: Research
          and Clinical Practice. Takehiko Yanagihara and
          Ronald C. Petersen, eds. Pp. 97–110. New York:
          Marcel Dekker.
Lebot, Vincent, Mark Merlin and Lamont Lindstrom
    1997[1992]
          Kava: The Pacific Elixir. Rochester, VT: Healing Arts
          Press.
Lewin, Louis
    1964 Phantastica: Narcotic and Stimulating Drugs, Their
          Use and Abuse. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
Lindstrom, Lamont, ed.
    1987 Drugs in Western Pacific Societies: Relations of
          Substance. Lanham, MD: University Press of
          America.
    2009 Kava Pirates in Vanuatu? International Journal of
          Cultural Property 16(03):291–308. http://dx.doi.org/
          10.1017/S0940739109990208
MacAndrew, Craig and Robert B. Edgerton
    1969 Drunken Comportment: A Social Explanation.
          Chicago: Aldine.

Marshall, Mac
    2013 Drinking Smoke: The Tobacco Syndemic in Oceania.
          Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
Mathews, John D., Malcolm D. Riley, Lorna Fejo, Estrella
Munoz, Nicholas R. Milns, Ian D. Gardner, J.R. Powers, E.
Ganygulpa and B.J. Gununuwawuy
    1988 Effects of the Heavy Usage of Kava on Physical
          Health: Summary of a Pilot Survey in an Aboriginal
          Community. Medical Journal of Australia
          148(11):548–555. Medline:3374423
McCready, William C.
    1996 Applying Sampling Procedures. In The Psychology
          Research Handbook. Fredrick T. L. Leong and James
          T. Austin, eds. Pp. 98–112. London: Sage.
MediHerb
    1994 Kava: A Safe Herbal Treatment for Anxiety.
          MediHerb Professional Newsletter, No. 39, part 2,
          May.
Mills, Simon and Kerry Bone
    2005 The Essential Guide to Herbal Safety. St. Louis, MO:
          Elsevier.
Mindell, Earl
    1998 All about Kava. New York: Avery.
Mintz, Sidney W.
    1986[1985]
          Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern
          History. New York: Penguin.
Münte, T.F., H.J. Heinze, M. Matzke and J. Steitz
    1993 Effects of Oxazepam and an Extract of Kava Roots
          (Piper methysticum) on Event-related Potentials in a
          Word Recognition Task. Neuropsychobiology
          27(1):46–53. http://dx.doi.org/10.1159/000118952.
          Medline:8515824
Nabobo-Baba, Unaisi
    2006 Knowing and Learning: An Indigenous Fijian
          Approach. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies,
          University of the South Pacific.
Nagalu, Maika
    2007 Grog Makes Fijians Lazy. Fiji Times, May 26: 9.
Pallant, Julie
    2007 SPSS Survival Manual. 3rd ed. Sydney: Allen and
          Unwin.
Petrie, Aviva and Caroline Sabin
    2000 Medical Statistics at a Glance. Malden, MA: Blackwell
          Science.
Prescott, John, Dana Jamieson, Nicole Emdur and Pat
Duffield
    1993 Acute Effects of Kava on Measures of Cognitive
          Performance, Physiological Function and Mood. Drug
          and Alcohol Review 12(1):49–57. http://dx.doi.org/
          10.1080/09595239300185731. Medline:16818312
Qereqeretabua, Misiwaini
    2006 Yaqona Drinking Session in a Fijian Village. Seminar,
          Department of Anthropology, Waikato University,
          May 17.
Raicola, Verenaisi
    2008 Yaqona Ban Lifts Villagers. Fiji Times, July 10: 2.
Ralogaivau, Theresa
    2009 Cops Sacked over Kava. Fiji Times, July 31: 4.

Ratubalavu, Unaisi
  2008 Kava Abuse: Academic Blames Poor Results on
       Teachers. Fiji Times, December 14: 1.
Ratuva, Steven
  2007 Na Kilaka a Vaka-Viti ni Veikabula / Indigenous
       Knowledge and the Fijian Cosmos: Implications for
       Bio-Prospecting. In Pacific Genes and Life Patents:
       Pacific Indigenous Experiences and Analysis of the
       Commodification and Ownership of Life. Aroha Te
       Pareake Mead and Steven Ratuva, eds. Pp. 90–101.
       Wellington: Call of the Earth / Llamado de la Tierra
       and United Nations University of Advanced Studies.
Ravuvu, Asesela D.
  1987 The Fijian Ethos. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies,
       University of the South Pacific.
Russell, Paul N., Deirdre Bakker and Nirbhay N. Singh
  1987 The Effects of Kava on Alerting and Speed of Access
       of Information from Long-Term Memory. Bulletin of
       the Psychonomic Society 25(4):236–237. http://
       dx.doi.org/10.3758/BF03330341
Sadock, Benjamin J., Harold L. Kaplin and Virginia A. Sadock
  2007 Kaplan and Sadock's Synopsis of Psychiatry:
       Behavioural Sciences / Clinical Psychology. 10th ed.
       Philadelphia: Lippincott Williams and Wilkins.
Saletu, B., J. Grünberger, L. Linzmayer and D.P. Anderer
  1989 EEG-Brain Mapping, Psychometric and
       Psychophysiological Studies on Central Effects of
       Kavain—A Kava Plant Extract Derivative. Human
       Psychopharmacology 4(3):169–190. http://dx.doi.org/
       10.1002/hup.470040304
Schech, Susanne and Jane Haggis
  2008 Culture and Development. In The Companion to
       Development Studies, 2nd ed. Vandana Desai and
       Robert B. Potter, eds. Pp. 50–54. London: Hodder
       Education.
Schultz, Jimaima T., Penina Vatucawaqa and Jessie Tuivaga
  2007 2004 Fiji National Nutrition Survey: Main Report,
       September 2007. Suva: National Food and Nutrition
       Centre.
Singh, Nirbhay N., Subhashni D. Singh and Yadhu N. Singh
  2004 Kava: Clinical studies and therapeutic implications. In
       Kava: From Ethnology to Pharmacology. Yadhu N.
       Singh, ed. Pp. 140–164. Medicinal and Aromatic
       Plants—Industrial Profiles, 37. Boca Raton: CRC Press.
Singh, Yadhu N.
  1981 A Review of the Historical, Sociological and Scientific
       Aspects of Kava and Its Uses in the South Pacific. Fiji
       Medical Journal (April/May):61–64.
  2004 An Introduction to Kava, Piper methysticum. In
       Kava: From Ethnology to Pharmacology (Medicinal
       and Aromatic Plants: Industrial Profiles Volume 37).
       Yadha N. Singh, ed. Pp. 1–9. Boca Raton, FL: CRC
       Press.
Solomon, Phyllis, Mary M. Cavanaugh and Jeffrey Draine
  2009 Randomized Controlled Trials: Design and
       Implementation for Community-Based Psychosocial
       Interventions. New York: Oxford University Press.
       http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/
       9780195333190.001.0001

Tavola, Helen
  2000 Education in Rural Fiji. In Learning Together:
       Directions for Education in the Fiji Islands. Frances
       Pene, Helen Tavola and Aileen Croghan, eds. Pp.
       162–178. Suva: Government Printer.
Tesche, C.D. and J. Karhu
  2000 Theta Oscillations Index Human Hippocampal
       Activation During a Working Memory Task.
       Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of
       the United States of America 97(2):919–924. http://
       dx.doi.org/10.1073/pnas.97.2.919. Medline:10639180
Thompson, Richard, Willibald Ruch and Rüdiger U. Hasenöhrl
  2004 Enhanced Cognitive Performance and Cheerful Mood
       by Standardized Extracts of Piper Methysticum
       (Kava-kava). Human Psychopharmacology 19(4):243–
       250. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/hup.581.
       Medline:15181652
Tomlinson, Matt
  2004 Perpetual Lament: Kava-Drinking, Christianity and
       Sensations of Historical Decline in Fiji. Journal of the
       Royal Anthropological Institute 10(3):653–673. http://
       dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9655.2004.00206.x
  2007 Everything and Its Opposite: Kava Drinking in Fiji.
       Anthropological Quarterly 80(4):1065–1081. http://
       dx.doi.org/10.1353/anq.2007.0054
  2009 In God's Image: The Metaculture of Fijian
       Christianity. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Tora, V.
  1986 Yaqona in Fiji. In Pacific Rituals: Living or Dying.
       Gweneth Deverell and Bruce Deverell, eds. Pp. 25–35.
       Suva: University of the South Pacific in association
       with Pacific Theological College.
Toren, Christina
  1988 Making the Present, Revealing the Past: The
       Mutability and Continuity of Tradition as Process.
       Man 23(4):696–717. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2802600
  1990 Making Sense of Hierarchy: Cognition as Social
       Process in Fiji. London: Athlone Press.
  1999 Mind, Materiality and History: Explorations in Fijian
       Ethnography. London: Routledge.
Troost, J. Maarten
  2006 Getting Stoned with Savages: A Trip through the
       Islands of Fiji and Vanuatu. New York: Broadway
       Books.
Turner, James W.
  1986 "The Water of Life": Kava Ritual and the Logic of
       Sacrifice. Ethnology 25(3):203–214. http://dx.doi.org/
       10.2307/3773584
UNESCO
  1995 The Cultural Dimension of Development: Towards a
       Practical Approach. Culture and Development Series.
       Paris: UNESCO Publishing.
Vulaono, Atu
  2001 Revelation on Kava/Snake. www.visionprovider.net/
       prophecies/yaqona-prophecy.html, accessed August
       20, 2010 [page no longer online].
Waqainabete, Ifereimi
  2003 Neuropsychological Effect of Kava. MA thesis,
       Surgery, Fiji School of Medicine, Suva.

Wechsler, David
  1997 WAIS-III: Administration and Scoring Manual. San Antonio, TX: The Psychological Corporation.
Williams, Esther B.
  2000 Facing the Challenges of Fijian Education: Planning for the Future. *In* Learning Together: Directions for Education in the Fiji Islands. Frances Pene, Helen Tavola and Aileen Croghan, eds. Pp. 179–225. Suva: Government Printer.
Wyatt, Thomas A.
  1996 Betel Nut Chewing and Selected Psychophysiological Variables. Psychological Reports 79(2):451–463. http://dx.doi.org/10.2466/pr0.1996.79.2.451. Medline:8909067
Yanagihara, Takehiko
  1991 Memory Disorders in Encephalitides, Encephalopathies and Demyelinating Diseases. *In* Memory Disorders: Research and Clinical Practice. Takehiko Yanagihara and Ronald C. Petersen, eds. Pp. 397–412. New York: Marcel Dekker.

Young, Michael W.
  1995 Kava and Christianity in Central Vanuatu. Canberra Anthropology 18(1–2):61–96. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03149099509508409
Zhu, Jianjun, Lawrence G. Weiss, Aurelio Prifitera and Diane Coalson
  2004 The Weschler Intelligence Scales for Children and Adults. *In* Comprehensive Handbook of Psychological Assessment: Intellectual and Neuropsychological Assessment, vol. 1. Michel Hersen, Gerald Goldstein and Sue R. Beers, eds. Pp. 51–76. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons.

Blaming the Poor and Legitimizing Coercive Loan Recovery Strategies: Unveiling the Dark Side of NGO Practices in Bangladesh

H M Ashraf Ali   *University of Alberta*

Abstract: Using ethnographic data, I examine the contradictions prevailing between the claims of microfinance institutions' achievement, including the Nobel Peace Prize winner, Grameen Bank, of near-100 per cent loan repayments and how these institutions define the causes of poverty in relation to poor people's ability to repay the loans. I describe how loan officers use the provision of group liability to implement microcredit programs, create an unequal development opportunity and legitimize the coercive actions of repayment enforcement by blaming the poor. Finally, I conclude the article by summarizing the findings.

Keywords: Bangladesh, loan repayment, microcredit, NGOs, poor, power

Résumé : À partir de données ethnographiques, j'examine les contradictions qui ont cours entre les revendications du taux de succès quasi total de remboursement de prêts des institutions de microfinancement, dont la Banque Grameen, récipiendaire du Prix Nobel, et la manière dont ces institutions définissent les causes de la pauvreté en fonction de la capacité des personnes pauvres à rembourser leurs prêts. Je décris comment les agents de crédit emploient la clause de la responsabilité de groupe pour établir des programmes de microcrédit, créant des opportunités de développement inégales et comment ils légitiment des modalités coercitives de recouvrement forcé, en blâmant les pauvres. Je termine l'article avec un sommaire des constats.

Mots-clés : Bangladesh, remboursement de prêts, microcrédit, ONG, personnes pauvres, pouvoir

Introduction

Microcredit, a model of social and economic development from below, originated and developed via a pilot project at Jobra Village, situated adjacent to the University of Chittagong in Bangladesh, by Professor Dr. Muhammad Yunus in 1976. Dr. Yunus realized that a lack of access to credit was one of the main causes of poverty in rural Bangladesh. Yunus experimented with his idea of providing small loans, usually starting from US$40, in other parts of Bangladesh, notably in Tangail district, with financial support from the government of Bangladesh. The successful experiment of the microcredit model led Yunus to establish the Grameen Bank in 1983 (Counts 2008:3). The Grameen Bank began to provide collateral-free small loans to jointly liable groups of poor people in rural Bangladesh, thereby aiming to alleviate poverty. Following the example of the Grameen Bank, many other national and local nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) started to implement microcredit as their core program all over rural Bangladesh. By the late 1990s, the Grameen Bank model of microcredit received international recognition as an effective tool of development for poverty alleviation and gender equity. Yunus and his Grameen Bank jointly received the Noble Peace Prize in 2006 for contributing to social and economic development from below (Nobel Prize 2006). Dr. Yunus also received the Congressional Gold Medal in 2013, the highest civilian award of the United States, in recognition of his efforts toward combating global poverty with microcredit, especially in Bangladesh (M. Rahman 2013).

Impressed by the success stories of microcredit NGOs in mobilizing poor women to participate in income-generating activities in rural Bangladesh, international development agencies and many donor countries prioritized microcredit initiatives to alleviate poverty. Consequently, the proliferation of NGOs in Bangladesh has been tremendous. The number of NGOs directly receiving foreign funds increased from 382 in 1990 to 1,245 in 1998 and this trend continues (Leve and Karim

2001:54). According to recent data, the Bangladesh Microcredit Regulatory Authority received 4,221 applications from microcredit institutions for government approval, and around 700 NGOs have received licenses to operate microcredit programs in Bangladesh so far (Microcredit Regulatory Authority n.d.).

Despite the ubiquitous presence of microcredit NGOs in Bangladesh and participation of the poor in microcredit programs, many of the poor are still poor—often even poorer—trapped in a cycle of NGO-provided loans (Cons and Paprocki 2010; Karim 2011). Recent data shows that almost half of the population (49.64 per cent) in Bangladesh cannot earn more than US$1.25 per day (Ministry of Finance 2011:193). This is disappointing and raises questions about the effectiveness of development activities, including microcredit, which has been operating for more than two decades.

Microfinance institutions adopt the loan repayment rate as one of the key indicators of poverty alleviation and women's empowerment (Engler 2009; Nath 2004). Grameen Bank (2011), for example, claims that the repayment rate is 97 per cent. Similarly, other major microcredit NGOs also claim that borrowers repay loan installments reliably (Engler 2009:82). In other words, if the borrowers can repay the loan installments on time, advocates of microcredit assume that poor people have been able to improve their economic capacity. Evidence exists that, while women borrow loan money, the actual users of these loans are men (Karim 2008 and 2011; A. Rahman 1999). Karim (2008:15) found that men used 95 per cent of total loans borrowed by women from NGOs. In this perspective, there is little relationship between women's microcredit participation, higher loan repayment rate and women's social and economic empowerment. Yet, the repayment rate has been one of the key indicators of the global popularity of microcredit, poverty alleviation and women's empowerment and, hence, the basis of enormous success stories and appreciation.

The question raised is this: What makes microcredit NGOs so successful in maintaining such an impressive loan repayment rate? Anthropologist Karim (2008; 2011) shows that NGOs use a group of women to shame the loan defaulter and her family to collect the outstanding loans. Fearing their loss of honour and dignity, the borrowers comply with the NGO's fiscal discipline. Karim terms this the "economy of shame" (2011:xviii); that is,

> the honor and shame codes act as the collateral of these loans. It is the honor of the family that is at stake, and which the woman represents. If the woman gets publicly shamed, the family is dishonored. In a face-to-face society, men and their families try to maintain the sanctity of their family honor by observing the honor of their women. [2008:10–11]

Thus, the NGOs manipulate a group of women borrowers to be oppressive with the loan defaulters to collect outstanding loans. If any loan default occurs, the women march off together to scold and shame the defaulting woman and her family members or to confiscate saleable household assets (e.g., gold nose-rings, cows, trees) to recover the loans. If the amount of the defaulted loan is large, the group of women may get involved in selling off the loan defaulter's house, which is known as house-breaking (*ghar bhanga*), to cover outstanding repayments (18–19). Furthermore, according to Karim, NGOs rely on both traditional community powers (e.g., the village adjudicating board of rural elites) and state powers (e.g., courts or police) to force defaulters to maintain repayment obligations. Ironically, in some instances, microcredit NGOs are so unscrupulous in Bangladesh that many poor have to sell one of their kidneys to pay off loans from them (BBC News 2013).

My dissertation research explored how local power relations affect the effectiveness of microcredit programs and people's abilities to escape poverty in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) of Bangladesh. I spent over ten months conducting field research in Rangamati Hill District in the CHT in two phases between May 2009 and July 2011. Using this ethnographic data, I demonstrate that NGO claims of achieving a repayment rate near 100 per cent and, thus, poverty alleviation are contradictory because the poor may have to get another loan to repay outstanding loans. While inaccuracies in NGO claims of nearly 100 per cent repayment rates were reported in previous studies (see Engler 2009; Karim 2011; Nath 2004), there is not a single ethnographically informed study that explores this issue in terms of the prevailing contradictions between NGO official claims and poor borrowers' actual ability to repay loans as reported by NGO officials (branch managers, loan officers or fieldworkers) in rural Bangladesh. The ability of the poor to repay their loans, the frequencies of loan defaulting reported in the narratives of NGO officials and the nature of loan repayment strategies question not only NGO claims for a near 100 per cent repayment rate but also the global recognition of microcredit as a mechanism of poverty alleviation.

Certainly, Karim (2008) gives very important insights as to why and how NGOs deploy oppressive loan recovery strategies that manipulate the local people's notion of shame and honour, and how the poor are trapped into multiple cycles of debt. However, while it is true that a group of women became furious with loan defaulters and shamed them in public by scolding, Karim did not specify the kinds of language women used to shame the loan defaulters and their family mem-

bers. In my research, I observed that women often use shaming language such as "Why can't you pay if you can eat?" to create social and psychological pressure on the loan defaulters. Such language seriously affects people's personal honour and dignity, I observed; thus, NGOs instrumentalize shaming as an effective technique of loan recovery. There are also significant knowledge gaps about *why* local NGO officials blame the poor for their suffering, how the officials legitimize their coercive loan recovery strategies and how NGOs create unequal development opportunities for the poor. My research shows that oppressive NGO practices negatively impact the personal and social lives of the female borrowers. In extreme cases, such practices have pushed some impoverished borrowers to suicide. Thus, I explore why microcredit realities are more complex than is often reported in the literature. To set the context for this discussion, I review past research on microcredit and theories of poverty alleviation, especially the theory of the Grameen Bank.

Microcredit, Power, Poverty and Blaming the Poor: A Theoretical Perspective

Dr. Yunus, the founder of the Grameen microcredit model, believes that the poor are not poor because of a lack of skills or that the poor create their poverty. This conviction inspired Dr. Yunus to bring the idea of microcredit to the forefront by expanding the activity of the Grameen Bank, not only in Bangladesh but also globally. Thus,

> Grameen credit is based on the premise that the poor have skills, which remain unutilised or under-utilised; it is definitely not a lack of skills, which make poor people poor. Grameen believes that poverty is not created by the poor; it is created by the institutions and policies which surround them ... Grameen brought credit to the poor, the women, the illiterate, the people who pleaded that they did not know how to invest money and earn an income. Grameen created a methodology and an institution around the financial needs of the poor and created access to credit on reasonable terms enabling the poor to build on their existing skills to earn a better income in each cycle of loans. [Yunus 2004:21–22]

Recently, Dr. Yunus reiterated the same view in slightly different way:

> The more time you spend among poor people, the more you become convinced that poverty is not the result of any incapacity on the part of the poor. Poverty is not created by the poor people. It is created by the system we have built, the institutions we have designed, and the concepts we have formulated. [2010:xii]

Therefore, Dr. Yunus believes the poor have skills but lack capital, and it is the latter that makes them poor. In this sense, a lack of access by the poor to institutional opportunities, such as credit, is one of the main causes of poverty. Dr. Yunus believes that poor people's access to microcredit will help them in escaping from poverty. Thus, poor people go through "the virtuous circle of low income, credit, investment, more income, more credit, more investment, more income" (Hulme and Mosley 1997:115). However, this model of economic development faces challenges. Scholars argue that this linear approach not only overlooks the multidimensional and relational aspects of poverty but also ignores the differing capabilities of poor borrowers, their current economic endowments and social positions in relation to others, and their access to various opportunities to utilize loans to be economically beneficial (Hulme and Mosley 1997; Cons and Paprocki 2010). Thus, people's access to microcredit does not warrant that they will be able to overcome other structural factors in society.

Needless to say, Dr. Yunus's conception of poverty is closely linked to the structural perspective, which explains the causes of poverty in relation to a host of economic, political, cultural and social factors that remain beyond the immediate control of the poor. A lack of employment opportunities, unequal access for individuals to institutional credit or fair market price for their goods, and wage discrimination based on gender, ethnic or racial identity are some of the social and economic forces that may reproduce and perpetuate poverty in society (Royce 2009). Thus, the structural perspective defines poverty as a social problem, which is the consequence of the unequal distribution of power and discriminatory social, economic and political policies and practices (14).

Conversely, NGO officials of major microcredit NGOs, including the Grameen Bank in my research area, define poverty from an individualistic perspective: the poor are poor because of their bad choices and actions, such as working irregularly, having children out of wedlock, abusing drugs or committing crime (Mead 2003; Royce 2009). Using 2002 U.S. Census Bureau statistical data, Mead (2003) argues that the percentage of long-term poor—those who remain poor for two or more years— was higher (51 per cent) among poor families with working-age adults (e.g., both mothers and fathers) and their children than for other single mothers (18 per cent) or all families in the general population (59). According to Mead, "long-term poor families tend to become poor because of the behaviors that make poverty controversial: Women have children out of wedlock, and then they or their spouses do not work regularly to support their children" (59–60). Thus, in the United States, Mead argues that poverty is an individual rather than a struc-

tural problem. The key problem with Mead's argument is that this approach overlooks structural forces that may potentially affect the capabilities of the poor. In fact, an individual perspective on poverty is closely linked to neoliberalism's blaming the victim. Individual capacity or self-governing is the key to neoliberalism. A neoliberal economic system encourages the withdrawal of the state from social and economic protections for its population and considers that the poor are capable of achieving their financial sustainability participating in free and self-regulated markets (Elyachar 2005).

Structural adjustment programs (SAPs), for example, became an integral part of the neoliberal economic system in the early 1980s, when the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) imposed structural adjustment programs on developing countries. The adoption of SAPs by the government of Bangladesh in the mid-1980s affected the poor, especially women, socially and economically because of decreased public spending on education, health and food subsidies (Mohsin 2005). Microcredit NGOs emerged to replace the state's role and responsibility for providing social services for the poor by promising they would serve the interests of the poor through developing social and human capital locally. But global and state economic policies (e.g., SAPs), along with the activities of microcredit NGOs, actually create social and economic insecurity for the poorest of the poor (Bateman and Chang 2012; Faraizi et al. 2011; Fernando 2006; Karim 2011; van Rooyen et al. 2012; Wood 2003). These scholars argue that microcredit is part of the neoliberal economy, which may push the poor into a cycle of debt and further poverty. Bateman and Chang (2012) analyzed data on the expansion and impact of microcredit programs on poor people from developing countries, including Bangladesh, Bolivia, Peru, Mexico and India. Based on their analysis, they conclude that microfinance fails to play any crucial role for uplifting the poor, especially because microcredit cannot contribute to the creation of new employment and the growth of local economies that could compete with the large-scale national or global economic system. Instead of challenging the existing power structures and inequalities, microcredit tends to lock local people and communities into a "poverty trap" (Bateman and Chang 2012:14). Similarly, Karim (2008, 2011) shows that NGOs in Bangladesh enforce various supervision and surveillance strategies on female borrowers to ensure the capitalist interests of NGOs are being met. Some studies on microcredit programs in Bangladesh suggest that contingencies (e.g., sickness or death of the income earner), natural calamities, less capacity or skills and lack of access to market facilities may be constraints for

borrowers. Other studies indicate that the rigid conditions of the group lending system and the high interest rate and service charges set by microfinance institutions might cause the failure of the poor to continue with the microcredit (Datta 2004; Fernando 2006; Cons and Paprocki 2010).

Consequently, the role of the NGO in uplifting the entire community by organizing poor people's bargaining power relative to markets or the state is rare (Narayan et al. 1999). Instead, many poor become even poorer by their participation in microcredit programs. Being part of the neoliberal economic system, microcredit NGOs consider individual behaviour central to escaping from poverty. Thus, when the poor fail, the blame goes against the victims. I contextualize both the individualistic and structural perspectives of poverty to examine the contradictions prevailing between NGO claims of a near 100 per cent repayment rate and how local NGO officials define the causes of poverty in relation to poor people's ability to repay the loans.

Power and the lack of power are central to the structural analysis of poverty. It is clear that what happens to poor women participating in microcredit programs in Bangladesh is never divorced from the actions of the powerful (the NGOs). While the poor do have power and they are able to control their lives to some extent, the powerful control the wider social, economic and political structures that create constraints for the poor. My research shows that NGOs in Bangladesh instigate violence through a set of certain institutional practices that create unequal power relations, therefore, unequal opportunities, among different actors in microcredit programs. According to Galtung (1969:170), "violence" may occur because of lies, threats, brainwashing or indoctrination of various kinds, which may place constraints on the development of human potentialities. There are two types of violence: direct (personal) and indirect (structural). Direct violence involves an actor but there is no such actor in structural violence. However, Galtung argues,

> Personal violence is meaningful as a threat, a demonstration even when nobody is hit, and structural violence is also meaningful as a blueprint, as an abstract form without social life, used to threaten people into subordination: if you do not behave, we shall have to reintroduce all the disagreeable structures we had before ... There may not be any person who directly harms another person in the structure. The violence is built into the structure and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances. The important point here is that if people are starving when this is objectively avoidable, then violence is

committed, regardless of whether there is a clear subject-action-object relation, as during a siege yesterday or no such clear relation, as in the way world economic relations are organized today. [1969:171–172]

According to Galtung, structural violence influences the unequal distribution of power, threatens people into subordination, promotes sufferings and, thus, creates unequal life chances.

In my research, I found that microcredit NGOs commit violence in both ways, direct/personal and indirect/structural. Blaming the poor by hiding the real causes of poverty, creating unequal power relations among borrowers, manipulating a group of women to use them as a means of collecting loans and excluding the poor from microcredit programs are just some of the concrete examples of violence committed by NGOs in my research setting. Microcredit NGO practices can be explained from Galtung's perspective of both "personal violence" and "structural violence."

In what follows, I define the direct and indirect involvement of NGO officials in the enforcement of coercive loan recovery strategy as "violence." First, I explore how microcredit NGOs foster unequal power relationships between loan officers and female borrowers in order to serve NGOs' capitalist interest, such as the expansion and the continuation of the microcredit programs and the reduction of operational costs by using these women's free labour. NGO officers manipulate a group of women to act oppressively with the loan defaulters to collect loans, and they are also involved in aggressive acts (visible actions) directly, such as confining borrowers in NGO offices or shaming people to collect the outstanding loans. In short, NGO officials adopt coercive measures to serve the capitalist interests of the NGOs.

Karl Marx (1999) coined the term "primitive accumulation" in his first volume of *Capital*. Marx showed that the states used violent measures to evict peasants from their land and means of production during the earliest stage of capitalism in Europe, which led the vast majority of the mass population, especially peasants and urban people, to become industrial labourers or proletariats. Later, David Harvey (2007) termed the processes of transferring assets and channeling wealth and income, either from the poor population to the capitalist classes or from poorer to richer countries, "accumulation by dispossession" (34). State is the central to both Marx and Harvey for analyzing the processes of capital accumulation by dispossession. Instead, I focus on microcredit NGOs, examining their hegemonic attitudes and how they deploy various coercive measures

to their benefit. Major microfinance NGOs are actually capitalist and accumulative rather than being agents for sustainable and equitable social and economic development. In my research, the term "accumulation" has been used to indicate how NGOs gain financially through both direct and indirect means. Collection of interests on loans, hidden institutional service charges, insurance deductions and obligatory savings are some of the direct means through which microcredit NGOs can accumulate capital. NGOs also benefit indirectly, as they can use a group of women as fiscal enforcers and exploit these women's free labour for reducing NGOs' operational cost.

I observed that there is a latent competition among microcredit NGOs in order to recruit new members and to expand microcredit programs in my research locality. That is why most NGOs encourage their root-level officers and fieldworkers to recruit reliable borrowers by offering various job benefits such as promotions and bonuses for maintaining a good loan recollection rate or expanding the program's catchment area. Such aggressive market-oriented approaches influence the NGO officials to choose better-off families as the potential clients, or to become oppressive with the poor borrowers who fail to repay loans on time.

Unscrupulous treatment of NGOs, humiliation, conflict with peer group members, and starvation become an unavoidable experience for many of the poor women, especially those who cannot not repay the loans on time. While some women may not face any problem for repaying loans, still they have to comply with NGO domination. For example, a woman who is a group leader of a village NGO centre may often have to assist the loan officer in recruiting new clients, verifying the financial profile of the potential clients and collecting loans from borrowers. These women may have to spend from three to four hours every week for such NGO-related activity, though none of the NGOs pay a single penny for their labour. This helps NGOs to save money because they do not have to hire many paid staff for implementing microcredit programs at the community level, as they would have to do otherwise. It is clear that microcredit NGOs' practices resemble the practices of ruthless corporations, which look for profit accumulation. Therefore, I term this process of microcredit NGOs' profit accumulation *accumulation by violence*.

Second, I consider the ways in which NGOs commit structural violence by blaming the poor and manipulating local people's cultural beliefs about poverty in order to legitimize coercive loan strategies that perpetuate social inequality. Third, I examine how NGO officials create unequal development opportunities between the

poor and better off. Structural violence toward poor people, in the form of gendered NGO practices, has a significant impact on the ability of the poor to acquire credit and on the response of creditors to poor people who fail to repay their loans. Following a brief description about the research community and methodology, I discuss these three points within the ethnographic data collected during my fieldwork in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT). Finally, I end by summarizing key findings.

Research Setting and NGOs

I conducted my research at "Osompur" (a pseudonym), which consists of three neighbourhoods in the Hill District of Rangamati in CHT. The CHT is situated in the southeast corner of Bangladesh and has been the home of 12 ethnic groups for thousands of years. One of the significant aspects of this locality is its socio-cultural diversity, as both the Bengali majority and other ethnic minorities reside there. The indigenous people of CHT, also known as the Pahari, are largely dependent on shifting (*jhum*) cultivation, agriculture, natural resources found in the hills and forests and, most importantly, their cultural capacity to produce traditional dresses on waistlooms and other handicrafts. Common sources of livelihood for most of the Bengali and indigenous people are small businesses or entrepreneurships, service in local government and NGO offices, fishing and daily labouring.

Most of the population is struggling to survive with little social and economic security. Some economic and political policies of the governments of Pakistan (1947–71) and Bangladesh (1971–present), such as the Kapital hydroelectric project in Rangamati in the early 1960s and resettlement policy in the CHT during the 1970s, displaced thousands of indigenous peoples from their ancestral lands and collapsed their economic base. The resettlement policy of the Bangladeshi government, which allowed Bengalis from the plains to settle in the lands of the local indigenous people, led to resistance movements (between the mid-1970s and the late 1990s) by the indigenous peoples against the Bangladesh army and in-migrant Bengalis (Mohsin 2005; UNDP 2009).

Microcredit originated at the Jobra Village in the Chittagong in 1976, a neighbouring district of Rangamati, but microcredit programs did not reach this locale until the late 1990s. Political conflict and ethnic insurgencies in the CHT were part of the main reason for late intervention in this region. Unlike other microcredit NGOs, Grameen Bank is a specialized rural bank in which the government owns at least 5 per cent of its equity (Grameen Bank 2011). Here, I use "microcredit NGOs" to indicate all microfinance institutions, including the Grameen Bank.

Methodology and Research Participants

I used standard anthropological data-collection techniques, including participant observation and semi-structured focus group interviews, which were recorded with a digital voice recorder. I had informal conversations with community members in local tea stalls, in front of grocery stores or in the school field to talk about the overall social and economic situation of people involved in microcredit programs. In those cases, I entered the key points in my notebook as soon as I was able to. I applied a purposeful sampling method (snowball or chain-referral sampling) to collect evidence to answer my research questions. In May 2009, I entered the field to establish initial contact and develop rapport with the study community and conducted a preliminary household census of 64 households in June 2009. By August 2009, I had 30 semi-structured interviews with research participants.[1]

In the second phase, I started my fieldwork in February 2011 and concluded at the end of July 2011. I conducted a total of 116 semi-structured interviews (92 individual interviews and 24 group interviews). The total research participants numbered 166, including 17 NGO officials and fieldworkers. I selected 103 women and 46 men from different ethnic groups (Bengalis, Chakma, Tripura and Tanchangya) to capture different ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds. All of the participants' households were directly involved with different NGOs for at least two years.

While the data collection process was going on, I transcribed interviews captured with a digital voice recorder from the research participants' spoken language, Bangla, into English. I used ATLAS.ti.6.2 qualitative data analysis software to manage and analyze the data. I shared the preliminary results with some research participants, including borrowers, community leaders and NGO officials to check my findings. Below I discuss how NGOs, implementing microcredit programs, create unequal power relationships among female borrowers through the provision of group liability.

Group Liability and Coercive Loan Recovery Strategies: Accumulation by Violence

I observed that NGOs urge borrowers to come under the provision of a joint group liability to get a loan. A group liability is an oral security pledged for the payment of a loan; that is, the collateral of the borrowers for the microcredit NGOs. The Grameen Bank originally developed this idea of group liability, which most of the microcredit NGOs now follow. Group liability is also well-known in the microcredit literature and in practice as "social collateral" (Khandker 1999). Usually, an NGO

group centre or a solidarity group consists of 15 to 40 or sometimes 50 women, depending on the density of the population. The solidarity group should have a specific place to meet every week. The meeting place might be in the house of the group centre leader or a general member. The Grameen Bank calls this meeting place "Kendra Ghor" (Centre House). At the village level, a group centre is composed of several subgroups of five women each. Every subgroup has a group leader and there are several informal administrative positions for the women borrowers, such as president, secretary and cashier. Each group leader has to give consent for and to take the liability of her fellow group members' loans.

NGOs usually select group centre leaders from relatively better-off householders who possess the leadership skills and social power to dominate others. These leaders must comply with the instructions of NGO officials regarding the recruitment of potential borrowers, the disbursement of loans and the enforcement of repayment obligations. Confiscating saleable assets, breaking houses and selling the corrugated tins, confining the defaulters at the village NGO centre, shaming the borrowers and using coercive language are some of the common loan recovery strategies most microcredit NGOs deploy in my CHT research setting. Some of these oppressive loan recovery strategies (e.g., shaming, breaking houses and confiscating saleable household goods) are reported in other ethnographic research in Bangladesh (e.g., Karim 2011; A. Rahman 1999). Consequences of such NGO practices are mainly adverse for the women who simply pass the loans to their male relatives. A female research participant, Mohi, described her situation:

> I borrowed some loans from different NGOs for my husband. My husband invested these loans in poultry, pigs and goat-rearing projects. We faced a loss because of the death of some of the hens. We had no income in the early few months from this livestock project but we had to repay the loan installments every week ... Once I could not repay some loan installments to BRAC. One day, the branch manager of the BRAC came to my house, accompanying the group's centre leader and some other group members. They insulted us, using abusive language. They were very aggressive. They confiscated a television and some furniture. They even forced us to sell the corrugated tin of our living house. I had a showcase and a wardrobe in house. They were also looking for it [to sell]. [Mohi, 26 March 2011]

This account explains why this household failed to improve their economic situation, despite participation in microcredit programs, and how an NGO became oppressive with poor women borrowers. Both NGO officials and a group of women directly engaged in coercive actions to collect loans from this borrower. While I was interviewing Mrinal, husband of Mohi, he told me that the NGO's weekly loan repayment system, along with the death of the hens, was the main cause for his business failure and increasing burden of debt. He argued that a gradual shortage of capital for repaying loans to NGOs forced him to ask Mohi to borrow more loans from NGOs and local moneylenders. This household's economic loss was so severe that Mrinal had to sell a portion of land to repay some of these debts. Note, Mrinal was a police constable and he received money from his retirement fund in 2003. He purchased a plot of land with this money in 2005 to build a house for his family and start a poultry project (Ali 2013). This is one of the many households in CHT that became poorer after participating in microcredit programs. Persistent poverty, lack of economic opportunities, meager household income, rigid NGO loan repayment policies and business failure are the most common reasons that the majority of the poor, like this household, are unable to experience a positive change. None of the microcredit NGOs consider these multidimensional aspects of poverty for why this household failed to repay the outstanding loans. I consider this NGO manager's action—collecting the defaulted loans by accompanying group leaders and members to harass Mohi, while ignoring the actual reasons why she failed to repay loans on time—to be "violence."

The question arises as to why these group leaders and members become a part of the NGOs' oppressive activities. These women are compelled to follow the instructions of these NGO officials under the provision of joint group liability. NGO officials threaten group leaders into subordination; if the group leaders fail to collect the outstanding loans, they might be deprived of getting their own loans in the future. Thus, NGO officials manipulate the relatively vulnerable social and economic situation of these women to use them as a means of enforcing others to repay. Meghla, whom I interviewed three times between June 2009 and July 2011, had been participating in microcredit programs for over a decade. She served as the group leader for loans from IDF, ASA, BRAC and the Grameen Bank several times in the past.

According Meghla, if a borrower fails to repay her loans, the group leader must take the responsibility to collect the default loans. The first step is to pool money from the other four members of the five-member group

to cover any missed payments from the borrower. If Meghla and other members fail to execute this responsibility, loan officers may take various coercive actions, including reproaching the defaulter, confining the her in the branch office or not issuing new loans to any member in the group centre. Consequently, all the borrowers suffer. Meghla said that, once, an IDF loan officer took a woman from her village and confined her in IDF office in Rangamati for the day. Meghla was then the centre leader of the IDF in her neighbourhood. She requested that the IDF people not take the woman because she had small children at home, but they refused. Later, Meghla went to the IDF office, accompanied by other members. The branch manager asked Meghla to collect the defaulted loans at any cost. As group leader, Meghla had to take the responsibility. The loan defaulter's adolescent son, who went to work to repay loans instead of going to school, played a key role in saving his mother from NGO mistreatment (Meghla, interview, 25 March 2011).

This ethnographic example shows that, if group leaders fail to collect the defaulted loans, no one in the group centre will be allowed to receive further loans. This is both threat and manipulation of a group of women; therefore, these women become forceful with other poor women to maintain their own access to NGO loans. Clearly, "violence," as a threat toward a group of women in a village NGO centre or the coercive acts of confining the loan defaulters at the NGO branch office, helps NGO officials to protect NGO interests. Although nobody is physically hit or hurt, this kind of violence promotes psychological, social and economic suffering for the victims. My research findings partly confirm the work of Karim (2008:19), who observed that NGO officers influenced a group of women to commit aggressive acts to collect loans by threatening to withhold future loans if the women failed to recover defaulted loans; however, NGO officers did not participate directly in aggressive acts. But, as noted above, my findings show that NGO officials—branch managers or loan officers—are often directly involved in oppressive acts such as confining a loan defaulter, confiscating saleable assets and accompanying a group of women to harass the defaulter. Moreover, NGO officers participated in violent acts, such as physical assaults, to collect the defaulted loans reported in the plain districts in Bangladesh (Melik 2010). Using shameful language by the loan officers and the group leaders is another common means of mounting pressure on borrowers to repay loans on time. I found "why can't you pay if you can eat?" to be the most frequently used shaming language in the NGO centres to create social pressure on the borrowers. A poor woman related that,

> If I fail to repay my loans, the group leader and other members reproach me. They use abusive language such as, "Why cannot you pay the loan installment if you can eat it?" Do I feel good and comfortable when they rebuke me in public? Even the members speak louder than the fieldworker. They may be very aggressive and ask, "Why do we have to sit in the NGO centre for you? Why do we suffer for you?" [Kamini, 25 March 2011]

Demanding, "why can't you pay if you can eat?" is clearly violence because it seriously affects the defaulter socially and psychologically. Violence in the form of threat or inflammatory language works on self-esteem and degrades the social image of the person concerned (Galtung 1969). Consequences of such oppressive NGO practices can be devastating for the poor women and their families, who have no income or saleable assets to repay loans. In 2009, for example, a poor woman allegedly committed suicide because NGO fieldworkers and a group of women insulted her for her failure to repay defaulted loans. This woman borrowed funds for her husband but he abandoned her without repaying the loans to NGOs. In another incidence, a man committed suicide over a conflict with his wife for failing to repay the loan to the Grameen Bank by the end of 2009. Hasi told me,

> My sister's husband committed suicide for failing to make repayments. She borrowed some loans from the Grameen Bank for her husband. The next day, Tuesday, was the day to repay weekly loan installment to Grameen Bank. My sister and her husband were involved in conflict over how to manage the money on Monday night. Her husband beat her; he tortured her physically and ousted her from house. Later, her husband committed suicide by hanging himself on the branch of a tree. I have not ever seen such a pathetic death in my life. [Hasi Tripura, 13 May 2011]

These narratives exemplify how oppressive NGO practices, especially immense group pressures for fiscal obligations, may instigate gender violence and familial conflict, which can lead people to commit suicide. NGOs manipulate their staff to protect NGO capitalistic interests, and fieldworkers manipulate a group of female borrowers. If any loan installment is dropped, the fieldworkers must adjust this from their own money; otherwise the branch managers deduct the amount from the fieldworker's monthly pay cheque.

Clearly, the choices of the majority of the women borrowers are not reflected in the current approach and practice of the microfinance institutions in my Bangladesh study setting. This is a "forced choice" because, directed by the principle of group liability, women in the

program must take on the liability of other borrowers. They have to give consent to this NGO principle; otherwise, they are not allowed to have a loan. Therefore, NGO officials commit violence in two ways. First, in addition to participating directly in violent acts, NGOs officials influence group leaders to be aggressive with loan defaulters and, thus, create unequal relationships among borrowers to protect NGO capital. Second, NGO officials promote more suffering for loan defaulters by overlooking the actual causes of poverty (e.g., rigid loan repayment schedule, business losses). NGO officials deploy such coercive measures to ensure a near 100 per cent loan repayment rate. NGOs always try to leave not even a single loan installment defaulted. Such a development approach and the actions of NGOs not only demoralize the poor but also create conflicting relationships among households, which result in the poor losing informal sources of social and economic support in their local community. Thus, many of the poor become poorer because they must repay the loans by borrowing further loans from other NGOs or moneylenders, by selling whatever assets they possess (e.g., furniture, land, etc.) or by starving. This is one of the main reasons I characterize NGOs' self-serving acts of economic accumulation at the expense of the poor population as *accumulation by violence*.

In the following section, I demonstrate how local NGO officials blame the poor and point out the inconsistencies prevailing in NGO claims of a near 100 per cent repayment rate.

