# Anthropologica

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**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

## Articles

## Ideas / Idées

## Commentary / Commentaire

## Book Reviews / Comptes rendus

*Cover / couverture*

Cover of *The Beaver,* 1939. Reprinted with permission of *The Beaver: Canada's History Magazine.*

La couverture du magazine *The Beaver* en 1939. Reproduite avec la permission du périodique *The Beaver: Canada's History Magazine.*

# Note des rédactrices / Note from the editors

Il nous fait plaisir, dans ce numéro, de présenter une nouvelle section de la revue *Anthropologica* intitulée *Ideas/Idées*.

*Idées/Ideas* est une section dans laquelle des anthropologues sont invités à écrire un court texte sur des idées importantes de la discipline. Avec *Idées/Ideas*, nous proposons de nous engager dans des débats, de la critique et des échanges académiques stimulants autour des concepts sur lesquels repose notre discipline. Chaque texte sur une idée-clé sera suivi de commentaires écrits par des collègues.

Le premier texte dans cette section de la revue a été écrit par Tania Li et porte sur l'idée de la gouvernementalité. Suivent les commentaires de Michael Asch, Rosemary Coombe, Marie-Andrée Couillard et Guy Lanoue.

Nous espérons que les lecteurs seront stimulés par *Ideas/Idées* et nous accueillerons avec plaisir des propositions pour cette nouvelle section de la revue de la part d'anthropologues du Canada et d'ailleurs.

In this issue, we are pleased to introduce a new section of *Anthropologica* titled *Ideas/Idées*.

*Ideas/Idées* is a section in which anthropologists are asked to write short expositions on key ideas in the discipline. With *Ideas/Idées* we hope to encourage debates, critiques and provocative scholarly exchanges on concepts upon which our discipline draws. Each exposition of a key idea will be followed by commentaries from colleagues.

The first exposition under this new section of the journal is written by Tania Li and focusses on the idea of governmentality. Commentaries by Michael Asch, Rosemary Coombe, Marie-Andrée Couillard and Guy Lanoue follow.

We hope readers will be stimulated by *Ideas/Idées* and we welcome submissions to this new section of the journal from anthropologists in Canada and elsewhere.

*Winnie Lem and Marie France Labrecque*

# The Beaver as Ideology: Constructing Images of Inuit and Native Life in Post-World War II Canada

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**Abstract:** This paper explores the *Beaver*'s use of imagery and text to create an ideology of Canadian "northerness" that promoted ideals of anthropological discovery, historical pride and liberal tolerance for other cultures, while also reinforcing colonial images of Inuit and Native peoples. Although the *Beaver* was intended as a public relations endeavour by the Hudson's Bay Company, the magazine gained readership from the 1940s to the 1960s as a *National Geographic* style publication offering authentic images of the North, Canadian history, white exploration and Native peoples, especially those from the West. By uncovering the recurring images of Inuit and Native in the *Beaver* we can better understand the dominant ideologies concerning race and Indigenous cultures in this time period, and thus view the cultural terrain upon which political and social decisions concerning First Nations peoples were constructed. Three themes—expert accounts, the historical picturesque, development narratives—are utilized here to explore dominant discourses in the magazine.

**Keywords:** *The Beaver*, Representations of Indigenous and Inuit Peoples, Canadian History

**Résumé:** Cet article examine la façon dont les images et le texte du magazine *The Beaver* ont contribué à la création d'une idéologie de la «nordicité» canadienne. Cette idéologie a promu des idéaux de découvertes anthropologiques, de fierté historique et de tolérance progressiste face aux autres cultures, le tout en renforçant les images coloniales des peuples inuits et amérindiens. S'il est vrai que *The Beaver*, à l'origine, s'inscrivait dans une campagne de relations publiques au profit de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson, il n'en demeure pas moins que ce magazine a élargi son lectorat et s'est hissé, des années 40 aux années 60, au rang d'une publication telle le *National Geographic* en présentant aux lecteurs des images authentiques du Nord, de l'histoire canadienne, de l'exploration des Blancs et des peuples autochtones, en particulier ceux établis à l'Ouest. En dévoilant la récurrence des images sur les Inuits et les Amérindiens dans le *Beaver*, nous sommes à même d'appréhender les idéologies dominantes de cette époque sur la race et les cultures autochtones. Il nous est également possible de sonder le terrain culturel d'où ont émergé les décisions sociales et politiques concernant les peuples autochtones. Nous ferons usage de trois thèmes pour explorer les discours dominants du magazine : les récits d'experts, le caractère pittoresque de l'histoire et les énoncés sur le développement.

**Mots-Clés:** The Beaver, Représentation des peuples amérindiens et inuits, Histoire du Canada

A 1943 issue of the *Beaver* (March), sponsored by the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) as Canada's "magazine of the North," featured a photograph of an arctic white wedding with fashionable bride, bridesmaid and minister, all framed by ice and snow. This was but one of a number of white arctic brides celebrated in the pages of the *Beaver* (see Photograph 1), offering a marked contrast to the magazine's images of northern Native and Inuit women, who were more often shown in "traditional" Native dress, engaged in productive and domestic labour, or, by the late 1950s, adjusting to "modern" familial and work roles. These contrasting displays of femininity, juxtaposed by culture and race, are only one example of the *Beaver*'s use of imagery and text to create an ideology of Canadian "northernness" which ostensibly promoted ideals of anthropological discovery, historical pride and cultural tolerance, while simultaneously reinforcing racialized and colonial images of northern Native and Inuit peoples.

The *Beaver* had long been a deliberate public relations effort on the part of the HBC to align its commercial image with positive interpretations of Canadian nation-building, with Indigenous peoples deliberately integrated into their narrative of Canada's popular history. In the post-World War II period, the magazine circulated in public libraries, schools and to a wider public, operating as an influential *National Geographic* style publication offering authentic, scientific images of Canadian history and the North. Delineating the *Beaver*'s representations of northern Natives and Inuit can thus expose both the prevailing images of Indigenous peoples of the era and the cultural terrain upon which political decisions concerning the First Nations were justified. Indeed, the cultural and political realms were closely connected for the *Beaver*'s image and text worked *as ideology* to legitimize the persistence of internal colonialism in Canada's North and to proscribe economic and social solutions for the inevitable and necessary modernization of Native cultures portrayed as traditional and primitive.

Photo 1: Group at Pangnirtung.
Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBC) Archives of Manitoba (AM); HBCA 1987/363-P-5/2 (N12868)

The *Beaver* served as ideology on two overlapping levels: first, it was a conscious, *interested* project of meaning making on the part of the HBC, an attempt to create a narrative of nation-building that idealized and rationalized the company's economic history and involvement in the North. As one enthusiastic reader wrote to the editor, "I *envy* you [the great job] of circulating Canada's history. You *sell* Canada to Canadians and the world!" (Vogel 1954). Second, the magazine's messages about Indigenous peoples were part of a broader hegemonic ideology of race and culture diffused through civil society, deeply interwoven into prevailing, taken for granted notions of Indigenous life. Ideology, as some materialist scholars persist in suggesting, exists not only as a system of signification, ideas and belief, and thus an active material force in everyday life, but also as a system of power, in this case legitimizing the interests of one powerful social group as opposed to another (Eagleton 1991; Dirlik 2002; Ebert 2002; Jameson 2002).

The *Beaver*'s rendition of Indigenous life may well have been an anathema to Native and Inuit peoples; my focus, however, is on image and ideology, *not* the experience, of Indigenous peoples.[1] I explore the visual and textual rendering of the Native, crafted for a predominately white middlebrow audience in the "south," focussing on three themes—the expert account, the nostalgic picturesque, and the development narrative. Rather than measuring the ethnographic accuracy of the *Beaver*, I want to examine the "imaginative spaces" that Indigenous peoples occupied for magazine readers searching out entertainment and education, the "tropes and stories that ordered [Indigenous] existence" in their minds (Lutz and Collins 1993:2; Hervik 1999).

In the textual "contact zone" (Pratt 1992)[2] of Native and white displayed in the *Beaver*, interpretations of Indigenous culture, governance, economic development, familial and gender roles often assumed an ambiguous tone, for the magazine was infused with the cultural relativism characteristic of much post-Boasian anthropology (Dippie 1982), and authors advocated cultural tolerance and co-operation in the development of the North. Much like American interwar intellectuals and avant-garde artists who appropriated aspects of Native cultures, the *Beaver* also attempted to create a Canadian national identity by enthusiastically celebrating its links to Native history and culture (Rushing 1995).

Yet the *Beaver* also reflected a cultural hierarchy that cast white, Euro-Canadian modernity as preferable and superior by recording the primitive, strange and alien behaviour of the "Eskimo." It drew on orientalist (Said 1979) ways of seeing the non-Western "other," contrasted to white Canadians who were modern, rational, progressive and technologically advanced. Adapting orientalism to an anthropological paradigm, Fatimah Tobing Rony (1996:5) has advanced the notion of an "ethnographic" gaze: in the case of the *Beaver*, for instance, Indigenous peoples were placed within an exotic "mise-en-scene" in which the individual Native was made "real" by the objectifying ethnographic gaze of white observers. Discursive strategies such as essentializing, classifying, generalizing, even idealizing Indigenous cultures (Spurr 1996) were woven throughout text and image; as a consequence, Indigenous peoples remained the objects of colonial scrutiny, rather than active, creative, even contradictory human subjects (Said 1979, 1989). As Hugh Brody observed many years ago, the "Eskimo are seen by whites *only as* Eskimo" (1975:79). Drawing on stock, repeated stories, whites construct tales depicting true "traditional" essential "Eskimos," often doing so by pointing to "the bizarre" in their culture: "they are *illustrations*" (Brody 1975:79). Spivak (1986) and Lewis (1996) point out that orientalism was also gendered.[3] Not only did white women, as authors and artists, play a part in creating this ethnographic gaze, but Indigenous cultures were seen through the gendered eyes of non-Indigenous observers sure of the superiority of their "modern" familial and gender order in contrast to the supposedly primitive and patriarchal existence of Indigenous women (Tiffany and Adams 1985; Carter 1993).

As scholars of postcolonial theory have noted, Said's orientalism maintained a debt to the concept of ideological hegemony, though integrating Foucault's attention to discourse and power (Moore-Gilbert 1997; Wolf 1997). The discursive strategies utilized in the *Beaver* were con-

structed, shaped and ordered using symbols and stories already a part of an influential racialized ideology explaining the culture and history of northern First Nations (Francis 1992; Carter 1997; Goldie 1989). This ideological context was also in flux as the North assumed increased political, economic and strategic importance after 1940. As critics of "culturalist" postcolonial writing argue, our analysis of text and image must always *historicize*: it is crucial to place the textual practices of colonialism in an economic, political and temporal context, linking them to state power, politics, and regimes of labour and capital accumulation (Dirlik 1994; Ahmed 1995; Bannerji 1998). Our explorations of representations of colonialism need not supplant our analyses of the historically specific, economically and socially structured inequalities of colonialism.

The political economy of the North in the war and postwar period was thus a crucial backdrop to the *Beaver*'s popular history making project. As a concept of space and place, the North had long exercised an important role in the imaginary construction of the Canadian nation, influencing political visions and economic power, and also shaped by those forces (Grant 1989; Berger 1970; Grace 2001; Cavell 2002). However, from the 1940s to the 1960s, the North took on new significance in Canada's political economy. Although the fur trade was facing economic difficulties (Ray 1990), the North was promoted by other business concerns as Canada's last economic frontier of development, and the Arctic was embraced by the state as a frontier needing both military-strategic occupation and increased "benevolent" intervention in the lives of Indigenous peoples (Grant 1988; Kulchyski and Tester 1994; Dickerson 1992). State interventions (however well meaning in areas such as health and education) undermined existing familial, social and community ties, resulting in social dislocation and cultural crisis which in turn became the focus for fierce public debate in Canadian magazines, books and newspapers by the late 1950s and early 1960s. The most vocal critics of state policies and northern development were not found in the pages of the *Beaver* (for example, Mowat 1952).

The *Beaver*'s image of the Canadian north also exposed much about the cultural construction of Canadian modernity in the "south." Imperialist visions often portray the metropolis as the antithesis of the colony, yet "home and away" were part of the same "field of debate" (Burton 1994:483). At the time, most Canadians presumed that progress moved in one direction—northward—but in fact, a dialectical relationship was created through this very image. By constructing Canada's last frontier, the Native and Inuit north, as primitive, the south, with its exuberant embrace of economic expansion, technology

and consumption became the very epitome of progress and development. This reciprocal construction of a primitive north in need of guidance from a modern south masked relations of ideological power (Crehan 2002) which had potentially profound consequences for Indigenous peoples, some of whom were physically re-located during this period. What may have been done in the national interest of a supposedly modern, progressive state could thus be justified as being in the best interests of "less advanced" Indigenous inhabitants.

This mirror image of modern and "primitive" also hints at the popular appeal of the *Beaver* for its predominantly English-speaking, white audiences. Although reader response remains outside the purview of this article, (and granted, consumer readings may always be unexpected or ambiguous), the dominant images of the Native north in the magazine reaffirmed an uncritical acceptance of post-World War II Canadian society. The stress on progressive development that would "liberate" Indigenous peoples from environmental insecurity, and on the image of a childlike and "happy Eskimo" being integrated into a history of Canadian progress, all fit comfortably within the cultural and political milieu of the period. As Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins (1993) argue of *National Geographic* images, readers could see themselves as culturally tolerant, but still shift to racial explanations for cultural differences, avoiding questions of an international division of colonial labour. Reassuring images of the Indigenous mother with papoose or a child in hand—lauded as the "Madonna" of the North in a 1950 *Beaver* photograph caption—suggested that domesticity for all women was essentially the same under the skin, a romanticized view that also fit well with an intensified culture of domesticity in this era. *Beaver* readers, however, were also led to believe that northern Native women ultimately yearned to imitate the domestic lives of their white counterparts in the south.

## Expert Accounts of Indigenous Lives

Originally an HBC staff publication established in 1920, the *Beaver* altered its agenda in 1933-34, shifting from romancing its personnel to romancing its customers and the public, presenting material designed to "create a feeling of pride" in the HBC empire (Klein 1934). Subscription fees were introduced, circulation substantially increased (including American readers), and free giveaways—for example, to the troops in the war—were used to boost readership. By 1960, a typical run was 24,000; the magazine's appeal to a middle brow audience and its educational uses offered it a small, but socially significant readership.

The magazine's editors in this period were well educated professionals, with backgrounds in popular writing, journalism and museums. After editor Douglas MacKay was killed on company business in an air crash in 1938, Clifford Wilson, a well-connected journalist, and like MacKay, an established author on the HBC, was hired in 1939 to oversee all the company's public relations projects. Undoubtedly the key architect of the *Beaver* from 1940 to 1959, Wilson's tenure coincided with an increasingly professionalized museum world which he was also closely connected to, leaving to run the Glenbow Museum in 1958. After 1959, the new editor, Malvina Bolus, added material on arts, crafts, archaeology and nature, though the staples of Wilson's magazine, namely articles on travel, exploration, vignettes of daily life in the North, and especially writing on the HBC's past and present role in building Canada, remained important.[4] The magazine prided itself on its "good taste" (Bolus ca.1971; Wilson 1942:65-66) and its objective adherence to "the facts," but in tandem with this positivist claim was Wilson's stated mission to promote a Canadian history that might inspire national pride, a goal also apparent in his earlier writing of historical children's literature (Wilson 1933, E95/52; see also Wilson 1954, 1957).

The magazine's contributors encompassed scholars from anthropology, history, science and economics, some of whom were amateur raconteurs and historians, including a significant group of women writers, marginalized within academe at the time, yet still employed in archives, museums, American colleges, or working freelance. Respected scientific groups, such as the Arctic Institute of North America were featured, along with internationally-known writers whose very reputations were the product of their northern travel, writing and research. Invoking the knowledge of anthropologists offered an especially impressive seal of authenticity to the *Beaver*. In 1951, for instance, the magazine invited prominent spokespersons from the anthropological profession to write on the theme "Enter the European" looking at the impact of whites on the arctic Inuit. Anthropologist Diamond Jenness (1954) was critical of some negative influences of northern whites, such as the exploitation of Inuit by the whalers or the Inuit's "manipulation" by missionaries, yet his descriptions also cast the Inuit as "pawns" of white ingenuity and deviousness. Only mildly critical of the HBC fur trade and its effects on Native trappers, he observed that white traders usually had the interests of the Inuit people at heart, and that the company was, after all, simply a victim of the prevailing capitalist business climate. Critical of the Canadian state for neglecting its Inuit "wards," he lauded the more protective policies of the Danish and American governments and added that racial intermarriage with whites would eventually provide a solution to the race problem. His message, in this and other pieces, that the Canadian state was morally responsible for the Inuit, could be read as call for attention to their voices. Yet his work also assumed the perspective of white Western paternalism, assuming Inuit needs could be best defined by anthropological experts like himself (Kulchyski 1993). Indeed, unlike many Boasian anthropologists, Jenness still relied on evolutionary paradigms, often seeing Inuit culture as static, even doomed to obsolescence (Hancock 1999).

The *Beaver* also showed considerable deference to missionaries working in the North. A regular contributor, Anglican minister Donald Marsh (1954), weighed in on the "Enter the European" debate, arguing that the Inuit had gone from being wards of the government to citizens with equal rights who should not be forced into the mould of southern peoples, but rather should be allowed to pursue their traditional lives as hunters. Yet he portrayed the mission encounter as progress incarnate, bringing syllabic alphabet, writing skills, education and religious enlightenment to "primitives" and he warned that "Eskimos" were being "spoiled" by overly indulgent southern policies: "the issuance of relief to the Eskimo people has become one of the greatest problems of the Arctic" (1954:32). A Catholic missionary asserted even more forcefully that his religion had provided humanistic enlightenment to Indigenous peoples. "Child murder, desertion of the old and the cripples, wife-trading etc. are now things of the past amongst the Christians," he concluded concerning the legacy of the Catholic Church (Thibert 1954:36).

Long-time HBC traders invited to comment on this debate reminded readers of their positive roles as medics, advisors, even domestic counsellors to the Inuit. In the vein of much imperialist rhetoric, trader Pete Nichols (1954) saw his role as a white "father" to his "Eskimo children." The father, he wrote, wants his children to "grow up gradually, to be introduced as painlessly as possible to the hectic tempo of modern civilization...he needs to steer them between the rocks of a hard stone age existence and the sucking whirlpool of civilization." In this schema, the male Inuit are *prospective* paternal role models, as they are already "manly" heroic hunters, symbols of the unspoiled, natural, human past. What made these men quintessentially "Eskimo" added Nichols, was their struggle with a harsh environment, their courage, dependability and manliness—all those things "which make the race so admirable in the white man's eyes" (Nichols 1954:37). As Ann Fienup-Riordan (1990) notes, for southern audiences, *all* north-

ern Inuit were popularly constructed as the mirror image of the ideal white explorer, exhibiting bravery, independence, perseverance. They were idealized as the "ultimate survivors," uncorrupted by civilization—though ironically, not people who should control their own fates. Nichols and other *Beaver* authors relied heavily on the views of earlier white explorers like Peter Freuchen, whose own writings were reprinted in a series "Out of the Stone Age," accompanied by sketches of Eskimo hunters as unkempt, wild primitives, with long hair, tearing on raw meat, using bows and arrows (1951) (see Figure 1). This "cave man" image also subtly reinforced images of primitive sexuality found in other travel writing on the Inuit.[5] Not surprisingly, Freuchen's claim that "the HBC has done more than any other company in the world to make life simpler and easier for people living in the north" (1951:5) also made its way into the magazine.

Anthropologists, as respected scientific commentators on non-Western cultures, were incorporated often as authorities on topics ranging from Inuit and Native art, to history, culture and subsistence practices, with some of this writing reflecting the lasting influence of salvage ethnography (Darnell 1998). This expert surveillance often celebrated certain aspects of Inuit and Native cultures, particularly their environmental and survival skills, but simultaneously echoed the need to document cultures destined to be swept aside by the tides of modernity. Scholars connected to American and Canadian museums were frequent contributors, reflecting Wilson's connection to the museum world. Their mode of writing, like that of many experts, often drew on the rhetorical device of "classification...an ideologically-charged procedure of demarcating non-Western cultures from the benchmarks of more sophisticated European ones" (Spurr 1996:62, 69).

Marius Barbeau, to note only one example, wrote on topics ranging from the fur trade and voyageur songs to settler buildings, Indian tobacco, art, the silver trade and so on. Using a theme like "tobacco" he unravelled a historical and anthropological discussion of its use, significance and meaning over time. His keen eye for the meaning of the material produced short, accessible articles that were undoubtedly meant to endow value to Indigenous history and culture. At the same time, his rendition of the fur trade, to use another example, reinforced a narrative of white civilization coming to the primitive wilderness. Writing of Fort Simpson, he admitted that the fort offered a "new regime [of economic] benefit for the [HB] company" but it also bestowed "peace and order" on the "warlike" Natives, long "demoralized by contact and encounters with predatory seamen, and now addicted to a slave trade of their own" (Barbeau 1940:21) The accompany-
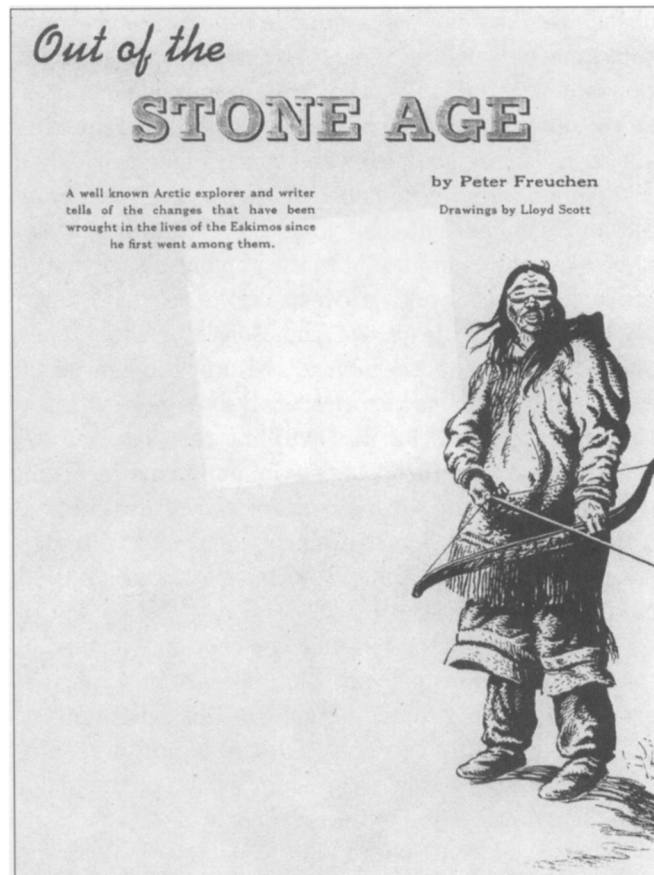


Figure 1: *The Beaver*, September 1951.

ing sketch showed the "Haida and Tsimsyn" doing battle outside the fort, reinforcing an image of "war like" Indians. Barbeau's complex relations with Native peoples reflected the imprint of Boasian salvage ethnography, a desire to record and value Native cultures, but also the influence of "prevailing social prejudices," sometimes harnessed by the state to its policy goals (Nurse 2001; see also Smith 2001).

Harry Hawthorn, a professor of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia and author of two reports for the state on Indians in Canada (Hawthorn 1960; 1966) also contributed to the "Enter the European" debate. Hawthorn, whose wide-ranging assessment of Native peoples in Canada (1966) was an important policy statement of the time, offered his optimistic prognosis for the progressive integration of "Indians" into Canadian society through the provision of social services and education, for Indians, he argued, must now conform to "a highly literate, industrialized modern nation" (1954:7). As "Indians" become "citizens" they might also find "practical expression" for their cultural past in the medium of preservation offered by the museum (Hawthorn 1954:7). The sketches

chosen by the editor to accompany the article were the well-known drawings of early exploration—or colonization—of C.W. Jeffreys (offered by permission of Imperial Oil), many of which underscored the theme of the white settler as leader, instructor and treaty maker.

The editors occasionally secured pieces from international scholars outside Canada like Margaret Mead, known for her commitment to the popular dissemination of research. In one article, Mead's children's book on the "Eskimo" way of life, drawn from Boas' work, was reproduced (1959). In another, Mead's "Enter the European" contribution offered a historical analysis of Western incursion into the South Pacific, extolling the positive, progressive role of anthropologists in an internationalizing world, as promoters of respect for all cultures, and as expert advisors on how to ease fragile, primitive Indigenous cultures into the complex technology associated with modernity (1953).

These contributors' pieces were not only shaped by the dominant anthropological paradigms of the time, they were also moulded to fit the aims of this HBC publication. Their writing was selected, edited and presented according to the public relations program of the magazine, including its aim to entertain as well as inform. In more than one contribution, anthropologist and curator Douglas Leechman described the historic Cree and Chipewyan in negative, essentialized terms and he stressed practices like polygamy, with powerful men fighting each other for "seven or eight wives" (1957:29). Years apart, two Leechman articles described Indians "wrestling for wives" in almost identical words. Was he re-using old writing, or were these "sensational" details of the Native past replayed precisely because they spoke to popular images of the Hollywood Indian?

Since the early 20th century, anthropologists debated and worried about the popularization and commercialization of ethnographic research, concerns perhaps intensified with consolidation of the discipline within universities in the post-World War II period (Griffiths 2002; Grimshaw 2001). These *Beaver* contributors undoubtedly saw their writing as a positive effort to educate a lay audience, and were less mindful of the unanticipated effects of their writing. Their expert commentary must be situated within the reigning theoretical preoccupations of the time (Darnell 2001) and as such, there was an *appearance* of discussion and debate; differences were aired, for instance, about the best way to successfully integrate Inuit and Euro-Canadian cultures. A few articles in the magazine also criticized discrimination against First Nations peoples (Shumiatcher 1959). However, perspectives critical of the HBC, or indeed of colonialism as a system, would not have

appeared, and the experts ultimately reflected fairly homogeneous ideological and professional networks and ideas.

Other expert voices in the *Beaver* included professional historians such as A.S. Morton, Donald Creighton, John S. Galbraith, and W.L. Morton who provided accessible, short excerpts from their longer works, such as Creighton's articles on Sir John A. McDonald (1956, 1957), as well as studies of the fur trade. While differences in their interpretations were evident, much of the writing nonetheless betrayed a dominant narrative of the West and North, in which white settlement represented the march of inevitable progress and development, with Native peoples doomed to displacement. W.L. Morton's article on the emergence of Red River, for instance, celebrated its dualistic culture, though this distinct society was described as the unification of white "civilization" and "Indian savagery" (1950:3). Even George Woodcock's sympathetic version of Louis Riel depicted him as a defender of a "dying order" (1960:24).

Scientific and medical experts were also featured, with the latter often lauding the displacement of Indigenous superstitions by the scientific certainties of modern Western medicine. One study, funded by both the federal government and the "generous aid of the HBC" was undertaken by a list of distinguished medical, anthropological and scientific experts whose findings were published in the *Canadian Medical Association Journal*. Their *Beaver* article, published under the tongue in cheek title, "Voyage of the Medicine Men," highlighted the marked malnutrition in James Bay northern Native bands (which, according to the study, experienced starvation before the arrival of family allowances) and the need for better medical and dental care, refrigeration and TB tests (Tisdall and Robertson 1948). Malnutrition, continued the medical experts, may well have been the cause of characteristics such as "shiftlessness, indolence, improvidence and inertia, so long regarded as inherent or hereditary traits in the Indian race" (1948:42). While professing a liberal questioning of racism, such studies still reinforced the view that the Indian character *could* be generalized about, with categories such as "laziness."

Many whites sojourning in the North also adopted the roles of amateur anthropologists, contributing vignettes that assumed intimate knowledge of Inuit and Native cultures. One suspects that pieces like "Windigo Woman" (Raynor 1957) were chosen *as* illustrations of the exotic, unusual or unexplainable Native, with the exotic providing a reassuring mirror to readers' own conception of their rational normality. These amateur anthropologists crossed the spectrum from the culturally tolerant

to the resolutely ideological. A resident nurse who described her local "Medicine Man," depicted him as a "pseudo-doctor," but still "no quack." Some of his natural remedies worked; others did not, but she conceded that he had long "dreamed of his role," and was dedicated to curing his fellow Ojibway. "Healing is in his soul" she wrote, reinforcing the Native viewpoint that healing had a spiritual dimension (Resident Nurse 1943:25). Yet in the same issue, HBC manager George Anderson's "Pagan Eskimos," portrayed the *angakook*, the spiritual Inuit leaders, as "crude," uninformed, and superstitious, peddling "taboos," even abusing their power. One "lazy" female angakook, he claimed dismissively, conveniently had the spirits tell her that she should not gather fuel for her family (1943:39).