Blaming the Poor: Perspectives of Microcredit NGO Officials

While conducting semi-structured interviews with the branch managers, program and area managers of all the microcredit NGOs in my study locality, I asked why the poor often fail to repay their loan installments on time. In response, most of the NGO officials said that the loan defaulters use the loan for purposes other than income-generating activities. For example, a centre manager (loan officer) of Grameen Bank said,

> You know ours is a poor country. Most people live in want. Some people are good and others are bad, vagabond and dishonest. I am a centre manager. I have to move from one part of Bangladesh to another in order to perform my job responsibilities. Somehow, these types of people enroll in our microcredit program pursuing the group's centre leader. Following the recommendation of a group leader, I may approve the loans for such people. It might happen that these people have already borrowed money from other NGOs. After taking the loans from us,

they may repay the old debt instead of using it for income-generating activities. Consequently, such people may fall into the cycle of multiple debts. Thus, they not only put themselves at risk but they also leave the whole group in a vulnerable situation. At the end, such people may flee without repaying the loans. Of course, the percentage of such people is very insignificant. There are also other factors for why the borrowers cannot repay installment. For instance, there are many cases that borrowers apply for loans to invest in business. After taking loans, they pay dowry for the marriage of their daughters or they spend these loans to celebrate a daughter's marriage ceremony. Some of the borrowers may lend the loan to their relatives but, if the relatives do not return the money, these borrowers have to face serious consequences for failing to repay the loans to us ... Borrowing money, some people purchase ornaments, dresses, TVs, mobile phones, bicycles, etc. This type of people also face problems in repaying the loan installments to us. In addition, there are some lazy, lethargic or sluggish people who work one day and pass three other days doing nothing. That is why these people become the poor over time and cannot improve their economic situation, despite their microcredit participation. [Khokon, 10 March 2011]

This account clearly indicates that many borrowers cannot repay the loans to NGOs or utilize the loans for income-generating activities. This loan officer constructs the causes of poverty in relation to local people's perceptions of the poor and why they remain poor. To this NGO official, the poor remain poor because of their individual idiosyncrasies or attributes and self-destructive behaviours (e.g., being lazy, spending the loans for nonproductive purposes). This view echoes neoliberal blaming of the victims (see Mead 2003). The fact that the poor use the loans for dowry payments or their daughters' marriage costs is part of social and cultural practices and has nothing to do with an individual's personal choice.

I asked NGO officials about the impact of their microcredit programs on the economic situation of the borrowers. The area manager of a microcredit NGO in the research locality said,

> From my evaluation, at least 60 per cent of people become successful in their efforts and 40 per cent of people cannot. There are many reasons. For example, some borrowers' husbands have several wives [co-wives]; some borrowers' husbands are lethargic; some borrowers' husbands are drug addicted. The success depends on how these borrowers use the loans. Obviously, there are some women who do not depend on their husbands. They take an initiative themselves to

make a change. Such women borrowers start a small business (e.g., a tea stall or a small grocery store) by borrowing from us. This category of borrowers does not face any problem in repaying loan installments to us. [Habib, 19 June 2011]

This narrative implies that the wives borrow the money, but they transfer it to their husbands. Since their husbands do not use the loans for the proposed purpose, at least 40 per cent of households cannot benefit from microcredit. The statement suggests that the successful alleviation of poverty of such households depends on how people use the loans. Those husbands who take several wives, are addicted to drugs or get involved in gambling are responsible for their sufferings and hardships. Thus, NGO officials give a list of 15 reasons for the poor population's lack of success in using microcredit to alleviate poverty. They are as follows: (1) use of the loan for purposes other than income-generating activities, such as household consumption and purchasing ornaments, dress, entertainment and communication technologies; (2) use of loans to repay old debt; (3) lack of required skills and experience; (4) laziness; (5) illiteracy and lack of future vision or effective planning for economic investment; (6) a tendency for dependency on relief, charity and aid; (7) polygamy and lack of mutual understanding between husbands and wives; (8) addiction to drugs and gambling (usually by male relatives such as husbands); (9) social-cultural factors, such as paying dowry or divorce costs; (10) loss in businesses and death of livestock; (11) damages to crops due to natural calamities and disasters, such as hailstorms and floods; (12) accidents, illnesses or death of the income earner; (13) involvement with multiple NGOs and burdened with the multiple debts; (14) proxy borrowing or forwarding loans to other households; and (15) lack of access for the poor to pursue market opportunities. This account of why the poor fail to make repayments on time and why the poor remain poor implies that the poor are responsible for their own sufferings (as in 1–8). According to these NGO officials, the poor do not create all factors (as in 9–15), and they have no control over these factors. My research findings show that most NGO officials indicate factors 1 and 2—using funds for consumerism and repaying of old debts—as the main reasons for loan defaults and, thus, the inability to alleviate poverty.

Interestingly, these accounts by NGO officials are inconsistent with the NGO claim of a near 100 per cent loan repayment and the view of microcredit founder Dr. Yunus. Theoretically, the NGO officials' construction of the causes of poverty conforms to the arguments of the individualistic perspective that the poor remain poor because of their bad choices and actions (Mead 2003). Conversely, Dr. Yunus indicates that structural factors, such as discriminatory institutional policies that bar the poor from equal access to credit, are the cause of poverty. Local NGO officials adopt the individualistic or neoliberal view of blaming of the victims to make their coercive actions (i.e., power) invisible from social life. Below, I explain how NGO officials manipulate local people's cultural beliefs to naturalize power.

Manipulating Cultural Beliefs and Practices: Naturalizing Power

NGOs manipulate cultural beliefs and practices to normalize their domination over female borrowers, that is, by making power invisible.

> Cultural beliefs are the ideas and thoughts common to several individuals that govern interaction—between these people and between them, their gods and other groups—and differ from knowledge in that they are not empirically discovered or analytically proved. In general, cultural beliefs become identical and commonly known through the socialization process by which culture is unified, maintained and communicated. [Greif 1994:915]

Cultural beliefs are an important element of a given society that people learn through enculturation and share while interacting with other community members to give beliefs a collective or social meaning. Such social meaning is reproduced through socialization, which governs individual thoughts and actions. I define "cultural beliefs and practices" as the conceptions and learned behaviours of the people, reflected in how they construct the causes of poverty and how they reproduce these understandings in everyday personal and social interactions (e.g., degrading the poor by using shameful language). My research findings show that many economically better-off people, and even the poor themselves, believe that people remain poor mainly because of their of own fault. A male research participant and husband of a female borrower, for example, said,

> People become poor because of their own faults, bad habits and how they do live a life. I am poor because my own bad habits. As I am telling you, the creator has given you hands to work; you have to try to improve yourself. If you work one day and pass two days idly, it is obvious that you will be responsible for your poverty situation. NGOs give me Tk. 20,000 (US$257) as a loan and, after having this money, I go to market to buy meat, fish and other food. Will I not be responsible for my own poverty? [Mukesh, 13 May 2011]

Interestingly, this statement reflects the comments above of the centre manager of the Grameen Bank. Other research participants also believed that people's experience of poverty is inevitable because it is pre-determined by the Creator. One of my male research participants, for example, said,

> People become poor because of their forefathers' sins. There are many people who do not have any lands but other people have. It depends on how fathers or grandfathers of these poor people lived their lives. If they did good deeds and transferred some properties to their children these [poor] people should have something today. Since they didn't get anything from their parents or forefathers, they have nothing. There are some people who did receive some properties [mainly land] from their ancestors but these people are poor because they wasted these properties. [Bhushan Chakma, 14 May 2011]

Clearly, this person believes people become or remain poor because of religious predetermination or their individual faults. Since their forefathers had sins and did bad deeds, they were cursed by God and could not transfer any material assets (e.g., land) to their descendants. And although some people received some assets from their ancestors, they misused them and became poor. In this context, individual action is the key to whether people will become rich or remain poor. If people do good deeds, God will bless them. Deb, a Hindu man, for example, took out loans through his wife from several microcredit NGOs to invest in small vegetable business. Despite his efforts, he could not succeed. He said, "By carefully reading my horoscope, a Brahman [a priest in Hindu religion] told me that I couldn't become successful in business." When I asked him if he believed what the Brahman told him, he replied, "Everybody believes it, why not me?" These cultural beliefs and practices that blame the poor for being poor do not occur in a vacuum. Social and physical environment, worldview, level of education, social and economic hierarchies and other social-cultural elements influence the social construction of becoming or remaining poor. Needless to say, poor people rarely realize that they may become poor for structural factors.

Interestingly, NGO officials reproduce these cultural beliefs in women, especially group leaders, to motivate the women to be hard on defaulters and to legitimize their own coercive actions. A prominent example of how NGOs manipulate existing cultural beliefs and practices to legitimize their coercive loan recovery strategies is fieldworkers encouraging a group of women to use shaming language such as "Why can't you pay if you can eat?" to collect defaulted loans. When the group's leaders or NGO loan officers use such language, they imply that poor women or men are not repaying because of their uncontrolled lifestyles or that the loan defaulter is lazy, lethargic, stupid and incapable of managing her own livelihood. Such implications leave the local people feeling guilty and embarrassed, their honour and dignity damaged, and NGO officials capitalize on this social pressure as a means of loan enforcement and thus naturalize their violent actions (Ali 2013). I asked group centre leaders of different NGOs why they support the coercive tactics of the loan officers. An ASA group centre leader said,

> Now many people take loans from NGOs but they spend this money for consuming [food], purchasing TV, furniture, clothes or jewelry. These people face problems to make loan repayments on time. When the fieldworkers create pressure on them to collect loan installments, these people [loan defaulters] blame the NGO officers. But actually these people are themselves responsible for their own deeds. Before approving a loan to a borrower, every group member has to take the oath that everyone is responsible for each other's loan repayment. When a borrower fails to repay the loans, the fieldworker asks other members and group leaders to repay it. Why would we blame the fieldworkers? [Usha, 27 March 2011]

According to this woman, what NGO officials do to collect loans from the poor is justified because the poor misuse the loans and so they have to suffer. Like this woman, many other group leaders are indoctrinated to cultural beliefs that failure by borrowers' to make repayments on time is due to the borrowers' bad decisions about their loan use. My research shows that while some poor borrowers sometimes try to protest against oppressive NGO practices or try to raise their voice in favour of a flexible repayment schedule, group leaders and other women with better economic situations stand up for current NGO policies and practices. A few women suppress the voices of the majority of poor women to serve NGO interests. Some better-off women can benefit from a weekly loan repayment system by lending money, with high interest, to poor borrowers who face problems repaying loans to NGOs. Since these women's households have multiple sources of income and can do business as moneylenders, they prefer the current NGO policy of a weekly repayment schedule. All these factors contribute to NGOs' coercive loan recovery strategies, to hiding the actual causes of people's failure to escape from poverty and, most importantly, to making NGOs' violent acts

invisible. These NGO injustices are mainly adverse because the poor are often deprived of an equal development opportunity. The next section describes how NGOs commit structural violence by creating unequal opportunity of access to credit for the poor in my research setting.

Discriminatory NGO Practices: Depriving and Excluding the Poor

My research found an emerging trend of undemocratic NGO practices that affect poor borrowers. I observed that every prospective borrower had to apply for a loan through the group's centre leader, who forwarded the application to the loan officer. The loan officer usually approves or rejects a loan application based on the recommendations of this group leader. NGOs emphasize personal relations with a group leader, kinship or the existing economic capital and past fiscal records of a loan seeker to decide about a loan application. Note, this kind of communication between fieldworkers and group leaders is usually confidential and kept secret from any prospective borrowers. Previously, NGOs used to take such decisions in the group meeting but now they exclude the loan aspirants from the decision-making process. Since NGO fiscal enforcement strategies instigate personal and social conflict in the community, group centre leaders recommend that fieldworkers not provide loans to those borrowers who have little economic capacity to repay the loan on time. Sometimes, NGO officials visit the loan applicants' house to evaluate their current economic situation. One of my research participants describes her experience with microcredit NGOs in the following way:

> They [NGOs] do not want to give loans to poor people. NGO people inquire if we have any saleable asset, such as a colour TV or furniture in our house, before enrolling us. They also want to know the condition of our living house. That is, whether we live in the houses of bricks and cement or bamboo and thatch. The people who live in the bricks and cement houses have colour TVs and other saleable assets and will get more loans than others. NGO people [ASA], for example, visited our house. They inspected our house and made a list of assets belonging to us. They were not interested in giving us the loan. I asked them, "Why are you looking for these assets? We pay your money back by working hard." They [NGO people] reply that we cannot repay the loan because we have nothing; we are poor and we depend on daily labouring. If they know that I am poor and I do not have a colour TV, good furniture such as cots, electric fans in my house, they will give a very small amount of loan. [Group interview, 14 May 2011]

Similarly, a key informant said,

> NGOs do not provide sufficient loans to the poor [laughing]! I wanted to borrow a loan of Tk.10,000 (US$126). Then NGO fieldworkers inquired how many cows and goats I have at home or if there is any expensive cot, TV and good furniture. What is the condition of my living house and like that? Do poor people have these assets? When they find nothing in poor people's house, NGO fieldworkers hesitate to approve a loan. Even if a group leader recommends it, a poor household might get some loan but the amount they provide is insufficient for undertaking a livelihood improvement project. If a borrower proposes a loan of Tk.5,000 (US$63), the NGO might give her a loan of Tk. 3,000 (US$38) based on her existing economic situation. [Rana, 23 June 2011]

These accounts exemplify how NGOs deliberately act against the interests of the poor. Providing insufficient loans based on borrowers' existing socioeconomic condition or excluding the poorest from microcredit programs is a clear instance of structural violence, which deprives these poor of their access to an equal opportunity for socioeconomic development. Such discriminatory NGO practices contribute to increasing income disparities and, together with a breakdown of traditional forms of social and economic security, increasingly lead the poor to further social and economic vulnerability. NGOs perpetuate the difference between the wealthy and low-income groups of people based on their social, cultural and economic capital, and this affects the lives of the poor, socially and economically. However, excluding the poor from microcredit programs due to a lack of social and economic capital contradicts the core philosophy of microcredit pioneer Dr. Yunus and his conception of the causes of poverty. Instead of creating an enabling environment for the poor to build on their skills to escape poverty, such NGO practices often contribute to perpetuating poverty because of their overwhelming emphasis on capitalist interests.

Conclusion

My research findings thus unravel how NGOs actually operate microcredit programs in rural Bangladesh. This research shows that the construction of the causes of poverty by Dr. Yunus and by current microcredit NGO officials is contradictory. Whereas Dr. Yunus implicated flawed institutional systems and policies as the primary causes of poverty, contemporary NGO officials mainly argue that the successful alleviation of poverty depends on how poor borrowers actually use their loans. NGO officials overlook structural factors (e.g., intra-household power relations, unequal access to economic opportunity)

and other external factors (e.g., illnesses, accidents, loss in business) in determining poor people's inability to make timely repayments.

The rigid repayment system also affects poor borrowers. Many NGO officials know that the poor might default on their loans because of the rigid loan repayment system, high interest rates, business losses, illness or death of income earners, damage to crops and structural factors such as market manipulation by the local merchants, as well as cultural practices like dowry. Yet, they generalize that the poor remain poor because of their own bad choices and actions.

I argue that NGO officials tend to blame the poor for two specific reasons: (1) to legitimatize their own coercive loan recovery strategies and (2) to exclude the poorest from microcredit programs by considering them unsuitable because they often fail to make loan repayments. NGO officials manipulate local people's cultural beliefs about the causes of poverty to make gendered power invisible. Since many people, including the poor themselves, believe the poor suffer for their own faults, NGOs have a space to reproduce these beliefs through the oppressive behaviour toward loan defaulters by other women in the village NGO centres. While these oppressive practices help protect NGOs' capitalist interests, many poor become poorer. I have termed this process of economic gains of the microcredit NGOs *accumulation by violence*.

My findings clearly show that many of the poor struggle to follow NGO repayment schedules and to repay loan installments. This is reflected in the statements of NGO officials and borrowers, as well as in how NGOs instigate the centre leaders to be forceful with the borrowers. NGO officials state that many of the poor fail to repay the loan installments because they do not use the loans for income-generating activities. This is logical, since if the borrowers cannot earn income, they will not be able to repay the loan. In this context, NGO claims of nearly a 100 per cent loan repayment rate are questionable. Even if we accept the argument that the poor can repay the defaulted loan installments by selling their saleable assets or by borrowing from other NGOs and informal sources, such as moneylenders, relatives and neighbours, the poor cannot escape from poverty. Instead, they fall into a cycle of multiple debts and further poverty.

NGO power lies in capitalist interests and perpetuates poverty instead of helping the poor to improve their economic capacity. NGO officials dominate female borrowers to implement their microcredit programs and to protect their economic interests. For example, NGO officials and group leaders, who generally come from better-off families, give insufficient loan amounts to the poor or exclude the poorer households from microcredit programs on the excuse of their inability to repay the loan installments on time. Structural violence underlies the recruitment of borrowers and disbursement of loans based on existing social and economic resources. Therefore, the major flaw in the contemporary microcredit NGO practice is that microcredit appears as a modern form of business, remaining available mainly to better-off people who can repay the loans on time. Thus, my research findings confirm other studies in Bangladesh and in other developing countries that find microfinance as an integral part of global capitalism (see Bateman and Chang 2012; Karim 2011).

The tendency of microcredit NGOs to choose the better-off households and to exclude the poor reinforces the existing structural inequalities between these groups of people. This structural violence certainly has widespread and durable effects on people's lives, particularly those who are the poorest of the poor. Excluding the poor or the loan defaulters from microcredit programs does not help establish social cohesion, collectivity, peace, integrity and equity among the people who participate in microcredit programs. Instead, these microcredit practices contribute to instigating conflict between people, violence, breakdowns in personal and social relationships and the disintegration social harmony. Structural violence is evidenced in a lack of intention of the NGO officials to listen to the poor about why they become unsuccessful and a lack of effort in taking effective alternative measures to deal with or alter their economic situation. Moreover, by making the real causes of poverty invisible or being reluctant to take effective action to deal with how the poor can escape from poverty, NGOs contribute to structural violence. Thus, the poor are deprived of social justice and are excluded from an opportunity for economic development.

H M Ashraf Ali is a Ph.D. Candidate in Sociocultural Anthropology at the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta T6G 2H4, Canada. He is also an Assistant Professor in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Chittagong, Bangladesh.
E-mail: haali@ualberta.ca / hmashraf78@yahoo.com.

Note

1   I obtained Human Research Ethics Certification from the Arts, Science and Law (ASL) Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta prior to commencing my pilot research study. I collected informed consent, either written or in some cases orally, before recording or conducting any interviews. Please note that the names of all the study villages and research participants are pseudonyms.

References

Ali, H M Ashraf
  2013 Why Can't You Pay if You Can Eat? Tales of How Women Encounter Unpleasant NGO Practices in Bangladesh. Student Anthropologist 3(2):7–26.

Bateman, Milford and Ha-Joom Chang
  2012 Microfinance and the Illusion of Development: From Hubris to Nemesis in Thirty Years. World Economic Review 1:13–36.

BBC News
  2013 The Bangladesh Poor Selling Organs to Pay Debts. October 27. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-24128096, accessed October 28, 2013.

Cons, Jason and Kasia Paprocki
  2010 Contested Credit Landscapes: Microcredit, Self-help, and Self-determination in Rural Bangladesh. Third World Quarterly 31(4):637–654. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01436591003701141

Counts, Alex
  2008 Small Loans, Big Dreams: How Nobel Prize Winner Muhammad Yunus and Microfinance Are Changing the World. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.

Datta, Dipankar
  2004 Microcredit in Rural Bangladesh: Is It Reaching the Poorest? Journal of Microfinance 6(1):55–81.

Elyachar, Julia
  2005 Markets of Dispossession: NGOs, Economic Development, and the State in Cairo. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/9780822387138

Engler, Mark
  2009 From Microcredit to a World without Profit? Muhammad Yunus Wrestles with Moving Beyond a Society Based on Greed. Dissent 56(4):81–87. http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/dss.0.0081

Faraizi, Aminul, Taskinur Rahman and Jim McAllister
  2011 Microcredit and Women's Empowerment: A Case Study of Bangladesh. New York: Routledge.

Fernando, Nimal A.
  2006 Understanding and Dealing with High Interest Rates on Microcredit: A Note to Policy Makers in the Asia and Pacific Region. Manila: Asian Development Bank.

Galtung, Johan
  1969 Violence, Peace and Peace Research. Journal of Peace Research 6(3):167–191. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/002234336900600301

Grameen Bank
  2011 Grameen Bank at a Glance. http://www.grameen-info.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=26&Itemid=0, accessed February 1, 2013.

Greif, Avner
  1994 Cultural Beliefs and the Organization of Society: A Historical and Theoretical Reflection on Collectivist and Individualist Societies. Journal of Political Economy 102(5):912–950. http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/261959

Harvey, David
  2007 Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction. The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 610(1):21–44.

Hulme, David and Paul Mosley
  1997 Finance for the Poor or the Poorest? Financial Innovation, Poverty and Vulnerability. In Who Needs Credit? Poverty and Finance in Bangladesh. Geoffrey Wood and Iffath Sharif, eds. Pp. 97–129. Dhaka: The University Press.

Karim, Lamia
  2008 Demystifying Microcredit: The Grameen Bank, NGOs, and Neoliberalism in Bangladesh. Cultural Dynamics 20(1):5–29. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0921374007088053
  2011 Microfinance and Its Discontents: Women in Debt in Bangladesh. London: University of Minnesota Press.

Khandker, Shahidur
  1999 Fighting Poverty with Microcredit: Experience in Bangladesh. Dhaka: The University Press.

Leve, Lauren and Lamia Karim
  2001 Introduction Privatizing the State: Ethnography of Development, Transnational Capital, and NGOs. Political and Legal Anthropology Review 24(1):53–58.

Marx, Karl
  1999[1867]
    Chapter 26: The Secret of Primitive Accumulation. In Capital, Volume One. http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/ch26.htm, accessed January 23, 2014.

Mead, Lawrence M.
  2003 A Biblical Response to Poverty. In Lifting Up the Poor: A Dialogue on Religion, Poverty, and Welfare Reform. Mary Jo Bane and Lawrence M. Mead, eds. Pp. 53–106. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Melik, James
  2010 Microcredit "Death Trap" for Bangladesh's Poor. BBC News. November 2. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-11664632, accessed October 28, 2013.

Microcredit Regulatory Authority
  N.d. Microcredit in Bangladesh. http://www.mra.gov.bd/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=29&Itemid=80, accessed March 25, 2013.

Ministry of Finance
  2011 Bangladesh Economic Review 2010. Dhaka: Bangladesh Government Press.

Mohsin, Amena
  2005 Globalization, Hegemony and the State in Bangladesh. In Dislocating Nation-States: Globalization in Asia and Africa. Patricio Abinales, Ishikawa Noboru and Tanabe Akio, eds. Pp. 64–88. Kyoto: Kyoto University Press.

Narayan, Deep, Raj Patel, Kai Schafft, Anne Rademacher and Sarah Koch-Schulte
  1999 Voices of the Poor: Can Any One Hear Us? Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nath, Dhiraj
  2004 Assessment of Microcredit Programme in Bangladesh: Government Sector. In Attacking Poverty with Microcredit. Salehuddin Ahmed and M.A. Hakim, eds. Pp. 49–70. Dhaka: The University Press.

Nobel Prize
  2006 The Nobel Peace Prize for 2006. http://
        www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/
        2006/press.html, accessed February 1, 2013.
Rahman, Aminur
  1999 Women and Microcredit in Rural Bangladesh: An
        Anthropological Study of Grameen Bank Lending.
        Oxford: Westview Press.
Rahman, Md Fazlur
  2013 Yunus Given Rare Honour. Daily Star, April 18.
        http://archive.thedailystar.net/beta2/news/yunus-
        given-rare-honour/, accessed February 13, 2014.
Royce, Edward
  2009 Poverty & Power: The Problem of Structural
        Inequality. New York: Rowman and Littlefield.
UNDP
  2009 Socio-Economic Baseline Survey of Chittagong Hill
        Tracts. Dhaka: Human Development Research
        Centre.

van Rooyen, Carina, Ruth Stewart and Thea de Wet
  2012 The Impact of Microfinance in Sub-Saharan Africa: A
        Systematic Review of the Evidence. World
        Development 40(11):2249–2262. http://dx.doi.org/
        10.1016/j.worlddev.2012.03.012
Wood, Geof
  2003 Staying Secure, Staying Poor: The "Faustina
        Bargain." World Development 31(3):455–471. http://
        dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0305-750X(02)00213-9
Yunus, Muhammad
  2004 Expanding Microcredit Outreach to Reach the
        Millennium Development Goals: Some Issues for
        Attention. *In* Attacking Poverty with Microcredit.
        Salehuddin Ahmed and M.A. Hakim, eds. Pp. 7–22.
        Dhaka: The University Press.
  2010 Building Social Business: The New Kind of Capitalism
        that Serves Humanity's Most Pressing Needs. Dhaka:
        The University Press.

La rue comme héroïne : expériences punk et skinhead en France

Jérôme Beauchez   *Centre Max Weber*

Résumé : Essai d'ethnographie multimodale où s'entrecroisent observations, extraits d'entretiens, références filmiques et musicales, ce texte trace la « silhouette anthropologique » de quelques punks et skinheads français. Si la rue a été leur héroïne au sens où ils l'ont constituée en espace performatif d'une résistance à la « société instituée », l'héroïne en tant que substance addictive s'est également imposée comme la maîtresse implacable de nombreuses volontés de rébellion. Au plus vif des intimités, c'est ce paradoxe que cet article veut analyser en arrière-fond des expériences dont il livre une description.

Mots-clés : France, punks, skinheads, ethnographie multimodale, rue, héroïne, résistance

Abstract: A multimodal ethnographic essay, mingling observations, extracts from interviews, film and musical references, this text outlines the "anthropological silhouette" of a number of French punks and skinheads. If the street was their heroin(e) in the sense of being the stage on which they played out their resistance to the "established society", heroin(e) as an addictive drug also became their implacable mistress, controlling all aspirations to rebellion. This article seeks to investigate this paradox, intimately analyzing the possibility of resistance to real or supposed domination against a backdrop of the experience it describes.

Keywords: France, punks, skinheads, multimodal ethnography, street, heroin(e), resistance

En surface, on voulait de l'ordre et de la discipline,
et c'est de la surface qu'on jugeait
de la gravité du désordre et de l'indiscipline.
Antonio Gramsci 2012:139

Introduction

À la fin de la décennie 1970, un certain nombre de subcultures britanniques ont fait leur entrée aux marges d'une jeunesse française dont quelques représentants épars se sont reconnus dans les styles punk et skinhead. Ceux-là mêmes que les premières générations de chercheurs qui fondèrent les *cultural studies* en Angleterre ont interprétés comme autant de formes ritualisées de résistance à la domination culturelle des classes populaires par les logiques marchandes de la consommation de masse (Hall et Jefferson 2004[1975]; Willis 1978; Hebdige 2008[1979]). Autour de la fontaine des Innocents à Paris et, bientôt, dans toutes les villes de France des groupes ont ainsi incarné ces modes de vie forgés sur l'asphalte des rues qu'ils ont érigées en héroïnes d'une contestation publique de la « société instituée » (Castoriadis 1975:532 et suivantes). Contrairement au cas anglais et en dépit de l'existence de fragments d'archives qui se multiplient sur les réseaux électroniques (photographies, films, sites internet), de même que dans certains livres-témoignages (Pacadis 2002[1978]; Eudeline 2002; Rudeboy 2007), la science sociale des significations et de l'implantation en France de ces subcultures du refus reste encore largement à faire. Aussi cet article propose-t-il d'y contribuer. À partir d'un terrain réticulaire dont les arborescences se composent d'une multitude de documents iconographiques, textuels, musicaux et filmiques qu'il met en correspondance avec les matériaux classiques de l'enquête ethnographique (l'observation directe et les entretiens), ce texte s'efforce ainsi de constituer un nouveau mode d'approche des phénomènes de résistance urbaine observés au plus près des expériences et des productions culturelles de leurs acteurs[1].

Dans la rue : résistance nihiliste et logique de l'enquête

> Ils marchent dans la rue comme des soldats perdus,
> Une croix sur le front comme seule décoration.
> Ils n'ont rien prévu pour leur promotion
> Même pas de se servir de la révolution
> …
> Ils marchent dans la rue comme des soldats perdus.
> C'est vrai qu'ils ont bu, qu'ils cassent les rétroviseurs
> Car tout ce qu'ils y voient c'est la réalité.
> C'est qu'un sort est jeté sur leur génération.
> [La souris déglinguée, « Soldats perdus »]

Chaos en France…

« Zonards » parce qu'ils marchaient droit devant eux en emmenant la « zone » partout avec eux, les punks et les skinheads parisiens que chantait La souris déglinguée au début de la décennie 1980 avaient des homologues dans tout l'hexagone (Quintana 2012). Réunis par un certain sens du « chaos en France » – pour reprendre le titre d'une compilation dont les deux volumes parus en 1983 et 1984 ont présenté quelques expressions discographiques du genre –, ils ne laissaient pas de scander leurs désillusions plus ou moins avinées, leur dégoût de notre société et, pour certains, le questionnement de toutes ces « vies pour rien » (Camera Silens, « Une vie pour rien », 1987). Contre les mensonges conformistes de l'intégration sociale, vantant les opportunités de carrière bâties à force de travail et de soumission à l'ordre établi, ces premiers enfants de la crise économique et du chômage massifié ont donc bousculé l'édifice des bonnes mœurs en incarnant le désordre ainsi qu'une certaine esthétique de la « décivilisation ». Tandis que les apparences vestimentaires ou capillaires se jouaient de l'acceptable (Delaporte 1982; Soeffner 1997), les mises en scène publiques de la horde et de ses barbares modernes ont composé les principaux attributs de cette inversion symbolique des codes bourgeois (à ce propos, voir Roué 1986; Van Ham 2009).

Revendiquant l'absence de projet pour un futur considéré comme mort-né, les plus radicaux ont alors constitué la perte d'illusions et le manque en étendard d'une résistance nihiliste qui, pour certains, s'est épuisée dans une forme d'hyperconsommation mortifère. Au cannabis, à la bière et au vin bon marché se sont alors adjoints des additifs variés : amphétamines, hallucinogènes ou opiacés, tous destinés à fabriquer le plaisir et les sensations fortes que l'étreinte de la banalité et du mauvais sort étouffaient au quotidien. Les expériences narcotiques s'avérant plus addictives que les autres, la rue comme héroïne a parfois cédé la place à l'héroïne tout court, dissolvant les plus vifs élans de liberté dans l'implacable système des physiologies dépendantes. Bien sûr, tout cela n'a rien d'un parcours obligatoire. Mais en contrepoint du « romantisme révolutionnaire » (au sens de Löwy et Sayre 1992) que l'on peut déceler parmi les analyses des subcultures populaires insistant sur leur pouvoir de résister à l'ordre établi, il est sans doute nécessaire de faire apparaître ce que Walter Benjamin aurait appelé le « caractère destructeur » (Benjamin 2000[1931]), ou la disposition au néant que portent les trajectoires résistantes venues buter sur les obstacles stupéfiants que dresse l'expérience de la rue. Loin du discours des « entrepreneurs de morale » (Becker 1985[1963]:171–188) prompts à constituer la toxicomanie en adjuvant inévitable de la pérégrination des zonards, il faut toutefois en reconnaître l'existence, par ailleurs largement commentée dans les archives discographiques ou les légendes urbaines que ces subcultures nous ont léguées (Markert 2001). Aussi est-ce leur récit ancré dans l'expérience vécue que je privilégierai plutôt qu'une réduction a *priori* de ces parcours à la figure du toxicomane, dont le savoir scientifique détiendrait tout pouvoir d'explication.

… rendre compte de l'expérience

Ni chapitre d'une sociologie des usagers de drogue, ni chronique moralisatrice d'une forme de déviance, ce texte constitue plutôt un compte rendu d'épreuves de la rue dont les premiers matériaux se fondent sur mon expérience personnelle de certaines formes de vie marginale. Au cours des années 1990, j'ai en effet partagé le quotidien d'un groupe de « zonards » : punks, skinheads et autres hybrides des contre-cultures urbaines. Tels que je les ai connus, ils constituaient ce que Georg Simmel aurait appelé un « être pour soi sociologique » (Simmel 1999[1908]:398); autrement dit : un entre-soi relativement préservé des autres, avec ses normes, son système économique et, par conséquent, ses règles spécifiques de fonctionnement. La plupart étaient également des squatteurs épisodiques ou permanents. Ils ouvraient des lieux d'habitation éphémères en centre-ville ou se regroupaient chez les uns et les autres en créant de petites communautés de subsistance. Dans la mesure où j'ai eu l'opportunité de connaître ce mode de vie de l'intérieur, je m'efforce aujourd'hui – non sans peine – d'en révéler divers aspects. Comme l'a écrit Édouard Glissant (1997:537) à propos d'autres épreuves de l'intimité, « on ne regarde pas si froidement qu'on croit l'image de sa propre errance ». Si bien qu'entre engagement et distanciation, il m'a fallu un certain nombre d'années pour entamer une « analyse auto-ethnographique » (Anderson 2006) des expériences vécues aux côtés des punks et des

skinheads, dans le même temps que j'entamais de les solliciter pour toute une série d'entretiens biographiques. Engagée en 2002, cette enquête dont j'ai longtemps retenu la publication ne laisse pas de se poursuivre dans et en dehors du groupe que j'ai originellement fréquenté. Les dizaines de récits de vie qu'elle a réunis s'enrichissent également d'autres témoignages contenus dans les archives discographiques, iconographiques et filmiques que mobilise ma recherche au titre d'une « multimodalité » dont le principe est d'entrecroiser ces différents types de données dans la production du texte ethnographique (à ce propos, voir Dicks, Soyinka et Coffey 2006).

Quant à ces lignes, elles n'exposent jamais qu'un premier fragment de tout cet entrelacement de documents. Sans prétendre à une quelconque représentation systématique des expériences punk et skinhead en France, un tel échantillon n'a pourtant rien d'aléatoire. Parce qu'il entend livrer un accès direct à d'aucuns parmi les « réseaux de signifiance » qui constituent ces subcultures, l'agencement des témoignages biographiques et des traces discographiques que présente ce texte se limite aux frontières symboliques d'une « province de sens » : celle où vivaient au quotidien les punks et les skinheads dont il est question[2]. Pour restreintes qu'elles puissent paraître au regard d'un savoir global sur ces mouvements, les références culturelles articulées par ce travail consistent donc en un savoir local qui s'efforce d'esquisser le paysage phénoménal où toutes ces vies se sont enracinées. Je l'ai dit : si la rue a été leur héroïne au sens où elles l'ont constituée en espace performatif d'une résistance à ce que Richard Hoggart aurait appelé la « définition socialement approuvée des attitudes » (Hoggart 1970 : 48), l'héroïne en tant que substance addictive s'est également imposée comme la maîtresse implacable de nombreuses volontés de rébellion. C'est ce paradoxe, qui interroge au plus vif des intimités la possibilité de résister aux dominations réelles ou supposées, que cet article veut analyser en arrière-fond des « silhouettes anthropologiques » (Zeitlyn 2008) qu'il entreprend de tracer. Des silhouettes comme autant de figures de la « zone », accordées à différents moments d'une histoire de ces « vies infâmes » dont Michel Foucault nous a appris qu'elles recèlent une intensité tout à fait particulière. En effet, lorsqu'elles « se heurtent au pouvoir, se débattent avec lui et tentent d'utiliser ses forces pour échapper à ses pièges » (Foucault 1994:241), ces existences en apparence inessentielles nous disent sans doute quelque chose de tout à fait essentiel sur la violence des normativités ordinaires; une violence que la rupture des apparences conventionnelles rend d'autant plus évidente.

L'effet de clan : une topographie légendaire de la marge

> C'est à douze ans que je me suis tatoué; treize ans, je me suis mis lisse [crâne rasé], pour me démarquer en fait... Et puis t'as l'effet de clan, l'effet de meute. Ça, sur le moment, tu captes pas trop. Dix, quinze ans après, tu te dis que c'est tout simple : t'es seul, donc faut bien trouver des potes. Faut que les potes te ressemblent un maximum, donc tu t'intègres à un groupe, que ce soit les keupons [punks], les neusks [skinheads] ou ce que tu veux....

Mauvais garçons

Yvan est mort en 2002, quelques mois après avoir tenu ces propos enregistrés par mes soins au cours d'une série d'entretiens biographiques. Je l'avais rencontré pour la première fois en 1992. Nous avions alors dix-huit ans. Son allure était celle d'un skinhead, composée de ces éléments habituels que sont le crâne rasé, les Paraboots (des chaussures paramilitaires anglaises) et le port de tête altier. En 1992, Yvan et le groupe de zonards auquel il appartenait battaient le pavé, passant d'appartements en immeubles squattés. Lui et moi étions férus de topographies légendaires qui, sous les poncifs et les préjugés, laissaient apparaître les « cartes de significations » (Hall et Jefferson 2004:10) que traçaient les subcultures inventées par quelques jeunesses passées. Ainsi des histoires de gangs anglais, version fin des années 1960, au sein desquels skinheads blancs et jeunes voyous jamaïquains étaient unis par les vertus d'une amitié fondée sur la dureté des conditions sociales partagées. Le souffle de ce passé d'outre-Manche – tant déformé par le temps que réarrangé par nos envies – nous parvenait à la manière d'une impression édifiante : celle de l'existence d'histoires de rue oubliées, dont les fils avaient été tissés par de jeunes désœuvrés au crâne rasé, trompant l'ennui et le chômage des banlieues à coups de bière et de reggae (à ce sujet, voir Knight 1982; Marshall 1994).

Bien avant d'être obscurci par sa récupération néonazie, c'est donc là que l'on trouvait les origines du mouvement skinhead : dans le voisinage des quartiers antillais de Londres, où ce style subculturel a été forgé au contact des plus rugueux d'entre les jeunes migrants issus de la Caraïbe. L'esthétique puisée par ces *rude boys* (mauvais garçons) aux sources des faubourgs de Kingston – où les petits durs du ghetto affectionnaient les coupes de cheveux au plus près du crâne, les polos impeccables parfois agrémentés de bretelles et les chapeaux à bords étroits de type *pork pie* –, ainsi que leur musique favorite (le reggae naissant) ont eu tôt fait

d'influencer fortement leurs homologues blancs, bientôt rebaptisés « skinheads » (littéralement : les « têtes de peau »)[3]. Un certain nombre d'artistes caribéens et anglo-jamaïquains tels que Laurel Aitken, Derrick Morgan ou Symarip ont traduit ces rencontres dans les rythmes syncopés de ce que l'on appelait alors le *skinhead reggae*. Mêlé à l'influence de la *soul music* enregistrée aux États-Unis par les vedettes des grands labels (Tamla Motown à Détroit, Stax à Memphis), ainsi que par des artistes moins connus comme Edwin Starr ou James Carr, il a constitué la bande originale en noir et blanc de cette subculture populaire aux accents plutôt métissés[4]. La dérive raciste et xénophobe – encore marginale au début des années 1970 – ne s'est quant à elle opérée qu'une dizaine d'années plus tard, en réponse aux appels incessants que le National Front adressait à la jeunesse des quartiers populaires anglais. Ainsi plusieurs scènes du film *Rude Boy* (1980), une fiction documentaire qui s'appuie sur la tournée 1978 du groupe punk The Clash, montrent-elles le personnage de Ray Gange, antihéros des marges londoniennes aux prises avec le spectre d'une radicalisation xénophobe et raciste. Suiveur de son groupe favori pour lequel il accomplissait le travail occasionnel de *roadie* (machiniste itinérant), cet alcoolique désillusionné s'accrochait ainsi désespérément à ce qu'il croyait être son clan et cette partie de sa jeunesse qui lui conférait encore une dignité. De loin – si l'on était suffisamment sélectif pour éliminer momentanément les côtés les plus négatifs (la toxicomanie, la violence et un certain sentiment d'abandon) – toute cette légende urbaine des *rude boys*, skinheads et autres punks qui l'ont prolongée, ressemblait à une façon d'âge d'or des déçus; un sursaut stylistique des classes ouvrières sur le déclin, dont l'étude a fourni ses meilleurs sujets aux premières *cultural studies* (sur ce point, voir Mattelart et Neveu 1996:20–25). Parfois, l'ensemble semblait pouvoir se résumer en un slogan : « pas plus cons, pas meilleurs, mais différents et unis au sein d'une même partie de la jeunesse »; celle que chantait en France Tai-Luc, parolier de La souris déglinguée (LSD). Fondé en 1979, ce groupe multiethnique reste le symbole musical et culturel des premiers skinheads français : ceux du quartier des Halles à Paris, dont l'un des points de ralliement était la bien nommée fontaine des Innocents[5].

Une « innocente de la première heure »

Il existe bien sûr très peu de documents qui montrent ou attestent simplement l'existence de ces « innocents de la première heure », ou de cette « raya » – comme ils aimaient à s'appeler eux-mêmes – mêlant punks, skins, rockers et squatteurs de toutes les origines. À ma connaissance, seul Philippe Puicouyoul en a fixé quel-

ques images dans les scènes introductives de son film, *La Brune et moi*. Tournée en 1978 avec des moyens dérisoires, cette fiction documentaire du micro-monde punk parisien emprunte les traits d'Anoushka, une punkette tout aussi égarée dans l'existence qu'à l'écran, pour incarner un mode de vie qui a élu le pavé comme sa scène privilégiée. Détournant son titre ainsi qu'une part de sa structure narrative du fameux *La Blonde et moi* (*The Girl Can't Help It*) sorti sur les écrans américains en 1956 avec pour vedette Jayne Mansfield et nombre de futures stars du rock'n'roll, ce *street movie* brosse le portrait d'une fille perdue qui, dépourvue de talents musicaux, aspire pourtant à devenir une anti-star punk. Mise en musique par les acteurs de la scène parisienne qu'étaient alors Les Privés, Edith Nylon, Ici Paris et autres Marquis de Sade, la courte épopée d'Anoushka finira bien par la présenter en héroïne, plutôt noyée dans les effets de la poudre qu'érigée en étendard musical de sa génération.

Anoushka, la vraie, y perdra d'ailleurs la vie peu après le tournage; pas de distance au rôle pour cette jeunesse passée dans la provocation et le choc qu'expriment aussi bien une certaine « carnivalisation » (Langman 2008) des apparences que l'atteinte au corps portée plus profondément par les injections de produits stupéfiants. Jour après jour, leur piqûre scande une forme de résistance nihiliste à cette normalisation dont Anoushka semble vouloir dénoncer tous les pièges, sans pour autant trouver les mots qui permettraient de les désigner. L'aiguille fait-elle sens pour autant ? Quoi qu'il en soit, l'écran montre Anoushka qui se dissout lentement dans l'abandon au néant, à l'instar des effets de cette poudre qu'elle chauffe quotidiennement au creux de sa cuillère avant de la mêler à son sang[6]. Un chemin qui transforme les instruments de la fuite en un véritable dispositif d'enfermement, dont les Bordelais de Camera Silens ont su scander le paradoxe avec une économie de mots qui n'a d'égal que leur froide précision. Évoquant ce soi-disant « moyen de sortir de l'impasse », ce « vaccin contre l'angoisse » auquel il suffirait de donner sa veine, le groupe s'attache à décrire comment une nouvelle souffrance de la perte et du manque s'instille aussitôt au plus profond de la chair, capturant son prisonnier dans les répétitions brumeuses et glauques d'une « journée sans fin » (Camera Silens, « Réalité », 1985). Continuellement subir, puis payer pour consommer la molécule d'un bref répit : qu'en est-il dès lors de la révolte et de ses trépidantes velléités d'indépendance dissoutes dans la plus âpre des servitudes consuméristes ?