Photographers also became important documentarians of Inuit and Native life. Many were northern sojourners, like missionaries J.H. Webster and Donald Marsh, or HBC employees, encouraged by the HBC to create a photographic record. Following in a long history of explorers and missionaries who returned home with lantern slides to display the Native person to their audiences, some photographers probably "stole" their images, capturing authentic "primitive" tribal rituals for white eyes (Apter 2002). Philip Godsell, a former HBC trader, offered his rendition of practices of the "warlike" Assiniboines; his article was paired with a photograph of the (banned) sun dance, with skewers piercing the chest muscles of the young men (1952:7; see also Godsell 1934). In contrast, Richard Harrington, a professional photographer who became renowned for his wide ranging depictions of the Inuit north, offered both informal shots as well as posed portrait studies, such as "The Cheerful Eskimo," a portrayal of healthy, smiling Inuit from a range of age groups. These portraits, explained Harrington, represented "what was noble about the Eskimo," as they showed the "finest types of Eskimos—cheerful, hardy, resourceful, and brave" (1952:7).[6] However varied these photographs, the notion of an *essentialized* "Eskimo" remained. Moreover, the trope of the "cheerful Eskimo"—happy, childlike, naive, welcoming to whites—was long standing in popular culture, including Hollywood films (Fienup-Riordan 1995). Some photographs were also juxtaposed to startling headlines suggesting the contemporary "Eskimo" was becoming an artefact of history. An article on the vanishing "Eskimo" by Doug Wilkinson, writer and NFB (National Film Board) filmmaker, offered the author's judgment on Inuit life: "The Canadian Eskimo is on his way out and you and I are slated to be the interested spectators at his demise...there will be a new race of northern Canadians some of whom will have Eskimo blood in their

veins but who will be...remote from their ancestors" (1959:25).

The HBC saw its photograph collection as a means of carefully managing its history and image making, monitoring not only which photos it collected, but also how these images were presented in the *Beaver* (Geller 1995). While some photographers like Harrington and Lorene Squire produced striking, humanistic images of daily life in the North, the *Beaver*'s cover often featured colourful renditions of the traditionally attired "feathered" Native posed for a tourist gaze (see for example September 1948). Other visual representations provided stark contrasts between the primitive north and the modern south, with white men more closely associated with technology and modernity (see for example December 1948). A particularly popular photograph of one Inuit woman, reproduced in another North American magazine, showed her in traditional winter attire, wearing *komiks* (boots) and a beaded and fur-trimmed coat, with a child by her side (September 1954) (see Photograph 2). However exotic, domestic and good-natured were the portrayals of Inuit mothers, they apparently did not fit with dominant notions of white southern beauty. Featuring a picture of the Calgary HBC store's beauty contestants (all white women, in bathing suits) in its "Here and There" feature, the *Beaver* explained that readers had complained there were "too many Natives and too much ice" (1947b:45) in the publication so they were offering up something more appealing.

## Historical Nostalgia and the Colonial Picturesque

The HBC consciously promoted itself as a historic institution, as a key constitutive element of Canada's *nation-building*. In a special 275th anniversary edition in 1945, Douglas Leechman, asserted the value of timeless HBC traditions, declaring that "things have not changed much" since the company discovered "the savages at the bottom of the Bay" almost 300 years ago (1945:14). Articles on the fur trade celebrated early contacts between Native and white, perpetuating nostalgic and romanticized images of the fearless *courier de bois*, the brave trader and the intrepid female traveller. A tour by Clifford Wilson through HBC buildings in Winnipeg offered him the opportunity to ruminate on the company's museum holdings. Gazing over the library, he pictured the fine old Scots traders, erudite in the wilderness, reading the "leather bound" classics like Dante's *Inferno* in the cold of the winter as they warmed their feet by the fire (Tobin 1944:30). Historic rituals and symbols of the HBC, from the London *Beaver* Club to the company flag, were featured; readers were reminded that the HBC had once ruled its own

Photo 2: Inuit woman and boy, Cape Dorset, 1953. Photographer: D. Blair.
HBC, AM, 1987/363-E-250/5 (N81-82)



Photo 3: *The Beaver*, March 1948 (inside front cover).
HBC, AM (N1596)

empire, presided over by its own *governor*, whose tenure and replacement were surrounded with pomp and ceremony. Even advertisements juxtaposed products like the HBC blanket to Native art, fetishizing commodities as historical artefacts.

The magazine also linked the HBC to the crown itself—and what other department store could connect its origins to Charles II? During the war, monarchist connections were made frequently: "little did Charles II dream," one author wrote, "that some day his Company of Adventurers would play a part in fighting for England" (Tobin 1944:34). A "Here and There" photograph spread showed the HBC governor, Sir Patrick Ashley Cooper, leaving Buckingham Palace after he was knighted, accompanied by his son and daughter, both in the military. His wife, of course, wore HBC fur (*The Beaver* 1944:48). Linking fur to members of the royal family was also a promotional strategy that played on cultural associations of fur with wealth, status and grandeur (Nadeau 2001). Princess Alice was shown inspecting blue fox furs at HBC House in London (Sorenson 1945:5), while Princess Elizabeth was photographed as she left for her honeymoon in 1947, wearing her wedding present from the HBC—a beaver

coat. Accompanying the picture was a copy of her thank you note to the company (March 1948) (see Photograph 3).

One of the most enduring staples of historical nostalgia in the *Beaver* was the travelogue, detailing the voyages of HBC employees, missionaries and elite travellers. Although tales of rugged masculine bravery in the wilderness were plentiful, the magazine also offered stories and first-hand accounts of women's voyages that were noticeably attentive to gender, family and relationships with the Indigenous peoples upon whom whites depended for survival. Yet even women like HBC wife Elizabeth Watt, who praised her Native guides, employed a language of discovery, suggesting the land was unused, unclaimed until whites appeared, making travel narratives simultaneously ones of white conquest and domination. As Pratt argues, some European travel narratives were ones of "anti-conquest," emphasizing white innocence in the wilderness while nonetheless establishing their hegemony through the very "possession of seeing" (1992:7, chapter 3).

*Beaver* contributors often wrote of the northern journeys of educated women travellers like Elizabeth Taylor,

the daughter of a late nineteenth-century American consul to Canada. In an article written by one of Taylor's male descendants, she is portrayed as a "frail...mite of a woman...braving the rigours of the wilderness" (Dunn 1949:20), though, in contrast, female historian Grace Lee Nute's serialized piece on Taylor stresses her extensive observation of both nature and Native life (1948a, 1948b). Elizabeth Taylor's sympathy for Indigenous peoples cast on hard times is relayed, but so too is her sense of superior cultural voyeurism, as she consciously sought out the most "primitive Eskimos" "unchanged by whites," those whom she assumed would be "larger, more warlike and more treacherous and suspicious" than others (1948b:44).

Another series drew on Frances Simpson's accounts of her famous voyage west to meet her HBC governor husband (1953a, 1953b, 1954). Frances is portrayed as a "refined" yet "modern" wife, alive to the "beauties and grandeur of the untouched continent" around her, and less acerbic than her imperious husband (1954:12). Undoubtedly, women authors identified with white women travellers, as pioneering role models and proof of women's ability and courage to create a northern Canadian nation. But the resulting erasure of Native women—Simpson had previously married one—constructed a white frontier even if it added women to the story. There *were* some important exceptions: at least one piece (Campbell 1954), presaging later feminist history, argued for the important role Native "women in between" (Van Kirk 1980:75) had played in fur trade history.

Visual display was a key strategy used to convey the nostalgic picturesque to readers. In its earliest incarnation, the picturesque denoted "contrast and sudden variation," the evoking of feelings associated with "memory, death, the passing of time and distance—[with the] subjects [often] the remote and marginal" (Rony 1996:79-80). While the picturesque also became a synonym for scenic, idyllic, even romantic scenes, the picturesque was easily fashioned into a colonialist genre of visual display that elicited sentiments of nostalgia for the imperialist past, the exotic and culturally marginal. As Rony argues, the picturesque was thus also "a shielding gesture, with relations of dominance preserved by playing up images of the "dying races" or playing down disturbing reminders of colonial power" (1996:80).

In the *Beaver*, artistic renderings of landscape, HBC forts and portrayals of action and adventure conveyed nostalgia for a grand empire of the past. Dog sleds careered through the snow and voyageurs plunged through massive rapids, suggesting a past of daring and heroism. Sketches of old HBC forts and encampments, sometimes long abandoned, rose out of the wilderness like ruined castles on a British landscape, marking past glory as well as the coming of white civilization. Accompanying texts reinforced the nostalgic picturesque. In Elizabeth Watt's description of her visit to the abandoned "ghost" Fort Nascopie, she recalls the "heyday of its existence—canoes arriving at the now deserted shores, and picturesque old-fashioned Indians, dressed in their painted deerskin coats...while other Indians, equally picturesque, would sit on the bank watching them, smoking their stone pipes....A pageant of old-time post life passed in front of me—Now all was gone" (Watt 1943:50). In keeping with imperialist nostalgia, these renditions of times past "mourned what was lost," while maintaining an image of white innocence on the frontier (Rosaldo 1989:69).

While the visual archive of the magazine was immense and varied, its reproduction of nineteenth century pictures by artists like Paul Kane and Peter Rindisbacher also reinforced colonialist themes. Kane was promoted by the HBC as a documentary artist, offering ethnographic veracity, yet as recent critics contend, his paintings were constructed images of feathered Indians created for white Victorian eyes (Eaton and Urbanek 1995). Whether the artistic trope utilized was the "noble savage," the "barbarous savage" or the "vanishing race," much of this 19th-century Canadian art naturalized a colonial hierarchy of white British superiority and Native inferiority (Poulter 1994; Parry III 2001; Berkhofer 1978). Dramatic sketches and paintings of Native battle-making, pagan rituals (such as scalping), the herding of (extinct) buffalo, or the Native "primitive" in traditional *undress* (pictures of naked whites were certainly not shown) were featured in the magazine, and when Indigenous and white met, the latter were often shown offering leadership as well as the hand of friendship.

Colonial themes were not completely dominant. As early as 1942, an article valorizing West Coast Native art from the British Columbia Society for the Furtherance of British Columbia Indian Arts and Crafts appeared (Ravenhill 1942), and by the late 1950s, Indigenous art is featured and praised more prominently, as the handicraft movement attempted to sustain and *restore* Native arts from totem pole making to Inuit sculpture—though some authors suggest this movement was promoted by whites as a charitable process of "protection" and recovery (Francis 1992:36). Nonetheless, these pieces offered an alternative to the theme of the colonial picturesque, valorizing Native art that was not always designated as "handicraft."

The picturesque was sometime accompanied by the picaresque in the form of accounts of droll, mysterious or wild colonial figures—though not all were Indigenous.
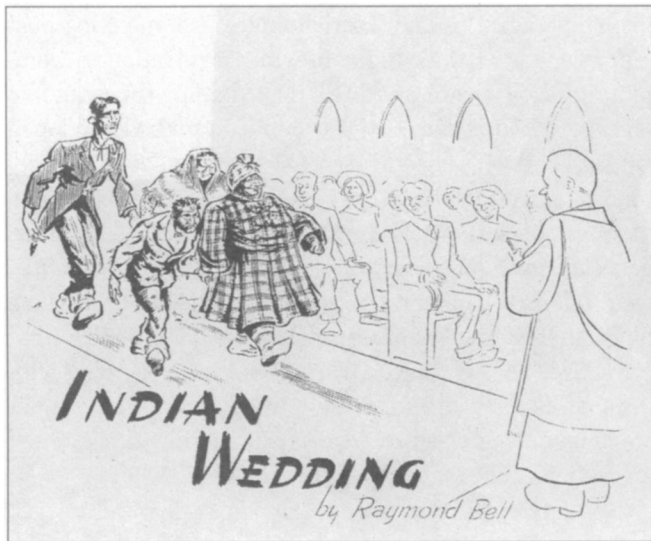
Figure 2: HBC, *The Beaver*, June 1942.

Inuit customs were portrayed as quaint, endearing or amusing, but also as potential anachronisms in the new North. White sojourner Marion Nichols relayed various amusing "little excitements" at the HBC Cape Smith post, including the time when "the little Native Muk Kenuik" went crazy, "becoming full of devils as the natives put it." Her own "maid," Betsy, is portrayed as an amusing hybrid of Annie Oakley and Calico Jane, with "billowy layers of red and pink calico over her skin boots...bright hair clips...and [a] hefty rifle in hand." She is very competent at hacking up a seal, Nichols tells us, but not very good at cleaning the kitchen properly—the latter denoting a modern housewife's job (1942:40-41). White authors sometimes admitted that the Inuit found whites amusing, inept and useless, but these observations may have represented the appearance of openness and reciprocity rather than its actual practice (Pratt 1992).

A revealing example of the droll Native contrasted to the normalized white is found in a "humorous" wedding story. In contrast to the respectable white wedding exhibited in photographs, this wedding story described a hybrid Indian wedding, combining white and Native cultures, but ultimately lacking in basic social graces. The bride, wrote the author, stalked "up the aisle with the implacable purpose of a heavy tank, and dragging the little bridegroom by the hand." A shrivelled little man, the groom was wearing clothes "liberally decorated with goose feathers adher[ed] to with grease." The most derisive image is that of the overbearing bride, who appeared in moccasins, purple dress like a flour sack, pink ribbon, white rosettes, creating "an intense optical shock." She produced a ring from her former husband (clearly not man-

nerly wedding practice), which was placed on her finger by the "grimy paw" of her new spouse (Bell 1942: 28-29). The accompanying cartoon played on a well-worn trope: the domineering, large bride dragging a scrawny, cowed man to the alter but the bride was also a racialized version of Aunt Jemima (see Figure 2). On the following page, another photograph of an Indian wedding is far less derisive, though the worn clothing and demeanour of the participants still stands in contrast to the pristine white weddings of "arctic brides" featured in the *Beaver*.

## Development Narratives

The *Beaver*'s visions of the future for northern Indigenous peoples were coloured by cautious optimism and a deep belief in the progress associated with Euro-Canadian modernity. Most writers were in agreement that cultural collision and painful adaptation were inevitable, especially in the eastern Arctic, though they differed on how the authorities should manage less technologically advanced cultures like the Inuit. Narratives of development in the *Beaver* stressed the importance of education, new forms of labour, a stable family unit, the centralization of communities and the value of racial co-operation. These themes reflected the dominant ideals of post-World War II liberal modernization theory with its emphasis on the shift from "the tribe" to the city and the production of an "educated, rational, modern man" (Scott 1996: 28). As feminist critics point out, these discourses also rested on "gendered foundations," reproducing "dichotomies of 19th century thinking" which juxtaposed the traditional (nature, superstition and physicality) with the modern (man, science, abstract knowledge and civilization) (Scott 1996:24, 27; see also Marchand and Parpart 1995). Even though "traditional" societies were described positively, as "holistic, seamless webs of family, spirituality and community," they were still characterized as static, subsistence poor, in need of change (Isbister 2001:33-34).

After the Second World War, the importance of new capitalist ventures was promoted in the *Beaver* by Gordon Robertson, Commissioner of the NWT (Northwest Territories). The real wealth of the North, he argued, lay under the ground, and the sooner it was exploited, the better. Since the fur trade "can only go in one direction—down" he urged Indigenous men to use education as a tool to prepare them for the "new" North of mining ventures (1958:5). Even those promoting the North as wilderness saw possibilities in the tourist trade; articles promoted holiday by canoe, the perfect wilderness quest for urban dwellers from the south (Gordon 1953).