Emblématique s'il en est, ce parcours a bien été celui de nombre d' « innocents de la première heure ». Ce dont atteste Fabian, l'un des piliers de cette « raya »,

rappelant que « la bande des Halles, c'est pas une autre bande qui l'a eue, c'est la drogue »[7]. Tandis que la légende urbaine a souvent oublié l'héroïne, elle a préféré souligner l'héroïsme subversif de tous ces clans à la manière d'une tradition inventée au fil des récits continûment repris par tous ces conteurs d'interdit qui, sur le bitume, autour d'une bière ou autre chose, font et défont les histoires de rue donnant corps à la « zone ». Celle-ci est alors bien moins confinée à une place dans l'espace physique que déployée dans tous les lieux de la ville où les zonards la transportent. Évoluant avec eux, sa cartographie s'incarne tout comme ses histoires, toujours véhiculées par un diseur qui leur donne chair, sélectionnant dans le réel avec plus ou moins de brio pour bâtir les légendes; autant de « chemins de nulle part qui nous conduisent ailleurs » selon les punks orléanais de Komintern Sect (« Quand meurent les légendes », 1983). Car s'ils ne sont jamais faits que de « la somme de ce qu'on en dit » (Foucault 1994:241), ces contes du bitume n'en gardent pas moins le pouvoir d'ouvrir des routes où se rencontrent les porteurs d'une certaine parole de liberté payée au prix fort de la rue.

Incarner la rue, en dire les pièges

Toute cette topographie légendaire des rébellions suburbaines traçait les coordonnées symboliques du style de vie qu'avaient adopté Yvan et son groupe d'amis quinze ans après la réunion, à certains égards fondatrice, des « innocents de la première heure ». Basé dans une métropole du Nord-est de la France, le groupe d'Yvan comptait autant de spécimens au crâne rasé que de punks, chevelus, tatoués coiffés de *dreadlocks* (littéralement : « nattes effrayantes ») et autres éléments mêlés qui constituaient le tableau d'un clan hétéroclite. Parmi tant d'autres disséminés aux quatre coins de l'hexagone, il agrégeait les incarnations de la révolte et brandissait en étendard sa propre infamie conçue comme l'affichage, par le corps et tout le reste, d'une volonté de résister à l'ordre établi dans une confrontation négative à ses normes et à leurs pouvoirs. Tandis que les plus âgés avaient à peine plus de trente ans, la plupart tuaient le temps dans les rues du centre-ville à discuter, fumer des joints et boire l'une ou l'autre décoction douteuse, composée le plus souvent à partir de mauvais vin additionné de soda. À force d'années passées à battre le pavé de ces rues, Yvan en était devenu un personnage incontournable. Pétri de la science du bitume qui l'a façonné dès l'âge de douze ans, il en avait acquis les connaissances mêlées d'amertume. Il savait fort bien que les moments de liberté ont leurs pendants de servitude et que certains poisons faciles d'accès aux marges de notre société se déchaînent souvent contre celles et ceux qui tentent de se dresser contre elle : « tu achètes la rue et la rue t'achète », avait-il coutume de dire. Et il ajoutait :

> Tu as ton petit business de shit [haschisch], de speed [amphétamines], de trips [LSD] ou de drepou [poudre : cocaïne, héroïne] qui te permet de vivre et rend service à tes amis et soi-disant amis, mais tu consommes souvent ce que tu vends et progressivement tu t'englues dans le piège.

La rage au ventre

Il s'agit là d'un piège stupéfiant qui s'est refermé sur nombre de golems urbains. Certains ont témoigné publiquement de leur lutte. Ainsi de Farid Hadj dans le film *Hamsa, la rage au ventre*, réalisé par Manu Bonmariage en 1996. Figure centrale du groupe des « innocents de la première heure » que nous évoquions précédemment, Farid – dit Fa ou Rifa – avait hanté le pavé parisien tout au long des années 1980 en surgissant de ses interstices comme l'un des pires cauchemars des *dealers*. Mais tandis que jour après jour il les dépouillait, une part toujours grandissante de la poudre qu'il leur volait finissait dans ses veines, lui retirant peu à peu ses élans de dangerosité avant de manquer de lui ôter tout simplement la vie. Lorsque Manu Bonmariage filme Farid au cours de l'année 1995, le pavé parisien est donc déjà loin. La nuit a accouché d'un fantôme. Farid, désormais malade du sida, n'est plus que l'ombre de lui-même; plombé, lesté par le mal qui lui ronge les entrailles. *Hamsa, la rage au ventre*, c'est ça : la maladie, mais aussi les comptes d'une histoire dont le bilan ne tombe pas juste, entre héritages de l'immigration, disqualifications banlieusardes, vengeances aveugles et haines enfouies. Le bon, la brute et le perdant : Farid est tout ça à la fois. Racontant son parcours, il dit son amertume à son vieux pote Pierre sous l'œil filmique de Manu Bonmariage. Comme Farid, Pierre – dit Pierrot le fou – vient de la cité de Bois-Colombes en banlieue de Paris. Comme Farid, c'est un ancien skinhead des Halles. Lui aussi retiré des pavés, il s'est retranché avec femme et enfants dans la Nièvre où il a composé son premier album de reggae. Farid l'accompagne parfois à l'harmonica. Quant à Pierre, l'un parmi tant d'autres de ces banlieusards endurcis par le béton sur lequel ils ont grandi, l'industrie du disque et le public le connaîtront bientôt sous ce nom qui concentre, ou additionne, les anonymes : Pierpoljak. Le « mec bien » (1996) qu'il a chanté est sans doute celui que Farid aurait aimé être, sans jamais parvenir à l'incarner. Quoi qu'il en soit, il a désormais choisi la voie de ce qu'il appelle son « retour à l'Islam ». La lutte continue. Cette lutte que la plupart

de ses compagnons de rue ont livrée et souvent perdue dans l'anonymat.

Et nous revenons ainsi au clan auquel appartenait Yvan. Au final, les parcours de ses membres n'apparaissent pas très éloignés de celui de Farid. Si l'enquête menée par Manu Bonmariage a laissé une trace filmée de ce dernier, au fil du temps j'ai recomposé les biographies des premiers depuis ma position de témoin direct des principales étapes de leur évolution dans la « zone ». En 1992, au point de départ de notre histoire commune, Yvan m'a d'abord été présenté par Didier. Du haut de son mètre quatre-vingt-dix, celui-ci incarnait l'une de ces ombres inquiétantes qui filaient la nuit dans les ruelles du centre-ville dont il connaissait les moindres recoins. Ceux-là mêmes qui avaient accueilli Gavroche à sa sortie de prison. Désireux de se faire oublier des villes où il avait acquis une certaine notoriété, la nôtre lui avait offert l'anonymat qu'il recherchait. Tout comme elle lui avait laissé le souvenir mémorable d'un concert des Washington Dead Cats (un groupe emblématique de la scène alternative française) au public en partie survolté par les déchaînements de Didier. Les retrouvailles avec ce compagnon de beuverie d'un soir, ainsi que la découverte d'un véritable jumeau d'errance en la personne d'Yvan, n'ont pas tardé à introniser Gavroche dans le clan.

> Il est sorti de prison, on s'est tombés dessus quoi. Je m'étais refait jeter pour la ixième fois de chez moi, j'avais mon barda sur le dos et avant de partir, j'avais explosé la cave de mon père. J'avais – je sais pas – cinq-six litres de schnaps [une eau de vie de l'Est de la France] dans le sac : on a fait la teuf [fête] ! Après, Gavroche et moi on a ouvert quelques squats. [Yvan]

Nombre de légendes urbaines se sont aussitôt mises à circuler sur l'énergumène. Héritée de son passage par le squat des Maraîchers à Paris, son allure de psycho-rocker chaussé de Creepers triple semelle (d'épaisses chaussures portées par les premières générations de rockers) et coiffé d'un « flat top » (un tremplin capillaire) teinté de bleu à son sommet, n'a d'ailleurs pas tardé à être reconvertie par Yvan en un modèle plus traditionnellement skinhead. Pour le reste, le capital de rue accumulé par Gavroche demeurait inchangé. Voleur hors pair, « voltigeur » chevronné (i.e. cambrioleur), mais aussi dealer, expert de la « dépouille » (i.e. vol avec agression), voire même colporteur-arnaqueur à ses heures (i.e. vendeur porte à porte de cartes imprimées et autres objets destinés à une soi-disant « réinsertion des jeunes en difficulté »), le fait est que sa carrière dans la « zone » alignait les compétences en « savoir-survivre » (Zeneidi-Henry 2002). En somme, sur le pavé, Gavroche en impo-

sait; moins par son gabarit, sa vêture ou son allure sur-piquée de multiples tatouages, que par son expérience du bitume que soutenait ce regard térébrant qui sondait chacun avec méfiance, tout comme il invitait à la distance. Pour garantir son respect, Gavroche n'hésitait d'ailleurs pas à distribuer quelques volées; un exercice de la violence physique pour lequel il montrait une certaine maestria crapuleuse. Ses victimes étaient alors « punies » en public, de sorte à servir d'exemples pour tous ceux qui auraient envisagé de s'en prendre à lui; une pratique de l'effroi comme garantie de la déférence. De son point de vue, ça s'appelait « poser les jalons ». Ceux d'une sécurité toujours menacée pour qui – comme lui, Yvan ou encore Didier – était doté de ce « sens de la rue » permettant tout à la fois d'en flairer les dangers et d'user de ses vices. Fatiguant prématurément leurs organismes, ils les avaient aussi vieillis avant l'âge : celui d'une vingtaine méconnaissable, abîmée par l'assuétude à l'héroïne, l'alcool et d'autres agents d'amertume qui ne cessaient de mêler un fonds de rage et d'agressivité au moindre de leur sourire.

Puis les années ont passé, creusant les traits de chacun et tout particulièrement ceux d'Yvan. Les quatre-vingt-quinze kilos de départ, la fière rectitude de la colonne, les tatouages arborés crânement ont fait place au dessèchement. Le corps s'est mis à plier et la rébellion s'est peu à peu tassée dans sa courbe, du côté le plus sombre. Les cachets, l'héroïne et leurs métastases que sont les crises d'angoisse, les hépatites et, pour finir, le sida ont ainsi trahi l'ancien agité, le rebelle, en ne lui laissant plus que l'agitation du moment présent, entièrement tournée vers les nécessités de sa survie. Plus d'un que j'ai d'abord connu gouailleurs et fiers-à-bras ont ensuite, comme Yvan, tari leurs forces en les retirant eux-mêmes de leurs veines, jour après jour. Alors que l'héroïne mangeait littéralement leurs anciennes vaillances et que leurs dents se raréfiaient, la morsure du manque se faisait toujours plus vive, poussant parfois à l'abdication de toute éthique. Additionnant ses victimes, l'être-pour-soi sociologique que formait le clan n'a pas résisté à cette nouvelle forme de socialité narcotique. L'impérieuse demande des physiologies dépendantes s'est en effet peu à peu substituée à toute autre forme de lien, émoussant les amitiés dans l'usure quotidienne de cette consommation sans autre fin que celle de la rupture des corps. Leurs noms pourraient être égrenés ici comme pour conjurer un oubli contre lequel il ne m'appartient pas de lutter. Aussi me contenterai-je plutôt de relever une fois encore cette étrange ironie du sort qui a fait de ces ennemis de la consommation et de sa société les plus asservis d'entre les consommateurs. Mais est-ce si surprenant, ou faut-il percevoir là un signe de l'impossible

subversion par les marges d'un quelconque ordre établi ? Les premières n'étant jamais qu'un produit du second, les résistances qu'elles lui opposent ne prennent-elles pas fatalement l'allure d'une lutte dont les armes sont appelées à se retourner au moins pour partie contre soi ?

Consommer la révolte

Si elle doit être posée, une telle question semble bien trop délicate pour ne pas rester ouverte. Elle est du reste partie prenante du mouvement punk depuis ses commencements. Lorsqu'en 1977 Joe Strummer, chanteur et guitariste du groupe The Clash, raconte un concert de reggae au Hammersmith Palais de Londres où il fut l'un des seuls Blancs de l'assistance, il se sert de cette expérience pour interroger le post-colonialisme britannique et la propension de la société de consommation à transformer l'authenticité des révoltes en produits marchands. Ce faisant, il déplore aussitôt l'attitude des nouvelles formations de punk rock, tout acquises selon lui à la pose plutôt qu'à la prose révolutionnaire et assez inconscientes d'elles-mêmes ainsi que du monde qui les entoure pour « penser que c'est marrant de convertir la rébellion en argent » (The Clash, « [White Man] in Hammersmith Palais », 1978). Plus tard, cette critique du « turning rebellion into money » a d'ailleurs donné son titre à l'un des albums phares du groupe Conflict (1987), l'une des voix emblématiques de la mouvance anarcho-punk décrite dans ses fondements par Craig O'Hara (2003[1992]:93–125). Prônant le « *Do It Yourself* » (DIY : faites-le vous-mêmes) et le refus des rapports mercantiles, elle considère l'indépendance et l'autogestion comme les principaux moteurs de ses actions résistantes. Mais qu'en est-il de l'incarnation de tels idéaux, où se mêlent sens du conflit et conceptions d'un certain héroïsme révolutionnaire, dès lors qu'ils se heurtent aux dures réalités du bitume bien connues par Anoushka, Farid, Yvan et tous les autres qui ont anesthésié leur rébellion en la plaçant sous la perfusion de l'héroïne qu'il leur fallait chaque jour extraire de la rue ?

Quelles que soient les manières de répondre, il n'en reste pas moins difficile de comprendre ou de dresser un bilan de ces parcours dans la « zone » en invoquant des considérations d'ordre moral où poindrait le jugement d'une quelconque faute, qu'il s'agisse d'une trahison de la cause rébellionnaire ou d'un abandon de soi aux servitudes (in)volontaires de la toxicomanie[8]. C'est dire que les éléments constitutifs de ces biographies de la marge ne recèlent aucun châtiment prévisible, sorte de juste et fatale conséquence d'une descente dont l'artisan se serait borné à dessiner la pente, toujours plus raide. Comme d'autres avant lui, Yvan s'était d'ailleurs prémuni contre ce type de conception moralisante en affi-

chant sa propre crucifixion, tatouée à même la peau. Il s'agit là de l'un des symboles du mouvement skinhead parmi les plus forts : le *crucified skin*, ou skin crucifié. Représentant un skinhead sans visage, cloué sur une croix dans la position du Christ, cette figure anonyme du sacrifié social s'élance souvent de la partie supérieure des abdominaux pour étendre ses bras sur les muscles pectoraux. Bien sûr, ce symbole du préjudicié entre tous a son revers de victimisation et de démission. Il n'en reste pas moins le signe d'une conscience du piège et de l'issue fatale, comme peut l'être la toile d'araignée enserrant le coude ou l'araignée tatouée sur la glotte. À l'instar du *crucified skin*, ce sont autant de tatouages rituels adoptés par certains skinheads et autres punks pour signifier l'englument dans la marginalité ainsi que l'espace de l'abandon, dont les seuls habitants sont les aranéides. Parcourant la « zone » à Paris, Londres et Berlin au cours de la décennie 1980, l'ouvrage photographique *Fin de siècle* (1990) qu'ont réalisé Ralf Marsault et Heino Muller sous le pseudonyme « 25/34 photographes » présente un large échantillon de ces signes encrés dans la peau de celles et ceux qui ont opté pour la marge, ses révoltes et leurs renoncements. La plupart d'entre eux ornaient également les épidermes d'Yvan et de ses amis.

Conclure à l'entrecroisement des biographies : la rue et ses cultures

En proposant de tracer un chemin dans les arborescences d'un terrain réticulaire où l'enquête ethnographique se fait multimodale – puisqu'elle intègre aussi bien les outils classiques de l'observation et de l'entretien que l'examen d'archives iconographiques, textuelles, musicales et filmiques – ce texte s'est efforcé de brosser un portrait de la rue en tant que cadre des expériences punk et skinhead en France. La rue comme héroïne, c'est alors tout à la fois la scène glorieuse d'une résistance à la définition socialement approuvée des attitudes et une poudre au goût amer, aussi ruineuse que capable de dissoudre n'importe quelle velléité de révolte. Cette ambivalence qui apparaît aux détours des silhouettes anthropologiques que tracent ces lignes montre autant de « caractères destructeurs ». Mais contrairement à ce que Walter Benjamin a pu en dire (Benjamin 2000:332), ceux-là se sont souvent fourvoyés dans les décombres de nos villes, dans ses terrains vagues et ses squats où ils ont vu plus d'impasses que de véritables chemins. Si, comme le chantait Tai-Luc, leurs « crânes sont rasés comme un pré fauché et leurs cous tatoués de toiles d'araignée » (La souris déglinguée, « Saint-Sauveur », 1984a), tous n'ont pas pu être sauvés par le saint des voyous.

Vivre en marge...

En raison ou en dépit de leurs égarements et de leurs pertes, ces vies recèlent donc bel et bien une rage d'abord rentrée qui, peu à peu, rejaillit sur les pavés des rues ainsi qu'aux surfaces de toutes ces peaux où elle se marque et se remarque par l'affichage des symboles tatoués. Éminemment personnels, ils signent aussi la communauté d'un destin que l'on sait, ou que l'on croit partager. Ainsi le texte qu'ils donnent à lire s'écrit-il à l'entrecroisement des biographies : dans les tensions, les choix et les accidents à travers lesquels se dessine l'originalité de chaque parcours. La réciproque de cette originalité est alors qu'elle livre un accès aux mondes sociaux dont elle est le produit, et à ce que les sociologues anglo-saxons appellent les « structures d'une culture » (Alexander 2003) : celle de la rue, vécue à la façon des punks, des skinheads et de tous les zonards qui s'approprient certains pavés, immeubles ou quartiers. Proposer de mettre ainsi en lien les niveaux factuels et structurels de l'expérience vécue permet alors de « densifier » la description des cas particuliers (au sens de Geertz 2003), sans jamais qu'il ne soit pour autant permis de constituer un seul d'entre eux en emblème de tous les autres. Ici, la matière de la sociologie ou de l'anthropologie ne se trouve donc pas dans quelque généralisation abusivement tentée, mais plutôt dans la chair des vies qui, tout en ne valant que pour elles-mêmes, montrent lorsqu'elles s'exposent une grande part de celles et ceux dont elles sont constituées. Et il y a plus. Car, au-delà des contenus qu'il présente, ce texte appelle en effet à prolonger l'enquête sur les formes populaires de vie en marge. Pour ce faire, je ne retiendrai ici que deux directions de travail auxquelles je m'efforce de contribuer. Très proches l'une de l'autre, la première désigne l'étude sociologique des déviances populaires et la seconde s'intéresse aux représentations politiques des groupes marginalisés.

Alors que le quotidien parfois trop visible des périphéries urbaines paupérisées ne laisse pas d'occuper toute l'attention des sociologues français, qui s'interrogent depuis le milieu des années 1980 sur les différentes scansions de la « crise des banlieues » (pour une synthèse empirique, voir notamment Lapeyronnie 2008), l'autre visage des jeunesses populaires reléguées que présentent les zonards qui se faufilent dans les « creux » et les « intervalles » de nos centres-villes (Roulleau-Berger 1991) reste quant à lui quasi-invisible du point de vue des sciences sociales. Il y a pourtant là une vraie question à poser au croisement de l'anthropologie urbaine et de la sociologie. Comment en effet tracer une esquisse un tant soit peu complète de ce que Gérard Mauger a proposé d'appeler l'« espace des styles de vie déviants des classes populaires » (Mauger 2006:123–163), sans découvrir les traits de celles et ceux qui composent cette autre face des groupes populaires marginalisés ? Tandis que cet article réunit quelques fragments des expériences punk et skinhead, partiellement reconstituées à partir d'un premier réseau d'éléments ethno-musico-biographiques, nous avons vu qu'elles tendent à montrer une certaine confusion du centre et des périphéries. Celle-là même qu'incarne par exemple Farid, personnage principal du film documentaire *Hamsa, la rage au ventre*, originaire de la banlieue et membre du premier groupe de skinheads établi en plein centre de Paris; un groupe, ou une « raya » mise en musique par La souris déglinguée et qui comptait bon nombre d'héritiers des immigrations. Partant d'un tel métissage des cultures, comment les frontières symboliques se sont-elles ensuite érigées, séparant pour le moins fermement certains skinheads – gagnés par un nationalisme exacerbé confinant au racisme et à la xénophobie – du reste des zonards et des jeunesses banlieusardes de plus en plus retirées dans l'entre-soi des cités ?

... une infra-politique des groupes subalternes

Loin de ne concerner que l'espace liminaire des marges urbaines, une telle question engage celle, plus vaste, de toute une « infra-politique des groupes subalternes » (au sens de Scott 2008[1990]:199–218). En l'occurrence, ici, des groupes ou des clans rivaux dont l'un des principaux enjeux a été d'occuper la rue pour faire valoir certaines représentations concurrentes de la dignité ou de l'infamie. Anarchisme, communisme et national-socialisme ont alors bien souvent constitué les bannières aussi radicales qu'incertaines d'une « cause à rallier ». Celle-là même dont Tai-Luc et La souris déglinguée doutaient dès 1982 en disant des zonards de tous bords qu' « ils fer[aient] n'importe quoi par solidarité » (La souris déglinguée, « Une cause à rallier », 1982). Quoi qu'il en soit, ceux qui ont pris part à ces combats en France tentent aujourd'hui d'en faire valoir les mémoires *via* la réalisation de films documentaires autoproduits, lesquels ne reçoivent d'ailleurs que trop peu d'attention de la part des chercheurs. À la chronique des punks, des rockers et autres jeunesses issues des immigrations luttant contre la présence néo-fasciste dans l'espace public parisien au tournant de la décennie 1980 répond, en face-à-face, la mise en exergue d'une « identité populaire française » supposément menacée par les élites et les immigrations qu'elles ne cesseraient de favoriser. Dans le premier cas, ce sont des réalisations telles que *The Black Dragons Gang* (2007) ou *Antifa : chas-*

seurs de skins (2008) qui font état des luttes menées par les héritiers des immigrations et autres groupuscules antifascistes tels que les Ducky Boys ou les Red Warriors.

Des combats auxquels répond une tout autre conception de la rue, présentée sous la houlette de Serge Ayoub dans le web-documentaire *Sur les pavés* (2009). L'un des chantres français du national-socialisme, Serge Elie Ayoub a été connu tout au long des années 1980 sous le sobriquet de « Batskin », faisant référence à son habileté dans le maniement des battes de baseball. Le groupe Evil Skins constitue alors la bande originale de ce « Klan » parisien, dont la bêtise et la méchanceté assumées (Evil Skins, « Bêtes et méchants », 1987) seront chantées par Iman Zarandifar, dit « Sniff ». Étranges « rebelles blancs » à la double conscience qui se scinde entre origine libanaise (Batskin) ou iranienne (Sniff) et défense opiniâtre d'un Occident débarrassé de tous les *peuples de fellahs* venus d'Orient; ceux que l'essayiste allemand Oswald Spengler décrivait déjà au début du XXᵉ siècle comme une menace itinérante pesant sur la culture occidentale, ainsi prétendument assiégée et menacée de déclin (Spengler 1976:155 et suivantes). Quelles que soient les positions adoptées par les uns et les autres dans cette lutte fratricide où les contraires s'incarnent parfois dans un même corps, ces personnages de la rue et leurs ethno-biographies – encore largement à faire – constituent bien plus qu'une incarnation anecdotique des extrémismes infra-politiques. Entreprendre l'ethnographie multimodale de leurs mondes, en prenant en compte tout le réseau de documents et d'archives qu'ils ont produits, n'alimente en effet rien de moins qu'une connaissance interne de leurs existences, ainsi que des économies morales ou politiques qui en soutiennent le cours. Autant d'éléments trop souvent absents de la sociologie française des « bandes de jeunes », attachée par définition à la variable de l'âge et empreinte d'un fort tropisme de l'immigration confinant à l'analyse correspondante des seules situations banlieusardes (Mohammed 2011). À distance de la question rebattue des « bandes de jeunes », comprendre les clans *de l'intérieur*, dans leur devenir et leur diversité, c'est alors faire émerger toutes ces valeurs à l'appui des modes de vie, lesquels apparaîtraient le plus souvent aussi vains qu'absurdes à un regard par trop extérieur aux situations qui en font le quotidien. Tandis que ce texte ne prétend aucunement en épuiser la description, il constitue tout au moins l'un des premiers jalons d'une enquête menée non pas *sur*, mais *dans* le monde des zonards, à leurs côtés. Moins informateurs qu'informés, ne sont-ils pas les premiers arpenteurs de leurs réalités ?

Jérôme Beauchez, Centre Max Weber, LabEx IMU, « Intelligences des Mondes Urbains », 6 rue Basse des Rives, Bâtiment D, étage R+1, 42 023 Saint-Étienne Cedex 2, France. Courriel : jerome.beauchez@ish-lyon.cnrs.fr.

Notes

1 Soutenu par l'Agence nationale de la recherche (France), ce travail participe du programme Socioresist, lequel propose d'interroger différents dispositifs de la résistance ordinaire dans la perspective d'une analyse des situations de domination.

2 Si l'idée de « réseau de signifiance » fait socle à la définition geertzienne de la culture (voir Geertz 2003[1973]:209), la notion de « province de sens » renvoie quant à elle au vocabulaire d'Alfred Schütz (2008[1945]:128).

3 Alors que Paul Gilroy se fera le théoricien de ces héritages croisés dans les contre-cultures de la modernité issues de cet espace transnational qu'il désigne comme l' « Atlantique noir » (Gilroy 2010[1993]), un commentaire global sur l'émergence des subcultures ouvrières en Angleterre après la Seconde Guerre mondiale pourra être trouvé dans les travaux de Phil Cohen (1996[1972]), Michael Brake (1985:58–82) ou David Muggleton (2005).

4 Tandis que *Skinhead Moonstomp* (1970) du groupe anglo-caribéen Symarip reste un album emblématique du mouvement originel, l'appétence des skinheads pour la musique soul et le reggae des commencements a néanmoins évolué au fil des générations, passant par la renaissance anglaise du ska à la fin des années 1970 (Marshall 1994[1991]; Heathcott 2003) pour aboutir aux formes agressives de punk rock connues sous le nom de « Oi ! » – contraction de « Hey, you ! », une interpellation qui précédait nombre d'altercations dans la rue; à propos de cette évolution des styles et des goûts musicaux dans le mouvement skinhead, voir notamment Orfali 2003 et Lescop 2012.

5 Les constituants de phrase placés entre guillemets dans les dernières lignes sont autant d'allusions aux compositions-phares de La souris déglinguée, telles que « Partie de la jeunesse » et « Saint-Sauveur ». En 2011, l'éditeur français Camion Blanc, spécialisé dans la chronique des différentes mouvances du rock, a publié la biographie de cette formation emblématique de l'underground français. Rédigée par Olivier Richard, elle s'est accompagnée quelques mois plus tard de la parution d'un recueil de « 30 nouvelles lysergiques » (Levasseur 2011) dédiées à l'esprit de La souris déglinguée; celui-là même qui a été forgé au creuset des Halles.

6 Les informations biographiques sur lesquelles s'appuient ces remarques proviennent de l'interview de Philippe Puicouyoul insérée parmi les bonus du DVD.

7 Propos recueillis par Ben, animateur du « skinzine » *Une vie pour rien ?* (magazine alternatif chroniquant la culture skinhead). Publiée dans le n°5 de novembre 2001, l'interview complète peut être consultée *via* le blog de l'auteur : http://benjamos.free.fr/frames/fabian.htm (consulté en avril 2013).

8 Cette tendance à l'encadrement des parcours marginaux par une forme de morale qui en indiquerait le sens tout en statuant sur le « bon » et le « mauvais » se retrouve aussi bien dans les positions normatives qu'adoptent certains acteurs à l'intérieur de ces mouvements (O'Hara 2003[1992] en présente de nombreux exemples), que dans les recherches-actions menées de l'extérieur par des professionnels, à l'instar de ceux des Centres d'entraînement aux méthodes d'éducation active (CEMEA) intéressés au problème de l'errance des jeunes (voir Chobeaux 2004[1996]; sur l'origine des CEMEA et leur rapport avec les jeunesses en difficulté, voir également Copfermann 2003[1962]:151–153).

Références

Alexander, Jeffrey C.
  2003 The Meanings of Social Life. A Cultural Sociology. New York: Oxford University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195160840.001.0001.

Anderson, Leon
  2006 Analytic Autoethnography. Journal of Contemporary Ethnography 35(4):373–395. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0891241605280449.

Ayoub, Serge
  2009 Sur les pavés. 72 min. Paris: Autonomiste Media.

Becker, Howard S.
  1985[1963]
        Outsiders. Études de sociologie de la déviance. Paris: Métailié.

Ben
  2001 Interview de Fabian, skinhead des Halles. Une vie pour rien? 5. Document électronique, http://benjamos.free.fr/frames/fabian.htm, consulté en avril 2013.

Benjamin, Walter
  2000[1931]
        Le caractère destructeur. Dans Œuvres II. Pp. 330–332. Paris: Gallimard.

Black Dragons Gang
  2007 The Black Dragons Gang. La vraie histoire des Black Dragons. 63 min. Paris: Betakorne et Cinq Sens Prod.

Bonmariage, Manu et Sophie Bouchet Petersen
  1996 Hamsa, la rage au ventre. 52 min. Cinétévé et Centre de l'Audiovisuel à Bruxelles. Bruxelles et Paris.

Brake, Michael
  1985 Comparative Youth Culture: The Sociology of Youth Culture and Youth Subcultures in America, Britain and Canada. London: Routledge.

Castoriadis, Cornelius
  1975 L'institution imaginaire de la société. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.

Chobeaux, François
  2004[1996]
        Les Nomades du vide. Des jeunes en errance, de squats en festivals, de gares en lieux d'accueil. Paris: La Découverte.

Cohen, Phil
  1996[1972]
        La communauté ouvrière et le conflit subculturel. L'East End en proie à la rénovation. Réseaux 80:59–69.

Copfermann, Émile
  2003[1962]
        La génération des blousons noirs. Problèmes de la jeunesse française. Paris: La Découverte.

Delaporte, Yves
  1982 Teddies, Rockers, Punks et Cie : quelques codes vestimentaires urbains. L'Homme 22(4):49–62. http://dx.doi.org/10.3406/hom.1982.368324.

Dicks, Bella, Bambo Soyinka et Amanda Coffey
  2006 Multimodal Ethnography. Qualitative Research 6(1):77–96. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1468794106058876.

Eudeline, Christian
  2002 Nos années punk, 1972–1978. Paris: Denoël.

Foucault, Michel
  1994[1977]
        La vie des hommes infâmes. Dans Dits et écrits III (1976-1979). Pp. 237–253. Paris: Gallimard.

Geertz, Clifford J.
  2003[1973]
        La description dense. Une théorie interprétative de la culture. Dans L'enquête de terrain. Daniel Cefaï, dir. Pp. 208–233. Paris: La Découverte.

Gilroy, Paul
  2010[1993]
        L'Atlantique noir. Modernité et double conscience. Paris: Éditions Amsterdam.

Glissant, Édouard
  1997 Le Discours antillais. Paris: Gallimard.

Gramsci, Antonio
  2012[1918]
        L'histoire est toujours contemporaine. Dans Pourquoi je hais l'indifférence. Pp. 137–140. Paris: Payot et Rivages.

Hall, Stuart et Tony Jefferson, dirs.
  2004[1975]
        Resistance through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain. London: Routledge.

Hazan, Jack et David Mingay
  1980 Rude Boy. 133 min. London: Jack Hazan, David Mingay et Michael White Productions.

Heathcott, Joseph
  2003 Urban Spaces and Working-Class Expressions across the Black Atlantic: Tracing the Routes of Ska. Radical History Review 2003(87):183–206. http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/01636545-2003-87-183.

Hebdige, Dick
  2008[1979]
        Sous-culture, le sens du style. Paris: La Découverte, Zones.

Hoggart, Richard
  1970[1957]
        La culture du pauvre. Étude sur le style de vie des classes populaires en Angleterre. Paris: Minuit.

Knight, Nick
  1982 Skinhead. London: Omnibus Press.

Langman, Lauren
  2008 Punk, Porn and Resistance: Carnivalization and the Body in Popular Culture. Current Sociology 56(4):657–677. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0011392108090947.

Lapeyronnie, Didier
    2008 Ghetto urbain. Ségrégation, violence, pauvreté en France aujourd'hui. Paris: Robert Laffont.

Lescop, Gildas
    2012 Skinheads : du reggae au Rock Against Communism. Volume ! 9(1):129–149.

Levasseur, Jean-Noël, dir.
    2011 La souris déglinguée. 30 nouvelles lysergiques. Rosières en Haye: Camion Blanc.

Löwy, Michael et Robert Sayre
    1992 Révolte et mélancolie : le romantisme à contre-courant de la modernité. Paris: Payot.

Markert, John
    2001 Sing a Song of Drug Use-Abuse: Four Decades of Drug Lyrics in Popular Music – f rom the Sixties through the Nineties. Sociological Inquiry 71(2):194–220. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-682X.2001.tb01108.x.

Marsault, Ralf et Heino Muller (25/34 photographes)
    1990 Fin de siècle. Paris: Les pirates associés.

Marshall, George
    1994[1991]
        Spirit of '69. A Skinhead Bible. Lockerbie: S.T. Publishing.

Mattelart, Armand et Érik Neveu
    1996 Cultural Studies' stories. La domestication d'une pensée sauvage? Réseaux 80:11–58.

Mauger, Gérard
    2006 Les bandes, le milieu et la bohème populaire. Étude de sociologie de la déviance des jeunes des classes populaires (1975–2005). Paris: Belin.

Mohammed, Marwan
    2011 La formation des bandes. Entre la famille, l'école et la rue. Paris: Presses universitaires de France.

Muggleton, David
    2005 From Classlessness to Subculture. A Genealogy of Post-War British Youth Cultural Analysis. Young 13(2):205–219. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1103308805051322.

O'Hara, Craig
    2003[1992]
        La philosophie du punk. Bien plus que du bruit ! Histoire d'une révolte culturelle. Saint-Mury-Monteymond: Rytrut éditions.

Orfali, Birgitta
    2003 Des skinheads dans la ville. Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie 115(2):269–291. http://dx.doi.org/10.3917/cis.115.0269.

Pacadis, Alain
    2002[1978]
        Un jeune homme chic. Paris: Denoël.

Puicouyoul, Philippe
    1980 La Brune et moi. 55 min. Le Chat qui Fume. Paris.

Quintana, Jean-Marc
    2012 Décélération punk. Avignon, 1977–1982 : quand le rock'n'roll marchait dans la rue... Rosières en Haye: Camion Blanc.

Richard, Olivier
    2011 La souris déglinguée. Histoire d'un groupe de rock'n'roll. Rosières en Haye: Camion Blanc.

Roué, Marie
    1986 La punkitude, ou un certain dandysme. Anthropologie et Sociétés 10(2):37–55. http://dx.doi.org/10.7202/006348ar.

Roulleau-Berger, Laurence
    1991 La ville intervalle. Jeunes entre centre et banlieue. Paris: Méridiens Klincksieck.

Rudeboy, Arno
    2007 Nyark nyark! Fragments des scènes punk et rock alternatif en France, 1976–1989. Paris: La Découverte et Zones.

Schütz, Alfred
    2008[1945]
        Le chercheur et le quotidien. Phénoménologie des sciences sociales. Paris: Klincksieck.

Scott, James C.
    2008[1990]
        La domination et les arts de la résistance. Fragments du discours subalterne. Paris: Éditions Amsterdam.

Simmel, Georg
    1999[1908]
        Le secret et la société secrète. Dans Sociologie. Études sur les formes de la socialisation. Pp. 347–405. Paris: Presses universitaires de France.

Soeffner, Hans-Georg
    1997 Style and Stylization: Punk, or the Superelevation of Everyday Life. Dans The Order of Rituals. The Interpretation of Everyday Life. Pp. 49–69. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

Spengler, Oswald
    1976[1923]
        Perspectives de l'histoire universelle, vol. 2. Le Déclin de l'Occident. Paris: Gallimard.

Van Ham, Lane
    2009 Reading Early Punk as Secularised Sacred Clowning. Journal of Popular Culture 42(2):318–338. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5931.2009.00682.x.

Vecchione, Marc-Aurèle
    2008 Antifa : chasseurs de skins. 65 min. Paris: Résistance Films.

Willis, Paul
    1978 Profane Culture. London: Routledge et Kegan Paul.

Zeneidi-Henry, Djemila
    2002 Les SDF et la ville. Géographie du savoir-survivre. Paris: Bréal.

Zeitlyn, David
    2008 Life-History Writing and the Anthropological Silhouette. Social Anthropology / Anthropologie sociale 16(2):154–171.

Discographie

Artistes variés
    1983 Chaos en France, vol. 1. Orléans: Chaos Productions KS 19864.
    1984 Chaos en France, vol. 2. Orléans: Chaos Productions KS 19870.

Camera Silens
    1985 Réalité. Dans Réalité. Bordeaux, album 10 titres réalisé en autoproduction, 8 000 exemplaires.
    1987 Une vie pour rien. Dans Une dernière fois. Clermont-Ferrand: Euthanasie Records ETA 010. Enregistré à

Clermont-Ferrand, le 10 décembre, Riot Tapes, K7 live. Morceau repris pour la réédition de l'album Rien qu'en traînant, en 2003.

Conflict

1987 Turning Rebellion into Money. London: Mortarhate Records MORT 30.

Evil Skins

1987 Bêtes et méchants. *Dans* Une force, une cause, un combat. Paris: Evil Records EVIL2.

Komintern Sect

1983 Quand meurent les légendes. *Dans* Les seigneurs de la guerre. Orléans: Chaos Productions KS 19865.

La souris déglinguée

1982 Une cause à rallier. *Dans* Une cause à rallier. Paris: Kuklos KS 32.02.

1983 Partie de la jeunesse. *Dans* Aujourd'hui et demain. Paris: Celluloïd CEL 6654.

1984a Saint-Sauveur. *Dans* La cité des anges. Paris: Celluloïd CEL 6723.

1984b Soldats perdus. *Dans* La cité des anges. Paris: Celluloïd CEL 6723.

Pierpoljak

1996 Le mec bien. *Dans* Pierpoljak. Paris: Barclay 539 132-2.

Symarip

1969 Skinhead Moonstomp. London: Trojan TBL-102.

The Clash

1978 (White man) in Hammersmith Palais, 45t. London: CBS Records S CBS 6383. Morceau repris la même année pour l'édition américaine de l'album The Clash.

La morale du shoot. Responsabiliser les injecteurs de drogues ?

Fabrice Fernandez *Institut de recherche interdisciplinaire sur les enjeux sociaux (sciences sociales, politique, santé)*

Résumé : Dans cet article, je questionne les conceptions morales de la prévention sanitaire confrontant les valeurs portées par la politique de réduction des méfaits et celles des injecteurs de drogues précarisés. À partir d'une enquête ethnographique menée en France dans des squats de consommateurs de drogues et des associations de prévention, cet article vise à comprendre comment les acteurs de la réduction des méfaits tentent de responsabiliser ces injecteurs et les tensions et jugements moraux à l'œuvre autour de ce qu'être responsable signifie. J'analyse les modes d'appropriation, d'opposition ou de résistance de ces usagers face à cette économie morale de la prévention.

Mots-clés : économie morale, responsabilité, usagers de drogues, réduction des méfaits, précarité, travail moral

Abstract: In this article, I question the moral economy of health prevention between the values carried by the policy of harm reduction and those of the injecting drug users living in precarious conditions. Based on an ethnographic study conducted in France in shooting galleries and at drug prevention associations, this article attempts to understand harm reduction policies that try to encourage injection drug users to take responsibility for their actions and to examine what the tensions and moral judgments at work around this process signify. I show the modes of appropriation, opposition or resistance of these drug users in the face of the moral economy of prevention.

Keywords: moral economy, responsibility, drug users, harm reduction, precariousness, moral work

Introduction

Dans nos sociétés contemporaines, la toxicomanie, ramenée aux notions de risque et de transgression, constitue une question morale qui interroge ce qu'être responsable veut dire[1]. Si la responsabilité correspond classiquement au devoir de répondre de ses actes, dans l'espace politique de la santé (Fassin 2006) la responsabilisation s'articule à une attente d'autonomisation : les usagers de drogues sont ainsi considérés à la fois comme acteurs de leur réhabilitation, de leurs soins et responsables de ce qui leur advient. Ainsi, les politiques de réduction des méfaits liées aux pratiques toxicomaniaques sont symptomatiques d'une nouvelle culture de la santé publique d'inspiration néolibérale, privilégiant les responsabilités individuelles sur les responsabilités collectives au risque de négliger l'importance du contexte socio-économique dans lequel vivent ces individus (Bergeron 2011).

Or, en France, la cible principale des associations dites de réduction des risques (RDR)[2] est justement ces consommateurs de drogues qui vivent dans des situations d'instabilité et d'insécurité sociale, cumulant une multitude de problèmes sanitaires (maladies, carences, meurtrissures, incapacités, dépressions, traumatismes, poly-addiction) et socio-économiques (chômage, minima sociaux, revenus illégaux, marginalisation). Ces usagers de drogues précaires sont ainsi pris dans les rouages d'un mécanisme d'exclusion sociale s'inscrivant aussi bien symboliquement (stigmatisation, étiquetage, discrimination) que spatialement (quartiers défavorisés, cités de logement social, squats, centres d'hébergement d'urgence, itinérance).

Mais l'objectif principal de ces associations n'est pas tant de réduire les inégalités sociales relatives à ce contexte que d'informer sur les méfaits liés aux pratiques de consommation et de réduire l'exposition de ces populations aux virus du sida et des hépatites B et C. Pour ce faire, elles mobilisent certaines figures morales du toxicomane : depuis les « usagers responsables » jusqu'aux « bons shooteurs » en passant par les « injecteurs

prévenants ». Cet article vise non seulement à question-
ner les fondements de cette politique, mais aussi et
surtout à la confronter à la réalité des pratiques de
consommation. À partir d'un ensemble de matériaux
ethnographiques[3] (entretiens semi-directifs[4], échanges
informels, observations) recueillis *in situ* dans la rue,
des squats de consommateurs de drogues et des associa-
tions de prévention, il s'agit ici d'interroger les concep-
tions morales de la prévention qui mettent en tension
les valeurs portées par les politiques de RDR et celles
des usagers de drogues vis-à-vis de leur pratique. Com-
ment ces professionnels de la prévention essaient-ils
de responsabiliser ces injecteurs de drogues qui vivent
sans ressources stables ? Quelles conduites valorisent-ils,
à partir de quelles préoccupations ? Comment, de leur
côté, les usagers de drogues contestent-ils, négocient-ils
ou se réapproprient-ils les principes qu'on tente de leur
imposer ?

Pour répondre à ces questions, j'analyse tout d'abord
comment l'économie morale de la prévention[5] s'actualise
au regard de la question des usages de drogues. J'exam-
ine ensuite la manière dont l'initiation et le risque de
contamination par le virus du sida sont l'objet de ten-
sions morales entre les professionnels de la RDR et les
injecteurs de drogues précarisés, tensions qui mettent
en jeu des jugements moraux et des interprétations
différentes sur ce qu'être responsable veut dire. Enfin,
j'interroge les postures et le travail moral[6] de ces usagers
au regard de cette économie morale.

Un regard moral sur la toxicomanie et sa prévention

Dans les années 1980, la contamination à grande échelle
des usagers de drogues au virus du sida a changé le re-
gard social et politique sur la toxicomanie jusqu'alors
marqué par une approche autoritaire et répressive (Pinell
2002; Jauffret Roustide 2004) encourageant au besoin des
sevrages contraints (Fernandez 2010). Si la toxicomanie
est toujours marquée d'une réprobation morale et que
l'abstinence constitue une valeur profondément enracinée
dans la conscience collective, une politique de réduction
des risques s'est peu à peu inscrite dans le paysage de
la nouvelle santé publique (Berridge 1999; Rhodes 2002;
Jauffret Roustide 2010; Tulchinsky et Varavikova 2010)
en s'appuyant sur une responsabilisation et une autono-
misation des usagers (Jauffret Roustide 2004; Moore et
Fraser 2006) tout en faisant preuve d'une certaine tolér-
ance à l'égard des usages de drogues (Ehrenberg 1996)
et des conduites à risques. Accepter d'entrer dans l'ère
de la responsabilisation c'est « accepter l'inévitabilité
d'une portion des méfaits et l'irréductibilité d'une pro-
pension de l'humain à défier les risques » (Massé
2013:45).