This northern frontier needed to be tamed as it modernized. The RCMP (Royal Canadian Mounted Police)

were to offer paternal justice, offering up law and order, "educating the Native mind" to the mundane basics of Canadian income tax, estate law and relief—a task requiring "an infinite amount of patience" as one RCMP author sighed (Nevin 1945:7). The Inuit's lack of investment in individual wage labour and wealth accumulation also needed altering, and the RCMP could help by encouraging more "thriftiness" as the Native people's tendency to be "habitually lazy and improvident" meant they were all too content to have the state support them (Nevin 1945:9). Policing social provision also meant regulating family allowances, making sure that Inuit parents did not squander their allowances on needless luxuries at the HBC store rather than the modern pabulum they needed (see Photograph 4). While the RCMP were pictured as paternal, benevolent and fair in these accounts, the Inuit were naive, childlike, in need of instruction.

The importance of the debate on economic modernization was indicated by articles penned by prominent politicians like federal cabinet minister Jean Lesage. Offering what might be an incipient version of "citizens plus" he suggested the Inuit should be absorbed into the Canadian polity with equal "rights, privileges, opportunities and responsibilities" but also allowed to maintain their "cultural identity" (1955:4). His prognosis echoed prevailing liberal modernization theory: Indigenous peoples should be helped to adapt to the inevitable triumph of the market, given opportunities for new employment (such as in northern airfields) and educated to take over their own administration in a rational, efficient manner. There were potential pitfalls: citing Margaret Mead as his source, Lesage worried that Natives might potentially lose all sense of initiative and self reliance in this economic transition up "the ladder to civilization" (1955:5) This development narrative was also gendered, in the sense that Lesage talked of making "hunters" into "labourers" on "airfields and radar stations," probably an assumption that men, not women, would be working for wages.

By the late 1950s more state employees were drawn into the debate on economic development; federal welfare teachers Marjorie Hinds and Joan Ryan emphasized the value of retaining some Inuit and Dene traditions in this process (Hinds 1959; Ryan 1959), but other academics and state consultants saw Indigenous peoples as government wards in the true sense of the word. For example, Arctic geographers puzzled over how a "redundant" people would be recast into a more "modern" society (Michie and Neil 1955:33-34), while Diamond Jenness suggested the Inuit needed Ottawa's moral guidance and "wise" federal policies (1954:30). This paternalism, argues Hugh Brody, lasted well into the 1970s, as whites in the



Photo 4: A trapper with his supplies inside an HBC post store. HBC, AM, 1987/363-T-200/7 (N15958)

North circulated countless stories of the Inuit as "temperamental children of nature" suffering disorganization as their "intact, traditional cultures" faced the trauma of modernity (1975:77-78).

The magazine's attempt to strike a provocative image of primitive cultures embracing modern ways was symbolized in descriptions of changing dress, beauty and consumption. "Beauty's only skin deep," announced the Beaver, when it ran an article on tattooing that argued Inuit women were leaving this "primitive" practice behind, now imitating their "white sister[s], not only in the things [they] do, but also in the things [they] do not" (Leechman 1951:40). One "Here and There" photograph of a bevy of British models touring Canada showed them posing in the latest fashions at a HBC store as they ogled and fingered "a bit of Eskimo haute couture," a manikin in the HBC museum with braided hair and beads, moccasins and parka (The Beaver 1947a:35). Inuit women were quite literally "museum pieces" in comparison to the modern white women. Although scholars contend that Indigenous peoples utilized performance and dress as a means of cultural preservation (Raibmon 2000), or later, might "talk back" to the ethnographic photographer (Macdougall 1994), the still photographs collected and utilized by the

*Beaver* had less potential for such agency and negotiation, though we should not discount the fact that Indigenous peoples might use this ethnographic material for their own ends and benefit. "Indian and Eskimo" stereotypes were also highly marketable; the magazine's own use of advertising images like that of the feathered Native man smoking his traditional pipe, suggested that, for many readers, "the best Indian was the historical Indian" (Francis 1992:176).

Differences between the primitive and modern woman were symbolized in the *Beaver*'s images of fur. Fur was esteemed for its use and exchange value by Native and Inuit women, but portrayed as a fetishized item of consumption for white women. Dichotomous presentations of fur as work and fur as consumption revealed a stark racial contrast: in advertisements, bourgeois white women were swathed in glamorous jewels and furs, suggesting decadence, wealth, and sensuality (see also Nadeau 2001), yet Inuit women were portrayed chewing skins, cutting, scraping furs across branch frames, or sewing fur by hand (see Figure 3 and Photograph 5). Indigenous women's

work preparing fur was celebrated as an example of their traditional skills but this addressed neither the declining, uncertain economy of fur of the time, nor the importance of Indigenous women's unpaid labour to the production of value for the HBC and other fur enterprises.

Writers on development in the 1950s and 1960s often understood Indigenous societies as patriarchal ones, in which women faced a devalued self and familial oppression, themes harkening back to 19th-century writing in which Native women were "exotic specimens, oppressed victims, sex objects or the most ignorant members of 'backward' societies" (de Groot 1991:115). While Marxist anthropologist Eleanor Leacock argued that earlier Native societies were historically egalitarian, these views did not necessarily dominate in more popular writing (Leacock 1981). Development narratives thus claimed that the companionate, monogamous marriage embraced by Euro-Canadian society was yet another benefit that modernization would bring to the Inuit. The male Inuit hunter was assumed to embody prestige and power, with women's "domestic" and family roles hidden, private and less valued, assessments which reflected Euro-Canadian assumptions concerning familial labour. Ironically, this view of



Figure 3: *The Beaver*, Summer 1955.



Photo 5: "Hanging [caribou] skin outside. It freezes instantly."
Photographer: Richard Harrington.
HBC, AM, 1987/363-C-14/A/43 (N15957)

Inuit "patriarchy" contradicted 19th-century efforts on the part of the state to re-make southern Native families into Anglo, middle class and patriarchal forms (Stevenson 1999).[7] By the 1940s, however, a shift in Canadian culture had occurred, with the ideal marriage increasingly portrayed as egalitarian and companionate: pure patriarchy was increasingly out of style—or at least masked and hidden from view.

Women's domestic and wage labour also provided the means of contrasting the primitive with the arrival of the modern. White women were often pictured in their well furnished HBC post houses indistinguishable from southern manses while Inuit women were featured in snow houses, using time consuming utensils (see Photograph 6). The fact that the domestic comfort of white sojourners was premised on Indigenous labour was occasionally recognized, but never emphasized, again masking a colonial division of labour within the North. Modernization was presumed to be a boon to the new, modern Inuit woman—referred to in the *Beaver* as a woman "living with a foot in two worlds" (Baird 1959:50). The new woman could take advantage of wage labour, though within a gendered and racialized division of labour in which she was a hairdresser, cashier or perhaps teacher. She was also located firmly in the domestic sphere being positively transformed by technology. An extended essay written in 1959 by an Irene Baird of the Arctic Institute offered an optimistic analysis of cultural adaptation in the Inuit family. Because the Inuit family was being transformed by the forces of modernization, she suggested, the Inuit had to be helped, especially by the state, to adapt to these positive changes. New schools, consumer items, better food and housing

were replacing the precarious living conditions of the past so that families were "no longer at the mercy of harsh weather, sickness, and [hunger]" (Baird 1959:51). Old ways were "evil" and dismal; new ways promised more freedom and security. Modern ways freed women from incessant toil, offering them "the electric oven," freedom from the hunting camp, and the prospect of something "*new*— leisure time." White women were situated on an evolutionary–historical trajectory of progress ahead of Inuit women who were only now "doing their pioneering." Despite the massive differences in culture, however, some gendered traits seem to be transcultural, for the Inuit men are the "leaders...and wage-earners" and women have the "quieter, more passive roles" (Baird 1959:49-52).

The *Beaver* did suggest that progress might bring with it potential problems, such as the possibility of delinquency, since teenage-hood was so "relatively new" (Baird 1959:52) to (apparently fragile) Inuit families. But authors like Baird had immense faith in Inuit cultural adaptability—this in contrast to other contemporary authors' commentaries on southern Native peoples, which were tinged with pessimism, even contempt. The photographs of the new Inuit career woman are especially arresting: she is pictured in front of her new electric stove, with a small nuclear family, though also caring for other women's children, babysitting as paid work. She is shown in both Western dress, as well as in a traditional parka. She has embraced modern religion and is having her child properly baptized by a minister, and she shops at an HBC store, where the uniformed clerk is also an Inuk woman (see Photograph 7). From Christianity to consumption,



Photo 6: "Eskimo woman cleaning ice-window of igloo." Photographer: D.B. Marsh.
HBC, AM, 1987/363-E-324/66 (N15959)



Photo 7: Hudson's Bay Company store at Churchill, 1958. Photographer: Charles Gimpel.
HBC, AM 1987/363-G-100/11 (N15960)

the ideal "new" Inuk woman was being re-made in the image of Euro-Canadian women.

Finally, calls for racial collaboration were woven into development narratives. One *Beaver* article pronounced that Canada's north might prove to be "one of the first spots on the face of this earth where the colour line is really dropped...[this is] the most exciting single feature of our rapidly accelerating northern development" (Robertson 1958:5). White, mixed blood and Inuit live in the same houses, their children attend the same schools, the author continued, and as a result, every facet of economic production and administration will be decided on the basis of individual merit rather than race. In keeping with modernization theory of the time, this outlook stressed individual achievement and the fair distribution of rewards: these were the positive contributions of Western cultures to developing areas, or as this author put it, the consequence of "white civilization" moving north. Race was ultimately an ambiguous and contested category in the popular imaginary presented in the *Beaver*. Some images of "Red and White" families in the *Beaver* ( see March 1946) suggested cultural opposites, yet other photographs of white and Inuit children happily playing together, reprinted more than once (*The Beaver* December 1946), appeared to be deliberate attempts to symbolize the racial collaboration needed to effect northern development.

## Conclusion

The *Beaver* attempted to create a popular history of northern nation-building by integrating Native and Inuit into its celebratory narrative, yet it did so by simultaneously glossing over structural and systemic inequalities, and ultimately by providing a modernized veneer on older colonial identities. The ideological assumptions of the magazine, however, were not without contradictions, and importantly, they were not necessarily shared by those it represented. Although one posed photograph showed two Inuit men smiling broadly as they looked at the *Beaver*— with the implicit message that it "spoke" to them—there is little evidence that First Nations peoples themselves contributed to, or read the magazine. A small piece on Inuit hunting, published in 1954, was heralded as "the first article by an Eskimo" in the *Beaver* (Anaveluk 1954:42). No others followed, and there is ample evidence from oral history and tradition that the image of the "cheerful," even childlike "Eskimo" was hardly shared by the Inuit themselves—indeed, they sometimes saw whites as "childlike" (Grant 2002:232).

As the North became a new frontier for capital and assumed more political and military significance for the Canadian state, it also became the focus of renewed popular fascination and social debate. The Indigenous north featured in the *Beaver* provided a cultural backdrop for important political decisions, justifying, legitimating, explaining interventions and changes in the lives of Native and Inuit peoples. These colonial discourses, then, operated as a "set of effects" (Eagleton 1991:194) that were ideological in nature. Representations of indigeneity in the *Beaver* were shaped by political and economic forces, by the dominant cultural ideology of Euro-Canadian society as much as they also constituted these norms. The HBC was perhaps the most obvious ideological influence on the *Beaver*, as the magazine consciously created a vision of the company's noble history, its concern for its Indigenous workers, and its prognosis for northern development. But the HBC was also part of a larger political economy, history and culture of colonialism engendering orientalist or "ethnographic" ways of seeing that, as Said (1989) argued, with a touch of pessimism, could be culturally hegemonic. Subtly sympathetic to the HBC's economic role in the North, the *Beaver* portrayed a racialized northern frontier in which traders, the RCMP and the missionaries, were the enlightened leaders of northern development and First Nations peoples exemplars of cultural stasis, tradition and continuity.

The magazine, however, presented itself as an objective and scientific window on the North, a claim promoted through the use of expert testimony and surveillance, presentation of the colonial picturesque, and the embrace of a gendered, liberal modernization narrative. The appeal of the *Beaver*, consumed as both education and entertainment, may have emanated from its presentation of a multitude of topics—from ice to Inuit myth—and its fusion of various techniques of presentation: eye witnesses accounts, academic experts, historical nostalgia, landscape and nature shots, ethnographic photography, to name only a few. This pastiche, however, did not produce an apolitical pluralism, lacking any ideological suppositions. Expert surveillance in the *Beaver* ultimately provided scholarly credence to the magazine's dominant theme of white settler progress in Canada's evolution, and the picturesque, nostalgic rendering of the HBC's empire offered Euro-Canadian readers a reassuring view of a colonial past. While laying claim to cultural relativism, text and image presented a dichotomized narrative of primitive and modern, with the former inevitably to be confronted and altered by the technical, rational and scientific superiority of the latter. Celebrating Inuit sculpture, the "colourful Indian" (Winter 1954 and September 1958 covers) or the northern Native's wilderness prowess still confined First Nations peoples to the realm of nature, to a static,

sometimes romanticized historical and cultural identity. As James Clifford notes of the long-lasting influence of the salvage paradigm in the twentieth century, there is a desire to "rescue authenticity out of destructive historical change," with authenticity poised on the brink of the present, still salvageable before the inevitable onslaught of Western culture (1987:121-2).

The precise impact of *Beaver* images, of course, is ultimately open to some question. One cannot presume an instrumentalist reading of simple correspondence between state and HBC interests and the popular image making of Indigenous peoples, fashioned especially by academic experts. The state and civil society were connected spheres, a messy "knot of tangled power" (Crehan 2002) in which both coercion and ideological consent intermingled, altering their connection over time. Nor can one reject the possibility that the attempts of many experts writing for the *Beaver* to record and valorize Indigenous cultures did stimulate new awareness and raise questions, for both readers and those represented, that would later engender opposing, more decidedly anti-colonialist views of Canadian history.

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## Notes

1  My examples draw on images of northern Native peoples and especially the Inuit who were of special interest to the *Beaver* at this time, though I occasionally use examples of other First Nations discussed in the magazine as well. I use the term "Indigenous" when referring to both northern Native and Inuit. The *Beaver* was examined from 1939 to 1960, though this essay concentrates on the post-1945 period.

2  See also David 1995; Grewal 1996; Mills 1991; Callaway 1987; Burton 1994b; Burton (ed.) 1999; Midgley 1998; McClintock 1995; Donaldson 1992.

3  See also Haggis 1990; Woolcott 1997.

4  Public Archives of Manitoba (PAM), Wilson Fonds, E95/3 and Bolus Fonds, biographical sketch; Canadian Who's Who, 1936-37, vol. 2 (Toronto, 1937). Douglas MacKay attended Woodstock College, University of Toronto and Columbia University, and worked as a journalist for Canada Steamship Lines and the Seigniory Club in Montreal. Wilson came from an English Westmount family, attended Upper Canada College and McGill University. Both had written popular versions of HBC History. Bolus was educated in England. After emigration to Canada in 1926 she worked for Agnes Macphail and later for the *Canadian Geographical Journal*. She wrote on landscapes and landmarks, Inuit art and edited fur trade history.

5  The image of the "Eskimo" caveman, club in hand, claiming his woman by force, as Brody implies, is in some respects a projection of white sexual desires-anxieties: "the cave-

man is our primitive ancestor...the original version of ourselves. What they feel is deep down at our core. The stereotype is whites' version of the essence of ourselves" (2000:263). De Groot too comments on the Western fascination with the primitive, the exotic woman or the male hunter, both shaped by nature, arguing that these images represented the "other" to the white self. The image was both attractive and repellent, representing the need of whites to control and "discipline *themselves* in order to maintain their claim to superiority" (de Groot 1991:118; see also Stoler 1989).

6  The magazine also used the work of professional American nature photographer, Lorene Squire, who contributed many powerful pictures of Inuit life. Although she died in 1942, The *Beaver* managed to acquire many of her photographs which it continued to use in the postwar period.

7  It is likely that the Inuit (as opposed to Native) hunting family may long have been viewed, perhaps with some longing, by white observers, as ordered and patriarchal; Shari Huhndorf (2001) argues that this was precisely the appeal to white men of "going Native" in the North in the interwar years.

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# Subsistence Livelihood, Native Identity and Internal Differentiation in Southeast Alaska

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*Abstract:* Subsistence resource use in Southeast Alaska has undergone a dramatic shift following the implementation of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (1971). Ironically, the consequent marginalization of subsistence dependent households and decreasing opportunities for earning a livelihood through traditional food harvests have been accompanied by increased identification of collective Native identity with subsistence practices and their products. This paper argues that to understand these changes, one must examine the role subsistence practices and foods play in village-based internal differentiation. Discussion focusses on (1) the ongoing ecological and social impact of ANCSA in Southeast Native villages, and (2) the manner in which externally imposed "indigenism" can limit ways of being Native even while increasing the need for alternative lifeways.

**Keywords:** Alaska Natives, subsistence, inequality, ANCSA, politics, Native identity

*Résumé :* Les modes de subsistance au sud-est de l'Alaska ont subit de profondes transformation après l'entrée en vigueur de la loi de 1971 relative au règlement des revendications des autochtones de l'Alaska (Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, ANCSA). L'ironie de la chose, c'est que la marginalisation des ménages dépendant de ces moyens et la diminution des occasions de gagner sa vie grâce à la récolte traditionnelle qui en ont découlé ont été accompagnées d'une hausse du sentiment d'appartenance à la collectivité autochtone et de l'attachement aux modes de subsistance traditionnels ainsi qu'aux produits qui en sont issus. Afin de comprendre ces transformations, le présent article pose comme nécessaire l'analyse du rôle de la nourriture de base et des pratiques relatives à la subsistance dans le phénomène de différentiation au sein des villages. L'argumentation met l'accent sur 1) les conséquences sociales et écologiques toujours tangibles de l'ANCSA dans les villages autochtones du sud-est et sur 2) la façon dont un «indigénisme» imposé de l'extérieur tend à limiter les façons d'être autochtone même s'il augmente le besoin d'accéder à des modes de vie différents.

**Mots-clés :** autochtones d'Alaska, subsistance, inégalité, ANCSA, politique, identité autochtone

Ethnological interest in small-scale societies has, in recent years, undergone a shift from a past focus on the food getting practices and organizational relations of hunting and foraging groups[1] to a focus on the politics of indigenism.[2] This shift has much to do with the fact that, over last three decades, small-scale societies have been confronted by development forces and incorporated more fully into nation-states all over the globe (Friedman 1998, 1999). In the process, any pretense of self-sufficiency has been shattered and lifeways once based around subsistence production have become critical political elements in claims to identity and property rights within a national and international milieu (Li 2000; Niezen 2000). For anthropologists who work among small-scale hunting and foraging groups, the late 20th century thus marks a watershed in ethnographic research. As Richard Lee has noted, no longer is any contemporary researcher, whether working in the Arctic, the Amazon, Southeast Asia or Africa, free to define the ethnographic situation in purely local terms (Lee 2000), if ever this had been possible (Wilmsen 1989). As a result, anthropology is left with a conundrum: what is the appropriate language in which to frame and discuss the actual lifeways of small groups, once the staple of anthropological theory and method, when past methods and ways of talking seem so hopelessly disjoined from current circumstances?

One indirect result of this shift is a marked disjuncture in the anthropological literature of small-scale hunting and foraging groups, as the contemporary literature on indigenism has made little use of past research and characterizations of native life.[3] In some ways, the neglect of older sources seems justified, given their ahistorical, and, in a global political sense, apolitical, nature (see Roseberry 1989). Yet, against this neglect (and the accompanying implicit and explicit criticism of older ethnography), other contemporary researchers and advocates point out that native people themselves continue to emphasize the central place of subsistence in their mutual relations and

the "sense of place," as Richard Lee (2000) puts it, that these practices and relations create.[4] Something is lost, they tell us, both on the ground and in theory, when local lifeways are subsumed under discussions of larger global historical processes. And so it seems.

What is needed, then, if we are to be true to both the historical political processes and the people involved is some sense of how global political processes and local subsistence practices are intermeshed in the contemporary lifeways of small-scale, ostensibly marginal groups. And even more to the point, we must seek to understand how these two issues are intermeshed not simply in the eyes of those subject to and subject of them, but, in important ways, intermeshed for theoretical purposes as well.

This article focusses on development politics and subsistence production in Southeast Alaska Native villages from this perspective. Importantly, throughout the remainder of the article subsistence is used in its broadest sense—conceived to include not simply the food getting practices of today's village residents but also (and indeed more importantly in almost every way) the relations entailed in and generated by these practices; the emotions and feelings these relations create; and the discourses they enable. My primary purposes are:

(1) To discuss the ongoing impact of the *Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act* of 1971, or ANCSA,[5] on Native subsistence in Southeast Alaska.

(2) To determine how local, village-based forms of social differentiation and inequality (particularly those surrounding the subsistence practices, relations, and discourses mentioned above) are impacted by the industrial development imposed by ANCSA.

Coming at the end of the termination period and the beginning of a period of renewed recognition of Native sovereignty, ANCSA represented the desires of both of these strategies (Brown 2004). Initially prompted by the discovery of oil under disputed lands on the North Slope, ANCSA settled all outstanding claims in the state by awarding significant portions of land and a large cash settlement to Alaska Natives. Yet this compensation was not made directly to the Native groups advocating for a settlement and claiming disputed lands throughout the state. Rather, ANCSA created "Native corporations" in all primarily Native villages in the state.[6] Native residents of these villages alive at the time of the Act (i.e., born before 1971) were made shareholders in these corporations. In addition, a "regional" corporation was formed in each of 12 regions of Alaska in order to facilitate the harvest of subsurface resources under the lands awarded to Native corporations by the Act. All Natives living within the region, even those not registered with a village corpora-

tion, were issued shares in the regional corporation as well. Regional and village corporations were then allowed to select lands in limited amounts that they would own outright, and were awarded portions of the cash settlement in proportion to their enrolled populations. Village corporations in Southeast Alaska were allowed to select 23 040 acre parcels of land near their own villages, and the regional corporation in the area, Sealaska, was allowed to choose similar size plots neighbouring the selections of the village corporations. Altogether, over 600 000 acres of forest were selected by the regional corporation, Sealaska, and the other ANCSA corporations in the Southeast region.

As discussed below, in the 30 years since the passage of the Act, much attention has been paid to its effects, especially the manner in which ANCSA has affected subsistence practices directly through its legislated removals of traditional hunting and fishing areas. Yet one important result of ANCSA that has received little attention is the role of the Act and the corporations it created in the intensification of specifically local inequalities. In Southeast Alaska these have become increasingly clear as the ecological impact of the Act has emerged after 30 years of sustained clear-cutting in old growth forests. This paper attempts to make clear some of the social effects of the Act. And, insofar as subsistence remains central to Native identity and sense of place, the paper seeks to show how emerging inequalities within Native villages shape the ability of village residents to respond (in action and in voice) to the manipulation of larger-than-local forces in the political economy collectively as Natives, rather than simply as individual Native folks. As will become clear in this discussion, the combined effects of legal penetration and ecological degradation conspire to constrain, in subtle but forceful ways, local ways of "being Native" at a time when alternatives to the current regime are needed most.

In what follows, descriptions of subsistence practices and the distribution of subsistence resources comes from two sources. The first was my own fieldwork, carried out between 1993 and 1996. During that time I spent 13 months in Southeast Alaska, primarily in Hydaburg, Kake, and Hoonah, although I also spent limited time in Craig, Klawock, Wrangell and Ketchikan. These were areas of some of the most intense ANCSA-inspired timber harvesting. This time included research during the summer, fall and winter. For four months in Hydaburg and two months in Hoonah, I lived in the households of heavy subsistence users (including one winter month), and participated directly in subsistence harvests, including beach seining, hook fishing, beach collecting, berry

collecting, seal hunting and deer hunting, with some activity happening on an almost daily basis. In Hydaburg I conducted a survey of smokehouses for the entire village in the summer of 1995. Smokehouse contents and origins were surveyed by me and a field assistant from the village, Algie Frisby, to ascertain what people were catching and keeping, what they were sharing, and with whom they partnered or exchanged. In Kake I attended the "Culture Camp" project, which taught young people about subsistence practices as well as other things, in the summers of 1995 and 1996. In addition to direct participation in subsistence activities and the Hydaburg survey, through the first six months of my time in Alaska my main focus was on subsistence practices; I conducted interviews with more than 20 subsistence-using households and hunters-fishermen. These interviews focussed directly on subsistence practices and the politics of attaining a subsistence livelihood. Most of these interviews were informal, and were conducted with those who I label "heavy users" in this paper, but several were with more moderate and light users. I also attended several village-wide, "potlatch" type gatherings in Kake, Hydaburg, and Hoonah, referred to locally as "give-aways" or "payoff parties." This participation, along with the subsistence interviews, forms much of the basis of the discussion of village level politics later in the paper.

The second source of data on subsistence practices, resource harvests and sharing levels used in this article are the published reports by Alaska Fish and Game Subsistence Division, which on the whole are excellent, and which match closely my own more limited and impressionistic experiences of Native subsistence hunting, gathering and fishing in the region. My two criticisms or exceptions, raised in more detail later in this article, are that these reports seem to me, given my experience in Hydaburg, Kake and Hoonah, to systematically under-represent harvest levels among the most heavy subsistence users (i.e., those most dependent on subsistence resources for day-to-day livelihoods whose harvest levels often exceeded legal limits); and that the data on sharing often fail to mention the large political-cultural ceremonies discussed below. The importance of these omissions for understanding the current transformation of subsistence livelihoods in the region is discussed in detail below.

## Subsistence Practices

As indicated above, the main focus of this paper is the social repercussions of a gradual, still-dawning shift in the subsistence relations and practices of Alaska Natives in Southeast Alaska. This shift emerged in the early and mid-1990s following the large-scale clear-cutting of old-growth forests near Southeast Native villages in the preceding five to ten years. In what follows, the ethnographic baseline for the descriptions of subsistence practices is the period between the mid-1960s (the collapse of the commercial cannery industry throughout the region) and the late 1980s (when the effects of clear-cut timber harvests and the distribution of ANCSA corporate proceeds began the dramatic transformation of most villages). It should be noted, however, that many of these same practices continue today, and many reflect continuities with practices from earlier in the 20th century or before (Goldschmidt and Haas 1999). As will be argued later, what has changed most recently is not so much the practices or resources involved, but rather their political context and symbolic value, and the long and even short term viability of the households involved in their harvest and consumption.

During the nearly three decades of the 1960s through the early 1990s, subsistence practices of Alaska Natives were very diverse, in part a reflection of the richness of local ecosystems, and more so of residents' deep historical familiarity with and dependency on local resources (Thornton 1999; Goldschmidt and Haas 1999; Hunn et al 2003).[7] George and Bosworth (1988) list at least 14 principal resources used by Angoon residents during this time; Ellanna and Sherrod (1987) list 23 resources used regularly by Klawock Natives (despite lumping many non-animal uses under "plants"); and Gmelch and Gmelch (1985) list 14 deep-water species, eight kinds of hunted animals (lumping all waterfowl together), 15 inter-tidal resources, ten kinds of berries, and hosts of other plant resources used for medicine, craft and food preparation that were regularly pursued by Sitka Natives. Other reports for neighbouring communities throughout the region confirm the claims for breadth of use in this research.[8]

The main categories of resources used by Southeast village residents were fish and marine invertebrates (crabs and shellfish), deer and other land mammals (including bear and moose), and plant resources (including many kinds of berries and regular use of several seaweeds). Harvest levels of heavy users included several hundred pounds annually in each of these categories. By far the most widely harvested resources both in terms of pounds harvested and time spent in collection were fish (and in particular salmon) and deer. The harvest seasons of these two resources complement one another, as salmon in Southeast Alaska were and are available in large numbers generally only in the summer and fall, when they return to local streams to spawn. Deer were most accessible in the winter when they must retreat from the higher elevations because of weather, and thus when they can be

hunted from the water or, more recently, from logging roads. Both resources were generally pursued by small groups—discussed in more detail below—who shared the expenses of the hunting or fishing effort.

Both salmon and deer were pursued primarily by men. Women participated significantly, generally, in the processing of salmon (discussed below), less so for deer. And both deer and salmon were pursued with contemporary technology—pickup trucks and high-powered rifles were used to hunt deer; gasoline-powered skiffs and synthetic mesh nets or "seines" were used to fish for salmon.

In addition, almost all subsistence-using households (generally over half of the households in any village) collected berries and seaweed. These activities were performed by family groups rather than with subsistence partners, and were often organized by women rather than men, though both men and women usually participated. Berries were "jarred" or frozen for use throughout the year, while seaweed was considered always available. Seaweed was sometimes eaten alone, but more often cooked with boiled rice, to which it adds flavor and considerable nutrition. Berries were eaten alone or in cakes, and occasionally in "Eskimo ice cream" (in local parlance), i.e., stored in refrigerated seal grease and eaten as such. Other frequently used resources included seals, which were caught in the winter when they returned to the Southeast region in large numbers. Seals were hunted with high-powered rifles from open, gas-powered boats. In addition to the use of meat and blubber, seal skins were cured and sold to offset some of the cost of subsistence equipment and supplies.

Numerous other resources were pursued as well, including waterfowl and their eggs, moose and bear, mollusks and other marine invertebrates, and other species of fish, such as trout and halibut. A brief summary of statistics, in table form, drawn from research in 1984 in the village of Angoon (with a population of about six hundred, almost 80% of whom are Alaska Natives) will serve to finish this general profile of resource use and local participation.