Cette nouvelle approche préventive se veut pragma-
tique et vise à transformer les comportements indivi-
duels qualifiés à risque. La RDR accepte les pratiques
de consommations de drogues comme inexorables et
met l'accent sur l'aide immédiate à apporter à ces usa-
gers (Massé 2013). Portée par des valeurs d'humanisme,
de tolérance, de pragmatisme et de respect de l'agenti-
vité (Massé 2013), elle a pour but d'informer des risques
auxquels ils peuvent s'exposer, des moyens de s'en pro-
téger et de favoriser les bonnes pratiques, à savoir l'uti-
lisation de matériel de consommation stérile à usage
unique et non-partagé, le lavage des mains et la désin-
fection avant et après utilisation, le retour des ustensiles
usagés dans les associations pour éventuellement en
obtenir de nouveaux stériles. En donnant gratuitement
l'accès à des seringues stériles, à des kits de prévention[7]
et à des préservatifs, cette politique vise à prévenir
la propagation du sida par voie sanguine et sexuelle.
Plus indirectement, elle essaie d'engager l'usager à
abandonner sa consommation, en favorisant l'accès à des
traitements substitutifs, mais aussi à des cures et en
encourageant la constitution de groupes d'entraide. Ainsi,
souvent pensée comme une troisième voie, la RDR
s'accommode davantage des logiques prohibitionniste et
thérapeutique (orientée vers l'abstinence) qu'elle ne s'y
oppose (Carrier, Quirion 2003).

Qu'on la considère selon une perspective utilitariste
ou pragmatique[8], la RDR se présente comme étant mo-
ralement neutre (Keane 2003; Kleinig 2008; Massé et
Mondou 2013). Ainsi, l'analyse rationnelle de l'utilité de
la RDR envisage l'efficacité du travail de prévention au
regard des résultats obtenus (protection contre la trans-
mission des virus) en essayant de dépasser un certain
moralisme populaire penchant tantôt pour l'abstinence
tantôt pour la prohibition. La perspective pragmatique
centre l'attention sur la nécessité de répondre au plus
vite à la situation de vulnérabilité sociale et sanitaire de
ces usagers, et ce sans juger de leur conduite (Massé
2013).

Malgré tout, la RDR ne peut se prévaloir d'être mo-
ralement neutre au regard de ses finalités, de la nature
des risques prévenus et des comportements qui y sont
associés (Massé 2013:56). Si l'approche se veut ration-
nelle, fondée sur des outils d'évaluation certifiés et des
résultats incontestables, derrière le verni scientifique
des analyses épidémiologiques se dessine, chez les pro-
fessionnels de la RDR, un regard moral sur la toxicomanie
et sa prévention qui se concrétisent par des incitations à
adopter des pratiques irréprochables (être responsable
de soi et des autres, être un « bon injecteur », un
« shooter propre »).

Bien qu'elle se défende de toute entreprise de mora-
lisation et de normalisation des conduites (il s'agit avant

tout de trouver en chacun la dynamique du changement comportemental), la politique de RDR vise bien à diffuser et valoriser un profil d'usager de drogue qui s'auto-contrôle et prend soin de lui, faisant preuve de responsabilité par la mise en pratique des recommandations des politiques de réduction des risques (Jauffret Roustide 2011). Ce sens moral de la responsabilité est construit à partir de ce qui est envisagé comme le bien-être individuel et le bien public : « consommer propre » et ne pas diffuser le virus. Cette responsabilisation du toxicomane repose donc sur un ensemble d'actions qui n'ont pas tant pour but de changer sa situation sociale que de rendre son comportement conforme à un idéal (Fernandez 2000 et 2010).

La normalisation et la rationalisation des pratiques de consommation de drogues, que la lutte contre le sida favorise par ses campagnes, ses outils de prévention, ses actions en faveur d'une auto-surveillance des risques et d'une responsabilisation individuelle, produit progressivement des normes de la « défonce clean ». Dans ce cadre, la prévention des méfaits relatifs à l'usage de drogues se constitue en économie morale (Fassin 2009) qui produit, fait circuler et utilise des sentiments moraux (prévenance, prudence, solidarité, réprobation des mauvaises pratiques, culpabilisation de ceux qui les perpétuent), des émotions (dégoût, colère envers ceux qui shootent mal, gratitude envers les services proposés par les dispositifs de RDR, etc.), des valeurs (humanisme, tolérance, responsabilité, pragmatisme, bien-être, santé, autonomie), des normes (de consommation) et des obligations (par exemple la récupération du matériel d'injection usagé) dans différents espaces sociaux. Pour les professionnels de la prévention, la responsabilisation et l'autonomisation des usagers visent à valoriser leur activité d'accompagnement social et sanitaire tout en favorisant le travail des usagers sur eux-mêmes.

Parler d'économie morale de la prévention permet donc de souligner que derrière les discours publics sur la prétendue neutralité morale de son intervention, la RDR s'inscrit bien dans une dimension politique et morale (Hathaway 2001; Kleinig 2008) qui produit et fait circuler une conception morale de la toxicomanie et de sa prévention (Jauffret Roustide 2011). Une conception, des normes et des valeurs qui ne sont pas tant imposées aux acteurs que réappropriées par eux et parfois contestées aussi bien par les professionnels que par les usagers.

Cette approche permet également de rendre compte des tensions dans l'espace public autour des problèmes soulevés par cette forme de prévention. Ainsi dans le 18e arrondissement parisien où j'ai réalisé une partie de mes observations, le collectif anti-crack critique la politique de RDR considérée comme un désastre au regard

de la lutte contre la drogue. Ces critiques trouvent aussi un écho politique chez une partie des députés libéraux et conservateurs[9]. Les principes fondamentaux de la RDR, comme la liberté à disposer de soi et le droit à la protection, se confrontent à une moralité publique et un discours politique qui, d'une part défendent une criminalisation des toxicomanes, l'abstinence, le sevrage, et qui d'autre part contestent la légitimité des modes d'intervention de la RDR (critiqués pour masquer des activités illicites, pour inciter à la consommation et entretenir la toxicomanie).

Initiation, risques et tensions morales

Si les professionnels de la RDR font face à une certaine hostilité publique, ils se confrontent aussi aux consommateurs de drogues eux-mêmes qui s'opposent parfois à la rectification morale[10] qui est attendue d'eux. Dans le monde de la drogue, la santé n'est pas toujours la valeur primordiale et les principes de cette rectification (responsabilisation, autonomisation, préservation de soi et des autres) ne sont pas nécessairement une priorité. Les interactions s'organisent davantage autour d'une hiérarchisation morale des conduites, un renversement des responsabilités, le respect de valeurs communes (virilité, loyauté, performance, entraide, respect) et la mise en avant d'émotions partagées autour du « bon trip », de la « lune de miel », du « délire » et de la « défonce ».

J'ai pu le constater alors que j'entamais ma recherche au sein d'une équipe associative sillonnant une grande ville du sud-ouest de la France (Toulouse) à bord d'un bus « échange de seringues ». Son travail consistait à diffuser du matériel d'injection stérile, à récupérer les ustensiles usagés, à informer sur les modes de prévention et les prises en charge, à dispenser les premiers soins (blessures, abcès, etc.) et à créer un espace de convivialité avec les usagers les plus précarisés. À la demande des membres de l'équipe, préoccupés par la forte proportion d'injecteurs contaminés par le virus de l'hépatite C (VHC) dès leur premier shoot, je me suis intéressé aux modes d'initiation à l'intraveineuse (Fernandez 2000). Les dernières enquêtes épidémiologiques menées sur cette structure montraient une contamination massive des usagers au VHC, avec une prévalence en augmentation, mais surtout une exposition au risque de contamination maximale pour les jeunes de moins de vingt-cinq ans et notamment durant la phase d'apprentissage de l'injection. L'étude qui m'a été confiée vise à mieux comprendre les circonstances de cette première fois. Pour les salariés du bus, il s'agit également de trouver de « bons shooteurs » susceptibles de passer

des messages de prévention auprès des jeunes injecteurs, rares à bord du bus.

L'initiation à l'injection constitue un enjeu fondamental pour les intervenants en toxicomanie, parce qu'elle est marquée d'une double réprobation assez largement partagée et qu'il s'agit de renverser. L'initiation est entachée d'une forme de culpabilisation qui contrecarre le travail de prévention : initier, c'est à la fois « faire tomber » un jeune dans la drogue, mais aussi risquer de lui transmettre le virus lors de l'initiation. Pour les professionnels, intervenir au moment de l'initiation, c'est également agir avant la contamination : ici, l'initiation peut être un moment de sensibilisation aux dommages sanitaires particulièrement efficace pour réduire les taux de contamination. Et les usagers actifs demeurent les meilleurs intermédiaires pour faire circuler auprès des plus jeunes des informations sur les « bonnes pratiques ». L'initiation est donc traversée d'enjeux contradictoires. Les professionnels ne peuvent pas la soutenir moralement, mais ils se doivent de travailler avec elle, en la transformant en une forme de consentement éclairé au respect des bonnes pratiques, tout en convertissant les initiateurs potentiels (soit l'ensemble des consommateurs actifs) en des usagers relais du discours préventif.

Mais au quotidien, ce travail se confronte à ce qui est présenté par les usagers comme une épreuve existentielle, que l'on ne peut comprendre sans avoir soi-même traversé l'épreuve du feu; c'est-à-dire le moment où se conjuguent la logique de l'émotion, la perception et l'affectif.

Quelles barrières morales ?

La première injection marque ainsi l'entrée du jeune initié dans un autre rapport à son propre corps et à la jouissance. Ce processus se mêle à un sentiment de fierté et de dépassement de soi. En ce sens, tout nouveau shooter s'engage dans une modification de son identité : il fait désormais partie du cercle restreint de ceux qui l'ont fait (Becker 1985).

Ainsi Hugues, un habitué du bus, n'a que dix-neuf ans lorsque, à la suite d'une scolarité chaotique, il se retrouve à la rue et réalise son premier shoot de somnifères « avec la seringue de tout le monde » dans un squat aux conditions d'hygiène qu'il juge déplorables, « les pires que tu puisses imaginer », en ayant préparé le produit comme il a pu en utilisant l'eau croupie d'un bidon. Malgré ses réticences, il se laisse convaincre par sa petite amie qui, dédramatisant la pratique, la rend positive, voire attractive. Ainsi, toutes les barrières argumentatives d'Hugues tombent lorsque sa compagne confronte ses représentations au socle de l'expérimentation :

> Elle a réussi à me convaincre que ce n'était pas la peine de faire chier tout le monde comme cela avec un discours complètement réac [réactionnaire]... Qu'en plus, je ne savais pas de quoi je parlais, que ce n'était pas un shoot qui allait m'accrocher, me rendre complètement dépendant de la came... et puis oui, je te dis, en me le présentant comme un truc convivial, qu'on pouvait partager tous ensemble sans que cela soit problématique.

Pour les injecteurs précarisés, le « bon shoot » est celui qui procure le maximum d'effet et, dans ce cadre, le meilleur shoot est bien souvent le premier, cet état extatique qualifié de « lune de miel ». En ce sens, l'initiation marque souvent un moment d'exaltation chez l'initiateur, car elle participe à faire éprouver une expérience unique que lui-même n'a jamais réussi à reproduire. Mais lorsque j'interroge ces mêmes usagers sur ce qu'est un bon shooter, les discours semblent plus ambivalents. La plupart l'opposent à celui qui est « gore » parce qu'il « charcute » son corps. Le sang devient un élément déterminant, l'absence de danger est avant tout corrélée à son invisibilité. Sa présence symbolise le manque de contrôle de soi et la dégradation morale. L'usager qui, dans l'urgence, s'injecte de manière peu précautionneuse est parfois associé à cette figure de la dégradation morale : celui qui n'a plus rien à perdre et se mortifie. Ce jugement rejoint ici les attentes des politiques de RDR tout en déplaçant l'enjeu strictement sanitaire de la contamination vers l'enjeu moral de la dégradation de l'image et de l'estime de soi. Ainsi, si les normes générales portées par l'économie morale de la prévention se diffusent dans ces groupes et ces espaces précaires, elles donnent lieu à l'élaboration de nouvelles formes d'argumentation et de justification de la part des usagers.

Le « bon shooter » est également celui qui a le sens des responsabilités, n'incite personne à s'injecter et se refuse à initier. L'initiateur est, quant à lui, l'objet de virulentes critiques notamment de la part de ceux dont la moralité se doit d'être incontestable dans l'espace public et professionnel. C'est ce qu'exprime Natacha. Après une enfance et une adolescence douloureuse ballotée entre ses deux parents divorcés et violents, Natacha travaille aujourd'hui en intérim auprès d'enfants dans une crèche associative, et ce malgré son hépatite et une consommation d'héroïne et de médicaments substitutifs. Elle me décrit ainsi une femme qui a selon elle le profil d'initiatrice :

> Elle se dit que l'autre aussi doit tomber là-dedans. Elle cherche aussi à bousiller l'autre parce qu'elle est complètement bousillée, quoi ! C'est un geste malsain .... L'initiateur est quelqu'un qui n'a aucun scrupule, qui n'a pas de barrière morale.

En déployant mes recherches dans les squats de consommateurs du quartier Goutte d'or-La Chapelle à Paris, il m'est apparu que cette figure idéalisée du bon shooteur prévenant est cependant très proche de celle de l'initiateur peu scrupuleux. Lors des séances d'initiation, le trouble dans lequel le novice est plongé lui permet rarement de s'injecter seul, ce qui renforce chez l'initiateur le sentiment d'être un aidant, éloignant ses propres représentations négatives de ce qu'il est en train d'accomplir. Entre l'assistance à celui qui ne sait pas ou ne parvient pas à se shooter et l'initiation qui est moralement réprouvée, la contradiction est inéluctable comme le remarque Natacha :

> Quelqu'un qui ne s'est jamais shooté, jamais je ne l'aiderai à faire une injection. Non, je ne peux pas faire cela.... Aïe ! Si je vois quelqu'un qui se shoote mal ? Ça m'énerve quand, par exemple, il ne se désinfecte pas. À chaque fois, je leur dis aux toxicos qui viennent : « Désinfecte-toi, quoi ! » Mais ça peut être moi qui prends le coton et qui demande à la personne : « Où est-ce que tu t'es shooté ? », un peu comme une mère poule, quoi ! ... Et certainement que si je vois une personne qui se shoote mal, j'aurais le réflexe de l'aider.... Je sais que cela va à l'encontre de ce que je t'ai dit tout à l'heure, mais si vraiment une personne se shoote mal et que je suis à côté, je pense que j'interviendrais.

L'initiateur devient ainsi celui qui évite que le novice ne pratique « n'importe comment », qu'il ne se « bousille les veines ». L'initiation est ainsi rendue plus conforme à une image positive de soi : un « grand frère », une « grande sœur » ou une « mère poule » réconfortant, rassurant et conseillant.

Une hiérarchisation des conduites addictives

Dans la majorité des récits des usagers, ceux qui transmettent les virus sont présentés comme des intrus malfaisants qui, masquant leur sérologie, les auraient contaminés à leur insu. Ceux qui ont contracté le sida en reportent souvent la faute sur un milieu « malsain » et sur ces « toxicos » désignés simultanément comme des malades, des fous dangereux et des criminels, ayant perdu toute conscience du danger qu'ils peuvent faire courir aux autres. Il en est ainsi pour Maalik, rencontré dans un service moyen séjour d'un hôpital parisien, lorsque je lui demande s'il fréquentait les usagers insérés dans le milieu :

> Je les fréquentais oui, plus ou moins, je les voyais sur les plans de came, je ne traînais pas avec eux parce que c'était des fous dangereux, inconscients de ce

qu'ils font. Ils en veulent au monde entier et je crois qu'ils veulent refiler cette maladie à tout le monde. Ils ne veulent pas mourir tout seuls. C'est des barjos, des malades mentaux, c'est des criminels quoi, des criminels !

La trentaine passée, poly-consommateur d'héroïne et de cocaïne par intraveineuse, qu'il associe à du cannabis et de l'alcool, incarcéré à neuf reprises pour vol, Maalik se considère comme un rescapé. Tous ses amis sont morts. Même s'il ne sait pas ce qu'il fera ni où il vivra après son hospitalisation, il a conscience du caractère exceptionnel que revêt le simple fait d'avoir survécu, d'autant que son corps, à l'instar d'un vétéran, garde les stigmates de son parcours toxicomaniaque. En critiquant les « toxicos », Maalik opère une hiérarchisation morale des conduites addictives lui permettant de déplacer le stigmate et de maintenir une distance avec les représentations négatives du « drogué » tout en se construisant par contraste une identité plus valorisante.

Mais les usagers peuvent aussi renvoyer la « faute » de leurs comportements à risque sur les dispositifs de RDR, rejetant au passage la responsabilité sur les structures censées leur permettre d'obtenir du matériel stérile. Il en va ainsi pour Mickaël :

> Non, je crois qu'à chaque fois que j'ai merdé, c'était soit qu'il n'y avait pas de bus, d'associations ou de ... soit il n'y avait pas de pharmacie ouverte, soit la pharmacie était ouverte, mais elle ne voulait pas de toxicomanes, ou elle était ouverte, mais il n'y a plus de seringues, ou elle est ouverte, mais tu n'as pas assez pour acheter une seringue.

Comme Mickaël, ils sont nombreux à rationaliser *a posteriori* leur parcours et les raisons qui les ont conduits à la contamination. Mickaël débute sa trajectoire de consommateur lors de l'adolescence et il fugue de chez ses parents à dix-sept ans. Après plusieurs tentatives d'insertion professionnelle avortées, il se prostitue pour payer sa « came ». Aujourd'hui, à vingt-sept ans, il est sans domicile et se drogue pour « soulager ses angoisses ». Il alterne depuis cinq ans sevrages et rechutes. Atteint d'une hépatite C et n'ayant plus les moyens de consommer quotidiennement de l'héroïne, il souhaite se réinsérer, prendre sa santé en main, mais continue de s'injecter drogues et médicaments de substitution. Face à ce qu'il vit comme une impasse et à sa volonté affichée de sortir de la toxicomanie, il essaie de détourner temporairement le regard de ses propres difficultés (en niant toute dissonance de sa part), pour souligner les insuffisances des dispositifs de réduction des risques.

Parfois, d'autres usagers nient le mal causé, y compris à eux-mêmes. Certains, parmi les plus âgés,

continuent d'utiliser les seringues usagées d'autres shooteurs séropositifs, voire font circuler les leurs en réfutant avoir transmis le sida à quiconque (alors qu'ils sont séropositifs). Ils contestent quelquefois également le risque de sur-contamination, comme Yannick. Après de multiples arrestations, des séjours en cure et postcure, ce dernier continue de s'injecter des produits de substitution, des anxiolytiques et boit d'importantes quantités d'alcool. Yannick est seul, la plupart de ses amis sont décédés. Les membres de sa famille le rejettent en raison, dit-il, de sa séropositivité. À quarante et un ans, il est actuellement sous trithérapie. Cela fait plus de vingt ans qu'il se sait séropositif, mais depuis, rien n'a vraiment changé : non seulement il persiste à se défoncer à coup de *Speed Ball* (mélange d'héroïne et de cocaïne), mais de plus, il continue de se shooter avec des seringues utilisées par d'autres consommateurs séropositifs. Il s'en explique :

> Une fois que je savais que j'étais contaminé, ça m'est arrivé de me shooter avec des seringues que je savais contaminées, parce que bon... Je l'étais [rires]. Quand on te dit : « sur-contamination », c'est des conneries. Quand t'es contaminé, t'es contaminé, tu ne peux pas te réinjecter un deuxième virus. La sur-contamination, c'est de la connerie, ça n'existe pas. Parce que si à chaque fois que j'avais injecté avec une seringue contaminée, je m'étais surinfecté, alors là je serais mort... Et pourtant, je me suis shooté avec des seringues contaminées, ah ouais ! Bon, par exemple, j'avais ma came, j'avais ma seringue, elle se bouche, je ne vais pas laisser ma came comme ça dans la cuillère, je prends la seringue du voisin, je me shoote avec sa seringue.

C'est ici l'exactitude des messages de santé publique qui est questionnée. S'il a été démontré que la sur-contamination est toujours à l'origine d'une aggravation de la situation des malades, notamment en terme de remontée de la charge virale, ce constat épidémiologique s'accorde parfois assez mal avec l'expérience de certains usagers qui ont plus de vingt ans de consommation derrière eux sans jamais avoir ressenti les effets d'une sur-contamination ou n'ayant su les dissocier du cours ordinaire de leur maladie.

Les postures des injecteurs

Si les jugements moraux des usagers fonctionnent ici comme un dispositif collectif de régulation des rapports aux autres définissant à la fois leur rationalité et leur humanité, quels principes moraux guident leurs propres actions ? Au sein des squats de consommateurs, le collectif prend une place importante dans les gestes de la vie quotidienne. Des codes et des normes de comportements sont en perpétuelle négociation.

Pour les usagers vivant dans ces collectivités précaires, la responsabilité vis-à-vis de soi et de sa santé semble devenir plus diffuse encore, diluée dans un ensemble d'actions et de pratiques collectives. Ainsi, ils partagent le produit et le matériel parce qu'ils sont dans la même « galère ».

Certains injecteurs de drogues vivent dans des réseaux d'interdépendance (notamment ceux qui sont sans domicile stable, qui ne parviennent pas à s'injecter seuls ou qui sollicitent de l'aide pour le faire) et c'est à travers ces dépendances relationnelles qu'ils jouent à la fois leur statut et leur identité. Partageant différents temps et différents espaces avec d'autres consommateurs, échangeant avec certains, observant les autres, sollicitant parfois de l'aide pour s'injecter, ces usagers de drogues s'inscrivent dans des réseaux d'interconnaissance qui les lient aux revendeurs de drogues et qui les engagent à maintenir une réputation de « toxico réglo », qui paie sa « came » et ne fait pas d'histoires. Comme me le répète Franck lorsque je l'accompagne au sein de squats de consommateurs : « Tu viens dans ce milieu, tu parles honnêtement, tu parles avec ton cœur, il ne va rien t'arriver. »

Ce système de valeurs structure donc les relations sociales de ces usagers et permet de disqualifier moralement ceux qui ne respectent pas les codes de conduite : ceux qui tirent profit de la situation aux dépens des autres usagers ou qui « balancent » à la police.

Le partage : limiter les effets d'isolement

Dans ce cadre, ce qui structure le quotidien de ces usagers, c'est la loyauté envers les pairs, les modalités d'entraide et de respect (Bourgois 1998) qui permettent à chacun d'avoir sa dose même durant les coups durs. En ce sens, le partage de matériel d'injection dans les squats est moins lié à une sous-culture de la consommation de drogues qu'à une morale du partage au sein de groupes précarisés où les individus disposent de peu de ressources personnelles. Franck, qui se shoote à l'héroïne et fume du crack, m'explique cet aspect des relations sociales entre usagers précarisés :

> Cinq minutes, c'est le temps de faire une arnaque de quarante euros, il peut s'acheter deux galettes, mais deux galettes, il ne va pas les fumer tout seul, parce qu'il sait qu'il n'est pas tout seul. Il va les partager avec ses amis. En espérant que ses amis, s'ils ont quelque chose, ils le partagent avec lui.

À trente-quatre ans, Franck reconnaît cette nécessité du partage. Après dix-huit incarcérations pour des vols avec violence et des affaires de trafic en tous genres, Franck sait qu'il ne peut consommer quotidiennement sans entretenir des liens sociaux avec d'autres usagers.

Après avoir été héroïnomane et cocaïnomane, Franck découvre le crack à vingt ans. Depuis, il ne passe guère plus d'une journée sans consommer sa « galette ». Cette consommation le conduit sur les chemins de l'errance : il fait la manche et vit dans des squats de « zonards ». Actuellement, il essaie de se réinsérer et loge dans une chambre d'hôtel payée par une association. Mais dès la nuit tombée, reparti à la recherche de crack, il sait qu'il doit participer à cette mise en commun avec les autres usagers s'il veut pouvoir en consommer régulièrement.

Les plus démunis qui vivent en collectivité dans des squats précaires, pratiquent couramment le partage de coton, de la petite cuillère, ne se lavent pas les mains, ne se désinfectent pas et partagent parfois leurs seringues dès la première intraveineuse. Vivre dans les mêmes conditions et « faire avec », alors même qu'ils savent qu'ils prennent des risques pour leur santé, contribue au maintien de ces liens sociaux. Ici, il faut sans doute souligner qu'un des principes présidant aux relations sociales dans ces espaces collectifs est la réciprocité; le partage constitue en cela une forme particulière de lien social.

Quand les usagers sont sans ressource stable, au mieux bénéficiaires du revenu minimum d'insertion[11], et qu'ils errent dans les centres-villes à la recherche de lieux pour s'injecter, l'intraveineuse se pratique dans l'urgence avec les moyens du bord, avec bien souvent la conscience d'une mise en danger de soi. Même si, comme Joël, cela « leur fait dégueulasse » de tirer l'eau du caniveau, l'idée de découvrir de nouvelles sensations, qui plus est collectivement, permet de dépasser cette appréhension. Dans ces contextes de grande précarité, les usagers transgressent souvent les règles de sécurité et d'hygiène édictées par les associations de prévention alors que, pour la plupart, ils en connaissent les grandes lignes (par exemple, se désinfecter le bras avant une piqûre, ne pas prendre la seringue d'une personne atteinte du sida, etc.) et en reconnaissent la validité. Le plaisir de la transgression peut-il à lui seul rendre compte de ces comportements ?

Une autre dimension est mise en avant : les « bonnes discussions » déviant du sens commun, une autre manière d'être ensemble, d'avoir du plaisir à être ensemble et de partager les valeurs du « bon trip ». Le « délire » et le « bon trip » correspondent à des modes d'altération de l'état de conscience susceptibles de créer du lien social, ne serait-ce que par procuration. Le « délire » est une forme de spectacle qui procure du plaisir à un public particulier, il participe donc à un cadre de sociabilité et parvient à créer des liens souples autour de cette mise en scène (Fernandez 2011).

Peut-être que ce qui lie les injecteurs en errance n'est pas tant la transgression frontale d'un système normatif que l'affaiblissement de sa portée : on joue sur les hiérarchies des risques, des préférences et des valeurs, déplaçant le curseur de quelques degrés par rapport à ce qui est considéré par les professionnels comme un risque pour la santé, pour réintroduire du collectif et limiter les effets d'isolement et d'exclusion sociale.

La défonce et le renversement des valeurs

De l'extérieur, la posture morale de la défonce ne va pas de soi. Pourtant celle-ci constitue pour certains injecteurs de drogues un mode existentiel investi de valeurs positives, qui vise la recherche individuelle de la jouissance, trouvée dans la consommation répétitive et dans le mode de vie qui l'accompagne inexorablement. Ceux qui la mettent en avant sont souvent de jeunes consommateurs en rupture familiale, qui trouvent non seulement de nouvelles sociabilités dans le monde de la drogue, mais aussi un nouvel idéal de vie, rappelant l'expérience « beat », une manière de traverser la vie à bout de souffle, tout en survivant dans les marges clandestines du monde urbain.

À travers la posture de la défonce, la déchéance, la dégradation de soi, l'affirmation d'une identité plus forte grâce à ces procédés de mortification semblent recherchées par la consommation de psychotropes. Il s'agit bien ici d'une posture morale qui tend à un renversement des valeurs communes de la bonne santé et du bien-être. La défonce et ses dommages sanitaires ne sont pas ici considérés comme des conséquences involontaires des conduites addictives, mais ils sont envisagés comme participant à une quête parfois parfaitement consciente de modification de l'image de soi, en opposition radicale avec le discours des associations de prévention.

Ce plaisir de la défonce est aussi un plaisir de se faire mal, comme me l'explique Rachid :

> C'est un peu du masochisme. Parce que tu sais que tu vas te faire mal ! Et tu te refais mal quand même. T'aimes ça. T'arrives à un moment où t'aimes ça … Et ça te détruit. C'est systématique. Tu te fais du mal ! Tu le sens ! … Et c'est bon ! Je te le dis, franchement, il y a un rituel. Il y a un mode de vie. C'est entré en toi, tu as beau te dire : « Non, non ! Tu te fais du mal ! Attends, ta santé… ». Mais qu'est-ce que je m'en fous de ma santé !

La défonce peut être revendiquée dans un rapport positif à la construction de soi. Elle renvoie alors à cette figure de l'individu sans limites, hormis celles qu'il se fixe à lui-même, un rebelle, qui prend à contre-pied la morale commune, qui idéalise le mode de vie « punk »

ou « destroy », qui vit par et pour le plaisir de consommer, comme me le décrit Marco :

> J'étais trop... Même si physiquement je pouvais m'en passer, psychologiquement non... J'en avais trop envie, ça me plaisait trop et j'étais trop rebelle... J'étais trop punk... Mes idoles, c'étaient les Sex Pistols, tout ça, c'était destroy quoi, tout ce qui était mal, pour moi c'était bien...

C'est durant son adolescence « rebelle » que Marco, aujourd'hui âgé de trente et un ans, est initié à la consommation d'héroïne, de cocaïne et de médicaments psychotropes au sein d'un petit groupe d'usagers. Il n'a que seize ans lors de sa première intraveineuse d'héroïne. À vingt-trois ans, il est sans domicile et c'est la fuite en avant dans un mode de vie à la marge.

La défonce peut ainsi fasciner. Mais cet attrait est à dissocier d'une recherche de la mort. Ce qui est poursuivi correspond davantage à « l'abîmé », au « cassé », au « destroy », au nihilisme radical, même s'il est rarement atteint, et au plaisir d'un délire sans bornes. Avant tout, l'usage de drogues est marqué ici par des valeurs positives, celles du plaisir à consommer et d'une recherche de déprise : faire un saut hors de l'autocontrôle, pour déverrouiller les limites que l'on tente de leur fixer, aller plus loin, s'en remettre à la drogue elle-même et éprouver un sentiment de délivrance.

Le respect et le sens des limites

Mais cette expérience de la défonce peut aussi être utilisée dans les discours de certains usagers afin de se dissocier et de mettre en avant, *a contrario*, le respect de soi et des autres comme une morale organisant les pratiques de consommation.

Ce sont les usagers les plus insérés, qui ont réussi à trouver un logement, un travail déclaré, ceux qui sont parvenus à maintenir quelques ressources et des liens sociaux en dehors des mondes de la drogue, qui tiennent le plus couramment ce discours.

L'enjeu est pour ceux-là qui essaient, si ce n'est de sortir de la toxicomanie, du moins de se maintenir à distance des risques sanitaires et de l'économie souterraine de la drogue, de se différencier afin de pouvoir se positionner dans une posture morale du respect de soi et d'autrui, comme le reconnaît Franck :

> Il te faut des exemples pour te dire : il ne faut pas que tu passes par-là, il ne faut pas que tu deviennes ça ! Et ça, c'est tes frères qui sont en train d'agoniser. Et ces gens-là, comme ils disent les musulmans, ils auraient la meilleure place au paradis parce que c'est d'eux dont Dieu s'est servi pour servir d'exemple, pour te montrer que tu n'as pas le droit de ressembler à ça.

Dans cette posture, la défonce est donc avant tout une balise, un repère permettant de maintenir une limite morale aux comportements et de réitérer son attachement à une certaine idée de l'humain, du respect de soi et des valeurs permettant le vivre ensemble. C'est ce dont témoigne Selman lorsque je lui demande comment il gérait les usages de seringues avec ses copains : « On les rinçait à l'eau de Javel... On se respectait entre nous, on ne se les échangeait pas. Pourquoi ? Je ne sais pas ... Y'avait un instinct de survie qui était plus important. »

Ces pratiques d'auto-préservation sont interprétées a posteriori comme une attention, un respect, un souci d'autrui. Même si, en plus de vingt ans de consommation, Selman n'a pas contracté le sida, cette présentation de soi comme un survivant dont la conscience de se protéger était le fruit d'un instinct plus développé chez lui que chez d'autres est à relativiser. Selman a quarante-neuf ans, il est né à Paris de parents marocains. Sans papiers, il est marié et père d'une petite fille. Il consomme du cannabis à l'âge de dix-huit ans puis deux ans plus tard du LSD. Après plusieurs petits boulots, il se met à consommer de grandes quantités d'héroïne (quatre grammes par jour) qui le conduiront à la délinquance puis en prison. Actuellement, toujours sous la menace d'une expulsion, il s'investit bénévolement au sein d'une association de prévention. Pour lui qui a toujours consommé entre copains, ces pratiques de préservation de soi semblent encadrées par un ensemble de codes qui peuvent être interprétés comme autant de rituels de régulation sous-tendus par certaines représentations du propre et du sale, du pur et du souillé. Si ces rituels ne sont pas mis en œuvre systématiquement, ils ont permis à quelques-uns comme Selman de passer entre les mailles d'une contamination au sida et à l'hépatite C.

Cette régulation marque une donnée importante dans la compréhension de la prévention liée à la consommation de drogues. Elle témoigne du fait que la prévention profane des éventuels dommages associés à l'usage de drogues n'est pas spécifiquement liée à la problématique du sida (même si elle participe indirectement à un principe de prévention sanitaire). Ici, c'est le respect entre usagers qui est mis en avant. Se respecter, c'est ne pas laisser se mélanger ses fluides corporels entre hommes : son sang, son sperme, sa sueur, etc. (Douglas 1992).

Cette posture du respect conduit d'autres usagers à se comporter en séropositifs virtuels alors qu'ils ne connaissent pas leur sérologie. Hugues, par exemple, qui n'a pas « le courage de faire le test de dépistage » refuse de partager ses seringues, mais accepte volontiers celles des autres. Cette attitude lui permet de continuer à faire confiance en « sa bonne étoile », sans

dissonance tant que les manifestations physiques du sida ne la contrarient pas. Se positionnant en séropositif virtuel, protecteur envers tous et receveur du « mal », il se compose une figure morale du toxicomane, qui se joue des risques pour lui-même, mais respecte l'intégrité physique des autres.

Un travail moral ambivalent

Si les risques pour la santé résident avant tout dans la pratique de consommation elle-même, dans le but de prévention, un consommateur m'a clairement affirmé ce que d'autres semblaient approuver sans toutefois oser le déclarer à des intervenants en toxicomanie : « Si je ne voulais pas prendre des risques, je ne me shooterais pas. » Cette déclaration est le signe que derrière le discours public porté par les associations et parfois repris par les usagers de drogues se dissimule un *texte caché* qui, en coulisse, le contredit ou l'infléchit (Scott 2008:19). Si le discours est lissé, modelé et normé au sein des structures de prévention, il n'engage pas nécessairement des changements de pratiques, car les messages de prévention se confrontent à un mécanisme de préservation d'une manière d'être en société. Et ce, y compris sur des associations bas seuil, c'est-à-dire des structures fondées sur une aide médicale et sociale de base, sans visée d'abstinence, sans dossier ni prise en charge individuelle. Les valeurs attribuées à la consommation de drogues n'en demeurent pas moins ambivalentes (plaisir, liberté, autonomie, indépendance versus souffrance, enfermement, assujettissement, dépendance). Elles sont mobilisées tour à tour afin de s'ajuster au cadre proposé par la RDR et aux attentes normatives qui y sont associées (morale du respect) ou pour critiquer ce cadre (morale du partage), voire opérer une rupture de cadre (morale de la défonce).

Traversé de tensions au sujet de pratiques réprouvées socialement, ce travail moral est donc lui-même l'objet d'ajustements. Il est même un travail d'ajustement permanent entre les comportements des usagers et leurs idéaux moraux généraux. À l'aune de cette sorte d'éthique situationnelle (Faupel 1987), les usagers évaluent ce qui est bon et juste dans chaque situation concrète. Ces multiples adaptations comportementales témoignent aussi bien de la complexité de leur vie quotidienne en situation de grande précarité que de l'ambivalence de leurs désirs, de leurs émotions et de leurs valeurs au regard de leurs conduites addictives, mais aussi vis-à-vis des autres usagers et du monde social qui les entoure. Ainsi, selon le moment, le lieu, le cadre dans lequel on les interroge, les discours de certains usagers peuvent alterner entre la responsabilité de chacun face à ses actes et le déterminisme qui régirait les conduites de consommation de drogues, ou encore entre la condamnation de la came et l'apologie de son usage. Il en est ainsi pour Franck :

> Là, tu parles à un mec qui a consommé. Tout à l'heure, tu parlais à un mec qui était abstinent. Quelle différence il y a entre son vocabulaire présent et son vocabulaire passé ? La différence, c'est que tout à l'heure, il était en train de critiquer le produit. Là, maintenant il défend le produit. Pourquoi ? À cause des usagers qui sont comme lui...

Lorsqu'ils critiquent la défonce, en présentant le respect de soi et des autres comme une valeur fondamentale de l'expérience toxicomaniaque, les usagers de drogues rejoignent certaines attentes relatives à l'économie morale de la prévention, même s'il demeure difficile d'en démêler les motivations profondes (se conformer aux attentes, se les réapproprier, entretenir une duplicité consciente ou semi-consciente, etc.). Mais lorsque les usagers de drogues présentent le partage comme une dimension essentielle de leur vie quotidienne, ils renvoient davantage aux dimensions structurelles de leur exclusion et aux logiques de survie qui en découlent. Ici, c'est la nécessité de maintenir du collectif qui est mise en avant, et les dispositifs de RDR sont alors critiqués pour leur incapacité à améliorer leurs conditions d'existence. La valorisation de la défonce renvoie au contraire à une forme d'individualisme absolu (Castel 1999), qui rejette catégoriquement la logique de la responsabilité. Quand certains mettent en avant un mode de vie « destroy », la recherche de la déchéance et de la destruction, ils manifestent de cette façon leur impossible sortie de la toxicomanie et leur volonté de ne pas suivre les recommandations de la prévention.

Conclusion

L'étude des confrontations entre l'économie morale de la prévention et le travail moral des consommateurs de drogues permet de comprendre comment un certain discours à visée sanitaire, voire humanitaire, ouvre la porte à de nouveaux modes de contrôle en édictant normes et valeurs à l'aune desquelles on juge de la normalité des toxicomanes ou de leur volonté de sortir d'un comportement jugé déviant. Présenté comme un outil de réinsertion, ce travail de prévention qui vise à responsabiliser les usagers de drogues repose sur des attentes de (re)moralisation de la toxicomanie.

Au niveau local, en contrepoint de ces grands impératifs, les usagers s'écartent de la moralisation qu'on leur impose. Ils sont parfois seulement en décalage par rapport aux attentes sociales de responsabilisation, adoptant une posture proche de celle des politiques de réduction des risques, mais en stigmatisant les consom-

mateurs qui se laissent aller (posture morale du respect) et en valorisant des manières de se comporter entre usagers. D'autres adoptent une conduite plus critique (posture morale du partage), diluant leur responsabilité au sein d'un environnement à risque (Rhodes, Singer, Bourgois et al. 2005), où les facteurs politico-économiques tiennent une place prédominante. D'autres encore s'opposent radicalement à la configuration morale que l'on tente de leur imposer (posture morale de la défonce) pour y substituer une autre manière d'être en société et de jouir de soi. Bien sûr, ces postures sont mouvantes et les usagers peuvent passer de l'une à l'autre selon les évolutions de leurs conditions de vie. Ces différents positionnements au cœur du monde des injecteurs donnent lieu à des différenciations qui mettent au jour des tensions entre usagers et des résistances locales à cette économie morale de la prévention.

Par ailleurs, cette analyse souligne que la rationalisation des conduites portée par la mise en œuvre des politiques de RDR n'est pas qu'un simple prolongement du progrès technique et médical. Non seulement cette politique tend à nier la teneur morale de son intervention, mais, en outre, en concentrant son intervention sur les comportements à risque et les dommages éventuels liés à la consommation, la RDR délaisse aussi les dimensions morales impliquées dans la diffusion du virus du sida. Elle omet ainsi de prendre en considération, dans l'élaboration des réponses préventives, à la fois la dimension du plaisir (Race 2008) de la consommation et de la défonce, et les logiques de partage et de respect qui organisent le quotidien des usagers précarisés. Ces dimensions morales sont pourtant fondamentales pour comprendre les résistances locales aux messages de prévention et leur répercussion sur les mécanismes de reproduction des pratiques à risque et la diffusion des agents pathogènes.

Si la RDR est difficilement contestable sur le plan de ces résultats en terme sanitaire (diminution des contaminations, des surdoses) et social (obtention de nouveaux droits, lutte contre la stigmatisation), elle reste ancrée dans une politique de santé publique qui insiste davantage sur la responsabilisation individuelle que sur la solidarité collective, éloignant les considérations de justice sociale au profit de considérations utilitaristes et pragmatiques. Or, plutôt que de réifier ce discours et sa prétendue neutralité morale, cette politique de prévention pourrait avantageusement s'inscrire dans une perspective élargie du bien-être et de la justice sociale (Massé, Mondou 2013) en développant une compréhension des besoins spécifiques des usagers et un souci d'améliorer leurs conditions d'existence (Powers, Faden 2006).

L'analyse des confrontations et des résistances à l'économie morale de la prévention rend intelligible la manière dont les normes générales de la bonne santé sont travaillées par les usagers qui y investissent une partie de leur identité. En ce sens, leur travail moral n'est pas qu'une simple accumulation d'opinions, de représentations, d'éléments moraux préréflexifs, voire inconscients, de résistances épidermiques ou de conformations aveugles à des normes prédéterminées. Il est également un travail éthique (Foucault 1988) qui participe, à travers ces tensions, ces débats et ces désaccords sur le sens de leurs pratiques et des valeurs qui y sont attachées, à la subjectivation des expériences de consommation de drogues et à la construction de ces usagers en sujets moraux de leurs conduites.

Fabrice Fernandez, Institut de recherche interdisciplinaire sur les enjeux sociaux, École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 190–198 avenue de France, 75244 Paris cedex 13, France.
Courriel : fabrice.fernandez@ehess.fr

Notes

1 Cet article s'inscrit dans le cadre du programme dirigé par Jérôme Beauchez et intitulé Socioresist. Financé par l'Agence nationale de la recherche (2013–2016) ce programme interroge l'infra-politique à travers les formes de résistance ordinaire au cœur de situations de domination. Par ailleurs, le travail d'écriture de ce texte a bénéficié des échanges et des discussions du programme Towards a Critical Moral Anthropology (2009–2013) qui, en donnant lieu à une réflexion sur l'économie morale de la responsabilité (Fernandez 2012), a constitué une première étape analytique dont cet article est le prolongement et un regard substantiellement approfondi. Dans ce cadre, je tenais à remercier plus particulièrement les deux évaluateurs anonymes pour leurs lectures, suggestions et critiques constructives.

2 Il serait plus juste de parler de réduction des méfaits, mais en France : « Peu de praticiens et de théoriciens font la différence entre le risque et le dommage. Le risque peut être défini comme la probabilité qu'un événement survienne et le dommage comme les effets négatifs induits par cet événement (ou dans certains cas comme l'événement lui-même) » (Lovell 2001:312).

3 Les cas présentés et une partie des observations proviennent d'un travail de thèse financée par l'Agence nationale de la recherche sur le sida et menée en France auprès de consommateurs pris dans un mouvement d'alternance entre la rue et la prison (Fernandez 2010).

4 Je mobilise ici plus particulièrement trente-huit entretiens avec des usagers vivant de minima sociaux, la plupart du temps sans domicile fixe et douze autres entretiens menés avec des intervenants associatifs.

5 Le concept d'économie morale permet de penser la manière dont est construite une appréhension collective d'un problème social à travers des jugements et des sentiments.