From this data, it is clear that among heavy users, individuals devoted considerable time and effort, and reaped considerable reward (totaling hundreds of pounds of harvested resources among heavy users) from subsistence production.[9]

In addition, as will be discussed in more detail below, the data presented by George and Bosworth (1988) also make clear the extent to which these resources were redistributed throughout the community. In fact, the household basis of their survey may actually miss some critical elements of redistribution that were less important for

**TABLE 1**
**Resource Use for Angoon in 1984 (abridged from Geroge and Bosworth 1988:55-56)**

| Resource | Percent Using[a] | Mean Harvest (lbs)[b] | Receiveing[c] |
|---|---|---|---|
| King salmon | 36.8% | 83.7 | 15.8% |
| Chum salmon | 26.3% | 168.6 | 2.6% |
| Humpback salmon | 21.1% | 80.5 | 7.9% |
| Sockeye salmon | 21.1% | 262.5 | 10.5% |
| Coho salmon | 39.5% | 154.3 | 13.2% |
| Cutthroat trout | 15.8% | 18.3 | 7.9% |
| Dolly varden (trout) | 28.9% | 17.5 | 5.3% |
| Herring | 36.8% | 32.2 | 7.9% |
| Herring eggs | 15.8% | 193.3 | 10.5% |
| Halibut | 81.6% | 139.8 | 26.3% |
| Pacific cod | 21.1% | 26.4 | 7.9% |
| Sablefish | 13.2% | 69.6 | 10.5% |
| Red snapper | 26.3% | 34.5 | 13.2% |
| Heart cockles | 52.6% | 8.6 | 26.3% |
| Clams | 71.1% | 7.8 | 23.7% |
| Dungeness crab | 23.7% | 32.3 | 31.6% |
| Black gumboot | 63.2% | 19.0 | 15.8% |
| Octopus | 21.1% | 45.0 | 5.3% |
| Black seaweed | 21.1% | 106.0 | 34.2% |
| Harbor seal | 15.8% | 450.0 | 23.7% |
| Deer | 60.5% | 396.7 | 44.7% |
| Ducks | 7.9% | 26.3 | 7.9% |
| Berries | 63.2% | 17.7 | 23.7% |
| Plants | 13.2% | 1.8 | 5.3% |
| Wood | 73.7% | N/a | N/a |

[a] Number of households actively pursuing named resource as a percentage of all households in Angoon.
[b] Total pounds harvested per household actively pursuing named resource.
[c] Percentage of non-pursuing households to receive named resource.

the amounts involved than they were for the relations they indicated and made possible—that is, the traditional, "Indian foods" given to individuals and extended families for distribution at village-wide celebrations and ceremonies. In this case, virtually the entire village partakes in the harvest of a few individuals, not as households (and so, not revealed in the survey data, I suspect), but rather, as village residents and more importantly, as Native village residents.

## Subsistence Harvest Relations

This last point raises what is perhaps the most overlooked element of subsistence production during the period: the relations it entailed and produced—relations which now, for the most part, bear a complex relationship with the local manifestations of social relations generated by the regional political economy and ANCSA. This point is discussed in more detail below, but first it is necessary to sketch out the sorts of relations entailed in and empowered by subsistence practices that ANCSA acted upon.

Among those subsistence relations already indicated above were "partners" and the informal subsistence-gath-

ering party. Partnerships were maintained by nearly all heavy subsistence users. They were frequently long-term relationships through which partners shared the expense of subsistence harvests by contributing complementary pieces of equipment, and by co-ordinating harvest labour. Partnerships were not necessarily warm relationships, but they were necessary for effective and efficient harvests, and were frequently maintained over long periods of time. Many tasks, like salmon fishing, required several persons (minimally two, but most often three in the case of hand-seining) if they were to be done at the scale necessary for large, multiple household consumption. Beyond this, familiarity between partners made for increased efficiency, as co-ordination of activities (even beyond individual fishing expertise and knowledge) usually led to larger harvests. Deer hunting could be done individually, but most hunters chose to hunt with partners, sharing out the expense (of the boat or truck used) and gaining some insurance against a later unsuccessful hunt—as anyone along for the day received some share of what was obtained, even though a deer was assumed by all to belong to the person who shot it.

Because most subsistence hunting and fishing was done by men, most of those entering into partnerships were men. Women (almost invariably the wives of those doing the hunting or fishing) participated in the processing of resources—the gutting, cutting, drying and smoking of fish; the butchering of deer; the preparation of seal meat and fat—which took place after the harvest. Partners generally did not process fish or other resources together, and there was no extension of partnering relations to the wives of even long-term partners.

Relations between women did structure some harvests, however. In particular, berry picking and other plant harvests were often initiated by women, and involved groups linked by relations among women. Thus a woman may have co-ordinated a trip to the berrying grounds with her friends or close female kin. Men usually accompanied their wives on these trips, as did children of both sexes (which is not necessarily the case for hunting and fishing), and all participated in the harvest. Part of the purpose of bringing such a large party together, I was told, was safety—bears are likely to flee an area where there is a large group and, conversely, will potentially attack a small group or a person working alone. Yet the subsistence party, as one might call it, lacked the collectiveness of those tasks pursued by partners, especially fishing. Berry harvests were kept separately even during collection, with each household harvesting its own stores, rather than lumping the entire harvest and dividing the total into shares as was done in fishing.

Some subsistence resources were gathered by single individuals, such as mollusks and other inter-tidal resources (cockles, clams, gumboots and seaweed, in the table above). Yet these were shared fairly widely, usually along "family" lines—meaning extended bilateral kindreds (see Dombrowski 2001). The term "family" is used here with some technical specificity and so requires explanation, for it figures significantly in the discussion of inequality that follows. "Family" was actually used in two ways by Southeast Natives: to refer to nuclear families (which I will call households in the remainder of the paper), and to refer to large, fluid, ego-centred groups of bilateral and affinal kin. In this latter sense, "families" were political assemblages that took advantage of loose definitions of kinship to link a number of usually economically diverse households. There were four or five or more such families in every Southeast Native village, and almost every household in a village considered itself a member of one or another such family. It is in this sense that the term "family" will be used in the following discussion.

Ordinarily, families were constructed through and for a patronage system. Families pooled votes and, in so doing, assured family leaders of important positions in any one of several village bureaucracies (regional tribal government, local tribal government, town government and board directorships in the local or regional ANCSA corporations). Leadership positions could then be used to produce jobs for family members, and most marginal members of village families supported family leaders with the hope of landing a regular salaried position for a member of their household, or with the hope of some other act of patronage that came from being part of a "powerful family." Of course there were never enough spoils to satisfy all of those involved, and individuals and households on the margins of family politics were just as likely to be left out of the reward system in any meaningful way. This led to some fluidity in family composition as disaffected households sought a better deal in another family. But that did not change the family-form itself. Like prototypical Nuer clans, individual families were most visible when in pursuit of a goal (e.g., an elected position) and individual families could come and go quite quickly, while the political form or organizing principle of the family form itself remained intact. As such, family-based social relations were, structurally, the set of local relations most closely tied to the dynamics of the larger economy.

The contrast with subsistence relations is significant. For while families played a role in the sharing of subsistence resources generally, a man's partners were seldom drawn from within his current family. One likely reason for

this is that heavy subsistence users were so because they were among the most marginal members of any village (or, conversely, they were among the most marginal because of their continued dependence on subsistence, which works out to mean the same thing in practice), and were thus among those most dependent on subsistence foods for their day-to-day survival. Indeed, among heavy users, even short-term shortages or complications meant dramatic changes in their ability to remain housed and fed within the village.

Partnerships drawn from within a single family worked against consistency in several ways. Family lines usually cut across economic lines—as the need for votes encouraged family leaders to cast their political net as widely as possible. Thus choosing a partner from within a family meant either crossing lines of economic difference, or choosing among those with whom one was competing for jobs and patronage. For a straightforward set of reasons, neither strategy worked well. For partnerships to be effective, both partners must be equally committed to subsistence tasks. A man's partner must be available to go hunting or fishing when the weather and season permit. The opportunity costs of days-missed fishing or berrying were enormous, for these, like many resources, were available only briefly. Differing obligations between partners impeded flexibility and co-ordination, and choosing a partner across economic divisions meant, inevitably, choosing someone whose availability and commitment to subsistence tasks for basic survival differed markedly from one's own. For this reason, no heavy subsistence user could afford a partner who was regularly employed; and no regularly employed, part-time subsistence user could meet the co-operative needs of a heavy user.

Conversely, by choosing a partner on a similar economic level within a family, one would be choosing as a partner someone with whom one was normally competing for patronage from family leaders—patronage that includes part-time cash employment, which all heavy users depended on to continue to pursue subsistence (see below). For this reason, partnerships within a family that match individuals from a single economic stratum were seldom any more long-lasting than those that crossed strata. As a result, most lasting subsistence partnerships were made between marginal members of separate families within the same village.

## Relations Related to Processing and Exchange

Beyond partnerships and subsistence parties, other relations were directly involved in the processing of subsis-

tence foods and other locally produced use-values as well. In villages like Hydaburg, where the prime resource processing sites within the village (smokehouses and areas along the beachfront) tended to be held by older residents, many of these residents exchanged use of processing equipment (like a smokehouse) and their own labour for a share of the final product. In these cases, elderly men and women would rise frequently in the night to tend the fire and at other times would assist in the cutting and re-cutting of salmon, and perhaps even help in the canning or jarring of fish. In return they received several cases of salmon, or some well-dried "hard-smoke" for their own use.

As above, spouses were frequent participants in subsistence processing tasks as well. Indeed, smoking and canning salmon usually involved far more labour than the actual harvest. After collecting berries, these must be frozen or jarred (a process like canning that involves sealing and boiling at high temperatures for extended periods). Seal fat must be rendered (by boiling and skimming) and herring and salmon eggs smoked or boiled. Where job opportunities for women arose, this could conflict with spousal participation in subsistence production, often complicating the ability of even the most dedicated user to continue in a subsistence livelihood, despite a willingness to do so.

Yet beyond the relations entailed in the actual harvest and processing of resources, there were other relations as well that subsistence fostered or allowed. Harvesting households invariably shared some of what they produced, sometimes with expectations of exchange (such as when people gave gifts of deer meat or herring roe to a well known seal hunter, fully expecting to receive some seal oil or "seal grease" the following winter). Exchange relations like these resulted from specialization among users, or, as in the last example, people's unwillingness or inability to participate in a particularly difficult harvest—few people regularly hunted seals because of the dangers involved, even in villages where seal meat was a popular food. In all of these cases, whether gifting reflected a desire for the products of other people's subsistence work or a desire for recognition and the continuation of friendly social relations, exchange of subsistence items created an obvious sort of village-wide interdependency.

As one can see from Table 1 above, many people shared food, particularly resources like deer and seal meat that were difficult to store, in effect pooling labour and redistributing harvests. The webs of relations created by these exchanges were thus broad, sometimes blanketing an entire village. Some sharing was clearly "interested,"

as in those cases where gifting followed family lines and was designed to curry favour with powerful members of extended kin groups, with the hope of receiving or repaying other sorts of (often financial) favours. Other gifting was almost entirely altruistic, as when a successful hunter donated a large seal to a village elders' centre, knowing that it would be appreciated but not repaid in anything more concrete than good will and local reputation.

Exchanges such as these have been noted as critical to village sustainability.[10] Since the early 1990s, the role of subsistence in sustaining Southeast communities has diminished as other sources of household and village-wide income have grown in importance. At the same time, subsistence production has become more economically precarious and, indeed, increasingly physically dangerous. While subsistence now has less to do with community sustainability in a raw material sense than at any time ever before, it perhaps figures more significantly in the sustainability of those households dependent on subsistence resources than at any time in the last 50 years. And, in part due to issues unrelated to either of these, it has come to loom large in sustaining certain kinds of local political power. This is discussed in greater detail below.

## Exchange Relations

In addition to all of the relations formed through subsistence work and exchange, there remained other relations that, though not formed directly by or for subsistence hunting, fishing, gathering, or processing of subsistence foods, were nevertheless influenced and enhanced by these practices, especially among those most dependent on subsistence for day-to-day living. The most basic of these was the households of subsistence users themselves. This point is often overlooked by those who focus overtly on the role of subsistence in local identity discourse (for example Berger 1985; Thornton 1999; Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1994; though see Hunn et al. 2003). Among many of the heaviest users I encountered, subsistence was not simply a "lifestyle." It was, primarily, a livelihood. For them, it is clear that subsistence harvests allowed households to remain in the village without participating fully in the formal economy, and to do so during times when that economy would normally force them to leave. In this way, marginal households remained part of the extended kin groups (families) that exist there, and participated in the community as a whole—its ceremonies and traditions, village and church groups, basketball rivalries, friendships of various intensity and all of those born-of-continuous-familiarity relations that go with living in a small town. Such relations need not be idealized to be counted as significant in people's sense of self and sense

of well-being. And their loss was felt by everyone who left the village (as most marginal members do, it seems, at one point or another). As it was explained to me by one village resident who had left and returned: "Down south [meaning in the continental U.S.], we are just plain old Indians." Insofar as subsistence production and livelihood allowed individuals and marginal households to stay in the village and even to simply remain intact, subsistence production was invariably tied to all those relations that get glossed as local community and close friends, regardless of their tenor, none of which existed outside of being in the place itself.

In related form, by allowing marginal individuals to stay in the village, subsistence production allowed for a personal sense of belonging that is hard to explain clearly but which is, nonetheless, a powerful motivating force in Native communities. In this way, subsistence helped provide people with a sense of uniqueness and participation in a community which, though it is subject to ideological and political manipulation, nevertheless provided an important sense of belonging. This "spiritual" side of local relations is seldom discussed, even by identity theorists, but it features prominently in village residents' own discussions of their lives (see Blackman 1982:17; Eastman and Edwards 1991; Organized Village of Kake 1989). Subsistence contributed to these feelings in the same way that it contributed to the friendships and feelings of community discussed above, that is, by allowing people to remain in the place where such feelings could and did take place.

## Identity

Yet beyond the many relations created in and around subsistence practices, by the early 1980s, issues of identity began to figure strongly in public depictions of the desire for subsistence resources in Southeast Alaska.[11] In Southeast Alaska, however, this was especially true among light users and those who did not necessarily engage in the harvest of subsistence resources at all—often as much as half the population of in Southeast Alaska Native villages (see Table 1). Not coincidentally, the latter category (nonproducers) usually included those most central to village political and economic organization, and thus the leaders of most families. Yet elite members of all Native villages derived prestige from being able to provide "Indian foods" at any of the social gatherings that they sponsored. And such gatherings were actually quite common, especially in the summer months (generally the peak of the subsistence harvests), and included "pay-off parties" (where another family, or even one "side" of a village[12] is rewarded for help in the funeral arrangements of a deceased rela-

tive, a process akin to the historical Tlingit potlatch (see Kan 1989)) and "giveaways" intended to mark some important social event (fundraisers for the local Native dancing group; celebrations of local accomplishments such as college graduation parties or engagements; or political parties, as when a local sponsor threw a party to introduce a favoured candidate). Events of this scale were often held in the school gymnasium and included virtually the entire village population. On these occasions, individuals known for their hunting, fishing and gathering were recruited (often informally, usually along family and extended-kin lines) to obtain and process specialty foods for distribution at the party. Those who did were always formally acknowledged, and good hunters received much local prestige from their participation as providers of traditional subsistence foods in these events.