Elle représente « la production, la répartition, la circulation et l'utilisation des sentiments moraux, des émotions et des valeurs, des normes et des obligations dans l'espace social » (Fassin 2009:1257). L'économie morale de la prévention caractérise ainsi les transformations des valeurs et des affects autour de la préservation de soi et de sa santé et la manière dont on mobilise des jugements et des sentiments autour de cette question.

6 Je différencie ici les jugements moraux (énoncés qui mettent en jeu une qualification morale d'un individu ou d'un comportement à travers la formulation de condamnations ou de préjugés à l'encontre de certaines pratiques) du travail moral (mise en conformité du comportement d'un individu avec ses propres principes moraux relatifs au bonheur et au bien-être, voire à la justice).

7 Ceux-ci sont distribués par l'intermédiaire de pharmacies, de programmes d'échanges de seringues ou de distributeurs automatiques gérés par des associations de lutte contre le sida.

8 Pour une mise en perspective de chacune de ces approches, voir Massé (2013), voir également Jauffret Roustide (2011).

9 Par exemple, au mois de juin 2006, 135 parlementaires de droite (issus des partis Union pour un mouvement populaire, Union pour la démocratie française et Mouvement pour la France) ont signé un communiqué clairement hostile à la politique de RDR jugée incitative au regard de la consommation de stupéfiants.

10 La rectification morale est une action qui a pour but de « changer la situation sociale, de soi-même ou d'autrui, pour la rendre conforme à des idéaux moraux » (Heyman 2000:636).

11 En France, le revenu minimum d'insertion (RMI), remplacé depuis peu par le revenu de solidarité active (RSA) est une allocation garantissant un revenu mensuel de 483 euros pour une personne sans enfant.

Références

Becker, Howard Saul
   1985 Outsiders. Études de sociologie de la déviance. Paris: Métailié.
Bergeron, Henri
   2011 Nouvelle santé publique et individualisation (entretien avec Henri Bergeron). Prospective Jeunesse – Drogues-Santé-Prévention 59(1):10–17.
Berridge, Virginia
   1999 Histories of Harm Reduction: Illicit Drugs, Tobacco, and Nicotine. Substance Use & Misuse 34(1):35–47. http://dx.doi.org/10.3109/10826089909035634.
Bourgois, Philippe
   1998 The Moral Economies of Homeless Heroin Addicts. Confronting Ethnography, HIV Risk and Everyday Violence in San Francisco Shooting Encampments. Substance Use & Misuse 33(11):2323–2351. http://dx.doi.org/10.3109/10826089809056260.
Carrier, Nicolas et Bastien, Quirion
   2003 Les logiques de contrôle de l'usage de drogues illicites : la réduction de méfaits et l'efficience du langage de la perrilisation. Drogues, santé et société 2-1:1–30.

Castel, Robert
   1999 Les métamorphoses de la question sociale : une chronique du salariat. Paris: Gallimard.
Douglas, Mary
   1992 De la souillure. Études sur la notion de pollution et de tabou. Paris: La Découverte.
Ehrenberg, Alain
   1996 Vivre avec les drogues. Communications. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.
Fassin, Didier
   2006 L'espace politique de la santé. Essai de généalogie. Paris: PUF.
   2009 Les économies morales revisitées. Étude critique suivie de quelques propositions. Annales. Histoire, sciences sociales 6:1237–1266.
Faupel, Charles E.
   1987 Drug Availability, Life Structure, and Situational Ethics of Heroin Addicts. Journal of Contemporary Ethnography 15(3–4):395–419. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/089124168701500305.
Fernandez, Fabrice
   2000 Les modalités de la prise de risques sanitaires chez les primo-injecteurs. Rapport de recherche. Toulouse: Associations Aides, Université de Toulouse le Mirail, Département de sociologie.
   2010 Emprises. Drogues, errance, prison. Figures d'une expérience totale. Bruxelles: Larcier.
   2011 Le théâtre des fumeurs de crack. Mise en scène émotionnelle et voilement/dévoilement de soi. Ethnologie Française 41(4):707–715. http://dx.doi.org/10.3917/ethn.114.707.
   2012 Responsable de quoi? Le travail moral des usagers de drogues précarisés. Dans Économies morales contemporaines. Didier Fassin et Jean Sébatien Eideliman, dirs. Pp. 355–376. Paris: La Découverte
Foucault, Michel
   1988 Dits et écrits 1954–1988, vol. 4. Pp. 1980–1988. Paris: Gallimard.
Hathaway, Andrew D.
   2001 Shortcomings of Harm Reduction: Toward a Morally Invested Drug Reform Strategy. International Journal on Drug Policy 12(2):125–137. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0955-3959(01)00085-8.
Heyman, Josiah
   2000 Respect for Outsiders? Respect for the Law? The Moral Evaluation of High-Scale Issues by US Immigration Officers. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute 6(4):635–652. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/1467-9655.00037.
Jauffret Roustide, Marie
   2010 La réduction des risques chez les usagers de drogues : contribution de l'épidémiologie et de la socio-anthropologie. Thèse de doctorat, Université de Paris XI.
   2011 Réduction des risques. Succès et limite du modèle à la française. Alcoologie et addictologie 33(2):101–110.
   dir. 2004
      Les drogues. Approche sociologique, économique et politique. Paris: La Documentation française.

Keane, Helen
    2003 Critiques of Harm Reduction, Morality and the Promise of Human Rights. International Journal on Drug Policy 14(3):227–232. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0955-3959(02)00151-2.

Kleinig, John
    2008 The Ethics of Harm Reduction. Substance Use & Misuse 43(1):1–16. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10826080701690680.

Lovell, Anne
    2001 Ordonner les risques, l'individu et le pharmaco-sociatif face à l'injection de drogues. *Dans* Critique de la santé publique. Une approche anthropologique. Jean-Pierre Dozon et Didier Fassin, dirs. Pp. 309–341. Paris: Balland.

Massé, Raymond
    2013 Fondements éthiques des approches de réduction des méfaits : de l'utilitarisme à la justice sociale. *Dans* Réduction des méfaits et tolérance en santé publique. Enjeux éthiques et politiques. Raymond Massé et Isabelle Mondou, dirs. Pp. 41–70. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval.

Massé, Raymond et Isabelle Mondou, dirs.
    2013 Réduction des méfaits et tolérance en santé publique. Enjeux éthiques et politiques. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval.

Moore, David et Suzanne Fraser
    2006 Putting at Risk What We Know: Reflecting on the Drug-Using Subject in Harm Reduction and its Political Implications. Social Science & Medicine 62(12):3035–3047. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2005.11.067.

Pinell, Patrice, dir.
    2002 Une épidémie politique. La lutte contre le sida en France (1981–1996). Paris: Presses universitaires de France.

Powers, Madison et Ruth Faden
    2006 Social Justice. The Moral Foundations of Public Health and Health Policy. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Race, Kane
    2008 The Use of Pleasure in Harm Reduction. Perspectives from the History of Sexuality. International Journal on Drug Policy 19(5):417–423. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.drugpo.2007.08.008.

Rhodes, Tim
    2002 The « Risk Environment »: a Framework for Understanding and Reducing Drug-Related Harm. International Journal on Drug Policy 13(2):85–94. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0955-3959(02)00007-5.

Rhodes, Tim, Merrill Singer, Philippe Bourgois, et al
    2005 The Social Structural Production of HIV Risk among Injecting Drug Users. Social Science & Medicine 61(5):1026–1044. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2004.12.024.

Scott, James C.
    2008 La domination et les arts de la résistance. Fragments du discours subalterne. Paris: Éditions Amsterdam.

Tulchinsky, Théodore H. et Elena A. Varavikova
    2010 What is the New Public Health? Public Health Reviews 32(1):25–53.

Anthropological Reflections / Réflexions anthropologiques
Faire la fête à un grand esprit : les paradoxes du centième anniversaire de Claude Lévi-Strauss

Jocelyn Gadbois   *Concordia University, Université de Montréal*

Résumé : Cet article analyse les différentes formes d'hommage organisées à Paris pour le centième anniversaire de Claude Lévi-Strauss, en particulier les articles dans les médias et l'événement spécial organisé au musée du quai Branly. L'auteur relève un deuxième discours derrière ces hommages : au-delà de l'honneur rendu à l'homme et à sa pensée, les hommages cherchaient à induire la mort symbolique de celui-ci. Un tel sacrifice permettait à ceux qui se revendiquaient comme des héritiers de se partager un fragment de Claude Lévi-Strauss afin d'en disposer à leur guise. Ces récupérations pouvaient être de différentes natures, en particulier politiques.

Mots-clés : Hommage, Claude Lévi-Strauss, fête, meurtre rituel, musée du quai Branly

Abstract: This article analyzes various forms of homage organized in Paris for the Claude Lévi-Strauss hundredth anniversary, particularly articles in the media and the special event at the musée du quai Branly. The author notes that these homages speak out of both sides of their mouths; not only do they try to honour the man and his wisdom, but they also focus on his death. This kind of sacrifice allows those who think they are his heirs to share a Claude Lévi-Strauss' fragment, for them to do with as they saw fit. These retakes can be of a different nature, especially political.

Keywords: Homage, Claude Lévi-Strauss, celebration, ritual killing, musée du quai Branly

Introduction

« Il hait les anniversaires et les commémorations » (Bandini 2008). Et voici qu'on le célèbre. Le 28 novembre 2008, journalistes, anthropologues, universitaires, politiciens et lecteurs de différents horizons ont tenu à saluer, notamment en France, Claude Lévi-Strauss à l'occasion de son centième anniversaire de naissance. Ils tentaient tous « de célébrer dignement l'éminente stature, le rôle majeur qu'il a joué dans la mue de l'anthropologie moderne » (Gerbi 2008). L'événement a été souligné sous différentes formes : articles, colloques universitaires, fêtes plus intimes, projections de films, diffusions de textes inédits, entrée de l'auteur dans La Pléiade, et hommages en tout genre[1]. Deux types d'hommage ont spécifiquement marqué l'espace public parisien par leur ampleur : l'inondation d'articles et de dossiers spéciaux dans les journaux (intimes et publics, en ligne et hors-ligne, français et étrangers) et l'organisation d'une journée spéciale en l'honneur de Claude Lévi-Strauss au musée du quai Branly. Or, le principal concerné a brillé par son absence à tous ces événements ; il n'a accordé aucune entrevue et n'a pas non plus commenté la journée organisée en son honneur.

Sur Internet, les paris étaient ouverts pour tenter d'expliquer cette absence : problèmes de santé, humilité, timidité, entêtement, orgueil, mécontentement, mélange de plusieurs de ces éléments. Un mystère planait autour de la fête. Plusieurs sites ont en revanche taxé cette préoccupation de cancan, comme pour la discréditer. Par exemple, lorsque la journaliste Élisabeth Bouvet de Radio France internationale a osé lui demander ce que Lévi-Strauss a pensé de ses hommages, Catherine Clément, philosophe engagée dans l'organisation de la journée spéciale au musée du quai Branly, a répondu : « Il n'a pas voulu que je lui en parle. Et à ce titre, on ne supposera rien du tout » (Bouvet 2008). C'est ainsi dire que le mystère a été scellé par une interdiction. Celle-ci a entraîné une esquive, comme si la mise à distance du fêté et de la fête devait être protégée. S'agissait-il d'une

(autre) énigme interprétative signée par Claude Lévi-Strauss ?

Lorsque j'ai demandé à Anne-Christine Taylor, directrice du département de la recherche et de l'enseignement du musée du quai Branly, la raison expliquant l'absence de Claude Lévi-Strauss à sa propre fête, elle a prétexté la fragilité de l'état de santé du centenaire. À cent ans, il s'agissait vraisemblablement d'une excuse des plus recevables. Elle a cependant apporté un bémol intéressant à cette explication lorsque j'ai récidivé, plus tard dans l'entrevue, en lui demandant si cette absence n'était motivée que par une question de santé. Selon elle, Lévi-Strauss n'aimait pas les célébrations et n'a toléré, dans ses anniversaires passés, que les fêtes intimes. « Il a toujours eu horreur des grands-messes. » Et ce n'était pas là une question de modestie, mais de malaise. Comment concevoir que ce malaise, physique et social, lui apparût plus grand que l'honneur qu'il allait recevoir ?

Pour comprendre la situation, j'aurais pu bien sûr mettre en avant-plan les raisons personnelles justifiant cette absence en tentant par exemple de lui demander directement. Mais qui étais-je pour le déranger avec mes questions ? Qui plus est, les raisons personnelles étaient pour Lévi-Strauss lui-même sans intérêt. Dans *Tristes tropiques*, il a insinué que les éléments biographiques n'étaient que « des considérations bien longues et bien inutiles » (Lévi-Strauss 1955:65). Sa seule présence dans le XXIᵉ siècle n'était, toujours selon lui, que circonstancielle. Pour insister sur ce dernier fait, plusieurs journalistes se sont plus à citer cette phrase étonnante que Claude Lévi-Strauss aurait dite au Collège de France : « Si je suis encore vivant, c'est par inadvertance » (Guibert 2008)[2]. De fait, ce malaise ne serait pas tant une décision individuelle que le résultat d'une équation complexe cryptée dans le construit de la fête. Les fondements du malaise n'étaient pas dans le conjoncturel.

Claude Lévi-Strauss a déjà formulé cette énigme à l'occasion de son 90ᵉ anniversaire, lors d'une entrevue[3] qu'il a accordée à Antoine Spire pour Staccato :

> J'avoue que j'aurais souhaité que cet anniversaire passât inaperçu pour plusieurs raisons. D'abord parce que dans les 90ᵉˢ anniversaires, il y a toujours quelque chose d'un petit peu hypocrite. On s'empresse de le fêter, on en fait un grand anniversaire, parce qu'on se dit que le 100ᵉ, on n'aura plus l'occasion de le faire. Et puis aussi, parce que je crois que les anniversaires à cet âge n'ont plus beaucoup de raisons d'être, parce qu'il n'y a pas de raisons de fêter ou de célébrer une marche de plus descendue vers la déchéance physique et intellectuelle. [Spire 1998 : ma transcription]

En d'autres termes, pour Claude Lévi-Strauss, fêter un nonagénaire ou un centenaire, c'est célébrer la mort et son imminence. Dans cette perspective, on comprend mieux que l'on puisse être mal à l'aise devant une telle *hypocrisie*. La fatalité de la fin, qui guettait Lévi-Strauss, le structuralisme, l'anthropologie, la France, l'humain, l'humanité n'était pas, selon lui, un prétexte à la célébration. Une tension s'est installée entre cette interprétation de la fête hypocrite et l'intention, sans aucun doute sincère, des *fêteurs*, en l'occurrence ceux qui ont voulu lui rendre hommage. L'énigme de cette fête et le malaise lévi-straussien se trouvaient là, dans l'entre-lieu.

Pour tenter d'expliciter ce mystère entourant l'absence (ou plutôt la non-participation) de Claude Lévi-Strauss à ses hommages, il fallait retrouver la logique de la relative *hypocrisie* au sens où l'emploie le fêté. Pour ce faire, il fallait révéler le sens caché de la fête et le reconstruire pour en saisir sa portée. Pour y parvenir, j'ai analysé le contenu sémantique de cinquante articles francophones en ligne[4] traitant du centième anniversaire de l'anthropologue et les commentaires qui en ont découlé, ainsi que (sommairement) quelques matériaux hors ligne (affiches, journaux, films, conférences, livres) disponibles à Paris le 28 novembre 2008. Du côté de l'appréhension interne de cet événement, j'ai participé en qualité de visiteur à la journée spéciale organisée en l'honneur de Claude Lévi-Strauss par le musée du quai Branly en prenant soin de prendre des notes et des photographies de l'événement. Pour compléter les informations et vérifier certaines impressions sur le terrain, j'ai, dans un deuxième temps, réalisé une entrevue auprès d'Anne-Christine Taylor. Force est de pister, malgré l'interdit, la cohérence d'une interprétation qui saurait expliciter la tension malaisée que j'ai pu observer à Paris à l'occasion du centenaire de Claude Lévi-Strauss.

Commencer par la fin

L'hypocrisie dénoncée par Claude Lévi-Strauss était celle de célébrer la mort du fêté. C'était ainsi dire que le musée et les journaux n'ont pas souligné, le 28 novembre 2008, un centième anniversaire de naissance, mais « quelque chose » (Eco 1999:23) comme la mort. Cette fin tragique, cette mort, a bel et bien hanté la journée. L'exemple le plus éloquent demeure le titre apocalyptique figurant sur la première page du périodique *Le Nouvel Observateur* : « Claude Lévi-Strauss. Le dernier des géants. » La fête revêtait un caractère tragique ; un drame se nouait chez les intellectuels. Cette manière de lire le sens de cette célébration fut toutefois critiquée. Dans le « salon de réflexion virtuel » Causeur.fr, Anabase, un internaute, a ironisé : « Pour la fin des élites

culturelles, versons une larme. Il ne reste plus que des imbéciles » (De Koch 2008). Françoise Héritier, dans un entretien qu'elle a accordé à un journaliste de l'Agence France-Presse, a également déploré cette manière de rendre hommage à son maître : « Comme on a eu le dernier poilu, on a le dernier grand penseur. Ce qui est faux, heureusement ! Il y en a d'autres qui viennent derrière » (Agence France-Presse 2008). La fin, annoncée par *Le Nouvel Observateur* et ailleurs, devait cependant être comprise comme une métaphore. Pour la décoder, il fallait saisir la perche tendue par Françoise Héritier. Le mot « derrière » qu'elle a utilisé était à ce chapitre lourd de contenu. Que signifiait être derrière le dernier ?

« Être derrière Lévi-Strauss », c'est ce que rappelait l'affiche de la journée spéciale organisée au musée du quai Branly :
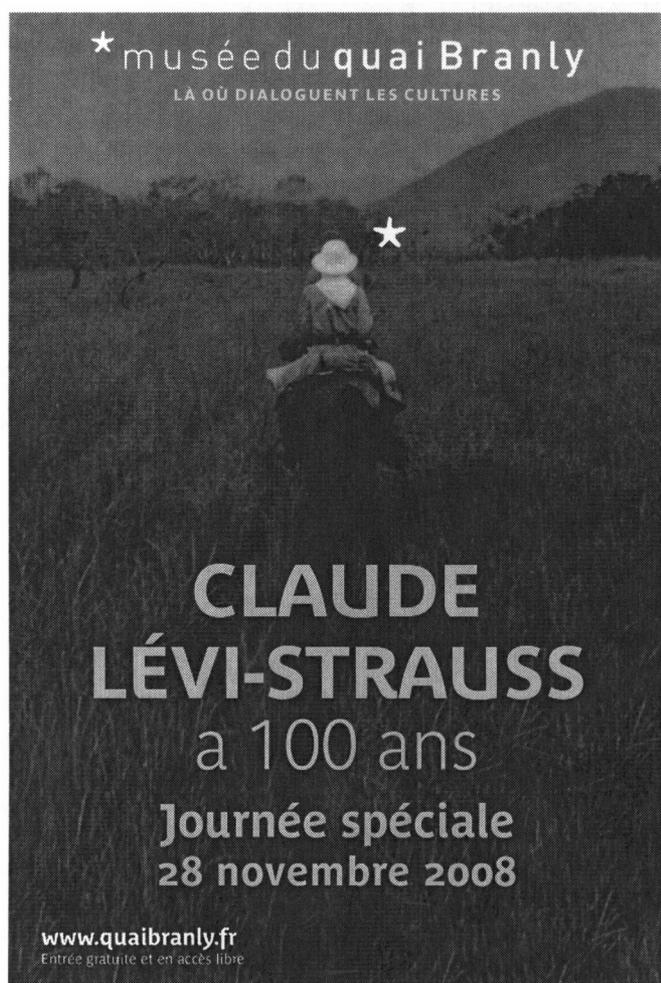
Illustration 1 : Affiche de la journée spéciale du musée du quai Branly. © musée du quai Branly.

L'affiche présente la silhouette d'un personnage (Claude Lévi-Strauss) vu de dos, sur un cheval, dans et sur un terrain (vague), voire dans un champ (discipli-

naire). Une autre silhouette, cachée derrière ou devant le personnage en avant-plan (une vue de derrière), dirige le cheval et conduit son passager (Claude Lévi-Strauss) vers une étoile ajoutée à l'illustration, comme un objectif irréel (ou surréel). D'ailleurs, les principales lignes de force de l'image (horizon, colline, trajectoire du cheval et des ombres dans l'herbe) se dirigent vers l'étoile. Si on comprend cette étoile comme un rappel de note, celle-ci renvoie au musée ; c'est là où tout converge. L'objectif, cette fois de l'appareil-photo, est suspendu entre le fixe et le mobile. Dans le premier cas, le photographe regarde (fixe) l'acteur s'éloigner. Dans le mouvement anticipé, l'acteur prend ses distances jusqu'à se perdre dans un horizon. Dans le deuxième cas, le photographe (mobile) suit le sujet, sans le dépasser, dans sa progression vers l'étoile. Ces plans qui se superposent semblent offrir un jeu de fuites (de lignes, de regards, d'acteurs) et surtout d'esquives. Plusieurs éléments demeurent cachés. Entre autres, un mystère plane autour des couleurs. Le graphisme laisse à voir une double désaturation (contrastant avec l'orange saturé du ciel surréel) : l'une se concentre autour du personnage et de sa monture (nuances de gris) et l'autre (sépia) autour du champ. Ce jeu de teintes insiste sur un double décalage. Le premier est temporel, comme s'il s'agit d'un montage de photos prises à deux époques différentes. La seconde joue avec des niveaux de réalités : il y a l'anthropologue et son terrain. Ce double décalage donne une impression de spectre, comme si l'acteur sur la photo appartient à la fois à un autre temps et à une autre réalité. L'affiche apparaît comme une invitation vers un « autre monde ». Le mystère autour de la fête de Claude Lévi-Strauss s'est épaissi. De fait, la journée « spéciale » semblait l'être effectivement.

Le mystère était d'autant plus intrigant que le musée du quai Branly, en choisissant cette photo pour promouvoir son activité, a réussi à s'opposer en tout point avec l'image de Claude Lévi-Strauss généralement diffusée dans les médias lui adressant un hommage. Et il s'agissait effectivement d'un choix délibéré, motivé par le désir de se distinguer des autres hommages[5]. L'image de Lévi-Strauss dans les médias s'est présentée dans la majorité des cas comme un portrait plus ou moins récent d'un homme qui paraît en santé malgré son âge avancé et son air sérieux. Il portait un costume classique ou « traditionnel » (notamment celui des académiciens) et était la plupart du temps entouré de livres. En comparant cette description sommaire de l'image de l'auteur à celle montrée sur l'affiche, on constate qu'en effet, l'hommage du musée semblait se distinguer, voire s'opposer, à celui de l'espace médiatique. De manière générale, les médias cherchaient en quelque sorte à transformer le

personnage en icône, représentée par un visage triste (comme ses tropiques), dominé par un front imposant (comme ses écrits) et des lunettes larges (comme les horizons qu'il a ouverts). Il faut ainsi croire que l'hommage du musée cherchait à mettre à distance cette image au profit d'une autre, radicalement différente, qui ferait davantage la promotion de la mission que s'est donnée le musée du quai Branly. On sentait s'installer une tension dialectique entre une volonté (journalistique) de saluer l'homme, sa longévité, son pessimisme, ses lectures et une autre (muséale) qui voulait insister sur sa perspective, son parcours, son ouverture, son terrain.

Cette interprétation de la distinction des hommages trouverait davantage d'assurance si j'osais l'appuyer sur l'analyse de leur forme. Du côté de l'espace public et notamment dans la presse électronique et les blogues), les internautes se plaisaient à décrire la biographie de l'auteur, l'intelligence de son propos, la beauté de sa plume, la reconnaissance qu'il a reçue et les critiques qu'il a soulevées. On a également invité ses disciples les plus (re)connus (Françoise Héritier, Catherine Clément, Philippe Descola, Anne-Christine Taylor) à partager un peu de leur héritage et leurs souvenirs liés à Lévi-Strauss. Les internautes qui ont commenté ces articles se plaisent à échanger, voire à mesurer, leur profonde admiration et connaissance de ce grand nom de l'anthropologie. On pourrait alors parler d'un hommage contemplatif, où l'objectif était de momifier l'homme en l'enveloppant de reconnaissance. Il y avait tentative d'*immortaliser* ce monument de la pensée et qui sait, de le faire passer au panthéon national.

De l'autre côté – celui des pairs –, on a plutôt cherché à maintenir vivante l'œuvre de Lévi-Strauss en célébrant toute sa richesse et sa valeur heuristique pour comprendre le monde contemporain. Pour ce faire, on a invité les disciples (de passage à Paris) à se réunir, à échanger et à se reconnaître entre eux. Les héritiers ne se sont pas tournés vers leur maître et le passé, mais l'ont laissé parler à travers ses textes, à travers leurs voix (multiples), afin de le faire passer à la postérité. À l'inverse de la contemplation, les visiteurs ont été invités à vivre l'héritage lévi-straussien. Par conséquent, dans ce dernier hommage, la fête ne semblait en rien célébrer la mort (métaphorique ou réelle) de Lévi-Strauss. On a au contraire souligné son passage. Claude Lévi-Strauss ne serait pas vraiment le dernier, car, comme l'a illustré la photographie sélectionnée par le musée, et jugée très émouvante par Anne-Christine Taylor, il se cacherait quelque chose, ou quelqu'un, derrière lui.

Pourquoi alors le cavalier se plaisait-il à envoyer Claude Lévi-Strauss dans un « autre monde » ? Ce n'est pas dans l'analyse formelle que j'allais trouver la réponse, mais dans une réalité de la fête qui échappait au visible. Il faut d'abord considérer cette présence de la mort dans les hommages des médias.

La mort plus-que-réelle de Claude Lévi-Strauss

Quelques internautes se sont dits surpris – et un brin coupables – d'apprendre que Claude Lévi-Strauss fût encore vivant. D'autres ont indirectement avoué leur confusion en choisissant par erreur le passé dans les temps de verbe[6]. On a inhumé (vivant) l'anthropologue et on l'a déterré (dans plusieurs sens du terme) comme s'il était suspendu entre le monde des morts et celui des vivants. On l'a, bien involontairement, exclu du présent, comme s'il était devenu un étranger. Pour ajouter à cette exclusion, la secrétaire de l'Académie française, Hélène Carrère d'Encausse, aurait déclaré à France Inter à propos des préparatifs de la fête : « On attend qu'il ait cent ans, parce que nous l'aimons tendrement et que tous nos centenaires ont disparu juste avant » (Leménager 2008). La (superstitieuse) formulation de cette crainte d'une fin prématurée a été vivement critiquée par les internautes. Il faut croire que la mort de Lévi-Strauss était peut-être imminente et immanente, mais elle demeurait encore interdite.

Une autre façon, plus fréquente, d'isoler Claude Lévi-Strauss entre la vie et la mort, a été de se réjouir qu'un « immortel » continuait de l'être ; l'auteur semblait en marge de la mortalité. Il y avait dans tous les cas un caractère extraordinaire à la (sur)vie de l'homme. C'était « comme si la vie avait souhaité conserver le plus longtemps possible cette vigie qui a traversé le siècle le plus sanglant de l'Histoire » (Confidentiel Africain 2008). L'utilisation du plus-que-parfait dans cette phrase a ajouté à l'irréalité de l'existence de Lévi-Strauss. Ce même temps de verbe a été utilisé par plusieurs autres personnes qui souhaitaient lui rendre hommage, notamment dans le communiqué de presse de l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'éducation, la science et la culture (Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'éducation, la science et la culture 2008). Françoise Héritier, dans l'entrevue citée plus tôt, aurait également utilisé ce temps de verbe, mais uniquement pour la dernière phrase. Voici sa phrase dans son contexte :

> Il a une vision pessimiste et un peu misanthropique de l'humanité et de sa capacité à prendre en main son destin. Quand il parle de « tristes tropiques », il veut dire que, contrairement à l'imaginaire occidental, quand on visite la zone des tropiques, on y voit la misère, la souffrance et la dégradation. Il parle de l'explosion démographique, de la dévastation des ressources de la terre et de la mondialisation culturelle

qui menace l'existence et la cohabitation de cultures différentes. Le tableau clinique de la terre n'est pas tellement positif. Il avait vu ça très bien. [Agence France-Presse 2008]

On confère ici à Claude Lévi-Strauss des airs de prophète doué pour les visions apocalyptiques. Il semble avoir (eu) accès à un « autre monde ». Plus frappant encore, le journaliste canadien Christian Rioux a narré au plus-que-parfait le récit de sa rencontre surréelle de 1998 avec l'homme. Pour ajouter à ce mystère de cette rencontre extratemporelle (voire *extraterrestre*[7]), racontée comme un rêve, il a conclu son article en ces termes : « En m'engouffrant dans l'ascenseur qui me ramenait sur terre, j'ai eu l'impression d'avoir éprouvé moi aussi un peu de cette "douceur de vivre qui consiste d'abord à ne pas mourir" » (Rioux 2008).

Claude Lévi-Strauss a ainsi été décrit comme un être « plus-que-réel » pour emprunter une expression utilisée par Marc Angenot (2003:365). Il revêtait une face sacrée qui obligeait un interdit, sinon un respect, d'où l'emploi du plus-que-parfait et les descriptions surréelles de sa présence. Encore vivant, il était dans un autre monde. Cette idée a d'ailleurs souvent été exprimée par les journalistes et les blogueurs. En ce sens – et pour respecter l'interdit de ne pas être l'auteur de cette exclusion –, plusieurs ont cité l'anthropologue qui s'est lui-même exclu du monde. Parmi les citations les plus populaires, on peut noter une phrase qu'il aurait dite lors d'une entrevue accordée en 2005 au journal *Le Monde* : « Nous sommes dans un monde auquel je n'appartiens déjà plus. Celui que j'ai connu, celui que j'ai aimé, avait 1,5 milliard d'habitants. Le monde actuel compte 6 milliards d'humains. Ce n'est plus le mien. »[8] Cette même citation a été reprise par Vincent Caradec dans son article portant sur la notion de déprise pour exprimer la métaphore de l'étranger chez les personnes très âgées. Vieillir, c'est devenir décalé[9], notamment pour l'espace médiatique. L'appartenance à un autre monde – en l'occurrence, celui du XXe siècle, celui des Bororos, celui des morts – est symptomatique d'« une conscience accrue de sa finitude » (Caradec 2007:14–15). C'est ainsi que le « vieillard alerte » (Rioux 2008) s'est laissé pousser dans l'étranger, le regard éloigné.

La fête d'un esprit

Cette mise à distance – cet entre-lieu dans lequel on a placé l'auteur (et dans lequel il s'est placé volontiers) – ouvre le questionnement, entre autres, de Jean-Didier Urbain au sujet de la survie et de l'immortalité des morts (Urbain 1989). L'effacement de Claude Lévi-Strauss lors de la journée spéciale peut être compris comme une manière de nier le déclin de l'homme, afin de conserver sa mémoire intacte dans la sphère publique. L'image de Lévi-Strauss se devait d'être épargnée du spectre de la fin. Il ne s'agissait pas ici de nier la mort, mais de cultiver l'espoir que quelque chose, comme son œuvre, voire son *esprit*, pouvait triompher de la mort et passer (ou plutôt rester) chez les vivants. Souligner ce passage (éventuel ou surréel) du vivant vers les morts et des morts vers le vivant a constitué un enjeu symbolique de taille. La célébration du centenaire a agi quelque peu en qualité d'obsèques métaphoriques.

En m'inspirant de la lecture de Robert Hertz sur le passage de l'âme (Hertz 1928), j'avancerai l'idée que le musée aurait pour ainsi dire tenté de marquer le passage d'un grand *esprit* d'un monde à l'autre, mais surtout son passage dans le champ de la connaissance et dans le musée. En ce sens, tout comme Anne-Christine Taylor me l'a confié, plusieurs articles ont rappelé que l'ethnologue a soutenu ce musée (malgré les polémiques) dès ses débuts et qu'il y a déposé une partie de sa collection. « L'aura de Lévi-Strauss » (Guerrin et Mortaigne 2008:1) imprégnait les lieux, comme une hantise. Durant la journée spéciale, on a tenté de marquer ce passage en (re)créant cette « présence » (en l'absence du principal concerné) en projetant ses photographies à l'entrée et des films où il est en vedette. Claude Lévi-Strauss a ainsi fait des *apparitions*. Encore plus, on a exposé comme des talismans ses objets et photographies. Dans un coin du musée, on a enregistré, comme une séance de spiritisme, une émission de radio devant un public présent et absent, où des invités-vedettes ont évoqué plusieurs fois son nom autour d'une table.

La principale attraction inspirant le passage de *l'esprit* dans les lieux demeure bien entendu l'idée de Stéphane Martin, président du musée, qui a « imaginé une formule de célébration qui ne soit ni de format purement universitaire ni de format trop politico-institutionnel » (Anne-Christine Taylor, communication personnelle). Il s'agissait des lectures des cent personnalités qui ont bien voulu prêter leur(s) voix à des textes de Lévi-Strauss, comme s'ils l'avaient laissé les posséder et parler à travers eux. Les textes ont été lus par « une soixantaine de penseurs et d'artistes sollicitées par Catherine Clément ... et une quarantaine d'ethnologues invités par Anne-Christine Taylor[10] » (musée du quai Branly 2008a:5). Pendant plusieurs heures, anthropologues, écrivains, philosophes, politiciens, mathématiciens et autres se sont échangés les microphones pour réciter des segments de textes sélectionnés pour eux ou par eux. Chaque lecture a pris en moyenne quinze minutes

et jusqu'à cinq lectures ont été effectuées en même temps dans différents coins du musée. Les visiteurs se disputaient l'espace (muséal) et les points de vue. Les moins chanceux ont dû se réfugier entre des œuvres d'art pour se contenter d'une voix désincarnée. Mais cette posture demeurait temporaire, car le mouvement était constant dans et entre les publics. Plusieurs visiteurs ont ainsi tenté d'errer dans les passages, comme s'ils participaient à une chasse aux trésors, une chasse aux reliques, dans un « exotisme proche » (De Certeau 1990:160). Ceux qui restaient pour écouter ont joui du spectacle des paroles d'un autre monde, porteur d'une grande vérité sur le leur.

En fait, tout l'éventail des activités proposées s'est présenté comme une sorte de jeu de piste au cours duquel le visiteur traquait les preuves matérielles (visuelles, audiovisuelles, artéfactuelles et textuelles) du passage de l'*esprit* lévi-straussien. Les preuves, les empreintes, donnaient accès à sa mémoire, son expérience, son image, sa pensée et sa vision du monde. Par conséquent, le but de chercher une (em)prise sur cet *esprit* était de se prolonger en lui, de l'incorporer, voire de le cannibaliser. Plusieurs passages ont ainsi été marqués : passage d'un siècle, passation de savoirs, passage éminent de la mort, passage antérieur de Lévi-Strauss au musée, de l'anthropologue sur le terrain, et surtout passage de Lévi-Strauss en soi.

Interprétation moins surréelle, cette cannibalisation de l'*esprit* lévi-straussien n'était finalement qu'un acte de lecture. Les lectures publiques et individuelles des textes étaient des moyens de se s'approprier et de réinterpréter l'œuvre de Lévi-Strauss. Cependant, à l'inverse du colloque où la parole est critiquée et renvoyée à l'auteur ne serait-ce que sous forme de questions, les lectures publiques et la présentation d'objets ne faisaient circuler l'œuvre qu'en une seule direction : du mort vers les vivants. S'il s'agissait là d'une manière fort efficace de faire (re)vivre le mort, ce dernier paraissait être enfermé dans un cercueil, renforçant l'idée d'être enterré vivant.

Durant ces lectures, Lévi-Strauss a subi une série d'enfermements. En premier lieu, il a été enfermé dans le texte : il ne pouvait en sortir, s'en dégager, car le lecteur l'obligeait à supporter le poids de chacun de ses mots. Encore plus, même s'il a érigé chacun de ces cercueils, ce n'était pas Lévi-Strauss qui a choisi ses cages de vers. L'auteur a par la suite été enfermé dans de multiples cercueils de chair ; il s'est logé dans chaque lecteur, qui a pris la parole ou qui s'est contenté d'écouter. Il était à sa merci. En troisième lieu, il a été enfermé – et de manière symbolique – dans des cercueils de visiteurs qui ont encerclé les lecteurs. Cet enfermement a

été d'autant plus juste qu'Anne-Christine Taylor m'a confié que la forte popularité de l'événement (plus de 12,000 visiteurs durant la journée) a créé un problème de circulation dans le musée : l'importance des attroupements de visiteurs a rendu difficile l'accès à certains passages. Finalement, Lévi-Strauss a été enfermé dans le musée du quai Branly, comme s'il s'agissait de sa dernière demeure.

Comme les objets d'art enfermés dans leurs cercueils de verre, les textes de Lévi-Strauss sont eux-mêmes devenus des objets d'art (premier). Le musée du quai Branly, dans son rapport d'activité, a été très clair sur cette volonté d'esthétiser cette œuvre. À propos des lectures qui se sont déroulées durant la journée spéciale, il est écrit :

> Tout au long de la journée, des scientifiques, des artistes, des intellectuels et des politiques se sont relayés sur le plateau, au milieu des pièces exposées, pour mettre en résonance, par des lectures de textes choisis, la force plastique des objets et la beauté des écrits que l'anthropologue a consacrés à rendre intelligible le sensible. [musée du quai Branly 2008b:67]

Les textes ont pour ainsi dire été présentés comme des poèmes. Devant cette poésie savante, on pouvait souvent voir les visiteurs fermer les yeux, sourire, se balancer doucement, comme s'ils étaient portés par le son d'une mélodie, et applaudir le texte, le contexte, le prétexte. La disposition de l'espace créé par l'artiste et metteur en scène Daniel Mesguish (musée du quai Branly 2008b) – quoique sa participation à l'organisation de l'événement aurait été assez limitée selon Anne-Christine Taylor –, a accentué l'importance accordée à l'esthétique durant la journée. C'est comme si on n'avait pas cherché à retenir l'attention du public, mais à le faire plutôt vibrer d'émotions. En ce sens, il n'y avait pas de chaises et d'éclairages francs. La vue et le son étaient également à certains points obstrués par des panneaux ou des œuvres d'art. La visite entière invitait les visiteurs à entrer dans une inattentive contemplation et dans un état passif d'admiration. Anne-Christine Taylor a abondé en ce sens en affirmant que les organisateurs ont été surpris par le comportement des visiteurs :

> On imaginait qu'en faisant ces lectures, les gens allaient circuler dans le musée et écouteraient d'une oreille un peu distraite. C'était à la fois un hommage, mais on imaginait que ça serait une sorte de bruit de fond, ces paroles magnifiques en raison du style fabuleux de Lévi-Strauss, qui circulerait dans le musée.

Mais les visiteurs se sont arrêtés pour écouter, pour admirer, pour recevoir en eux un fragment de texte.

Et c'est dans cet environnement que Lévi-Strauss a reçu un hommage à sa hauteur. Devant tant d'admiration et d'admirateurs, le « poète » (Gerbi 2008) pouvait (enfin) mourir, mourir dans le regard de l'autre. Ce meurtre (totémique) a fortement été encouragé par l'imposture, ici (ré)incarnée, du lecteur : « la voix perd son origine, l'auteur entre dans sa propre mort » (Barthes 1986:63). Claude Lévi-Strauss a alors vécu dans le passé de sa propre pensée, comme s'il en avait été désincarné. L'auteur était mort, ces lectures étaient testamentaires[11]. La rencontre a visé le partage d'une partie de son héritage. Pour bien affirmer la puissance de la métaphore de l'enterrement, on a inauguré durant cette même journée une plaque commémorative, comme une pierre tombale, placée au sous-sol, à l'entrée du théâtre Claude Lévi-Strauss. Il y était inscrit une citation évoquant « l'esprit du musée » pour reprendre le terme employé par Anne-Christine Taylor : « L'exclusive fatalité, l'unique tare, qui puisse affliger un groupe humain et l'empêcher de réaliser pleinement sa nature, c'est d'être seul. » L'analogie entre ce monument et la pierre tombale gagne en puissance lorsqu'on entend Anne-Christine Taylor le qualifier de « stèle ». Depuis le 28 novembre 2008, Claude Lévi-Strauss gît au musée du quai Branly.

La métaphore du Grand père supplicié

Dans les deux types d'hommages adressés à Claude Lévi-Strauss, on a enterré et consommé vivants l'auteur et son œuvre. Dans les médias (notamment français), on l'a présenté de manière surréelle en le suggérant mort, ou du moins dans un autre monde. Dans la journée spéciale du musée du quai Branly, on l'a enterré dans d'autres voix, on lui a érigé une stèle et on s'est partagé son héritage. Ces hommages ne se sont donc pas opposés, au contraire. Dans leur performativité, ils suivaient les mêmes objectifs : 1) rendre effectifs des passages ; 2) révéler l'échange entre le monde de Lévi-Strauss et le sien ; et 3) marquer la coupure générationnelle. Le malaise commençait à s'éclairer : Lévi-Strauss a cherché à fuir son meurtre.

En revanche, il faut creuser davantage la signification du meurtre rituel pour mieux saisir l'énigme. Le premier élément de compréhension se trouvait dans la marque de la coupure générationnelle. Catherine Clément a fait une analogie intéressante entre Claude Lévi-Strauss et la figure du grand-père (Bouvet 2008). Cette même métaphore du patriarche (ancêtre, grand-père, père) offrant un héritage familial ou clanique est constamment revenue dans les textes des journalistes et des blogueurs. Par exemple, on a dit que le fêté était le père de Tristes tropiques, de la pensée structuraliste, de l'an-

thropologie française moderne, du relativisme culturel et du Laboratoire d'anthropologie sociale. Il semble ici y avoir un rapprochement sémantique entre la filiation académique et la parenté. Les réseaux ont en effet partagé des structures similaires, mais l'efficacité de l'analogie reposait davantage sur l'idée que les deux systèmes coordonnaient les fonctions de chaque acteur et assuraient « la permanence du groupe social, en entrecroisant, à la façon d'un tissu, les relations consanguines et celles fondées sur l'alliance » (Lévi-Strauss 1974[1958]:369). De fait, les relations consanguines pourraient faire référence aux anciens étudiants (légitimes) de Lévi-Strauss que l'on a volontiers présentés dans les médias comme les héritiers. De leur côté, les relations d'alliance se trouvaient chez les penseurs qui ont flirté avec le structuralisme lévi-straussien et qui ont engendré à leur tour des extensions de lui. Le tout ressemblait à un système de parenté au sommet duquel trônait Claude Lévi-Strauss. C'est ainsi dire que son centième anniversaire devenait la célébration de la mort d'un père (symbolique).

Or, comme énoncé plus tôt, la mort du père est provoquée. Il s'agissait d'un meurtre rituel et sans doute plus justement d'un parricide. Cette mort du père supplicié est devenue un rituel de sacrifice. Mauss[12] et Hubert auraient spécifié qu'il s'agissait, en fait, d'un sacrifice de sacralisation, où le but était d'augmenter le caractère sacré du sacrifié en expiant son péché et d'augmenter parallèlement le sacré chez les sacrifiants en les libérant du leur (Hubert et Mauss 1899). Cette interprétation (surréaliste) contenait néanmoins un angle mort causé par ledit malaise : le sacrifié était absent. Peut-on tuer le père en son absence ? Le malaise a-t-il été causé par une rupture de communion ? Non.

Pour évoquer l'analyse rituelle de Robertson Smith telle que décortiquée par Freud, la divinité d'un clan prendrait toujours part au sacrifice de manière invisible. Pour les sacrifiants, le sacrifié prenait l'image du père. Le sacrifice devenait alors double : sacrifice de l'esprit et de la figure paternelle. Le psychanalyste a expliqué que le parricide est provoqué par un désir de substituer ledit père ou esprit et de devenir aussi grand, sinon plus grand, que lui. Pour ce faire, il faudra non pas seulement le tuer, mais le cannibaliser, l'incorporer dans le cadre d'un repas totémique (Freud 1993[1912]). Métaphoriquement, les cent lecteurs se sont partagé une partie de l'œuvre de Lévi-Strauss en se la mettant en bouche, comme s'ils cherchaient à ce que cet auteur vive en eux. Assis autour de ces héritiers, les visiteurs ont aussi pu le déguster, en recevant, à l'oral, ces miettes du père, livrées pour eux, en mémoire de lui. En revanche,

toujours selon Freud, la communauté (scientifique) partageant un tel repas totémique s'est insatisfait du sacrifice. Cette insatisfaction lui a fait croire que le sacrifié était plus grand, et plus grand encore que tous ceux qui seront derrière lui. Les héritiers et les visiteurs ont alors élevé le père et l'esprit à un rang supérieur. Claude Lévi-Strauss est devenu un totem, surréel, et grand chef du clan (indéfini) des lévi-straussiens.

D'un point de vue lévi-straussien, il y aurait peut-être dans cette métaphore d'inspiration freudienne du totémisme une confusion entre l'esprit célébré (être) et le totem sacrifié (chose). Il faut dire cependant que – ce que souligne Lévi-Strauss en citant par exemple Prytz-Johansen (Lévi-Strauss 1962) – la distinction entre l'être et la chose reposerait essentiellement sur la participation du *mana*, de l'esprit. Par conséquent, l'absence de participation de Lévi-Strauss à ses hommages a permis (ou obligé ?) le passage de l'être vivant vers la chose ou plus justement vers le quelque chose totémique. Les fêteurs ont ainsi pu sacrifier une représentation plutôt que l'être lui-même. Le malaise de participer à l'événement était précisément là. Pour passer, Claude Lévi-Strauss devait être complice de son propre meurtre, consentir à devenir une chose (comme un totem) et à être admiré. Être là aurait signifié résister, au temps, au passage, à la relecture, à la mort, à la volonté de devenir sacré.

De fait, les hommages qui ont été adressés à Claude Lévi-Strauss dans l'espace public ont revêtu un caractère totémique et ont renforcé l'idée que sa pensée était d'une puissance inébranlable et immortelle. À ce chapitre – et les exemples empiriques étaient nombreux – plusieurs journalistes et héritiers se sont plus à rappeler que cet anthropologue ne perdait plus son temps à répondre à ses détracteurs. Son autorité devenait indiscutable. Ainsi pouvait (re)naître le Grand esprit lévi-straussien, immuable, invisible, invincible. Il devenait « le dernier » capable de grandeur d'esprit ; les disciples ont été invités à se placer *derrière* lui. Cette filiation est tissée de liens électifs, faisant du clan des héritiers du structuralisme français un clan d'*élus*.

Le clan des élus

Le mot « élus » pour qualifier les personnes *derrière* Lévi-Strauss fait bien sûr au passage un clin d'œil aux politiciens. Ils ont d'ailleurs été au rendez-vous le 28 novembre 2008 : plusieurs journalistes ont annoncé à cet égard que « le président Nicolas Sarkozy a rendu visite à l'académicien "pour lui dire la reconnaissance de toute la Nation" » (Bouchard et Geffrotin 2008). L'hommage du musée n'a pas oublié non plus de donner un rôle,

sinon deux, aux représentants de la France en invitant, entre autres, Christine Albanel, ministre de la Culture et des Communications et Valérie Pécresse, ministre de l'Enseignement supérieur et de la Recherche. Les représentantes de l'État devaient lire chacune un texte et, comme si on leur avait laissé le coup de grâce, elles ont dévoilé la stèle. C'est ainsi dire que le politique avait pour fonction, dans la fête, de s'assurer de la mort de l'anthropologue. Lévi-Strauss est décédé de s'être fait (re)lire par le politique.

Dans les nombreux éloges, plusieurs éditorialistes et blogueurs ont déploré les tentatives de torsion du discours lévi-straussien servant à le reprendre politiquement. C'est d'ailleurs un des premiers points qu'Anne-Christine Taylor a soulevés en entrevue : le musée devait éviter une instrumentalisation de la fête. Tous ont rappelé dans ces circonstances le caractère profondément apolitique de l'œuvre célébrée. Lévi-Strauss tenait à une non-participation politique[13]. Et s'il fallait s'exclure du politique, il fallait jusqu'à s'exclure de sa propre fête, car certains rites qu'elle contenait pouvaient être aussi politiques. Marc Augé a justement dit à ce chapitre : « l'anthropologie des mondes contemporains passe par l'analyse des rites que ceux-ci tentent de mettre en œuvre et que ces rites, pour l'essentiel, sont de nature politique » (Augé 1994:84–85). Paradoxalement – et là se trouve encore l'hypocrisie de la fête –, peu ont dénoncé (du moins publiquement) la venue de Sarkozy au domicile du fêté et la présence de représentants de l'État lors de son hommage au musée. Pour Anne-Christine Taylor, le musée du quai Branly ne pouvait tout simplement pas exclure complètement le politique de l'événement. « C'est quand même un grand musée présidentiel », affirma-t-elle.

L'hypocrisie festive

Sans chercher à condamner ou à appuyer ce genre de reprise, il faut se demander en qualité d'ethnologues s'il n'y a pas un double discours, ou du moins une incohérence, dans les manières de construire les hommages qu'ont adressés le musée du quai Branly et les médias à Claude Lévi-Strauss à l'occasion de son centième anniversaire. Cet événement n'a cessé de cumuler les *hypocrisies* pour reprendre l'expression de Lévi-Strauss lui-même. L'hommage du musée a dit fêter sa vie alors qu'il a plutôt insisté sur sa mort ; il a cherché à honorer un homme qui ne semblait pas vouloir de cette gloire ; on l'a voulu différent des hommages médiatiques, mais il avait la même fonction ; on a refusé la fête à l'instrumentalisation politique, mais on l'a organisée dans le temple de Jacques Chirac en compagnie des représentants

d'État ; on a dit que son œuvre faisait l'éloge de la liberté, de l'égalité et de la fraternité, mais l'événement a institué une hiérarchie entre différents héritiers de l'anthropologie et de la nation. En fait, l'absence de Lévi-Strauss à sa fête n'a semblé que le reflet de l'aporie de la résistance à la résistance ; le 28 novembre 2008, l'anthropologie a fait la fête à un grand esprit.

Jocelyn Gadbois, Gambling, Lifestyle and Addiction Multidisciplinary Research Group (GLAMR), Concordia University et Université de Montréal, 2080 Mackay X-304, Montréal, Québec, Canada, H3G 2J1.
Courriel : jocelyn.gadbois.1@ulaval.ca.

Notes

1 Pour un résumé plus complet des activités entourant le centième anniversaire de Claude Lévi-Strauss, voir Drach 2009.

2 Il demeure cependant encore plus étonnant de retrouver ce propos dans une presse écrite qui a prétendu rendre hommage à Lévi-Strauss.

3 Sur France-info, le journaliste a spécifié qu'il s'agissait de la dernière entrevue que Lévi-Strauss a accordée à Spire, comme si cet aspect en faisait augmenter sa qualité (Spire 1998).

4 Ces articles ont été extraits de journaux interactifs et de blogues. Ils provenaient – quoiqu'il est parfois impossible de retrouver l'information – de la France, de la Belgique, du Canada et de la Suisse. Lorsqu'ils portaient une date, ils ont été mis en ligne pour la grande majorité le 28 novembre 2008 (sinon la veille ou le lendemain). Pour faciliter leur analyse et leur conservation, la plupart des textes ont été sauvegardés en format RTF et imprimés. Le nombre d'articles m'a semblé acceptable puisque les données ont rapidement atteint une saturation.

5 Information tirée de l'entretien mené avec Anne-Christine Taylor.

6 Par exemple, un internaute, Emmanuel, a corrigé – et ce, en lettres capitales – l'auteur d'un article sur Netlex Focus : « [Claude Lévi-Strauss] est bel et bien vivant ! ». Le blogueur a alors revu son titre : « Claude Lévi-Strauss "A" cent ans aujourd'hui » (Netlex focus 2008:titre). Cependant, cette double insistance (de la majuscule et des guillemets) a renforcé l'idée que Lévi-Strauss était en vie et a plutôt réaffirmé que dissimulé la confusion du blogueur.

7 En plus de Rioux qui a évoqué un « retour sur terre » (Rioux 2008), le blogueur Jean-Aimé Dibakana a cité Lévi-Strauss lorsqu'il a dit (en parlant des académiciens) : « Nous sommes une tribu d'hommes verts. » (Dibakana 2008). De son côté, Françoise Héritier, toujours dans le dossier de l'Agence France-Presse, a affirmé que « Lévi-Strauss est apparu là-dedans un peu comme un ovni » (Agence France-Presse 2008). Il y a là une métaphore de l'apparition extraterrestre, voire de l'illumination qui semble riche.

8 Propos qu'aurait tenu Claude Lévi-Strauss à un journaliste du journal *Le Monde*, repris dans plusieurs textes comme dans le communiqué de presse du ministère des Affaires étrangères et européennes de la France (Canetti 2008).

9 À cet égard, plusieurs sites ont rappelé, comme pour l'achever, que Lévi-Strauss s'est opposé à l'entrée de Marguerite Yourcenar à l'Académie française puisqu'elle était une femme. En plus de l'accuser de misogynie, certains ont au passage dénoncé le fait qu'il s'est complu dans le pathétique, qu'il était un traditionaliste, un homme de droite, que sa crainte d'uniformisation des cultures n'était pas fondée, qu'il n'était qu'un Montesquieu en safari, etc.

10 À ce sujet, cette ethnologue a dit, au cours de notre entrevue, avoir soigneusement sélectionné par tranche d'âge des ethnologues représentatifs de chaque génération, des compagnons de route jusqu'aux étudiants du lycée.

11 À ce sujet, l'internaute Argoul2005 a parlé de « testament intellectuel » sur son blogue (Argoul2005 2008:cinquième paragraphe).

12 Le choix de Mauss pour évoquer le sacrifice du père est stratégique. Il rappelle en toute espièglerie le propre meurtre (totémique) que Lévi-Strauss a en quelque sorte signé dans l'« Introduction à l'œuvre de Mauss ». Cette préface a pour ainsi dire cannibalisé la pensée maussienne en insistant, par exemple, sur le fait que Mauss n'a que décrit la première étape de sa pensée, qu'il ne voulait pas vraiment réduire la réalité sociale à une conception individualisée et qu'il était, sans le savoir, un structuraliste. Claude Lévi-Strauss a insisté, comme pour se déculpabiliser : « Cette traduction n'est pas notre fait, ni le résultat d'une liberté prise à l'égard de la conception initiale » (Lévi-Strauss 1968[1950]:L). Il a ni plus ni moins revendiqué le lien de parenté avec Mauss, comme s'il avait cherché son ADN dans les veines de son père symbolique. Et il a ainsi ingéré l'auteur, remportant son élection, celle d'être lié à un grand esprit comme par un lien de sang.

13 Pour comprendre la position politique de Lévi-Strauss, le travail de Wiktor Stoczkowski (2008) a grandement éclairé l'interdit.

Références

Agenc France-Presse
    2008   Claude Lévi-Strauss a cent ans. Le Soir, 28 novembre. Document électronique, http://archives.lesoir.be/?action=nav&gps=667458, consulté le 12 janvier 2009.

Angenot, Marc
    2003   L'invention de l'Humanité et le sujet du Progrès. *Dans* Le soi et l'autre. L'énonciation de l'identité dans les contextes interculturels. Pierre Ouellet, dir. Pp. 363–380. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval.

ARGOUL2005
    2008   Cent ans pour Claude Lévi-Strauss ! Fugues et Fougues (blogue), Le Monde, 28 novembre. Document électronique, http://argoul.blog.lemonde.fr/2008/11/28/cent-ans-pour-claude-levi-strauss/, consulté le 12 janvier 2009.

Augé, Marc
    1994   Pour une anthropologie des mondes contemporains. Paris: Flammarion.

Bandini, Aurore
    2008 Tristes tropiques, joyeuse fête ! La Tribune, 27 novembre. Document électronique, http://www.latribune.fr/culture/livres-bd/20081127trib000315049/tristes-tropiques-joyeuse-fete-.html, consulté le 12 janvier 2009.

Barthes, Roland
    1986 Le bruissement de la langue. Essais critiques IV. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.

Bouchard, Wendy et Thierry Geffrotin
    2008 Claude Lévi-Strauss, 100 ans de réflexion. Europe 1, 28 novembre. Document électronique, http://www.europe1.fr/Decouverte/Talents-et-personnalite/Litterature/Claude-Levi-Strauss-100-ans-de-reflexion/(gid)/183701, consulté le 12 janvier 2009.

Bouvet, Elisabeth
    2008 Claude Lévi-Strauss a 100 ans. Radio France internationale, 26 novembre. Document électronique, http://www.rfi.fr/culturefr/articles/107/article_75295.asp, consulté le 9 novembre 2013.

Canetti, Claudine
    2008 Le centenaire de Claude Lévi-Strauss. Ambassade de France en Chine, 19 décembre. Document électronique, http://www.ambafrance-cn.org/spip.php?article5909&lang=fr, consulté le 9 novembre 2013.

Caradec, Vincent
    2007 L'épreuve du grand âge. Retraite et société 52(3):11–37.

Confidentiel Africain
    2008 www.confidentielsafricain.com, 28 novembre, consulté le 12 janvier 2009.

De Certeau, Michel
    1990 Arts de faire, vol. 1. L'invention du quotidien. Paris: Gallimard.

De Koch, Basile
    2008 Cent ans de haute solitude. La gauche n'a jamais pu récupérer Claude Lévi-Strauss … Causeur (blogue), 25 décembre. Document électronique, http://www.causeur.fr/cent-ans-de-haute-solitude,1571, consulté le 9 novembre 2013.

Dibakana, Jean-Aimé
    2008 Claude Lévi-Strauss a cent ans! Jean-Aimé Dibakana (blogue), 28 novembre. Document électronique, http://www.dibakana.com/news.php?item.114.1, consulté le 12 janvier 2009.

Drach, Marcel
    2009 Les cent ans de Claude Lévi-Strauss. Figures de la psychanalyse 17(1):191. http://dx.doi.org/10.3917/fp.017.0191.

Eco, Umberto
    1999 Kant et l'ornithorynque. Paris: Grasset.

Freud, Sigmund
    1993[1912] Totem et tabou. Quelques concordances entre la vie psychique des sauvages et celle des névrosés. Paris: Gallimard.

Gerbi, Alexandre
    2008 Claude Lévi-Strauss. Le cocu glorieux de la Ve République. Camer.be, 4 décembre. Document électronique, www.camer.be, consulté le 12 janvier 2009.

Guerrin, Michel et Véronique Mortaigne
    2008 Bon anniversaire, M. Lévi-Strauss ! Le Monde, supplément du 26 novembre : 1.

Guibert, Christelle
    2008 Joyeux anniversaire, Claude Lévi-Strauss! Ouest-France, 28 novembre. Document électronique, http://www.ouest-france.fr/actu/actuDet_-Joyeux-anniversaire-Claude-Levi-Strauss_39382–753216_actu.Htm, consulté le 9 novembre 2013.

Hertz, Robert
    1928 Mélanges de sociologie religieuse et folklore. Paris: Alcan.

Hubert, Henri et Marcel Mauss
    1899 Essai sur la nature et la fonction du sacrifice. L'Année Sociologique 2:29–138.

Leménager, Grégoire
    2008 Bon anniversaire quand même, monsieur Lévi-Strauss. Le Nouvel Observateur, 27 novembre. Document électronique, http://bibliobs.nouvelobs.com/essais/20081127.BIB2553/bon-anniversaire-quand-meme-monsieur-levi-strauss.html, consulté le 9 novembre 2013.

Le Nouvel Observateur
    2008 Le Nouvel Observateur, 1er mai.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude
    1955 Tristes tropiques. Paris : Plon.
    1962 Le totémisme aujourd'hui. Paris: Presses universitaires de France.
    1968[1950]
        Introduction à l'œuvre de Marcel Mauss. Dans Sociologie et anthropologie. Marcel Mauss. Pp. VII–LII. Paris: Presses universitaires de France.
    1974[1958]
        Anthropologie structurale. Paris: Plon.

Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication
    2008 http://www.culture.gouv.fr/culture/actualites/communiq/albanel/artcls.html, consulté le 9 novembre 2013.

Musée du quai Branly
    2008a Dossier de presse. Claude Lévi-Strauss a 100 ans. Journée spéciale, 28 novembre 2008. Document électronique, http://www.quaibranly.fr/uploads/tx_gayafeespacepresse/MQB-DP-centenaire-Claude-Levi-Strauss-FR.pdf, consulté le 12 janvier 2009.
    2008b Rapport d'activité 2008. Paris: Musée du quai Branly.

Netlex Focus
    2008 Claude Lévi-Strauss « A » cent ans aujourd'hui. Netlex focus, actualité française et internationale, 28 novembre. Document électronique, http://www.netlexfrance.net/2008/11/28/claude-levi-strauss-aurait-cent-ans-aujourdhui/, consulté le 12 janvier 2009.

Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'éducation, la science et la culture (UNESCO)
    2008 Claude Lévi-Strauss a cent ans. Le Directeur général de l'UNESCO rend hommage à « l'une des plus grandes figures intellectuelles du XXe siècle ». Document électronique, http://portal.unesco.org/culture/fr/ev.php-URL_ID=38346&URL_DO=DO_PRINTPAGE&URL_SECTION=201.html, consulté le 12 janvier 20.

Rioux, Christian

    2008   Claude Lévi-Strauss souffle ses 100 bougies. Le Devoir, 28 novembre. Document électronique, http://www.ledevoir.com/2008/11/28/219241.html, consulté le 12 janvier 2009.

Spire, Antoine

    1998   Entrevue avec Claude Lévi-Strauss. Radio France. Document électronique, http://www.radiofrance.fr/franceinter/ev/fiche.php?ev_id=617, consulté le 12 janvier 2009.

Stoczkowski, Wiktor

    2008   Anthropologies rédemptrices. Le monde selon Lévi-Strauss. Paris: Hermann.

Urbain, Jean-Didier

    1989   L'archipel des morts. Le sentiment de la mort et les dérives de la mémoire dans les cimetières d'Occident. Paris: Payot.

Encounters and the Diasporic Art of Africa: An Interview with Allyson Purpura, Curator of African Art, Krannert Art Museum, University of Illinois

Jasmin Habib *University of Waterloo*

Abstract: In this paper, Jasmin Habib interviews Allyson Purpura, Curator of African Art at the Krannert Art Museum about the reinstallation of "Encounters: The Arts of Africa." In the interview, they discuss how the objects on display have journeyed across the ocean as well as across epistemological categories tied to colonialism and the expansion of empire. The idea of "encounter" lies at the heart of this exhibition: the sometimes fraught histories of encounters between objects; the repurposing of tradition-based art into contemporary artworks; and, of course, the politics of display and the encounter between visitors to the museum and the artworks.

Keywords: African art, museology, diaspora, colonialism

Résumé : Dans cet article, Jasmin Habib interview Allyson Purpura, curateur d'art africain au musée d'art Krannert au sujet de la ré-installation « Encounters : The Arts of Africa ». Au cours de l'entrevue, elles discutent comment les objets exposés ont traversé aussi bien les océans que les catégories épistémologiques liées au colonialisme et à l'extension d'empire. L'idée de la « rencontre » siège au cœur de cette exposition où se tissent les histoires de rencontres parfois tendues entre les objets, la re-détermination des arts issus de la tradition dans des œuvres contemporaines et, bien sûr, les politiques d'exposition et la rencontre entre les visiteurs et les œuvres d'art.

Mots-clés : art africain, muséologie, diaspora, colonialisme

Allyson Purpura, curator of African art at the Krannert Art Museum at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, began her career as a cultural anthropologist. She conducted fieldwork in Zanzibar, Tanzania, between 1989 and 1991 and completed her Ph.D. at the City University of New York Graduate Center under the supervision of Vincent Crapanzano. In her dissertation, *Knowledge and Agency: The Social Relations of Islamic Expertise in Zanzibar Town* (1997), Purpura explored the ways in which individuals come to be recognized as Islamic knowledge experts. Working through healers, diviners, spirit specialists, religious leaders, *Qur'an* teachers and scholars, Purpura came to understand Islamic expertise as a protean, performative way of knowing that resisted category and shaped relationships among people in myriad ways. She worked with women *sheikhs* in Sufi mystical brotherhoods, which created spaces for the collective expression of women's knowledge and piety and functioned as support groups for members throughout the island. Islamic knowledge also featured significantly in the identity politics of Zanzibar, where tensions between a trans-oceanic cosmopolitanism and more parochial attachments to place and community enlivened debates about descent, rights and belonging.

Purpura's work on Islamic expertise led to her interest in the broader connections between knowledge and power—particularly as these played out in the representational practices of museums. After completing a certificate in museum studies at George Washington University, she worked as a research specialist at the National Museum of African Art, where, under the mentorship of curators Christine Mullen Kreamer and Elizabeth Harney, she developed exhibitions, became immersed in African art historiography and worked with contemporary artists on several exhibitions and writing projects. In November 2009, she took up her position as curator of African art at the Krannert Art Museum.

While on a research fellowship at the International Forum for U.S. Studies at the University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, I was introduced to Allyson Purpura just a few weeks after *Encounters* first opened to the public in November 2012. I conducted an interview with her at the museum a few days later and then returned in February 2013 for a follow-up discussion. What is most exciting and, I believe, unusual about the installation is the extent to which visitors come to appreciate how these objects have moved in their journeys to the museum, not only across geographic space but also across epistemological categories tied to colonialism and the expansion of empire. In a sense, there is the suggestion that we are all implicated in the histories of these objects. The idea of "encounter" lies at the heart of this exhibition: encounters between objects, encounters between tradition-based art and contemporary artworks through the re-purposing of the former into the latter, and, of course, encounters between the visitors and artworks on view.

Interview

Jasmin Habib: Let's begin with some general questions about the exhibit. In what ways did your interest in the relationship between power and knowledge, which you've been engaged with since you were a graduate student in anthropology, inform the choices you made as curator of this exhibit?

Allyson Purpura: I guess my interest in knowledge got me to ask questions about the construction of categories, about interpretation—how African objects have come to be understood within different frameworks of knowledge. Terms like *fetish, specimen, artifact, art,* all reflect different historical moments and configurations of power/knowledge that shape how African objects come to be seen. (That's why I prefer the term *object*—it's about as ideology-free as I can get, if that's even possible!) I find all this very interesting and important, since language informs interpretation (especially on a label!). So, I guess you could say that I am as interested in the politics of display—the interpretive frameworks of exhibitions—as I am in the objects that fill them.

JH: Let's speak about some of these conjunctions. Begin with the contemporary Ethiopian painter Wosene Worke Kosrof's stunningly beautiful piece, *Migrations II*, and the Ethiopian healing scroll that is located nearby (see Figure 1).

AP: Most of Wosene's work is inspired by the visual plasticity of script—particularly Ge'ez, the liturgical language of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, and Amharic, its contemporary descendent. In his paintings, Wosene abstracts the script. He stretches and inverts the letters

to open up new ways to see and think about literacy, migration, the everyday sensorial experiences of life. As an artist who has lived abroad for more than half his life, his paintings are inspired by his memories and impressions over the years of the places that he's called home, in particular, Ethiopia. In conjunction with his painting, we've displayed an Ethiopian healing scroll, dated from around the early 19th century, which we borrowed from the Spurlock Museum, a museum of cultural history on our campus. It is a wonderful scroll, beautifully inscribed by a cleric, or *debtara*, with Ge'ez script, which is imbued with the power to heal. The script has a kind of efficacy in Wosene's hands, as well as in the hands of the *debtara*. My hope is that visitors will see the visual, historical, even spiritual resonances or dialogues between these two objects. They contextualize each other. On the one hand, we see in the scroll the antecedent or source of the script in Wosene's painting. On the other hand, scrolls like this are still being made; they live on not only in the patient (in a sense,) but also in the visual vocabulary of Wosene's practice.

JH: These pieces are part of the "Power of Script" section of the exhibit, both prompting us to consider alternative forms of literacy. We really come to appreciate how script refers not just to reading and writing as we conventionally understand it ... Next to the scroll in the same section are four very colourful paintings of calligraphic script by artist Yelimane Fall. I noticed there was also an interview with him on the iPad that's been placed in that section. Fall seems a very warm and witty person, as well as quite politically engaged. Could you say something about these works and that interview?

AP: Yelimane Fall is a Senegalese artist who also refers to himself as an art activist. He lives in a neighbourhood just outside of Dakar, called Pekine. He works with youth to heal through the art of Arabic calligraphy and what he understands to be the mystical powers embedded in the poetry written by Sheikh Amadou Bamba, a pacifist, anticolonial hero in Senegal and founder of the Mouride mystical brotherhood, which is the most popular form of Islam in Senegal today. Fall was inspired by Bamba in a dream back in the 1980s. In the interview, he recounts his memory of that dream; the video shows him at work in his studio and talking about various other aspects of his work. He also unpacks the mystical power of colours and letters.

JH: And did you conduct that interview with him?

AP: I prepared the interview questions, but my partner, Jesse Ribot, who has been doing research in Dakar for many years, conducted that interview with him.
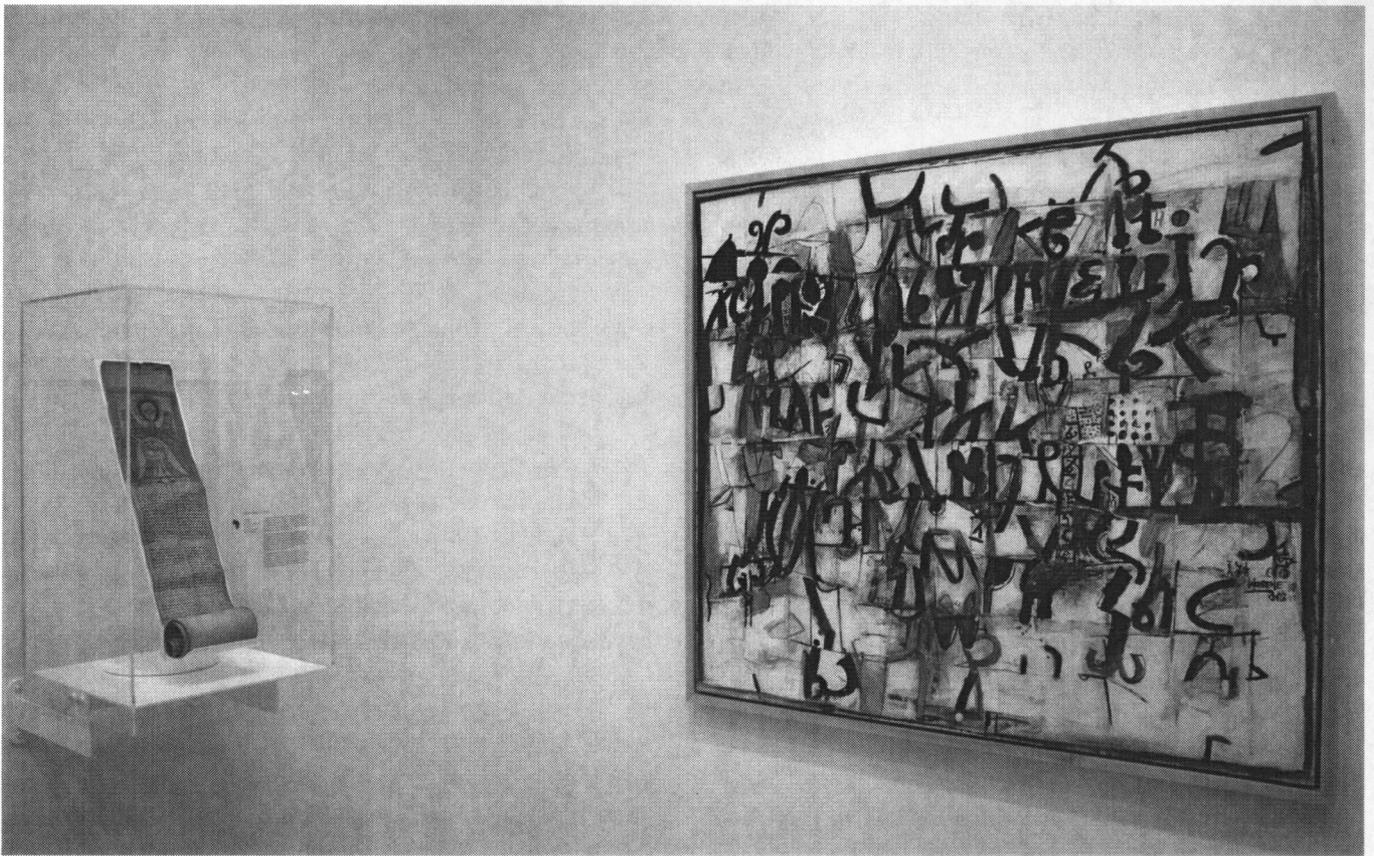
Figure 1: *Encounters: The Arts of Africa (detail)*. Photo courtesy of Krannert Art Museum. At left: healing scroll; pigment and parchment; Ethiopia, ca. 1800. Courtesy Spurlock Museum, 1971.05.0003. At right: Wosene Worke Kosrof, *Migrations II*, 2006. Acrylic on linen, Krannert Art Museum; 2012–6-1.

JH: It's marvellous. Fall has such a great sense of humour.

AP: Oh, he does! He takes his work seriously but, at the same time, he enjoys speaking to an audience.

JH: There is a resonance between contemporary and tradition-based objects throughout the exhibit, as you noted. But, what is it you're trying to do in the "Repurposing Art" section? I'm thinking here about our conversations where you described objects and their "careers" (following Mary Nooter Roberts) or "biographies." Which of the objects do you feel has the most compelling "career" in this section?

AP: There's the Dan mask, which is paired with the photograph by Nigerian Yoruba artist Rotimi Fani-Kayode, who was a key player in the black arts and queer rights movements in the UK, but died an untimely death from AIDS in 1989. Fani-Kayode used a lot of African masks and clothing in his portraiture and tableaux. The photograph we have in the museum is called *Dan Mask*. The Dan are a cultural group that spans Liberia and Sierra Leone. The mask type pictured in the work and that we have on display is iconic, in the sense that it was collected widely in the west. What we're trying to do in this "Repurposing Art" grouping is to show how objects like a Dan mask can continue to have "careers" *beyond* the museum, that they can "live on" in the work of others. In this photo, Fani-Kayode is holding the mask in a way that seems almost reverential. He was drawn to the spiritual, *transformative* power of these masks, as he put it, and saw photography as his own transformative tool. The artist uses the image to tell stories of his own. Maybe it affirms his identity as an African; maybe it is both a nod to and critique of modernist primitivism as epitomized in the famous photos of Man Ray; either way, Fani-Kayode was defining himself against the many hetero-normative discourses that impacted his life so significantly. In so doing, he radicalizes our ideas about beauty, identity and place.

JH: As you know, one of the most complex display contexts is in a museum because meanings may be imposed and the context may delimit the way such objects are read. Were you consciously or purposefully working through some of the relevant critiques raised by museology in the 1990s as you were designing this exhibit?

AP: Yes. And the question is how to do that without interfering with the visual appreciation of the object. You don't want to overwhelm people with text; you don't want to overwhelm people with technology; you don't want to hit them over the head with ponderous moral or political messages. On the other hand, I *want* to do all that! By having a section called "Repurposing Art," we try directly, but without a lot of bells and whistles, to talk about how an object continues to have a very complex life in or beyond the museum (as in Fani-Kayode's photo). What I'm trying to say is that I like to try to find ways to open up the critical capacities of these objects. They have the power to undo the very categories that we use to frame them. But it's hard to do that without text, especially for visitors who are really just browsing. I hope we can create some moment of surprise, to grab someone so that they can say or think, "Ah! That mask looks just like the one that guy's using in that photo! I wonder what's going on there?" People can make their own meaning. I like to think I'm directing the narrative, to some extent, but ultimately, that's the beauty of these objects. The whole theme of the exhibit is *encounters*. These are chance encounters, chance meetings and dialogues are [meant to be] open-ended. And we're hoping that they nudge ways of thinking about the object in different sorts of directions.

JH: I noted in our tour of the exhibit that you said one of the most aesthetically driven sections is "The Art of Small Things," that these are objects meant to be held or articulated on the human body in some way.

AP: Yes, I love small things, and they have a certain grace that really transcends their size.

JH: Why don't you take a moment to describe one of the objects, its career or its history and its importance here. Why was it chosen besides its smallness? I found the *shwabti* particularly interesting.

AP: Actually, this is a good object to talk about because it is an Egyptian piece. It's important for us ... as the curator of the exhibition, I wanted Egypt to be represented in this gallery. We have very few Egyptian works. This museum's galleries, like many museums still today, are organized by period and by geography. So, we have an ancient Mediterranean installation where you will find several Egyptian objects. But I really wanted to "claim" Egypt for this gallery—even if Africa cannot be "contained" within an arbitrary landmass—given the diaspora and the politics of identity that have been with us for generations—it is still important that Egypt be understood as part of Africa. A *shwabti* is a miniature (about 12 cm) mummy that is buried with the dead in order to assist them on their journey in the

Afterlife. But one of the things I find really interesting about shwabtis is that they are actually meant to substitute for the deceased for any manual labour that he or she is required to perform in the Afterlife, particularly agricultural labour in the "Field of Reeds." This raises questions about production, ideas about labour and hierarchy, all contained within this one compelling object. That was the piece of the story that I wanted to tell on this very short label here. The shwabti is also quite beautiful; its turquoise faience colour just pops against the white walls and against the carved wooden objects that are its companions on view.

JH: When we begin to explore representations of traumatic encounters, we may find ourselves uncomfortably trying to maintain two postures at once. On the one hand, understanding the violence of colonialism, while also appreciating the beauty of the object. That's what I thought about as I wandered through the exhibit and read the labels you had written

AP: Oh, that's wonderful that you see that!

JH: In some cases, there's the history of this object, what we can make of this history or what we've *learned* about this history. The historical photos and labels describing how the objects may have been used or removed from these communities were particularly interesting. Another issue related to "encounters" that I think you've developed in the exhibit is the *trauma* of such encounters: of histories torn asunder. I wonder if you could speak to this, especially in relation to the fact that you know, given your training, that many such objects are stolen or they have "careers" we don't know very much about.

AP: Well, there were many different drafts in thinking about how to deal with this in the gallery, that's for sure. I always kept coming back to what it was I wanted visitors to understand about the object. I think these works are visually strong, and they're powerful and interesting in terms of their own stories, but there's more to them than what meets the eye, so to speak. There are the conditions of trade and how an object exited the continent. But to get back to the main question really ... What *can* you say when so many of our objects have very short or no provenance records at all ... So I have to ask, What can I really say about them? We don't know where our donors got most of these objects. We might know the dealer, but from that point on we don't know anything.

JH: Right. But you're very clear about this in the section on "Fraught Histories."

AP: Yes. Since there was no way to talk about provenance with any specificity for all of the objects, I decided

to focus on object types that we know, in the museum and cultural heritage worlds, to have been illegally excavated and traded illicitly. For instance, with the Benin hip mask, we don't know if that exact object was booty from the infamous Punitive Expedition in 1897, but what we can do with that object is tell the story of this "fraught history." We're currently doing some provenance research on that hip mask. According to the notes written by African art historian William Fagg, who advised the donor, Richard Faletti, in many of his purchases, it was likely made in the mid-18th century. Faletti acquired the object from a New York dealer, who in turn bought it from another collector, whom I have been trying to reach to learn where he got the piece. The story of the Punitive Expedition is an important story to share with our audiences and to show that 21st-century museums are thinking critically and ethically about their collection and display practices. With the UNESCO Convention of 1970 and the Cultural Property Implementation Act of 1984 and the numerous Memoranda of Understanding that are being created between so-called art source countries and museums, museums are functioning in a new world of ownership politics and emerging legislation. We all need to develop protocol for best practices. I've had many conversations with our director about this. We do have two Djenne terra cotta figures from Mali, and we have a Nok terra cotta head fragment from Nigeria, and then the Benin bronze hip mask from Nigeria. We know objects like these have histories of plunder and rapacious market forces pulling them illegally out of the country. So while we continue to do what detective work we can on our own objects, we don't want them languishing in storage—particularly as a university museum—we want them out on view to "tell" these stories and maybe even spur interest in research. So, museums continue to grapple with what's most ethical; there are conferences, symposia, guidelines that have been drafted and updated. What's best for the object? For our visitors? Do we repatriate? Develop bilateral agreements with art source countries? Do we negotiate long-term loans to keep things on display but transfer title to their countries of origin? Do we keep them and tell the stories ourselves? Though I curated the installation, I've been talking with colleagues about these things and seeking direction, feedback on objects, for *years*!

The difficulty comes when you're trying to acknowledge everybody, all those conversations. It gets to be so you can't name 30-plus people in a wall text! African art historians in my experience are a very generous crowd.

JH: We've talked about the intellectual, scholarly, curatorial and museum community. But what about the local community? The African or African American community? I was at an "Election 2012" event [for Obama's second term] in the museum last night where ... there was a nod to this exhibit ... but before that there was an interesting statement made by a local radio personality and community organizer, Carol Ammons, who asserted that this university doesn't fully respond to the African American community's needs, that the community needs to ask the university to do more. So I wondered to what extent the community has been involved in the development as well as promotion of this exhibit. It seems like they're very supportive. Did they have a hand in it? Did you speak to them before you finalized the design? What was their role, if any? I also ask because, as you well know, there have been several quite contentious exhibits[1] in Canada, both "Into the Heart of Africa" and, before that, "The Spirit Sings." There has been a kind of a reckoning, if you will, though there is a very long way to go. Could you share your own experience in relation to these comments, as well as how your own way into this exhibit might have been informed by the experiences others.

AP: Hmm ... yes, that's a great question. I'll never forget one thing that Enid Schildkrout [long-time curator at the American Museum of Natural History and chief curator at the Museum for African Art in New York] said in a review she wrote about Jeanne Cannizzo's *Into the Heart of Africa* [see Schildkrout 1991]. She implied that what happened to Jeanne Cannizzo could happen to any curator who is not aware of her community, audience, institution. In terms of racial politics, sadly I'm not sure we're so far ahead from those days. But that was a lesson. What she was trying to do intellectually was really interesting, relying on ironic strategies, which, as Schildkrout argues, might not have been as unsuccessful had it been in an art museum or a small university museum with a very targeted, focused audience.

But, you asked about my own experience. The ROM story was in my mind when I was charged with this reinstallation project. I first had to figure out what I wanted to do. I wanted to provide a kind of social history or biography of the objects, to show that objects can tell stories beyond themselves and that those stories might be fraught. It was a more historiographical approach (kind of like Cannizzo's!), but I didn't want to lose sight of the objects. I also wanted to speak with people on campus about how they felt about the reinstallation. I turned first to the African Students Organization on campus, thinking there might be interest. We organized a small focus group, and I shared with them my working themes at that time. It was a very interesting and helpful discussion, and I incorporated their feedback into the

overall installation concept. To sum up their responses, they wanted to stress the contemporaneity and resiliency of African art traditions. But what struck me the most, if I can try to put it briefly, were their thoughts on why there was not a lot of interest in traditional arts among African students on campus—that these arts didn't necessarily connect with their own experiences growing up in Africa and their feelings about these objects and museums generally are actually pretty ambivalent. Thanks mostly to Anne Lutomia, one of the grad students in the focus group, these issues ended up inspiring some of the public programming we organized around the time of the reinstallation's opening. Long story short, it couldn't have happened without Anne and Sam Smith, the engagement coordinator at Krannert Center for the Performing Arts on campus. We organized a gallery conversation, which was held here just last week, called "Creating Community Through African Art." The idea for that event percolated up through my conversations with Anne and another grad student in social work, Mabinty Tarawallie. They wanted to use the gallery to talk about perceptions and misperceptions of being African in this country, especially to open up conversations between African, first-generation African and African American students. One of the things Anne talked about (Anne is Kenyan and has been in this country for probably about 10 years) was how her sense of self as an African changed when she got to the United States. She was very passionate about opening up discussion with other Africans and African Americans. "Why is it that traditional arts are still seen as 'primitive' or 'backward'?" So, her part of the gallery conversation addressed these issues and her own grappling with identity; she did that by referring to a sculpture on view—well, really to its maker, the Kenyan-born artist Magdalene Odundo, now living in London—with whom Anne really identified. And then there was Mabinty, who came to the States from Sierra Leone when she was about 10 years old. She talked about how being in a gallery devoted to African art made her feel like she "had a place here," as she put it; it made her think about her mother and her mother's connection to the Sande initiation society. The Sande society performs a dance using a *sowei* or *bundu* mask, like one we have in the installation, and even though Mabinty said she knew nothing about this mask, *her Mom* did. She talked about her experience as a child in the [United States], how kids reacted to her being African, and said how important it is for her own two children to grow up without prejudice. For Mabinty, art is one way to do that. Sam Smith, who I just mentioned, was the third person in the gallery conversation. He used the Wosene Kosrof painting to talk about how his consciousness about being connected to Africa came later in life—thinking back on the uses of heritage in the African American community in the 1960s, about the Black Power movement and the emergence of Kwanzaa—that a lot of this was inspired by an Africa "of the imagination," as he put it. So, with those three voices, we had our first public gallery conversation. It was well attended, mostly students ... But how do you sustain it? This is always the challenge. So we (as a museum) wanted to say, "Hey, we'd love to host African musical performances, yes, but also want to support intellectual and cultural debate and to be a resource for community building.

JH: Speaking of the space itself, could you say something about the design of the exhibit? It had a very open feeling. In fact, I found it strikingly modern. Less "museum-like" than I expected or am accustomed to (see Figure 2). Was that intentional?

AP: Yes. We were very fortunate to have the architectural design firm Rice + Lipka working with us on this exhibition. Lyn Rice really wanted to depart from the standard pedestal cases or large wall cabinets typically seen in museums. So they came up with the idea to create four table displays that are cantilevered ... so you have a sense that they're floating. They're also laid out in a pinwheel formation. On one side, the bases are dark grey, on the other side, they're white. The vitrines are really large and spacious and don't crowd the artworks. Actually when I first saw them being installed, they reminded me more of an aquarium! There are also wall treatments along the perimeter of the gallery.

The layout creates different viewing experiences and sight lines. And you can see the objects in the cases from all angles! Lyn chose white, powder-coated steel, wafer-thin but extremely strong shelves to support the objects. We don't have a lot of colour because we wanted the objects to really stand out. The wall vitrines are not entirely sealed, but instead they kind of float over the shelves. This also gives viewers a sense of openness. Our labels also have little tiny Africa maps on them. There are no political divisions on the maps. They're just black silhouettes to give visitors a quick visual reference; for example, there's a little white dot where Egypt is for the shwabti, just to give a sense of where on the continent an object originated. Or, for the diasporic objects, in the Caribbean basin or Cuba or Brazil.

JH: One of the things that strikes me about our conversations and the exhibit itself is that "diaspora," or the relationship of diasporic artists to African objects and art, is not raised in any direct way, although it clearly informs and helps to frame the entire display. Could you say something about that?

Figure 2: *Encounters: The Arts of Africa* installation view. Photo by Chris Brown. Courtesy Krannert Art Museum.

AP: Sure. That was an important theme that was represented in the African gallery exhibit before I got here. That exhibit was curated by art history professor Dana Rush and her students. Dana is a specialist on Vodun visual arts in Benin, and also transatlantic Vodou, so she included a section in the exhibition she called "Transatlantic Yoruba." I really wanted to preserve that when I reinstalled the gallery. I knew from talking with Dana and with her students that this was an important subject to them. Of course, "diaspora" informs so much of our thinking about the continent and the global south generally; so, with the re-installation, we preserved it in several ways. One way is in a section called, "*Orisha*: Yoruba Art, Spirit and Diaspora," which is based on Dana Rush's initial instillation. This section focuses on the *orisha*, the pantheon of spirits that accompanied their captive Yoruba devotees across the Atlantic. The Yoruba objects displayed here all relate to various orisha. We also have two diasporic objects: the *penca de balangandās* and the beaded Lucumi Chango dance wand. The *penca de balangandās* (Portuguese for "bundle of charms") is something that Afro-Brazilian women wore at their waist or wrist or hung on the wall inside their homes. We don't know much about these objects. They were worn by slaves, ex-slaves and market women as an emblem of identity but also as kind of a protective amulet; because of their connection to the orisha, they brought protective power. They also have to do with women's labour and women's work. For example, for the market woman, you see this object has gourd-vessels and fruits (see Figure 3).