In turn, on these occasions subsistence foods were used by elite members of the community to forge relations across economic and political lines, both within the village and beyond. This was certainly the case when locally powerful village residents used an event simultaneously to broaden a family network, and to direct that network toward some specific goal (i.e., the election of a favoured candidate to the state assembly, local ANCSA board of directors, or school superintendent position—often the subtext of any number of seemingly social or celebratory events). In this way, extensive family connections were assembled that allowed family leaders to bridge village–region or village–state boundaries and place themselves in a nodal position in local and larger (regional, state or federal) patronage networks. From the perspective of those attending such an event, inclusion in the celebrations and the common consumption of traditional foods encouraged more marginal members of the village to consider themselves part of the family of such a leader and thus, at least potentially, recipients of the sorts of patronage created. In dialectical fashion, this sort of optimism provided the leader with the social support necessary for greater participation in larger-than-local (usually regional or statewide) politics—his means of acquiring the sorts of resources such as jobs, contacts and positions that were the source of his local power.

Native identity played a critical role in this process, and subsistence foods a critical role in the performance of Native identity. For what allowed powerful family members to occupy such a nodal position in a family or even village-wide hierarchy was the perceived (as well as the actual) separation between the village and the larger political economy of the region. By reinforcing the idea that villages were, first and foremost, "Indian" villages, local leaders named and created a political bloc whose per-

ceived collective interests outweighed any competing sense of local differentiation in needs and desires. Likewise, villages seen from the outside as essentially "closed" encouraged outside (regional, state or federal) leaders to work through local intermediaries, furthering the isolation of non-elites in the villages. The manifest distance between local and larger—visible in the costumes, foods, limited-but-symbolically-significant Native language use—discouraged both outside interests and village residents from attempting to bridge the perceived gaps that separated the local from the larger. Local leaders who thus could effectively mobilize the key tokens of identity became both the intermediaries between the local and the larger, and simultaneously the presumed protectors of the local itself. On such occasions, "Indian foods" (as they are sometimes called) allowed Native identity to overwhelm even obvious and well-known village-based social differentiation in residents' perception of their individual lot, intensifying the apparent distance between the village and its regional, state and federal surroundings while simultaneously strengthening people's sense of collective belonging and community—all the while submerging the actual differences in power, wealth, access or political objective that separate those who oversaw the distribution of these special foods and those who supplied them. Subsistence thus played a crucial role (especially in the absence of other powerful signifiers) in making these events into "Native" functions, a role which was often enhanced by the presence of the local Native dance group. In this way, subsistence foods were fundamental to the reproduction of a specifically local form of power, one that was, for the most part, unconnected with the sorts of relations actually used to obtain and process subsistence foods.

For related reasons, subsistence production took a central place in discourses of regional Native identity as well, though the means and occasions of its mobilization were quite different. Thomas Berger, in his influential *Village Journey* (1985), made subsistence virtually synonymous with Native identity throughout Alaska. And Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer argued that subsistence practices (like other elements of individual life in Southeast villages) were intimately caught up with Tlingit collective self-understanding (1994:xv-xvi; see also Hunn et al. 2003). Others, including Thornton (1999), have demonstrated the role that research on subsistence practices played in securing the land claims of Southeast Natives in the U.S. Court of Claims, and in the eventual statewide settlement (ANCSA), further heightening the importance of the very idea of subsistence to those most active in regional land and sovereignty claims. Studies like that by Goldschmidt and Haas (1999) were used by Native advo-

cates to demonstrate continuing use and occupancy based on past and contemporary reports of subsistence practices in areas around Native villages.

ANCSA also contributed significantly to the escalation of this discourse, and perhaps inadvertently helped place subsistence politics at the centre of local–larger differences, by officially extinguishing Native hunting and fishing rights on the lands taken by the state and federal governments under the Act. The Alaska Federation of Natives, the original statewide Native voice in ANCSA negotiations, advocated against this portion of the Act and was able to draw support from throughout the state in the effort to have it overturned. This work, and more like it throughout Alaska, eventually resulted in the creation of the *Alaska National Interest Land Conservation Act* (ANILCA)[13] which restored Native and rural subsistence rights, and made them a priority over sport and recreation uses of Federal lands. To this day ANILCA is seen by many Natives as a political accomplishment on a par with the original ANCSA settlement. In Southeast Alaska, the Southeast Native Subsistence Commission was formed in 1990 to continue to advocate for Native subsistence rights, and it has become one of the more visible regional advocacy groups in the state (see Price 1990).

## The Local and the Larger

Importantly, many of the relations discussed above occurred outside of the larger-than-local political economy, in which the region had been immersed for nearly a century (Dombrowski 1995). This is a subtle point that figures significantly in the discussion below and deserves careful consideration.

First, by claiming that some subsistence relations stood outside formal political relations, I do not mean to imply that subsistence users were not dependent on the larger economy. Without exception, all were. Minimally, all users had to have access to cash income (either their own or that of a spouse) for gas, bullets, equipment and so on. More than this, even the most autonomous subsistence user lived in a house with electricity and heating costs, and the majority had children and spouses who required clothes and basic necessities, all of which required some access to cash income. Some subsistence products were sold (sea otter skins could fetch upwards of $1000 or more), though these were rare. As a result, even the most autonomous subsistence user had to take on cash employment, on a temporary or intermittent basis, and nearly all counted on the income of a spouse.

Yet despite this, and despite what will be said below about the manner in which lives of subsistence users reflect the changes of the larger economy, many subsistence relations were shaped by an internal dynamic that was largely independent of larger political economic dynamics. That is, issues such as tribal membership, ANCSA corporation shareholder status, and even questions of the ownership of surrounding forests and waters, all had little influence on the nature of the relations discussed above—what it meant, and what was expected, for example, of a "partner," or between suppliers of game foods and those who received them.

In short, many subsistence relations were formed largely independently of external dynamics, and drew their significance and indeed their nature from specifically local ideas and meanings. This last point is critical because it is equally clear that subsistence users on the whole were greatly affected by changes in outside political economic dynamics. By way of example, while partnering was a practice that was largely independent of ANCSA shareholder status, the issue of who had the opportunity to enter into a partnership was significantly influenced by such factors as the ANCSA-shareholder status of those involved.

Critically, then, while partnering was governed by a set of values and ideas that were independent of ANCSA, no one was free to live according to these values alone. And the relations that sprang from such ideas and values—partnering, co-operation and responsibility within households, intra-community links of sharing and exchange, and even recognition across economic divisions within a village—all reflected and were inflected with the shifting dynamics of the surrounding political economy by virtue of the fact that those individuals and groups that form these relations were inextricably involved in the wider political economy. In this way, subsistence represents an incomplete alternative to the current political economy; one whose internal dynamics exist apart from issues such as ANCSA but whose overall shape was constantly influenced and buffeted by these same outside forces through the very people who sought out subsistence as an alternative.

This point is central to the argument that follows. For, as indicated in the introduction, by the early 1990s ANCSA and the political economy it inspired had undermined the ability of individuals and households to enter into or maintain subsistence relations by endangering the viability of the resources themselves, and undermining the sustainability of subsistence relations by intensifying the stakes of local inequality. Yet, as above, all of this had taken place amid a growing identification of Native lifeways with subsistence resource use. In this way, ANCSA has undermined subsistence while simultaneously elevating the importance of the alternative discourse that

subsistence makes possible. Put another way, by defining in particularly narrow terms the nature and possibility of Native identity and participation in the larger political economy within Alaska, ANCSA has both undermined subsistence as a livelihood (ecologically and socially) and, conversely and simultaneously, increased the need among more marginal village residents for an alternative set of relationships (like those involved in subsistence production and exchange) with which they might confront or counter the social and ecological dynamics that ANCSA has put in place. In this way, subsistence users in every village are now caught between the Scylla of decreasing resources and the Charybdis of intensifying village inequality—both of which have the effect of pushing them into more intense dependence on disappearing subsistence resources and increasingly unreproduceable social relations. This issue is explored in more detail below.

## The *Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act*

The *Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act* has figured prominently in the manner in which village level inequalities have affected subsistence relations and subsistence practitioners. Two provisions in the original ANCSA legislation sought to ensure that lands would be selected by ANCSA corporations on the basis of their development potential (in the Southeast Region of Alaska this meant old growth timber), and to ensure that the resources they contained would indeed be developed. The first was that the corporations were formed as "for-profit" ventures, meaning that they were expected to produce income for their shareholders. From the beginning this provision caused tension between shareholders living in the village in which their corporation functioned and held land, and those who, for one reason or another, lived outside of the village or the region.[14] In these cases, the demands of non-resident shareholders for dividends conflicted with the desire of village residents for sustainable sorts of development. In every case, the non-resident shareholders won (see Dombrowski 2002).

The second provision meant to ensure resource development was that, though the original legislation made no provision for the inclusion of Natives born after 1971 (the so-called "new Natives"), it did stipulate that the original shares issued in the corporation would become available for public sale to non-Natives after 20 years (i.e., in 1991). The resulting understanding by Natives at the time was that if they or their children were to get anything from ANCSA, they would have to do so quickly.[15]

These two issues, together with the general expectation that ANCSA would produce a major change in village life, prompted all Southeast ANCSA corporations to select lands on the basis of their potential timber value, and to begin to harvest this timber as soon as it became feasible. The slow process of selection and conveyance, however, meant that many ANCSA corporations did not receive the majority of their lands until 1979 or 1980, or for some even later. By this time, many had dispersed as "dividends" monies gained in the initial cash settlement—mainly in response to shareholder demands for some sign of corporate activity and accountability.

Because of this, lack of funds hampered the initial development prospects of many Southeast village corporations, forcing them to either borrow the money necessary to start logging, or to subcontract the logging to an outside firm. In either case, this shrunk the potential for profit, causing the hasty harvest of much timber, or the sale "on the stump" of many village corporation holdings. The latter resulted in the near complete clear-cutting of most ANCSA land in Southeast Alaska by the late 1980s and early 1990s.

This last point takes us back to issues raised above: the impact of ANCSA on subsistence work, and by implication on certain village social relations. This impact has been profound, and, not surprisingly, unevenly distributed among today's village residents. Most directly, ANCSA has undermined subsistence practices through the ecological devastation caused by the clear-cutting of old growth forests, significantly affecting the livelihoods of subsistence users and their households. Less directly, but perhaps more importantly, ANCSA harvests have also undermined the sustainability of many other village social relations—many, that is, even beyond those involved directly in subsistence harvests and processing.

The ecological implications of clear-cutting large segments of old growth temperate rainforest in the Pacific Northwest are by now fairly well known.[16] Most ecologists agree that it will take more than 100 years to restore these areas to their pre-1980s condition. In the meantime, logged areas do not provide nearly the potential for subsistence harvests that unlogged areas do (Van Horne 1983; Yeo and Peek 1992), and areas that have been clear-cut are generally known to local hunters and fishermen as barren.[17]

The situation is intensified by the legal status of the lands involved. ANCSA corporation forest lands are, by law, privately held, and thus not subject to a host of recent laws aimed at ameliorating the environmental effects of industrial logging in U.S. National Forests. Stream buffers—the practice of leaving un-logged the trees on either side of a stream—that are mandated under various federal harvest policies are unenforceable on village-corporation or Sealaska lands, for such laws apply mainly to

public lands.[18] And while many ANCSA corporations do make some efforts to leave stream buffers, the economic incentive to do so, particularly for companies harvesting timber far from their own village (but perhaps near to someone else's) is minimal. In tours of several village corporation clear cuts, I seldom saw stream buffers more than 20 or 40 feet, despite ANILCA requirements of 50-100 foot buffers on private lands, and despite conservationist requests for buffers of up to 300 feet. Such minimal buffering practices are scarcely an improvement on total clearcutting, as narrow buffers are quickly knocked down by harsh winter winds.[19] Yet the effect of wind-fallen timber in these narrow buffers is actually small compared to the effects of the roads built to access timberlands throughout the region. Gravel logging roads now spiderweb the areas around most Native villages, often amounting to hundreds of miles of road on any particular island. These are used by hunters, and have been a boon to deer hunting in some ways. But their effects on the streams they cross are marked. Logging roads are sources of silt for the streams that run by them or under them, and silt can greatly affect the carrying capacity of the streams involved.

The problems of clear-cutting do not end with road cuts, however. When clear-cut forests grow back, they raise another set of ecological problems. Normally, regrown areas sprout so many new saplings that they become, in effect, impassable. This is true not just for humans, but for deer, bear, moose and other forest creatures for whom the thick undergrowth is an impenetrable barrier. Without exaggeration, one can say that clear cuts become impassable for even mid-sized woodland creatures for at least the first 50 years of their regrowth.[20]

Conservation efforts to leave unharvested segments of land—to encourage habitat maintenance—are also troubled by harvest patterns encouraged by ANCSA and its subsequent amendments. For while village corporations may be willing to leave unlogged their less profitable areas (usually in exchange for nearby lots with better harvest potential), the cutting of large portions of neighbouring land means that these become, in effect, forest islands, unable to sustain subsistence resource harvest levels that their combined island-wide size might indicate (Alaback 1982; Alaback and Juday 1989). In addition, many ANCSA corporation holdings border on one another. When thus combined, ANCSA holdings greatly intensify this effect, creating clear-cuts and isolated patches of forest that resemble an archipelago of small treed plots stretched over tens of miles.

The situation is difficult for village residents throughout the region, primarily because ANCSA required vil-

lage corporations to choose land from the area surrounding their homes. The regional corporation, Sealaska, was also required to choose lots for timber harvesting that were nearby or abutting village parcels, further intensifying the effects of village selections. Taken together, this means that, in addition to the area already cleared for town use, almost 50 000 acres (or roughly 80 square miles) of nearby forest has been clearcut around most villages, and so remains, in practical terms, permanently unusable for subsistence purposes. Yet in addition to this, villages located in areas deemed inappropriate for harvest by the framers of ANCSA (often because they were located in areas already designated for other uses— national wilderness areas or national parks, for example) were allowed to choose parcels far from their own villages (Dombrowski 2001). Most of these village corporations chose land on Prince of Wales Island or its smaller neighbouring islands in the southern end of the Alaska panhandle, where potential commercial harvests were the largest. This area is already home to four Native villages, and thus four village corporations. When the land selected by these four corporations is combined with those parcels owned by villages located in areas deemed off limits by ANCSA, and combined with the adjoining areas selected by the regional corporation Sealaska, the result is that over 275 000 acres (roughly 460 square miles) of traditional subsistence land has been slated for harvest in the vicinity of Hydaburg, Klawock, Kasaan and Craig. Together with the timber allotments granted to the large non-Native timber producers in the same area, the consequences are dramatic, especially for residents who are most dependent on a subsistence livelihood.