The metal might also be associated with Ogun ... an orisha associated with iron, hunting and warfare. He is thought to bring good luck to vendors. Who made these objects? Some sources say they are associated with African Muslim metal smiths brought to Brazil as slaves. So, there are many layers of meanings associated with this object. Its self-referential diasporic element is represented by the two birds facing one another, one representing Brazil, the other the African continent, according to Brazilian scholar Raul Lody. But nearly all the research I found on these objects is written in Portuguese, so I've asked several colleagues for assistance with translations.

Figure 3: *Penca de balangandās*, early 20th century. Wood, tin, nickel silver. Private collection. Photo courtesy Krannert Art Museum.

And Magdelene Odundo, the contemporary Kenyan-born ceramic artist I mentioned earlier, has lived in the UK for many years. She's not someone whose work should be displayed only in an African gallery. In fact, the identity-driven market of contemporary art is troubling because many artists who are African or Native American or Oceanic or Latin American who are working in the global contemporary art scene tend to be pigeonholed by virtue of their place of birth. It's very frustrating and it's very limiting for them. But, that said, we included Odundo's ceramic vessel in the "Reading the Body" section of the gallery. Though it is an abstract form, it is also figural or "gestural," as she would say, and really quotes the female body. Also, her ceramic art challenges conventional distinctions between "craft" and "art," "traditional" and "contemporary." She's an artist who draws on generations of traditions of hand-built vessels. It makes us rethink how we categorize not just the work but the artist, too. Thanks to the Fowler Museum we have a videotaped interview with Odundo by Marla Berns on one of our gallery iPads.

JH: Yes, certainly one of the most exciting things about the exhibition is the inclusion [on an iPad video] of Nora Chipaumire's work as a dancer.

AP: Nora Chipaumire is from Zimbabwe, currently living in Brooklyn. I met Nora when she was an artist-in-residence here last year and involved in a project at KAM called "Open Studio" that was organized by Tumelo Mosaka, then-curator of contemporary art here. Nora performed several of her dances here. We taped those performances and then we interviewed her. Based on some of the discussions that we had been having just sitting around, I thought, "Wow, the things that she's raising about her art speak to the very issues we're trying to grapple with in the exhibition." So I asked her, "How would you feel if we included your dance in the installation? It is, after all, a bunch of objects. I mean, how do you feel about that?" To quote her directly, she replied, "But dance *is* a visual art!" Also, when people think "African," they expect traditional dance and masquerade. So Chipaumire's dance offers up something different. It emerges from her history as a colonial subject, a liberated subject. and as someone in self-exile, given the current politics in Zimbabwe. She thought having the video in the gallery could only promote both the art and her own work in ways that haven't really been done that much in museums. We were really, really delighted to have had her permission to do so. Her video is placed in the "Reading the Body" section since, as she says in her piece, her work is about the "politics of the dancing body."

JH: What of the displays of the *Chi Wara*?

AP: Well, we have a wonderful horizontal *Chi Wara* headdress on view. A *Chi Wara* is a mythical creature that taught the Bamana people (of Mali) to farm. But we also have a Chi Wara by American artist Willie Cole, assembled from used bicycle parts. As a young man, Cole was very inspired by African art. And, as he puts it himself [see Sims 2007], as a boy he used to salvage things. He'd bring things home and he would build objects out of these found materials. Of course now, recycling and salvaging is a very popular practice in the arts. It's another idea of repurposing. Cole made several bicycle chi waras (or *tji waras*, as he uses an older spelling of the term.) They're whimsical, for sure, but he's also saying a lot with these works—about consumer culture in America, the all too easy disposability of things here—plus bicycles are one of the most popular, accessible forms of everyday transportation in Africa—in much of the world, for that matter. We're fortunate to have this piece on loan from the University of Wyoming

Art Museum. The relationship between these two works is wonderful. Visitors have really enjoyed them.

JH: Could you say something about the powerful section called "The Creativity of Power"?

AP: "The Creativity of Power" is a section where we have *minkisi*, or power figures, from the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We're especially grateful for the loan of a fabulous Kongo *nkisi* from the Stanley Collection at the University of Iowa. We also have objects that relate to (Yoruba) Ifa divination. So, how do Ifa divination and power figures connect? The idea of the "creativity of power" is that knowledge is embodied in these objects, which can, through the agency of a diviner or healer, make things happen in the world.

JH: Doesn't this take us right back to your work in Zanzibar?

AP: Yes, it does! But as with other approaches taken in this reinstallation, I was also informed by the work of scholars such as Alfred Gell, Wyatt MacGaffey and Polly Nooter Roberts, all of whom have written beautifully about the mediating role of art in life.

JH: Given the criticisms leveled at museums (art or ethnographic) these days, it is clear that curators such as yourself are now situated in the unique but also interesting position of making the connection between power and knowledge as encountered in objects fraught with complex histories and meanings. By narrating such encounters—some emerging out of direct violence, others colonial and therefore systemically violent—you ensure that visitors are exposed to the process by which some objects have come into the possession of this and other museums and galleries. You seem also to allow for the visitor to deconstruct such mis/representations. The emplacement and techniques of display you have chosen reveal not only the complex relationship between artistic expression and the colonial encounter but also the importance of art and especially the role of the contemporary artist, as well as the resilience of communities responding to such encounters. Thank you again for your time. It really is a terrific display, one that I will want to return to!

Jasmin Habib, Department of Political Science, University of Waterloo, 200 University Avenue West, Waterloo, Ontario N2L 3G1, Canada.
E-mail: jhabib@uwaterloo.ca.

Notes

1 The "Out of Africa" exhibit opened at the Royal Ontario Museum at a complicated moment in Toronto's history. The racist brutality of the Toronto Police Services had been uncovered and exposed by local activists, academics and journalists. At the same time, there was some expectation that the museum's collection was going to "celebrate" African art. But many of the visitors coming to the exhibit saw labels that did not match their sense of identity, history or community. This was especially true for Canadians of African descent, the so-called stakeholder audience, who were not invited to get involved until very late in the process. "The Spirit Sings" exhibit at the Glenbow Museum—featuring many indigenous artifacts, some of them stolen—opened to coincide with the 1988 Winter Olympics being hosted by Calgary, Alberta. At the time, the Lubicon Lake Cree were making demands that the federal government recognize their right to reserve territory, as well as for a share in the wealth that had flowed from oil drilling on their territories. Their efforts, under the leadership of Bernard Ominyak, led to calls for a boycotting of the Olympics around the world, but especially in Europe. The exhibit itself also became the target of criticism when First Nations claimed that some of the masks used in the exhibit were sacred and should never have been put on the display. All of these experiences led to some changes in the practices of curating, exhibiting and storing art and artifacts across Canada—and for critical museology in general.

References

Schildkrout, Enid
    1991 Ambiguous Messages and Ironic Twists: Into the Heart of Africa and The Other Museum. Museum Anthropology 15(2):16–23. http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/mua.1991.15.2.16
Sims, Patterson
    2007 Anxious Objects: Willie Cole's Favorite Brands. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Book Reviews / Comptes rendus

Danforth, Loring M., and Riki Van Boeschoten, *Children of the Greek Civil War: Refugees and the Politics of Memory*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012, 352 pages.

Reviewer: Othon Alexandrakis
York University

Loring M. Danforth and Riki Van Boeschoten open their book with the advertisement for a workshop the authors gave at the Program in Hellenic Studies, Princeton University, on 10 May 2005. The subject of the workshop was the evacuation of about 25,000 children by members of the Communist Party of Greece from Northern Greece to Eastern Europe during the Greek Civil War of 1946–49—an operation characterized by the Greek government as "genocide" and a "crime against humanity." As per the advertisement, Danforth and Van Boeschoten would draw on the life stories of refugee children to offer a critique of political master narratives informed by ideologically motivated interpretations of the evacuation program.

The workshop became a "crucial moment" (4) for the authors. Leading up to the event, they received numerous angry messages and threats both from academics (Hellenists working in various academic disciplines) and, more generally, from members of the Greek diaspora. The hostility reached a crescendo at the workshop itself, which, following Danforth and Van Boeschoten's presentation, saw a prominent member of the Greek diaspora (a rather well-known author and columnist) set off on an angry tirade and storm out of the room when asked to give Danforth and Van Boeschoten a chance to respond. He, and others, accused the authors of misrepresenting *what really happened*. Emotions ran high.

In a testament to their professionalism and dedication to the project, the authors explain in these opening pages of the book that they followed up with each critic, reconsidered the terms of their inquiry and revisited the analysis of their primary data. What follows is a masterful, innovative text that makes multiple notable contributions to anthropology, intervenes positively into various dangerous political trajectories and, crucially, remains grounded in, respectful of, and committed to the memories, understandings and desires of the authors' primary consultants. This is ethnography at its finest.

Opening the text with this difficult scene and with a notably auto-ethnographic tone is certainly a clever move. It helps the reader to connect with Danforth and Van Boeschoten while introducing the ongoing importance and contentiousness of their subject. This opening section also hints at the various analytical and methodological innovations the text has to offer. One of their critical moves, we discover, was to expand the ethnographic base of the project following the workshop to include not only children sent away from Greece by Communist Party members, but also children who were sent to *paidopoleis* (lit. "children's cities") in other parts of the country by the Greek government during the same period—indeed, both the political left and right evacuated children during the Greek Civil War. This brings the lived experience of the war, separation, exile and life thereafter among refugee children into more direct analytical focus. This also makes more provocative the authors' assertion that various commonalities run through the stories of child refugees and, moreover, that these commonalities challenge various collective narratives and the national "history" of the event.

In general terms, the book offers significant theoretical contributions to refugee studies, the anthropology of children and childhood, and the politics of memory, and it challenges researchers to consider the unique positionality of children in history, political geography and ideological conflict. However, I would argue that it achieves something further, something positive for the consultants who contributed to the text. Danforth and Van Boeschoten explain that one of their strategies in critiquing master narratives is to question the universalisms that underpin these. They do this by way of giving power, agency and voice to those who lived the events in question rather than those who interpret them. In doing so, the refugee children who until now have been lumped into categories defined by others, and whose individual stories have been glossed, redacted or ignored, are permitted to step out front, past lingering political frames, to contribute to the building of mutual recognition and the healing of lingering traumas.

The book is organized into three tidy parts. In the first, "Histories," Danforth and Van Boeschoten situate the evacuation programs in larger historical context. The reader is led through the Axis occupation of Greece in 1941, to the rise of the communist-sponsored resistance organization National Liberation Front (and its military wing, the Greek Popular Liberation Army), to the liberation of Greece and the increasing tension between the political left and the royalist right, and finally to 1946, when the political right won national elections and the stage was set for the Civil War. They detail the parti-

san evacuation of about 20,000 children to Eastern Europe and the Greek government evacuation program, which, under the auspices of Queen Frederica of the Hellenes, sent about 18,000 children to 54 *paidopoleis* throughout Greece.

The authors explain that both sides were motivated by humanitarian impulses to remove children from harm, which they did according to various logistical constraints and with an awareness of the broader optics of their actions (the evacuation of children was used by both sides in propaganda campaigns). What's more, both sides were motivated by the ideological goal of producing a generation of young, loyal adults. The similarities between the two programs continue as the authors turn their attention to the life led by child refugees in Eastern Europe and in the *paidopoleis*. Children on both sides were put into tightly controlled and politicized environments where they were actively indoctrinated into certain beliefs and values. Moreover, children on both sides were put into education programs. Most of children evacuated to Eastern Europe became skilled workers, with a handful moving on to gain university degrees, while the children evacuated by the nationalists received primary education and technical skills.

One of the more fascinating aspects of this section is the authors' consideration of Greece's political geography at the time: the communists held the mountains of northern Greece, the Greek government was based in Athens, gruesome fighting and terror campaigns deterritorialized the nation village by village. Claiming, defending and challenging are familiar modes by which political space is made, maintained and remade. However, we discover, the evacuation of children complicates the temporal dimension of active political space-making during periods of conflict. The evacuation of children—essentially a coordinated mobilization of non-combatants—set up a circuit intended by each party to strengthen their claim to particular regions *post-combat* through the active cultivation of loyal political subjects. The imagining and creation of political potentials is a concept worthy of further consideration.

The second part of the book, "Stories," is intimate, complex and moving. It allows the reader to engage directly with the life-history narratives of seven refugee children: four sent to Eastern Europe and three sent to *paidopoleis*. The stories effectively disempower essentializing ideological accounts of the evacuation programs, while showcasing refugee children as active agents rather than passive victims. While there is much to say about this part of the book, I'd like to highlight the following. First, the voice of each ethnographer is directly accessible only in the short summaries that precede each story. Following each summary, the reader is able to engage with each consultant, free of intervention. "Stories," then, reads like an interaction of multiple voices producing a dialogical space representative of the social intervention the authors intend the book to make. Second, readers might note the moments in each of these stories where individuals locate their transitions from childhood to adulthood. These transition moments challenge the association of adulthood with the gaining of agency, offering instead an alternative view whereby individuals approach adulthood through the creation of cohesive pasts and meaningful futures.

The final part of the text, "Ethnographies," is more theoretical and engages directly with refugee studies and the anthropology of memory. In terms of the former, Danforth and Van Boeschoten bring together sedentarist and cosmopolitan perspectives of the lived refugee experience to suggest that refugee children make the emotionally disturbing separation from "home," a fixed location, meaningful in the context of global processes and according to individual experiences of displacement and mobility. Over time, refugee children construct and reconstruct their identities by situating themselves in relation to a multiplicity of homes—places where the children currently live, places to where they were taken and where they became situated, and places they remember—linked by complex events that are both (and sometimes simultaneously) negative and positive. This analytical framework comes alive as the authors consider various cases where refugee children have returned or attempted to return to their first homes and the conflicts that ensue. I found myself tacking between this part of the book and "Stories" over and again.

In terms of the anthropology of memory, Danforth and Van Boeschoten invite the reader to consider the persistent and public "memory war" (220) that continues in relation to refugee children. Both sides of the conflict continue to claim authentic master narratives and ownership of historical truth. This is significant for multiple reasons, but I will highlight one consideration. The narratives to do with this historical event shape the way Greeks think about such issues as departure, property and empowerment. Questioning these narratives is critical at a time when Greeks are struggling to deal with the fallout of financial crisis (dispossession, precarity, disempowerment, etc.), massive and utterly unmanaged inflows of migrants (including refugee claimants) from across Africa and Asia, and a mass exodus of young Greeks leaving the country once again.

Children of the Greek Civil War is an extraordinary text. By attending to the stories of child refugees, Danforth and Van Boeschoten undercut divisive and, in some cases, dangerous ongoing political projects specific to both sides at this crucial moment in the country's history. What's more, they showcase how dialogue and attention to the experiences of those who lived through and continue to live with defining historical moments can create respectful space and the foundations for co-existence today.

Three interesting points of engagement with this text for students and scholars include the question of how individuals experience agency relative to series of events, the ongoing affects of trauma and witnessing on individual subjectivities and the question of collaboration as a key methodology. This book might also be read alongside Neni Panourgia's recent outstanding ethnography *Dangerous Citizens* (2009). Both texts reengage with the history of Greece, experiment with communities of memory and offer inspiring methodological and textual innovations.

Reference

Panourgia, Neni
    2009 Dangerous Citizens: The Greek Left and the Terror of the State. New York: Fordham University Press.

Robertson, Leslie A., with the *Kwagu'l Gixsam* Clan, *Standing Up with Ga'axsta'las: Jane Constance Cook and the Politics of Memory, Church, and Custom*, Vancouver and Toronto, UBC Press, 2012, 569 pages.

Reviewer: Anna de Aguayo
Dawson College

In May 2007, a potlatch to feast the name *Waxawidi* was held by Wedlidi Speck, marking the return of several Cook family potlatch names, after 70 years of ceremonial inactivity, to the Alert Bay Feast Hall or Big House (the '*Yalis gukwdzi*). The family, a Kwakwaka 'wakw '*na'mima* of noble lines, gave anthropologist Leslie Robertson a customary name. She had done well by the family. She had been asked in 2002, by fellow anthropologist Dara Culhane (a Cook great-granddaughter by marriage), to work with Pearl Alfred on a life history about her grandmother, Jane Constance Cook, *Ga'axsta'las*, the "Breakfast Giver." The resulting book would, following its release in August 2013, go on to win the 2013 Wheeler-Voegelin Prize for best ethnohistory by the American Society of Ethnohistory, the 2013 CLIO prize for BC History and the 2013 prize for Aboriginal History from the Canadian History Association. The University of British Columbia (UBC) Press itself added its K. D. Srivastava Prize for Excellence in Publishing. With her excellent 2005 oral history work *Imagining Difference* (UBC Press), on the curse cast on her hometown of Fernie, BC, and her 2004 award-winning book on the stories of marginalized women on the downtown eastside of Vancouver, co-edited with Culhane, Robertson appears well suited to take on the name of assistant professor of anthropology at UBC, in the tradition of Julie Cruikshank.

Standing Up is not just a history of a woman living on Vancouver Island between the years of 1870 and 1951, after 90 per cent of her community was decimated by diseases. It is a large, complex, layered and important book that will be required reading for scholars of the region for years to come. Jane Cook, like many biculturals and literate bilinguals, such as Nowell, Beynon and Hunt, served as an interpreter and interlocutor for community members, anthropologists, Christian missionaries and colonial officials. Daughter of a white fur trader and schooner captain and a Kwakwaka'wakw noblewoman, she had lived with Alfred and Elizabeth Hall, Anglican missionaries. She worked as translator and culture broker for Franz Boas, Edward Curtis, the McKenna-McBride Royal Commission and the courts. Excerpts from archival letters and petitions she wrote for members of her own community are woven with descendants' memories, for instance, helping to sell two poles to Stanley Park for elderly chiefs and getting medical care and relief set up for widows, divorcees and their children. Through the stories of grandchildren and photographs we see her as a Victory gardener, a member of the IODE and Red Cross, highly patriotic, buying Victory Bonds—and losing a son in World War I. We also see her active in the Anglican Women's Auxiliary, organizing, translating Sunday sermons and the Bible into Kwak'wala, reading everything she could get her hands on. We see how her blended cultural position allowed her to challenge traditional gendered political positions, becoming a founding and active member of the Allied Tribes of BC, alongside the men, while remaining an active midwife and healer, married to the successful seiner, businessman and last *Hawinalat* (Warrior Dance) initiate '*Nage* Stephen Cook, with whom she had 16 children.

The book is deeply—successfully—collaborative, with past and present lived stories intertwining. It truly feels like it is co-written with a clan. Presenting this photographic, archival and oral collection alone would have been a major contribution to the historical record. It would fit into the works and records of other Christianized indigenous rights advocates, such as the Reverend Peter Jones in Ontario. It presents an important female voice to contrast well with the life history of a man born the same year, Charles Nowell, in *Smoke From Their Fires* (1941), collected by Clellan Ford; Harry Assu's *Assu of Cape Mudge* (1989) by Joy Inge, and James Sewid's *Guests Never Leave Hungry* (1969), recorded by James Spradley.

What makes *Standing Up* even more interesting academically is its role as a cultural artifact of contemporary Alert Bay potlatching and its resurgent politics. The politics of "interested knowledge" of competing chiefs means there is never a truly "neutral" record (80), reflects a great grandson. Life history, notes Robertson, "is riddled with questions about subjectivity, interpretations and translation across culture ... mediated by the perspectives of the editors" (44). Like nearly a third of her community, Jane Cook did not potlatch, which was banned from 1884 until two months after her death in 1951. Her descendants felt they needed a book about her life, to explain her actions, as they repositioned themselves and their descendants back into Big House potlatch politics. All her life, Cook actively protested the role of the potlatch in the strategic marrying off of young girls to obtain bride price or dowry wealth. When an ambitious chief needed more wealth to give away to increase his status, she argued, he married again. "I was never paid for," she stated (328). A great grandson notes wryly, "The Native Women's Association of Canada would be Granny Cook" (234). Every time Anglican missionaries or politicians contemplated how to lift the potlatch ban, Cook would fire off a letter or protest at a meeting. She had also been hired to be the interpreter for the potlatch court cases, which eventually charged or fined 164 community members and sent extended family members to Oakalla Prison Farm in Burnaby. Her role was resented and criticized by those trying to maintain the customs. "I know you look on me as your enemy, you who love and stuck to the custom," she says to her village antagonists as they complained about her role (333). But, it seems, it was mainly her descendants who have felt the community sting, feeling outcast, barred from jobs and positions. Also, by not being children of a marriage recognized by a potlatch, it also meant that "My children are illegal in eyes of the potlatch system or custom ... the boys that are married are still not recognized" (328). Her grandchild stated prophetically that "we might have to pay that debt for her someday" (330). It seems such a debt can be dealt with, in part, by not only getting the regalia, dances and songs "right" but also by setting your family history "right" in the academic record. It is a debt being repaid—in the currency of history, knowledge and ideas—to the 'Yalis Big House, one family's "Treasure Box" being reawakened.

Lambek, Michael, ed., *Ordinary Ethics: Anthropology, Language, and Action,* New York: Fordham University Press, 2010, 458 pages.

Chacon, Richard J., and Rubén G. Mendoza, eds., *The Ethics of Anthropology and Amerindian Research: Reporting on Environmental Degradation and Warfare,* New York: Springer, 2012, 521 pages.

Reviewer: David Z. Scheffel
Thompson Rivers University

In recent years anthropologists have taken up the study of ethics in increasing numbers, and these two edited volumes present an interesting sample of the various topics addressed. The older work, *Ordinary Ethics: Anthropology, Language, and Action,* edited and introduced by Michael Lambek, contains 20 essays presented at a workshop held at the University of Toronto in 2008. The contributions are arranged into seven thematic sections—theoretical frameworks, the ethics of speaking, responsibility and agency, punishment and personal dignity, ethics and formality, ethical subjects, and ethical life—and cover a vast ethnographic and topical territory. What ties them together is the attention each author was asked to pay to "ordinary ethics." This concept is elucidated in the introduction, which also serves as an elegantly written but, for readers lacking a firm foundation in moral philosophy, a rather challenging orientation to the intersections of anthropology and philosophy that Lambek and colleagues explore in this reader. Central to this project is the proposition that ethics ought to be studied within the realms of ordinary speech and action, following the Aristotelian insistence on seeing ethics as "a dimension of action" (14) rather than as a formal set of rules and obligations. According to Lambek, since anthropology provides insight into "the diverse practices that passionately engage people in particular settings" (22)—be they kula in the Trobriand Islands, art and ceremony in Bali, witchcraft among the Azande or headhunting for the Ilongot—it is well-positioned as a source of universally valid insights into the ways in which people everywhere use daily speech and social interaction as the stuff of "ordinary ethics."

Lambek elaborates these guiding principles in the first chapter of the section devoted to theory, where he extends Roy Rappaport's interpretation of ritual as canonization of order to other spheres of social life, notably speech. Unlike the "sacred" and thus highly formalized ritual action, "profane" speech and acts of everyday life come across as commonplace and therefore ordinary. Nevertheless, Lambek argues, they serve the same function as ritual insofar as they guide human conduct into predictable channels according to certain ethical principles.

Most of the essays make a more or less explicit contribution to this elucidation of the ethical from the ordinary, humdrum and commonplace stuff of daily human interaction. They do so by touching on and often engagingly describing situations from a variety of ethnographic settings, such as speech patterns in Papua New Guinea (Alan Rumsey), pollution beliefs in Taiwan (Charles Stafford), changing cosmologies among Australian Aborigines (Francesca Merlan), the relationship between aes-

thetics and ethics among the Hopi (Justin Richland), personhood in Colombian Amazonia (Carlos Sulkin), the ethics of sex workers in London (Sophie Day), business ethics in Sri Lanka (Nireka Weeratunge), Muslim-Hindu love affairs and marriage in India (Veena Das), the ritual commemoration of former enemies in Vietnam (Heonik Kwon) and several more.

Given the vast ethnographic scope of the book, a single reviewer cannot appreciate or critically evaluate the contribution made by each individual author. Yet, there are some surprising gaps in the supporting literature that ought to be mentioned. In his essay, "Abu Ghraib and the Problem of Evil," Steven Caton claims that "it bears repeating that modern philosophy and anthropology have all but abandoned [evil] as an analytical construct" (166), but back in the 1980s—though that's perhaps not "modern" enough?—there was actually an attempt to formulate a distinctive "anthropology of evil" (Parkin 1985). Caton's even more comprehensive assertion that the problem of evil has been largely ignored after Kant, "with the possible exception of Nietzsche or Hannah Arendt" (166), is difficult to accept in view of Claude Lanzmann's Shoah (1985) and the recent explosion of historical research concerned with the perpetration of the Holocaust in Ukrainian and Polish territories (Bartov 2011). These sources address the topic that interests Caton—the participation of ordinary men and women in the execution of "situational evil" (183)—though not in an explicitly philosophical way. A second surprising omission is Norbert Elias's (2000) path-breaking work from Shirley Yeung's analysis of American etiquette manuals, especially in view of both arriving at more or less the same conclusion about etiquette's important contribution to "ethical self-cultivation and improvement" (236).

In this context of links and connections it merits making a few remarks about the situation of the "ordinary ethics" project proposed and demonstrated in this volume within anthropology at large. Several contributors reflect upon or draw a distinction between formal/declaratory/imperative/Kantian morality as opposed to informal/ordinary/implicit/Aristotelian ethics. Jack Sidnell invokes the langue vs. parole dichotomy in his "Ordinary Ethics of Everyday Talk." Francesca Merlan subsumes the overarching "Law" of ritual conduct and relations between humans and the environment in aboriginal Australia under morality, and sees its implicit recognition in daily speech and action as an aspect of ethics, whereby "independence and competence at being oneself are learned from others—but in a certain way, not only in the dramatic and more authoritarian contexts of ritual but, more commonly, in everyday life, through watching and copying" (222). Naisargi Dave in her "Between Queer Ethics and Sexual Morality" credits Foucault's distinction between normative morality and lived ethics, and Alan Rumsey ("Ethics, Language, and Human Sociality") invokes Bourdieu's famous "implicit pedagogy" as a prototype for "ordinary ethics." Quoting from *Outline of a Theory of Practice,* Rumsey repeats Bourdieu's assertion that "implicit pedagogy" is "capable of instilling a whole cosmology, an ethic, a metaphysic, a political philosophy through injunctions as insignificant as 'stand up straight' or 'don't hold your knife in your left hand'" (119). Lambek may very well be right in postulating Marcel Mauss's *The Gift* as a sort of anthropological Ur-text for the elucidation of ordinary ethics, but a more comprehensive overview of the various post-Maussian anthropological and sociological strands of thought dealing with the place of

the mundane/ordinary/informal/implicit/vernacular in the maintenance of normative systems would have been useful. In addition to Bourdieu and Foucault, surely James Scott's emphasis on "practical knowledge" (1998) and Claude Lévi-Strauss—whose delineation of "savage thinking" inspired Scott—ought to be mentioned as godfathers of the approach advocated in this work.

One topic that is almost entirely missing from *Ordinary Ethics* is the fate of ethics under conditions of radical change. Provided that we follow Lambek's proposition to view ethics as resembling the ritual order in providing canonical guidance through the maze of behavioural alternatives one encounters in the process of ordinary living, what happens to the "implicit pedagogy" of daily do's and don'ts when there is a rupture between the ideological superstructure and its implicit reflection at the level of ordinary folks? How do people cope with such ruptures and how does the complex of ordinary ethics adjust to them? What I have in mind are revolutions, civil wars and other instances of sudden conceptual chaos that leave people disoriented and grasping for a compass. Though it doesn't address this question explicitly, the second book under review, *The Ethics of Anthropology and Amerindian Research*, explores the consequences of radical change and rupture for the conduct of anthropological research and, more specifically, for the "ordinary ethics" of its practitioners. Like *Ordinary Ethics*, this book had its genesis in a workshop, namely a session at the 2009 meeting of the American Anthropological Association. Its purpose was to discuss the ethical ramifications of research on American indigenous societies that contradicted the political climate within and outside the AAA and how to respond to what the participants saw as a growing tide of "political correctness" within the ranks of American anthropologists.

As the subtitle indicates, the issue of "reporting on environmental degradation and warfare" is a central theme addressed in this book. The dedication to Napoleon Chagnon "for his indefatigable and lifelong commitment to accurately reporting Amerindian ways of life and the plight of native people," foreshadows a certain ideological slant that is enunciated in the editors' introduction. Here the reader is given a sampling of the stuff that makes up the bulk of the work: the conviction that much of contemporary scholarship on Amerindian societies regurgitates utopian stereotypes about ecological sustainability, primeval egalitarianism and aboriginal pacifism and rejects contrary evidence for fear of adverse professional and social consequences. Chacon and Mendoza go as far as postulating attempts to suppress data on environmental degradation and warfare and violence among pre-contact and early-contact Amerindians, a campaign in which the AAA seems to have been complicit through its endorsement of a "culture of accusation" and character assassination aimed at unwavering defenders of scholarly integrity, such as the aforementioned Napoleon Chagnon (11).

The 23 authors, for the most part archaeologists and cultural anthropologists, with one exception all attached to U.S. institutions, seek to undermine the stereotypes of the Ecological and Pacifist Amerindian through case studies that span South, Central and North America with the exception of Canada. For the most part, the contributions are based on original research that demonstrates unsustainable economic activities and the ubiquity of warfare and violence under aboriginal conditions. Cognizant of the political repercussions, the authors ponder the questions of whether and how potentially explosive findings ought to be publicized and how to mitigate adverse consequences for the status of indigenous people.

Some of the research presented here is truly fascinating and the ethical implications it involves rather complex. Consider the dilemma faced by the archaeologists Christopher Schmidt and Rachel Lockhart Sharkey following the discovery of mutilated skeletons in burial sites in southern Indiana that date to 3,500–5,000 B.P. The skeletons show unmistakable signs of decapitation and limb and tongue removal, which makes for interesting comparison with other sites throughout the Eastern Woodlands. The findings are of great scientific value and they ought to be published, but the authors, aware of the furious reaction to previous attempts at debunking the pacifist stereotype—such as publications documenting instances of Anasazi cannibalism—fear that adverse publicity might result in the repatriation of excavated human remains before the conclusion of proper analysis. After all, "certain native groups, who may not be thrilled by excavation and osteology in the first place, may not care for the depiction of their ancestors as people who killed and mutilated young men, who removed a head and a tongue from an adolescent, who decapitated a woman and who collected and curated human limbs" (32).

In his short contribution, "The Studied Avoidance of War as an Instrument of Political Evolution," Robert Carneiro claims that "in this age of political correctness, palatability has too often become a touchstone applied when the status of a scientific theory is to be determined" (361), and he warns that, "if our aim is to comprehend the past as it actually happened, we make a serious error if we try to sugar coat that past" (365). This process of "sugar coating" is very well described by Arthur Demarest and Brent Woodfill, who sketch the appropriation of Q'eqchi' Maya culture by a host of politically motivated groups and advocates. Invoking Foucault's Panopticon, the authors assert that the Maya "are observed, 'reported upon', encouraged, sponsored and thus redefined by their observers" (137). In this process of "redefining," traditions deemed unpalatable—in Carneiro's sense—have been "edited" or simply excised. One such tradition is the sacrifice of animals (and possibly humans in the more remote past), a custom that's incompatible "with the cultural sensibilities of the UN, North America and Europe—the financiers of their activities" (137).

Several of the contributors are of aboriginal extraction—one of the editors, Rubén Mendoza, is of Yaqui ancestry—and it is interesting to read their reactions to some of the more controversial claims made in this book. Responding to the re-evaluation of the role of violence and warfare among Amerindians, Brooke Bauer, a Catawba scholar, asserts that "the denial or suppression of Amerindian militaristic history hurts modern-day Native Americans (particularly youth), because it prevents them from tapping into a long history of indigenous lifeways. Ignoring or erasing our military legacy fails to honor the warriors who shed blood in defense of native cultures and native lands" (76). The native perspective on cooperation, consultation and representation is expanded on in an insightful exchange about "Ancestral Pueblos and Modern Diatribes" between Mendoza and Antonio Chavarria, the Amerindian Curator of Ethnology at the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture in Santa Fe.

The main conclusions about the ethical ramifications of the research presented in this book are summarized in the last chapter which is, at 40 pages, too long and repetitive. The

overarching concern of the authors is summed up in the claim that "the failure to report indigenous practices that foment environmental degradation and native warfare is patently unethical. As scholars, we advocate a renewed commitment to strive for accuracy and transparency in our writings" (486). Without such, the editors fear our knowledge of the world will be seriously distorted. Ecologists and land-use planners ought to take into consideration pre-contact impact of native people on natural resources to design realistic conservation strategies, including the setting aside of wilderness preserves and park lands. Similarly, incomplete data about pre-contact violence and warfare hamper the reconstruction of aboriginal demography and social structure. It also—and this is a point raised repeatedly—diminishes Amerindian "agency" in defending territories against encroachment, including European colonization. Thus, the editors fear, the suppression of unpalatable data will be detrimental to "the cultivation of authentic forms of native self-identity and esteem" (483).

This is an important book that raises profound questions about the future of anthropology. Clearly, the authors have a view of scholarship as a quest for truth without quotation marks and they have little use for relativism, aboriginalism and other forms of pragmatism that have sought to "problematize" that quest. That perhaps explains the curious omission of Canadian material from the scope of this otherwise very comprehensive work. The editors quote Bruce Trigger and Robert McGhee to express openness to indigenous perspectives as a complement to, but not substitute for, the scientific method; yet, the only explicit reference to the state of Canadian anthropology is made in connection with the diminished credibility of the discipline before courts of law. Moving from Adam Kuper's warning about the danger of anthropology becoming "the academic wing of the indigenous rights movement" and "our ethnographies ... worthless except as propaganda" (489) to the Delgamuukw v. British Columbia case, the editors see in it a "dramatic illustration" of the loss of credibility of anthropological witnesses (490). Whatever conclusions one may draw from the concerns expressed in this book, it is a valuable testament to the continued vibrancy of American anthropology and the willingness of its practitioners to discuss openly matters of great importance and urgency.

References

Bartov, Omer
    2011 Wartime Lies and Other Testimonies: Jewish-
        Christian Relations in Buczacz, 1939–1944. Eastern
        European Politics and Societies 25(3):486–511. http://
        dx.doi.org/10.1177/0888325411398918
Elias, Norbert
    2000[1939]
        The Civilizing Process. Oxford: Blackwell.
Lanzmann, Claude
    1985 Shoah: An Oral History of the Holocaust. New York:
        Pantheon Books.
Parkin, David, ed.
    1985 The Anthropology of Evil. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
Scott, James
    1998 Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to
        Improve the Human Condition Have Failed. New
        Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Graeber, David, *Debt: The First 5,000 Years,* New York: Melville House, 2011, 534 pages.

Reviewer: Karl Schmid
York University

David Graeber's *Debt: The First 5,000 Years* is an unusual book, emerging in 2011 in the midst of the Great Recession and European debt crisis and going on to become an international best seller. It may be the most read public anthropology book of the 21st century, written by a self-proclaimed anarchist and possible "house theorist" of the Occupy Movement (Meaney 2011). Capitalists apparently cannot get enough of it. When has the *Globe and Mail's Report on Business Magazine* (Morris 2011) ever placed an anthropology book on its "best business reads" of the year? Gillian Tett, an anthropology Ph.D. turned assistant editor of the *Financial Times*, told me that central bankers were perusing it. It will be difficult for Graeber or anyone else to top this book for the attention it received due to excellent timing. From informal polling, it might also top the chart of books that are begun but never finished and for good reason. One review was sardonically titled "Debt: The First 500 pages" and even Graeber's extensive notes ring in at 60 pages (Beggs 2012).

As a difficult book to categorize, it is perhaps reminiscent of Jared Diamond's *Guns, Germs, and Steel* (1999) or James C. Scott's *The Art of Not Being Governed* (2009), in that it is a work of vast scope and implication. While Diamond replaced one form of determinism about European ascendency for another in a very inviting and accessible way, Scott provided a richly contextualized "anarchist history" of state-making that is not intended to generate public interest. Graeber's probe into one of humankind's most insidious and treacherous economic inventions is somewhat less accessible than Diamond's book, but Graeber comprehensively exposes the cultural logics of debt, which may prove more influential in the end. Scholars may eventually provide innumerable micro-critiques for his interpretations of sub-specialty arguments ranging from the intricacies of monetary theory to medieval history. In the interest of doing some justice to the broad implications of the book, I identify five significant contributions and, in doing so, traverse most of his 12 chapters, five of which cover Graeber's vast historical periods.

The foundational theory of the book is located in Chapters 3 and 5. Graeber writes that "almost everyone continues to assume that in its fundamental nature, social life is based on that principle of reciprocity, and therefore that all human interaction can best be understood as a kind of exchange" (91). Anthropologists have long been teaching Marshall Sahlin's typology of balanced, generalized and negative reciprocity but, for those who have found these to be awkward or contradictory (negative reciprocity in particular), Graeber offers an alternative: humans operate morally through three different forms of economic relations, which he categorizes as baseline communism, exchange and hierarchy. Only exchange has as its basis the idea of reciprocity. Baseline communism involves economic relations with others based on needs and abilities and is not founded on nor requires reciprocity. In the category of hierarchy, Graeber places oppressive relations of dominance and anonymous, formalized charity. Although there may be things exchanged between parties in hierarchical relationships, what is transacted symbolizes the inequality itself. The place

of debt in all of this is in the fluidity and movement between categories. Debt is entered into as a reciprocal agreement of exchange between relative equals but the relationship easily slips into a hierarchical relationship until that debt (including any interest) is repaid. As countless debtors have discovered, one's presumed equality can be vanquished through debt; just ask the citizens of Eurozone Greece today.

As he proposes in several chapters, cultural practices and belief systems have been influenced by the elevation of the importance of exchange and the rise of calculable debts over more intangible obligations. Chapter 3, "Primordial Debts," argues that primordial debt theorists are not identifying but instead creating a myth of reciprocity in which humans universally conceive of being indebted to the universe (God or gods), then to divine kings and, eventually, to states. Rather, each instance of this belief should be seen as a cultural construction, just as the widely known notion of karma in Buddhism should be properly understood as an obscure aspect of the religion until it was elevated by the Chinese School of the Three Stages, itself a reflection of the strong relationship between sixth-century Chinese Buddhism and merchant-traders. Karma was consistent with the belief that "we are all insolvent debtors" (262) in the context of monasteries that acted like financial corporations with enormous concentrations of capital. This is one example among many Graeber parachutes into the text to render visible the naturalization of economic practices through myths of reciprocity.

A second significant contribution is to piece together a larger narrative of the fall of credit- and obligation-based economies and relates this to the origins of barter and coin money. Graeber first challenges the normative notion of the origin of money derived from Adam Smith's myth that money evolved out of barter situations as a convenience of exchange. Rather, this is a myth of convenience for neoclassical economics' present-day conceptualization of humans as rational economic actors, as is the associated tenet that the "economic" is a sphere of activity best left to its own devices. The inconvenient truth, long known but most clearly enunciated by Mitchell-Innes, is that there never were barter societies, but that the theory was "precisely backwards," with credit economies (virtual money) coming first and barter usually "what people who are used to cash transactions do when for one reason or another they have no access to currency" (40). Moreover, the evidence points to the co-development of coinage and markets through direct government intervention to provision armies, rather than as some natural outcome of the individual human propensity to truck and barter. A related attribute of hard money is that it can be disassociated from social relations by a state, by criminals or by conquest. Your purse of gold coins can be stolen but not your obligations to your neighbours. Money, once introduced, turns the obligations of credit economies into calculations precisely quantified, a tool often intentionally and maliciously used by states, shopkeepers and even neighbours. As Graeber points out, the word "rationality" is derived from the mathematical term "ratio," and, with the spread of money and debt calculation skills, came the increasing, everyday governance of moral economic relations.

The periodization of five millennia of Eurasian history is another significant feature of the book and a somewhat problematic third contribution. This aspect of the book may end up ignored rather than challenged by specialists, who presumably would find exceptions to each period's characteristics or perhaps rightly take issue with the omission of most of the history of the New World and Africa. Nevertheless, the boldness of the claims and the richness of the source materials are unique and extraordinary. The periods are based on Graeber's assertion that most parts of the Eurasian continent (Europe, India and China) followed roughly similar trajectories of socioeconomic change due to the proliferation of coinage, extreme violence and mass slavery, alternated with periods in which these were in decline. The "Axial Age (800 BC–600 AD)" and the "Age of Great Capitalist Empires (1450–1971)," are periods when bullion was widely available and slavery and debt crises were more prevalent, punitive and repressive. Credit relations, meanwhile, prevailed in the "Middle Ages (600 AD–1450 AD)" and the present period from 1971 onward. A secondary narrative is found in how these ages related to developments in religion and philosophy. Graeber believes that it is no coincidence that all the world's major religions originated in the Axial Age (using Karl Jaspers' periodization), as they often explicitly arose as protest movements in response to that age's materialism, profit seeking, doctrines of self-interest and brutal practices of warfare and violence. Graeber redeems the Middle Ages as a less violent time, when the impact of religious belief and general decentralization allowed for a period of accommodation or dialectic interaction between economic and religious motivations and practices. Not only did religion and philosophy tame the extremes of human violence and avarice, symbolized by the conversion to Buddhism by the Indian Emperor Ashoka, but also economic and religious life increasingly intersected; some relevant examples are the Chinese School of the Three Stages, the monastic corporations of Europe and even the economic structures of the traditional Hindu village in India. Finally, in the Age of the Great Capitalist Empires, or the age of colonialism, coinage again proliferates, along with many of the destructive practices of old.

A fourth significant contribution of the book is to provocatively extend these arguments to understanding debt and money as factors in the development of a broad range of cultural practices of inequality. These fascinating claims, often frustratingly undeveloped, are examined in both the historical and thematic chapters. The most relevant to the historical periods is Graeber's elaboration of Geoffrey Ingham's military-coinage complex into a military-coinage-slavery complex. The basic idea is that permanent and non-aristocratically organized militaries are usually dependent on coinage to supply them and this hastens the military conquest of other areas for precious metals and slaves to work the mines. Alexander the Great exemplified this process. He not only enslaved entire populations but also confiscated so much gold and silver in the Persian and Babylonian conquest that it was the equivalent, today, of flooding markets with US$285 billion in a period of months. The deluge of coins he unleashed as his armies moved toward India all but destroyed the economies of credit and trust they encountered. A parallel can be found in the conquests and enslavement of the New World, when millions of indigenous peoples and African slaves died in horrific conditions in the mines of South America under similar military-coinage-slavery complexes. Nor was this only the practice of dictators and emperors, as Graeber details how the complex co-emerged with early democracy and debt crises in Greek city-states. An inflow of coins from this process of conquest

and its redistribution allowed for debt relief to most farming families and the incorporation of sons from families into free armies or their employment as mercenaries. Therefore, a form of active civic democracy, while leading to debt relief at home through various means of redistribution, also involved ever-greater conquest, enslavement and subjugation of foreign populations.

Among the most intriguing practices Graeber examines is the origins of honour and patriarchy in Chapter 7. Graeber refreshes and rethinks patriarchy's origins alongside factors like pastoralism and violence against women. Patriarchy's relationship with pastoralism might be more fully understood as a reaction to increasing debt crises happening in the cities of Mesopotamia. There, the archaeological record reveals the gradual transformation of women, formerly engaged in many public and political roles, into credit, property or collateral. Debt, or the fear of debt, is a central factor. Graeber suggests that the Old Testament commandment "thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife" actually reveals not an injunction against sexual conquest (which is covered in the commandment about adultery anyway), but against the practice of indebting poor neighbours so they will be forced to hand over wives or children in debt bondage. Family was frequently the collateral of the poor, which means that patriarchy can also be understood as the "angry millennial voices of the fathers of the ancient poor" (183) responding to the transformation of their societies through debt, by making it symbolically clear that they and their family were creditworthy and honourable, even if that resulted in the degradation of women's opportunities for public agency. Mesopotamian women who were veiled in public were the ones who were respectable because they originated from households not compromised by debt crises. Women from debt-dishonoured and dis-credited families were prohibited from wearing a veil to signal that they were now part of the commercial realm as prostitutes, slaves or domestic help, making them subject to the violence of subservience and servitude.

The fifth and final significant contribution of the book is found in a last, short period chapter, "1971–The Beginning of Something Yet to Be Determined." While it is disappointing that the book contains so little on the debt crises of the Global South or the contemporary European debt crisis, Graeber does ultimately return to and underscores a relevant argument for today. This is that sacred and secular beliefs in the sanctity of debt are almost completely naturalized in the domains of philosophy, religion and economics. Even more than capitalist relations, for example, debt relations have millennia of impact on our consciousness so that in religious belief and in philosophical and economic argument, it is axiomatic that debts must be repaid. Graeber argues that debt is a socially constructed practice that, at best, is an outgrowth of earlier relations based on mutual obligation and responsibility and, much more frequently, an extremely socially damaging tool of manipulation that turns relative equality into hierarchy. Societies that have recognized this (often through the vehicle of protest) have taken measures for debt relief and forgiveness. Societies that have not, because elites have crafted debt into tools of exploitation, including colonial western Europe and Upper Canada (Schrauwers 2009), have often witnessed the internal repression of ordinary classes through economies of debt and other forms of rationality. In the present, however, we are told that it is rational and in the interest of economic growth that there be debt forgiveness for some and austerity for others. The lesson of the past 5,000 years that Graeber is sharing with the public is that debt oppression resisted vigorously enough can bring reforms.

References

Beggs, Mike
    2012 Debt: The First 500 Pages. Jacobin, August. https://
          www.jacobinmag.com/2012/08/debt-the-first-500-
          pages/, accessed August 8, 2013.
Diamond, Jared
    1999 Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human
          Societies. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.
Meaney, Thomas
    2011 Anarchist Anthropology. The New York Times,
          December 8. http://www.nytimes.com/2011/12/11/
          books/review/anarchist-anthropology.html, accessed
          December 20, 2013.
Morris, Dave
    2011 The Best Business Reads of 2011. Report on Business
          Magazine. December: 11.
Schrauwers, Albert
    2009 Union is Strength: W.L. Mackenzie, the Children of
          Peace and the Emergence of Joint Stock Democracy
          in Upper Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto
          Press.
Scott, James C.
    2009 The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist
          History of Upland Southeast Asia. New Haven, CT:
          Yale University Press.

Sophie Houdart, *L'universel à vue d'œil*, Paris : Éditions PETRA, « Collection Anthropologiques », 2013, 284 pages.

Recenseure : Sylvie Brosseau
Waseda University

Le livre de Sophie Houdart nous propose une étude anthropologique de l'Exposition internationale qui eut lieu en 2005 au Japon, à Nagoya. L'auteure est anthropologue, chercheuse au CNRS et spécialiste du Japon. Elle enquête sur les modes de construction de la modernité dans leurs variantes locales, à travers tout particulièrement l'observation et l'analyse des pratiques scientifiques. Elle s'est aussi intéressée au travail de l'architecte et au processus d'élaboration du projet architectural au sein d'une agence japonaise.

Ce texte décrit, analyse et commente les différentes mobilisations, à long terme et de grande envergure, qui ont contribué à la mise en œuvre de l'Exposition internationale de Nagoya en 2005. Le travail d'enquête suit les processus d'élaboration, observe les rôles des multiples acteurs, les évolutions des questionnements pris en compte, depuis la phase de démarrage une dizaine d'années en amont jusqu'à l'ouverture de l'Exposition. Cependant, l'auteure ne se limite pas à simplement décrire et narrer le montage d'une mégafoire internationale en suivant ses différents objectifs de communication, d'images et en décryptant ses diverses visées nationalistes. Elle s'est

davantage donné pour objet d'observer un universel en train de se fabriquer, de se négocier, de se dissoudre, avec toutes les problématiques afférentes.

Différentes échelles et natures d'enjeux – locaux, régionaux, nationaux, internationaux – sont mises en évidence ainsi que différentes échelles de temps. Sophie Houdart nous rappelle d'abord que le développement des expositions universelles s'insère dans le temps long d'un vaste projet de civilisation qui promeut le progrès universel et doit concerner le monde. Au Japon, leur histoire participe à celle de la modernisation du pays suivant le modèle occidental à partir de 1868. S'imbrique à ces différentes temporalités le temps court du projet et de la fabrication d'un universel dans le contexte particulier d'une exposition au Japon au début du XXIe siècle. Dans leur ensemble, les expositions universelles sont révélatrices d'un certain rapport à l'histoire et à la contemporanéité. Les procédés d'universalisation sont également des procédés temporels, ce que l'auteure nous montre avec clarté.

Au Japon, les expositions universelles tiennent une place particulièrement importante dans la modernisation et le développement du pays, car la participation du Japon a permis de montrer au monde entier son aptitude à mettre au point des structures innovantes, à devenir un acteur de la modernité, à montrer sa transformation radicale en passant du statut d'objet exotique à celui de producteur d'objets, donc sujet. Malgré tout, il faudra attendre 1970 pour que le Japon accède enfin à l'organisation de sa propre exposition universelle à Osaka. Celle-ci, dont le thème est « Progrès et harmonie pour l'humanité » prouvera, d'abord à lui-même, sa pleine capacité et sa volonté de participer au devenir universel du monde.

Dans un premier temps, l'exposition de 2005 à Nagoya a tenté de ressaisir et reprendre en considération toutes ces différentes dimensions temporelles, celle de la modernité, celle de la rencontre de l'Occident et de l'Orient, celles de la présence du Japon dans les expositions universelles, et des expositions universelles au Japon. Elle est pensée, lors d'une première phase au riche potentiel, comme la première exposition « non moderne », dans une tentative de questionnement conceptuel et formel qui remet en cause, entre autres, la construction et la présence des pavillons nationaux. La proposition initiale tend vers la redéfinition des composants et la reconfiguration de leurs liens (l'homme, l'environnement, les images, les représentations, etc.). Finalement, le thème général et titre, après un reformatage opéré par le Bureau international des Expositions, est « La redécouverte de la sagesse de la nature ». L'exposition pose d'abord comme une nécessité – universelle – de repenser les rapports entre l'homme et la nature, l'homme et son milieu, mais cet accord supposé autour de la notion de nature, en fait, n'existe pas. Très vite, des évidences tombent, des désaccords apparaissent, le consensus se révèle illusoire. La proposition universelle à peine énoncée est mise en question. Dès lors, le projet accumule versions, propositions et contre-propositions qui rendent contestables et incertaines les formulations choisies, relativisent tous les énoncés. Ces atermoiements, ces remises en cause, ces ajouts et retraits sont entièrement constitutifs de l'évènement en cours. L'échafaudage étant finalement bien plus intéressant que l'objet construit, l'auteure nous présente les différents intervenants et acteurs, leurs propositions, leur pensée, leur mode de participation ainsi que leur inscription socioculturelle. En comparant les expositions Osaka 1970 et Nagoya 2005, elle met en évidence de façon parlante de fortes différences qui révèlent le passage d'un monde aux hiérarchies semblant encore claires et stables, en tout cas montré sous cet angle, à un monde où tout se dissout et tout devient instable.

Le projet d'Exposition Nagoya 2005 qui voulait refonder le processus d'élaboration d'une exposition universelle propre au XXIe siècle a, en fin de compte, abouti à réduire la thématique posée, « La redécouverte de la sagesse de la nature », à un catalogue hypertrophié de belles images à l'esthétisme naïf. Au-delà d'une forme d'échec final, la pauvreté des simplifications qui font figure de résultats pose, bien sûr, la question du sens d'un tel évènement, et révèle la difficulté, voire l'impossibilité, de penser le monde dans lequel nous vivons.

L'étude de Sophie Houdart déroule de nombreux questionnements liés, dont celui de la modernité occidentale et de ses rapports avec une modernité autre telle que le Japon la fabrique, ou celui de la mise en scène de ces modernités et de la crise de leur représentation, révélatrice d'une crise paradigmatique. Sophie Houdart, par des décentrements successifs, spatiaux et temporels, approfondit la réflexion sur les notions essentielles de mondialisation et d'universalisation, d'où la pertinence et l'intérêt de son travail. Sa conclusion propose des remarques stimulantes sur les concepts de construction et d'instauration, leurs différences et potentialités, ainsi que sur les possibilités de créer et d'exprimer des liens entre intimité et universalité. Portée par une écriture déliée, la poésie émerge parfois du surréalisme involontaire produit par le collage de tous ces éléments décalés et réunis, *satoyama* (champs et forêt), mammouth, capsules de temps, etc.

Abdelwahed Mekki-Berrada: *Le concept organisateur de Baraka; entre thérapie et herméneutique dans les traditions ethnomédicales marocaines*, Québec : Presses de l'Université Laval, 2013, 172 pages.

Recenseur : Louise Chartrand
Université d'Ottawa

Cette recherche anthropologique à méthodologie double, soit analyse de corpus ancien et ethnographie à Casablanca et à Fez, a pour but « d'explorer les interactions dynamiques qui se tissent entre pensée ethnomédicale, action ethnothérapeutique et pensée symbolique dans le Maroc urbain » (p. 1). Étant donné que l'auteur nous indique qu'il aime commencer ses publications par leurs titres, nous allons faire de même. L'œuvre qui sera au centre de notre discussion s'intitule « Le concept organisateur de baraka : entre thérapie et herméneutique dans les traditions ethnomédicales marocaines ». Afin d'orienter le lecteur, Mekki-Berrada explique que les cinq concepts initiaux soient baraka, tradition, ethnomédecine, herméneutique et thérapie sont appréhendés comme étant des colonnes à bases rhizomiques. Dis autrement, il s'agit de concepts dépourvus de commencements et de fins. Il n'existe par conséquent qu'un centre dont les frontières sont mobiles. Pour entrer à l'intérieur de ces rhizomes, l'auteur consacre le reste de l'introduction à définir les concepts de tradition, d'ethnomédecine, d'herméneutique et de thérapie pour par la suite consacrer les deux chapitres subséquents au concept de baraka.

Dans le premier chapitre, à partir d'une analyse de corpus ancien, l'auteur expose son approche théorique, fort intéressante, pour mieux comprendre les traditions ainsi que le système herméneutique au Maroc. Inspiré par les trois dimensions épistémologiques de Foucault (1966)[1], Mekki-Berrada explique que « les traditions ethnomédicales contemporaines en terre d'Islam en général et au Maroc [en particulier] sont des systèmes herméneutiques qui s'insèrent dans les interstices d'un "trièdre épistémologique" dont les trois plans s'articulent et se chevauchent » (p. 30). Pour expliciter son propos, l'auteur nous offre une représentation schématique ou trois triangles sont superposés. À la base de ce trièdre, nous retrouvons le concept de baraka, au-dessus de celui-ci, la médecine du prophète et finalement vient la médecine humorale. D'où le fait que le concept de baraka soit défini par l'auteur comme base fondamentale de toute ethnomédecine et ethnopsychiatrie marocaine.

Alors qu'est-ce que la baraka? Il s'agit d'une forme de présence spirituelle, à savoir une grâce divine qui est à l'intérieur d'une circulation cosmique touchant autant les humains que les non humains. Or une des particularités de l'humain est sa responsabilité. En effet, il revient à l'humain de faire le lien et le « transit entre la baraka de l'être vers toute forme de vie » (p. 32). Il est donc possible pour l'humain de faire des rituels afin d'améliorer, de nettoyer ainsi que de guérir sa baraka. L'espace ethnomédicinal est également fortement influencé par deux autres facteurs qui ont subi un métissage, continue Mekki-Berrada, à savoir la médecine du prophète qui a vu le jour au VIIe siècle et celle de la médecine humorale, qui est apparue au XVe siècle. La première réfère aux enseignements de caractère médicaux qui ont été transcrits sous forme d'*ahadith*. Tandis que la médecine humorale renvoie à la théorie de Galien qui repose sur la notion des quatre éléments[2] associés aux quatre humeurs[3], quatre qualités[4], trois âmes[5], trois pneumas[6], diverses facultés[7], la chaleur interne[8] et finalement quatre organes[9]. Afin de démontrer l'ancrage empirique du trièdre épistémologique ainsi présenté, Mekki-Berrada nous présente une recherche ethnographique qu'il dit avoir menée à Casablanca et à Fez, mais ce sans préciser quand et pour combien de temps.

C'est avec une éloquence exceptionnelle, cela étant dit, qu'il nous emporte dans le chapitre deux, au sein de cabinets d'exorcistes où divers rituels sont pratiqués à des fins thérapeutiques. Pour chacun des six acteurs qu'il présente dans ce chapitre, Mekki-Berrada explique de façon détaillée les emplacements où ils travaillent, ce qui rend leurs pratiques et leurs titres légitimes, ainsi que les objets et les gestes qu'ils emploient lors de rituels. Par exemple, Mekki-Berrada nous décrit sa recherche de l'officine d'un de ces acteurs, sidi X, *charif* et exorciste de renom. En effet, étant donné que celui-ci est reconnu au travers de la ville de Casablanca, l'absence d'une adresse ainsi que des directions imprécises ne sont que de petits obstacles à franchir pour se rendre à l'officine. Celle-ci se trouve sur deux étages où l'on retrouve des hommes et des femmes de tous âges. En attente de traitement, les gens qui s'y trouvent discutent ouvertement de *jnoun* ainsi que de leurs maladies, transformant ainsi la salle d'attente en 'salle de pré-exorcisme' (p. 79). Suit une description dense du rituel d'exorcisme d'une jeune femme possédée par un *jnoun* indésirable qui occasionne des moments d'inconfort œsophagien, surtout au crépuscule. Les différents symboles qui se trouvaient dans la salle sont ensuite analysés à l'aune du cadrage théorique présenté dans le premier chapitre.

Par la suite, Mekki-Berrada nous emporte brièvement à Fez où il nous fait rencontrer un tradipraticien qui est à la fois exorciste et apothicaire. Ce pour quoi il propose de l'appeler exo-apothicaire. Il nous explique que celui-ci tient une petite officine au cœur de la médina de Fez et qu'il s'agit du « quatrième descendant d'une lignée d'exo-apothicaires dont il a hérité la baraka » (p. 99). Contrairement à sidi X, l'exo-apothicaire utilise les plantes à des fins médicinales. De plus, celui-ci refusa l'accès à l'auteur au rituel, de même qu'il refusa de discuter plus précisément avec lui du concept de baraka parce que selon ce tradipraticien, ce concept « est secret autant que délicat, voire dangereux à aborder avec le profane que je suis » (p. 101). L'auteur nous permet donc de comprendre l'importance du concept de baraka non seulement au travers des discussions qu'il a eues sur le terrain à son sujet, mais également au travers de sa description du silence qui l'entoure.

En somme, en raison de la richesse de son cadrage théorique et de l'ethnographie sur lequel il s'appuie, nous croyons que cet ouvrage devrait être ajouté à toute bibliographie anthropologique dont les recherches portent sur le Maroc, comme pour celles abordant le domaine médical en terre marocaine. Néanmoins, bien que nous croyions aussi que ce livre pourrait également intéresser les professionnels de la santé travaillant au Maroc, nous pensons que sa complexité théorique pourrait décourager le lecteur non familier avec les concepts clés de l'anthropologie médicale.

Notes

1. « trois régions épistémologiques, toutes subdivisées à l'intérieur d'elles-mêmes et toutes entrecroisées les unes avec les autres » (Foucault, 1966:366 dans Mekki-Berrada, 2013:30)
2. Air, terre, feu et eau
3. Sang, bile noire, bile jaune et pituite
4. Chaleur, froid, sécheresse et humidité
5. Rationnelle, pulsative et végétative
6. Psychique, vital et naturel
7. Attractive, rétentive, expulsive
8. Interne ou innée
9. Cerveau, cœur, foie et rate

Références citées

Foucault, Michel
   1966   Les Mots et les Choses. Une Archéologie des sciences humaines. Paris: Gallimard.

Véronique Audet, *Innu Nikamu – L'Innu chante : Pouvoir des chants, identité et guérison chez les Innus*, Québec : Presses de l'Université Laval, 2012, 292 pages.

Recenseur : Hugo Ferran
Université de Montréal

Les musiques autochtones d'Amérique du Nord ont subi de multiples influences depuis l'arrivée des premiers explorateurs européens jusqu'à nos jours. Si les musiques « traditionnelles »

et chrétiennes des populations amérindiennes sont relativement bien connues, l'emprunt de répertoires séculiers, tels que le rock, le folk et la musique country, est largement moins documenté. En analysant les processus d'appropriation de ces musiques chez les Innus du Québec et du Labrador, l'ouvrage de Véronique Audet vient apporter de nouveaux éclairages – ethnomusicaux – aux mouvements de décolonisation et de revitalisation culturelle qui animent les mondes autochtones nord-américains depuis la seconde moitié du 20e siècle.

Issu de plusieurs séjours et enquêtes de terrain, ce livre s'attache à explorer les rapports entre musique, identité et « guérison sociale ». La notion de guérison prend tout son sens à la lumière de la thèse défendue ici. Dans un contexte marqué par les « blessures » infligées par la colonisation, la subordination gouvernementale et le désordre interne qui en résulte (pauvreté, alcoolisme, toxicomanie, violence, dépression, criminalité), la musique jouerait un rôle « thérapeutique » au niveau individuel et collectif (p. 12). Dans la mesure où les chanteurs donnent à entendre leur vision de la culture et de l'histoire innue, leurs chants agiraient comme des « exutoires » susceptibles d'apporter le bien-être individuel, tout en renforçant la cohésion sociale et l'identité du groupe (p. 15). En ce sens, les chants innus seraient collectivement perçus comme des « emblèmes culturels », ou encore comme des « instruments de résistance et d'affirmation [...] d'une identité distincte par rapport aux sociétés dominantes » (p. 5).

Cette hypothèse, pour le moins originale, est née du constat que les chanteurs-musiciens innus évoquent spontanément les thèmes de l'identité et de la guérison, sans que la question leur soit posée lors des discussions ou entretiens (pp. 23–24). Ce livre se donne pour objectif de faire ressortir les significations que recouvrent ces termes aux yeux des Innus, afin de dévoiler la manière dont ces derniers conçoivent la musique à l'heure actuelle.

L'ouvrage, accompagné d'un disque compact et illustré de multiples photos et d'une carte, s'organise en quatre chapitres. Après une introduction présentant le cheminement de l'auteure (parcours personnel, choix du sujet), le cadre disciplinaire (ethnomusicologie, anthropologie de la musique), la problématique (identité, guérison), la méthodologie (observation participante, entretiens), la société innue[1] et les communautés étudiées[2], le premier chapitre dresse un tableau succinct des musiques dites traditionnelles. Ces musiques auraient des « caractéristiques propres identifiables aux Innus » (p. 42). Parmi elles, on retiendra le tambour *teueikan* et les chants qui l'accompagnent, la danse collective en cercle *makushan*, les chants associés à un récit mythique ou accompagnant un déplacement, les hochets et sifflets cérémoniels aujourd'hui utilisés par les enfants, les berceuses, les chants révélés par le rêve, ainsi que le pouvoir spirituel et social que procure ces révélations. Malgré les allusions au changement et au caractère variable, flexible et ouvert de ces musiques (p. 42), l'usage du terme traditionnel donne une impression de figement. Si la catégorie des « musiques traditionnelles » existe bel et bien dans le langage vernaculaire (les aînés en seraient les tenants), son utilisation dans le champ analytique apporte plus de confusion que d'éclaircissements. La redondance de certains termes vient également alourdir le texte, en particulier l'expression « mode d'être au monde », qui renverrait à une certaine ontologie et épistémologie relationnelle. Si l'on se réfère à la classification proposée par Descola (2005), on en déduit que l'ontologie innue relève de l'animisme

(intériorité semblable et physicalité différente, les êtres humains ayant la capacité de se métamorphoser, c'est-à-dire de se transformer en d'autres types d'êtres). Or, cela n'est pas suffisamment explicité dans l'ouvrage d'Audet, qui ne démontre ni l'applicabilité de cette notion anthropologique au domaine de l'ethnomusicologie, ni les implications musicales d'une telle ontologie.

Le second chapitre retrace les mutations musicales qui se sont produites chez les Innus du 17e siècle jusqu'à nos jours. L'auteure repère plusieurs facteurs de changement, tels que l'évangélisation, le colonialisme et les échanges interculturels. La section consacrée au développement des musiques chrétiennes innues est bien documentée et s'appuie sur plusieurs travaux universitaires préexistants. Plus courte, la section suivante examine l'emprunt d'instruments exogènes, tels que le violon ou la guitare, ainsi que l'appropriation des musiques de violoneux. Les récits de vie des chanteurs Émile Grégoire, Florent Vollant et Philippe McKenzie, ainsi que l'historique du groupe Kashtin et du festival *Innu Nikamu* (litt. « L'Innu chante »), servent à retracer l'émergence et l'évolution de la musique country, du rock et du folk innu, à partir d'expériences individuelles et collectives. L'auteure se livre alors à l'examen de chants « engagés » composés par ces artistes ou ensembles musicaux. Dans ce chapitre, on regrettera l'absence d'analyse musicale pour rendre compte des processus de « fusion » ou de « métissage » des « styles traditionnels et folk-country-rock » (p. 108). Ainsi, l'écoute du CD d'accompagnement ne suffit pas à différencier les « musiques populaires » innues des autres « musiques populaires » nord-américaines, à l'exception bien sûr de la langue et de certains instruments utilisés, tel que le tambour *teueikan* – ce dernier ayant rapidement été délaissé par respect pour sa fonction rituelle première (p. 112).

Le troisième chapitre, plus problématisé, envisage la musique comme vecteur d'identité. Il cherche à déterminer le rôle des « musiques populaires » innues dans les mouvements actuels de décolonisation et de revitalisation des cultures autochtones. Pour ce faire, l'auteure analyse la manière dont ces musiques véhiculent des revendications sociales et identitaires, à travers l'étude de la langue et des thématiques des chants, ou encore de certains paramètres musicaux (rythmes, instruments) ou sociaux (statut des acteurs musicaux, dont plusieurs femmes font partie). Dans la section intitulée « *L'expression sonore* » (p. 166), l'auteure se prête au difficile exercice de l'analyse musicale. Or son manque de compétence musicologique – dont elle ne se cache pas (pp. 21–22) – invalide la plupart des arguments avancés. Pour caractériser le jeu de guitare, par exemple, elle utilise l'expression « rythme battant » (p. 167), bien que celle-ci soit dépourvue de sens sur le plan analytique. On comprend néanmoins ce qu'elle entend par là, à savoir l'idée d'une accentuation régulière censée reproduire, dans l'imaginaire innu, le rythme du tambour *teueikan* à la guitare. Par ailleurs, on se demande si la notion de mesure est pertinente pour l'analyse du « temps musical » innu (p. 168), dont la périodicité se caractérise plutôt par des cycles de durée constante ou variable au cours d'un même chant. Enfin, l'usage de certains termes, tels que « tamtam » ou « *feeling* musical » (p. 168), surprend dans un ouvrage qui se revendique de l'ethnomusicologie et de l'anthropologie de la musique.

Le quatrième chapitre porte, quant à lui, sur les problèmes de guérison sociale par la musique. Certes, l'auteure se réfère à des anthropologues utilisant cette notion dans leurs travaux

sur les Autochtones (Adelson 2000, Csordas 1999, Clammer et al. 2004, Warry 2007). Cependant, elle ne démontre pas la validité de ce concept dans le champ musical. Elle ne propose pas non plus de méthodologie ou de protocole d'enquête pour faire ressortir les éventuels effets curatifs de la musique. Si le discours des musiciens-chanteurs révèle que la musique peut les « toucher », leur « faire du bien », voire les « guérir » (pp. 214–215), on est loin de la « catharsis sociale » dont parle Audet (p. 208). Dans un livre censé étudier le « pouvoir de guérison » de la musique, il est frappant de constater que l'auteure se place presque exclusivement du point de vue des interprètes-compositeurs, aux dépens des auditeurs et de la manière dont ces derniers perçoivent leurs musiques. De plus, il n'est pas toujours aisé, dans cet ouvrage qui prône la « multivocalité dans le texte » (p. 18), de faire la distinction entre le discours de la chercheuse, des informateurs et des auteurs qu'elle cite.

En définitive, cet ouvrage aurait pu se passer du vocabulaire de la santé, puisque les chants étudiés relèvent plus du domaine politique que médical. C'est d'ailleurs ce qui ressort de l'introduction et de la conclusion, dans lesquelles l'auteure parle de « musiques engagées » (p. 247) ou d'« instruments de résistance » (p. 5). Dès lors, il aurait été souhaitable de se référer aux travaux de Martin (1996, 2006), incontournables en la matière, en se plaçant dans une perspective sociologique et politique de la musique, qui privilégie l'étude des relations entre musique et pouvoir – et non, entre musique et guérison.

De façon générale, ce livre traite moins de la musique que des paroles des chants et des contextes socioculturels dans lesquels ils s'inscrivent. On s'étonnera de l'absence de discussion autour de la notion très controversée de musique « populaire », comme en témoigne le numéro spécial dirigé par Le Ménestrel (2006). On s'étonnera aussi des changements brusques d'échelle, qui amènent l'auteure à passer librement des Innus à d'autres groupes autochtones, comme s'ils formaient un ensemble homogène et indifférencié. Des remarques plus subsidiaires portent sur la forme. On note une confusion entre les abréviations *idem* et *ibid.* Quant aux citations anglaises, elles ne sont pas toujours traduites en français, ce qui crée une certaine hétérogénéité. Enfin, il est regrettable que le CD d'accompagnement ne soit pas connecté au texte. Certes, le but avéré de ce disque est de « transporte[r] [le lecteur] dans le monde sonore innu » (p. 24), mais l'auteure aurait également pu s'en servir pour illustrer ses propos.

Pour conclure, ce livre soulève des hypothèses intéressantes, comme le thème de la guérison, mais l'analyse ethnomusicologique n'est malheureusement pas toujours à la hauteur des ambitions théoriques et ethnographiques fixées en début d'ouvrage.

Notes

1 Anciennement appelés Montagnais ou Naskapis, les Innus appartiennent à la grande famille culturelle et linguistique des Algonquins.

2 L'auteure a réalisé des enquêtes dans les communautés de Uashat mak Mani-utenam et d'Ekuanitshit situées sur la côte nord du golfe du Saint-Laurent.

Références citées

Adelson, Naomi
    2000 « Being Alive Well » : Health and the Politics of Cree Well-being, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, Anthropological Horizons.

Clammer, John, Sylvie Poirier et Eric Schwimmer, dirs.
    2004 *Figured Worlds. Ontological Obstacles in Intercultural Relations.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
Csordas, Thomas J.
    1999 Ritual Healing and the Politics of Identity in Contemporary Navajo Society. American Ethnologist 26(1):3–23. http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/ae.1999.26.1.3.
Descola, Philippe
    2005 Par-delà nature et culture, Paris: Gallimard.
Le Ménestrel, Sara, dir.
    2006 Musiques populaires. Catégorisations et usages sociaux, Numéro spécial de la revue. Civilisations LIII(1-2).
Martin, Denis-Constant
    2006 Le myosotis, et puis la rose... Pour une sociologie des « musiques de masse ». L'Homme 177–178(177-178):131–154. http://dx.doi.org/10.4000/lhomme.2119.
Martin, Denis-Constant
    1996 Que me chantez-vous là? Une sociologie des musiques populaires est-elle possible? *Dans* Alain Darré (dir.), Musique et politique, les répertoires de l'identité, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes : 17–30.
Warry, Wayne
    2007 Unfinished Dreams. Community Healing and the Reality of Aboriginal Self-Governement, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Lionel Obadia, *La marchandisation de Dieu. L'économie religieuse,* Paris : CNRS Éditions, 2013, 249 pages.

Recenseure : Andrée-Ann Métivier
Université d'Ottawa

L'ouvrage de Lionel Obadia trace les grandes lignes d'un champ théorique émergent, soit celui de l'économie religieuse. Il contribue ainsi à sa constitution en discipline académique en incorporant dans son étude à la fois une synthèse théorique des rapports entre l'économie et la religion, objet d'étude de l'économie religieuse, et les linéaments de la méthode analytique de ce champ.

L'auteur entame ses réflexions en contextualisant la pertinence de son entreprise. Il présente d'abord un ensemble de constats et d'interrogations portant sur les multiples expressions du rapport entre économie et religion dans nos sociétés contemporaines (et pas seulement occidentales). On passe ainsi de l'exemple de la participation du Dalaï-Lama en 2002 à un regroupement à Londres des plus influents banquiers du monde, à celui de la nomination d'un homme d'affaire à la tête d'une Église. Dans ce contexte, plutôt que de laisser le champ des études du religieux à la science économique – laquelle peine à rendre compte de certains éléments cruciaux pour une meilleure compréhension de ceux-ci – ou encore à la religion elle-même – ce qui écarte d'emblée l'analyse critique de ses propres aspects économiques – l'économie religieuse est une discipline qui permettrait de prendre pour objet la religion à la lumière de l'économie, comprise comme réalité anthropologique plutôt que comme réalité en soi.

L'exercice de la « méthode » de l'économie religieuse débute, dans le premier chapitre, par l'analyse de la religion au

prisme de l'économie. L'auteur remarque que les « Églises font la promotion de leurs "produits" ». Le monde religieux semble se convertir en "marché" » et même, dit-il, « les croyants apparaissent désormais comme des « consommateurs » de religion » (p. 23). Obadia dresse un portrait des différents auteurs qui se sont penchés sur ces rapports et les transformations sociohistoriques qui les concernent.

Avec le même souci de rendre compte de différents points de vue théoriques et historiques, Obadia présente, dans le deuxième chapitre, l'émergence du champ de l'économie religieuse et ses conquêtes théoriques propres. Il accorde une attention particulière, non seulement dans ce chapitre mais dans l'ensemble de l'ouvrage, à la justesse du vocabulaire et du champ lexical ainsi qu'à la précision conceptuelle des termes que l'on utilise aujourd'hui pour mettre en rapport économie et religion. On distingue ainsi l'économie religieuse de l'économie *dans* la religion, et vice versa ; de l'économie *et* la religion et de l'économie *comme* religion. La visée de l'économie religieuse serait plutôt de comprendre le religieux (ses dynamiques, ses institutions, les comportements religieux, etc.) à partir de l'économie conçue comme *approche* et *modèle* (modèle économiste inspiré de la science économique et de l'économie politique) plutôt que comme *réalité* postulée comme a priori.

Dans les chapitres suivants, l'auteur cherche à suivre la dynamique de la constitution des rapports entre religion et économie à la fois dans les discours (populaires autant que savants), les représentations et les actions sociales. On s'aperçoit alors que ces rapports sont de différents ordres. Dans certains cas, ils sont d'ordre métaphorique, alors que dans d'autres cas, il s'agit plutôt d'une analogie au niveau de leur dynamique interne, de leur morphologie ou de leur vocabulaire ; de la régulation de l'un par l'autre ; de l'association ponctuelle entre ses protagonistes respectifs ; de l'analogie des effets produits par deux domaines d'activités et des techniques utilisées, etc.

L'insistance mise sur la multiplicité des types de liens entre économie et religion s'inscrit dans cette visée de ne pas conclure à l'existence d'une simple identité entre ces deux réalités. Autrement dit, il importe pour bien comprendre ce champ théorique de distinguer l'« analogie » de l'« identité » et le « modèle » de la « réalité ». Ainsi, par exemple, si un certain discours soutient l'idée que la religion est devenue un bien de consommation, on en vient, si l'on suit la méthode de l'économie religieuse, à s'interroger sur la validité d'une telle métaphore : la religion peut-elle *réellement* se transformer au point de ne devenir qu'un *bien* que l'on *consomme*, et si tel est bien le cas,

sa « consommation » n'est-elle pas aussi une métaphore et ne diffère-t-elle pas, en cela, de la consommation que l'on fait de n'importe quel autre produit ? L'intérêt et l'originalité de la méthode de l'économie religieuse viennent précisément du fait que l'on prend au sérieux le modèle économique. Si ce dernier nous permet de conceptualiser le « bien de consommation » de telle façon, alors c'est également en regard de cette définition que l'on analysera les dynamiques religieuses et qu'on jugera de la pertinence ou non d'une telle analogie.

Au fil des chapitres qui suivent, on peut voir l'économie religieuse à l'œuvre au travers de l'examen de différents objets. Il est d'abord question de magie et de spiritualité en rapport avec la mondialisation. Ensuite, le *branding* d'un produit « spirituel » et son commerce, selon son origine, en viennent à former une espèce de géographie morale (la Mecque est ici exemplaire). Le marché des produits spirituels englobe également les rituels et le symbolique. À travers des exemples historiques, il est aussi question des marchands *dans* la religion et des marchands *de* la religion, ainsi que de la différence sémantique et concrète que ces deux réalités supposent. L'ouvrage traite également du tourisme religieux et des religions qui, dans leur morphologie ou leur cosmologie, rendent possible une analogie avec l'économie ; des religions économiques et d'autres anti-économiques entretiennent des rapports différents avec l'argent et la finance et certaines donnent lieu à des « entreprises du sacré ». L'auteur ne manque pas également de discuter des nouvelles spiritualités contemporaines et des types de consommateurs qui en découlent, lesquels prétendent faire le *choix* personnel de la religion, s'adonnent à un bricolage religieux et à un rapport de type « libre-service » dans leur consommation du religieux.

La marchandisation de Dieu constitue une forme de compte-rendu, sans doute des plus complets et détaillés du champ d'études en émergence qu'est l'économie religieuse. La forme pour laquelle a optée l'auteur donne cependant lieu à quelques problèmes. On sent d'abord un certain éparpillement dans le livre : on comprend mal la structure et la cohérence du texte qui semble à plusieurs moments faire des retours en arrière, voire sauter des développements utiles qui auraient permis une meilleure compréhension du propos. Ensuite, bien que l'on puisse concevoir la citation comme inhérente à la forme du compte-rendu, la prolifération de références à des auteurs, exemples ethnographiques et courants théoriques que l'on y trouve peut devenir lourde pour le lecteur et rendre moins claire la position de l'auteur sous le flot de ces références. Enfin, notons que l'édition lue comporte plusieurs coquilles assez visibles.

Note to Contributors / Note à l'intention des auteurs

Anthropologica is a peer-reviewed journal and publishes original manuscripts in all areas of research in cultural and social anthropology. Articles already published or which are about to be published elsewhere will not normally be considered.

MANUSCRIPT SUBMISSION
Manuscripts may be submitted electronically by email attachment in MSWORD or WORD PERFECT. Please take care to follow the style guidelines.

STYLE GUIDELINES
Format
Double-spacing is required for all text including notes, bibliography, quotations, and headings. The manuscript should not normally exceed 9000 words or 35 double-spaced pages on 21 x 27 cm (8 1/2 x 11") paper in 12-point font. The name of the author must appear only on the title page.
Title Page
Please indicate title, author, institutional affiliation, mailing address and e-mail address.
Abstract and Keywords
Manuscripts must be accompanied by an abstract not exceeding 100 words. Abstracts and the title of the manuscript should be included on a separate page. A list of 6 keywords in square brackets must follow the abstract. Manuscripts accepted for publication should provide an abstract in both English and French. If this is not possible, the editorial office will provide the translation.

Notes
All notes must follow the text as endnotes and must be double-spaced in 12-point font. Please restrict notes to material that is relevant to the text. Endnotes should begin on a new page and be listed consecutively throughout the article using superscript numerals.
Citations
Intra-textual references should appear in the form (Godelier 1973:116-119). Note that there is no comma following the author and no space following the colon. If the author's name already appears in the text, it is sufficient to indicate the year and page. To distinguish between multiple entries by the same author published in the same year, use letters (1973a, 1973b). When several entries by multiple authors are cited, they should appears as follows: (Godelier 1973a, 1973b; Poulantzas 1978).

References
The bibliography should be double-spaced and appear after the notes on a separate page. Authors should use the style of referencing which follows:

Articles in journals:
Augé, Marc
    1986   L'anthropologie et la maladie. L'Homme 26(1-2):15.
Books:
Smith, Gavin
    1999   Confronting the Present: Towards a Politically Engaged Anthropology. Oxford: Berg.
Saillant, Francine, and Manon Boulianne, eds.
    2003   Transformations sociales, genre et santé: Perspectives critiques et comparatives. Paris et Québec: L'Harmattan et les Presses Universitaires de l'Université de Laval.
Chapters in Books:
Muratorio, Blanca M.
    1995   Amazonian Windows to the Past: Recovering Women's Histories from the Ecuadorian Upper Amazon. In Articulating Hidden Histories: Exploring the Influence of Eric R. Wolf. J. Schneider and R. Rapp, eds. Pp. 322-335. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Graphics
Maps, figures and tables must be captioned and presented in camera-ready form on separate pages with their position in the text indicated. Size should not exceed 16 x 12.5 cm (5 x 8"). Electronic images may also be submitted in high resolution digital format (at least 300 dpi). Images on disk or CD-Rom should be supplied as TIF or JPEG files scanned in high resolution. Please label each file following this example: jsmith_01.tif or jane-d_fig3.jpg.

REVIEWERS
Research articles published in Anthroplogica have undergone double-blind peer review. Authors are asked to provide a list of suggested reviewers (with institutional and email addresses). The provision of this list does not determine the selection of reviewers.

Anthropologica publie des manuscrits originaux sur tous les sujets qui touchent à l'Anthropologie. Les manuscrits déjà publiés ou devant l'être ailleurs ne peuvent normalement être acceptés.

SOUMISSION DES MANUSCRITS
Les manuscrits doivent être soumis sur support électronique et transmis en annexe de courriel en MSWORD ou WORD PERFECT. Veillez vous assurer de suivre les normes éditoriales de la revue.
PRÉSENTATION DES MANUSCRITS
Les manuscrits doivent être dactylographiés à interligne double y compris les notes, la bibliographie, les citations, les titres et sous-titres. Ils ne devraient pas dépasser 9000 mots ou 35 pages à interligne double sur papier 21 x 27 cm (8 1/2 x 11") au recto seulement, en utilisant une police de 12 points. Le nom de la personne qui soumet le manuscrit ne doit être indiqué que sur la page titre.
Page titre
Veuillez indiquer le titre, l'auteur ou l'auteure, l'institution, l'adresse postale et l'adresse électronique.
Résumé et mots-clés
Chaque manuscrit doit être accompagné d'un résumé n'excédant pas 100 mots. Le titre et le résumé du manuscrit devraient être placés sur une page à part. Une liste de 6 mots-clés devrait être placée entre parenthèses carrées à la fin du résumé. Les manuscrits acceptés pour publication doivent être accompagnés de résumés en français et en anglais. La rédaction peut se charger des traductions de résumés si la personne qui soumet le manuscrit ne le peut pas.
Notes
Les notes doivent être placées à la fin du texte, à interligne double et en caractères de 12 points. Veuillez limiter les notes à des sujets directement reliés au texte. Les notes doivent commencer sur une nouvelle page et correspondre à des appels consécutifs dans le texte indiqués par des chiffres en exposant.
Citations
La source des citations incorporées au texte doit être citée à l'aide de la méthode auteur-date (Godelier 1973:116-119). Veuillez noter que le nom de l'auteur n'est pas suivi d'une virgule et qu'aucun espace ne sépare les deux points des numéros de page. Si le nom de l'auteur apparaît déjà dans le texte, il est suffisant de n'indiquer que l'année de publication et les numéros de page. Les numéros de page doivent être mentionnés dans le cas des citations textuelles. Il n'est pas nécessaire de le faire lorsqu'une idée ou un argument général est rapporté. On distingue les renvois multiples à un même auteur pour une même année en ajoutant une lettre minuscule au bout de l'année (1973a, 1973b) Lorsque plusieurs ouvrages ayant des auteurs différents sont cités, la référence devrait apparaître comme suit : (Godelier 1973a, 1973b; Poulantzas 1978)

Références bibliographiques
La bibliographie doit être dactylographiée à double interligne et être insérée après les notes sur une page séparée. On demande aux auteurs de suivre les règles de rédaction suivantes pour la présentation de la bibliographie :
Articles de revues :
Augé, Marc
    1986   Anthropologie et la maladie. L'Homme 26(1-2):15.
Ouvrages :
Smith, Gavin
    1999   Confronting the Present: Towards a Politically Engaged Anthropology. Oxford : Berg.
Saillant, Francine, et Manon Boulianne, dirs.
    2003   Transformations sociales, genre et santé: perspectives critiques et comparatives. Paris et Québec: L'Harmattan et les Presses Universitaires de l'Université de Laval.
Chapitre d'un livre :
Muratorio, Blanca M.
    1995   Amazonian Windows to the Past: Recovering Women's Histories from the Ecuadorian Upper Amazon. Dans Articulating Hidden Histories: Exploring the Influence of Eric R. Wolf. J. Schneider et R. Rapp, dirs. Pp. 322-335. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Graphiques
Les cartes, figures et tableaux doivent être présentés prêts pour l'impression et ne pas dépasser 16 x 12,5 cm (5 x 8"). Ils sont placés sur des feuilles à part et leur place est indiquée dans le texte. Les images électroniques doivent aussi être fournies en format digital en haute résolution (au moins 300 dpi). Les images sur disque ou CD-Rom devraient être acheminées dans des fichiers TIF ou JPEG numérisés en haute résolution. Veuillez identifier chaque fichier selon le protocole suivant : jsmith_01.tif ou jane-d_fig3.jpg.

ÉVALUATION
Chaque manuscrit est soumis pour évaluation à deux personnes choisies en fonction du sujet du texte. On demande aux personnes qui soumettent un manuscrit de fournir une liste de personnes aptes à évaluer leur texte (en indiquant leur affiliation institutionnelle et leur adresse électronique). Le choix de ces personnes, n'est cependant pas limité à cette liste.

Web Addresses / Adresses de Web

Anthropologica: http://www.anthropologica.ca
CASCA: http://cas-sca.ca
UTP Journals: http://www.utpjournals.com/anthropologica

Back Issues / Anciens Numéros

In-print back issues of *Anthropologica* and *Culture* can be obtained at the above address.
Certains anciens numéros de *Anthropologica* sont encore disponibles à l'adresse ci-haut.
Out-of-print back issues can be obtained from: / Les numéros épuisés sont disponibles chez :
Swets Backsets Service, P.O. Box 810, 2160 SZ, Lisse, The Netherlands

Legal Deposit / Dépôt Légal

National Library of Canada / Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Indexing / Répertoires

Indexed and/or abstracted in: / Répertoriée dans :

Abstracts in Anthropology
America: History and Life (ABC-Clio Press)
Anthropological Index Online
Anthropological Literature: An Index to Periodical Articles and Essays
Bibliographie internationale d'anthropologie sociale et culturelle / International Bibliography of Social and Cultural Anthropology
Biological Abstracts
Bulletin signalétique 521 Sociologie / Ethnologie

Canadian Periodical Index / Index des périodiques canadiens\fP
Culture, Langues, Textes : la Revue de Sommaires
International Bibliography of Periodical Literature
ISI Web of Knowledge Current Web Contents
Psychological Abstracts
Science Culture
Sociological Abstracts
ZellerDietrich Bibliographische Verlage

ANTHROPOLOGICA

Vol. 56 N° 1, 2014