Some of the implications of this process are not immediately visible, but are, in the end, critical to understanding the impact of ecological devastation on those involved. One such result of the clearing of such large stretches of land immediately around villages is that indiviudals dependent on fish and deer harvest for household livelihood now must go further, at greater risk of accident and of encountering Fish and Game enforcement, to find foods formerly locally available. This increases the likelihood of equipment failures and the costs of those failures. It also increases the danger involved in many subsistence practices, where small boat travel over long distances increases the risks of weather and mishap. Likewise, in a region where subsistence regulations virtually require heavy users to break the law if they are to actually pursue subsistence foods as a livelihood (Dombrowski 2001), long trips to diminishing areas radically increase the chances of being caught fishing or hunting illegally. Almost every heavy subsistence user I met had had some recent

encounter with Fish and Game officials, and most recognized this as an immediate threat to their livelihood—as even suspicion of illegal fishing can be cause for the confiscation of equipment and harvest, pending a hearing. Cash fines and loss of equipment also present special and immediate problems to those without regular cash income who depend on hunting and fishing equipment for even short-term survival. It is no exaggeration to say that the loss of hunting and fishing equipment for even a short time can cause significant hardship for heavy users, often requiring that they depend more heavily on partners, or forcing them to leave the village to look for employment in the formal economy.

Decreasing harvest areas also means that hunters and fishermen face greater competition in the areas to which they now must go, as hunters from other villages and an increasing number of tourists react to problems of reduced habitat throughout the region. Indeed tourist competition has only begun to affect the situation. And as more and more Natives turn to "guiding"—the local term for serving as a hunting or fishing guide—as a replacement for lost employment in the villages, the number of tourists hunting and fishing in these areas is likely to increase considerably. In fact, many Native villages and several tribal organizations have advocated tourism as a way to replace livelihoods lost to the decline of commercial fishing and logging, despite the pressure created by increased hunting and fishing on subsistence-based households. The effects of this, like other village based development projects, are unevenly distributed among current village residents.

From this brief description, it is not difficult to see the ways in which habitat loss for subsistence resources directly impacts the relations involved in subsistence harvests, and those that stem from the consumption and trade in subsistence foods. Individuals who lose equipment to fines or confiscation risk losing partners as they are unable to fulfil reciprocal obligations. Those who leave the village in pursuit of even short-term cash employment leave behind partners whose ability to remain in the village is now compromised by the lack of a knowledgeable, dependable partner. Subsistence-based households face decreased harvests because of decreasing resources or the loss of efficiency when working with a new partner, and higher costs associated with more distant travel for subsistence resources, which together strain already limited cash incomes. For those hunters, gatherers, and fishers pushed out of their own villages but unwilling or unable to pursue wage-based cash employment outside of a small town, relatives in other villages can provide the opportunity for relocation to new subsistence areas. But such strategies further strain resources in those areas, intensifying the loss of sustainable subsistence resources there as well.

In all of these ways, the loss of a subsistence livelihood due to habitat loss creates a ripple effect. First the household, then the partners, and eventually an entire village can be affected by these processes. Village schools, funded by the state on a per capita basis, lose funding when households are forced to relocate away from the village, causing further losses (and further relocations) in what is normally considered "safe" employment in the school or other public sector jobs. Village stores are dependent on village residents for income, such that losses in local population can threaten the viability of ancillary businesses in any village. In the past, region-wide economic declines in Southeast Alaska forced the abandonment of virtually every non-Native village (see Dombrowski 1995; Price 1990). What allowed many Native villages to survive this process (and the end of the cannery era in Southeast Alaska in general) was the willingness of some Native village residents to pursue a subsistence livelihood. As this livelihood is slowly but definitively diminished, Native villages face the renewed prospect of the earlier fate of their non-Native neighbours.

Critically, habitat loss has a less immediate negative impact on the ideological side of subsistence. That is, where "Indian foods" serve a mainly symbolic or ideological function—as when they are featured at large gatherings which they serve to mark as a specifically "Native" function—the increased expense or decreased availability of these resources can diminish the amounts of those foods, but not their symbolic value. In fact, shortages may even serve to heighten the ideological power of these foods. For once "Indian" foods come to be seen as icons of Native lifeways, any threat to their viability becomes, by extension, a threat to the community they mark. In this way Native foods and the subsistence practices that produce them become a sign not just of the community, but of its potential dissolution, and hence the need for greater solidarity—even across the economic lines that separate those who supply the food from those who sponsor the events at which they are consumed.

As such, these foods also help mask the extent to which local forms of inequality are now produced locally, as ANCSA has increasingly become the engine driving the intensification of local inequality and the greatest threat to local habitat. And while these ceremonies can be a source of considerable recognition and even limited local fame for those who produce the special foods involved, it seems to make little difference in the economic viability of the households of those so recognized. I was

often told that the hunters and fishermen I knew well (i.e., those most heavily dependent on a subsistence livelihood and thus those most knowledgeable and reliable in their subsistence harvests) were like "real old time Indians." If such a reputation somehow compensated them for the loss of livelihood that ANCSA and its shareholders (many of whom are neighbours and are attending these same events, indeed perhaps even sponsoring them) bring about, then there might be some rough compensation in the personal and collective identities thereby created. But this is seldom the case, and most of the time, individuals held on a pedestal in this way fare no better than other marginal members of their communities in their attempts to remain in the village amid the destruction of their livelihood.

## Discussion

This last point takes us back to the issues raised above: the extent to which ANCSA has both intensified the need for alternative discourses about indigenism (especially on the part of those on the margin) while simultaneously undermining the possibility of those alternatives through the resource development it entails. As noted above, ANCSA has undermined subsistence as a livelihood in several very different ways. The most obvious of these is the widespread ecological destruction encouraged (perhaps mandated) by the Act, effects felt first and mainly by those for whom subsistence practices remain fundamentally a form of livelihood. In addition, far-reaching changes in the village economy (some caused by ANCSA, some just exacerbated by it) have destabilized village populations, making it increasingly difficult for individuals pursuing a subsistence livelihood to maintain the critical subsistence work relationships that make this livelihood possible (i.e., partners and exchange relations, but also households and other village-wide ties).

' Less directly, but perhaps more importantly, because ANCSA has proceeded through the limited and qualified (but nonetheless significant) recognition of Native claims, it has placed issues of Native culture at the centre of the ongoing transformation of the local economy. One immediate result of this (as above, a result exacerbated by language in ANCSA eliminating Native subsistence rights on state and federal land, including most of Southeast Alaska) has been a dramatic increase in the symbolic importance of subsistence in Native identity. Subsistence use and consumption, more than any other local practice, has come to be seen by village residents as iconic with Nativism in the region. Anything that imperils or even affects subsistence is seen as something that directly affects not just Native people, but their ability to live and reproduce their Nativeness.

One might expect that such a situation would help those most dependent on subsistence by safeguarding their livelihood. Yet the increase in the symbolic value of subsistence practices to local notions of Nativeness has, in fact, accompanied a significant undermining of the role these practices play in sustaining those households most dependent on the products of subsistence work for their livelihood, and has shifted the discourse on subsistence to questions of lifestyle rather than livelihood. The nature of ANCSA-based development complicates this situation, for much of the ecological and social disruption in the lives of subsistence users has been caused by Natives themselves, acting through village corporations and the regional corporation, Sealaska. This encourages people to separate the practical from the symbolic elements of subsistence practices. For while ANCSA corporations do much to endanger the practical results of subsistence practices, they do nothing to prevent subsistence practices themselves. In fact, it is just the opposite. ANCSA corporate politics have become a significant social process in most villages, intensifying issues like sponsorship and patronage discussed above and consequently, raising the symbolic importance of subsistence practices and products. As ANCSA corporations draw on Native claims for their origin and expansion, and beyond this, as they incorporate conventional Native iconography in their logos and self-representations, Nativeness itself has become, more than ever, a critical factor in local political processes.

Thus, as above, one result of ANCSA-based development is the need for an alternative set of distinctly Native relations capable of answering the sorts of social and personal divisions created by the transformations wrought by ANCSA—some sense that there exists a viable alternative to the sorts of social and political processes that participation in ANCSA involves—on the part of those most marginal to the current political and cultural project. Subsistence seems, ironically, to provide such an alternative. Yet the ecological and social devastation caused by ANCSA seems to militate against the sustainability of subsistence as such a possibility, in ecological terms anyway. And thus, ironically, it is those most directly involved in a subsistence livelihood that seem increasingly pushed to reject subsistence as an icon for Nativeness, in order to assert its place in the simple material reproduction of their households and persons (see also Benda-Beckman 1997). Elsewhere I have argued that this may, in fact, have much to do with a recent wave of Evangelical and Pentecostal conversions in the region, which seems to have taken place primarily among the most marginal (and hence most likely to be involved in a subsistence livelihood) members of these same communities (Dombrowski

2001). Other alternatives are available, of course, and it is by no means clear that a rejection of the politics of Nativeness is likely or desirable among this group or any other group in the village. What becomes clear, however, is that the current political strategy of placing subsistence at the centre of a Native identity that is heavily tied to an external (and essentially resource-extractive) political economy, may well produce a situation where "subsistence" practices continue well after the last of those who use these practices for actual subsistence (i.e., those for whom hunting, fishing, and gathering are more livelihood than lifestyle) are gone.

One corollary of the preceding discussion is that state-sponsored, state-supported forms of indigenism like ANCSA—forms of development based around the granting of limited, narrowly conceived "autonomy" to Native peoples' in recognition of their claims to significant resources—intensify local inequalities, ánd in so doing, make it increasingly difficult for more marginal members of the community to remain in their communities even as marginal participants. Yet more is at stake than simply the lives, livelihoods, and lifeways of marginal members of these communities. By intensifying local inequality and driving marginal members from these communities, development via ANCSA threatens the viability of the entire community in question, for marginal individuals and households remain critical to many contemporary village-wide institutions like schools and stores. It seems. clear that the current ideological resistance to external manipulation that places high symbolic value on "subsistence" as an emblem of Native group identity masks the fact that the subsistence practices forming the basis for an alternative lifeway are being undermined, in part by members of the community being symbolically constituted. In this way, I argue, such strategies can do little to reverse the changes that ANCSA-inspired "development" implies.

Returning to the starting point of this paper, it is clear that in Alaska, as elsewhere, local lifeways remain highly valued among anthropology's conventional subject groups, that is, small scale hunting, gathering and foraging groups who make at least part of their household living and attain part of their collective sustainability though these practices. But it is equally clear that today's politics, including especially state-sponsored indigenism, sets these practices in dramatic relief against what are often, ironically, seemingly identical practices in the past. The main contention of this paper is that the dynamics of the current processes of local group transformation are made most clear when we examine them in the context of local-level inequalities. In so doing, the links with, and disconnec-

tions from, past lifeways; the emotional resonance of ongoing subsistence practices; and finally the intense stakes of contemporary livelihood, all become much more clear—more clear as individual phenomena, and more clear in their multiple interrelations. Despite this, local forms and processes of differentiation remain too seldom noted by anthropologists working among people(s) dependent on a subsistence livelihood.[21] Perhaps this is because groups outside Southeast Alaska remain less differentiated than Southeast Alaska Natives, but I doubt it. More often, I suspect, the differential distribution of the costs of social reproduction are simply ignored by anthropology, to the detriment of those in the community who pay the highest price. Perhaps worse, marginal households are too frequently ethnographically "disappeared" by anthropologists—as when individuals and households that are forced by economic circumstances to leave the villages in which we work, as economic failure usually requires, consequently disappear from our accounts. Now outside our traditional village-bound purview, they are outside of anthropological attention or concern (Dombrowski 2004). In this way, anthropologists working in Native communities across the north continue to write about village "sustainability" while the Native populations of nearby non-Native cities continue to grow with disaffected and essentially "unsustained" individuals and households. This should tell us something about the limits of our current methods and the pitfalls of misplaced research boundaries that still reflect little of the political reality in which most residents are embedded. The material covered here suggests that both a wider and somewhat different approach to sustainability, one rooted in a much more open discussion of village level political economic differentiation, is required.

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## Notes

1  See, for example: Bailey 1991, Damas 1972, Dowling 1968, Lee 1979 and Lee and Devore 1968.

2  See, for example: Beckett 1996, Bryant 1996, Gray 1995, Karlsson 2001, Lee 2000, Maybury-Lewis 1997, Muehlebach 2001 and Murphy 2001.

3  There are exceptions, as when the politics of land claims draw on older works that detailed land use practices and indigenous property systems to help legitimate current claims (Thornton 1999). Yet even here, the supposition is often that older research merits legal consideration because it represents pre-contact conditions. While useful in some ways, the supposition of timeless continuity is increasingly difficult to maintain and thus represents a problem—one that often winds up placing "natives" and "scientists" on different sides. This is tragic and wrongheaded in the extreme, for it misses the most critical point: that the conflict between "natives" and "scientists" stems from a rather arbitrary legal notion that says that for natives to have property rights these must have been held since time immemorial. No other legal entity is so quickly or easily extinguished as aboriginal title, it seems, such that history and culture become deeply political issues for native people(s) in ways they are not for others.

4  This is particularly true in Southeast Alaska, but is also a global phenomenon: see Berger 1985, Briggs 1997, Churchill 1996, Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1994, Dorais 1997, Gossen 1998, Hope and Thornton 2001, Nyman and Leer 1993, Organized Village of Kake 1989, Price 1990, Searles 2001 and 2002, and Smith 1999.

5  ANCSA, 85 stat. 689, 1971.

6  See Dombrowski 2002 and Brown 2004, for a detailed discussion of the recent policy moves surrounding the issue of land access and shareholder status in Southeast Alaska.

7  By drawing the periodization of subsistence practices so narrowly (1960s to late 1980s) I do not mean to imply a complete discontinuity with the past. All of these same resources were used in the past. What changed was the relations involved—not so much the social relations used to produce subsistence foods but rather the social relations they marked in their distribution. Along related lines, it is worth mentioning here that it is well known that Southeast Alaska Native peoples were historically stratified and have a long tradition of differential access to political power and to material resources. But as I have argued elsewhere (Dombrowski 1995, 2001, 2002), and as this article makes clear, contemporary political-economic differentiation is not a reflection of this history but rather reflects a complete reorganization (or actually several) of the politics of social stratification and inequality in Southeast villages. This should not be surprising. Political-economic inequality is not a "culture trait," after all, but the product of discrete processes of interconnection to material and outside resources, and the accumulation of surplus value in the villages themselves, all of which have played a significant and evolving role in Southeast Alaska since the 1880s.

8  Cohen 1989, Mills and Firman 1986, Firman and Bosworth 1990, and Schroeder and Kookesh 1990.

9  It should be noted that all of the data in Table 1 are aggregate figures, obtained by researchers working for the Alaska Department of Fish and Game, an organization better known to village residents for its enforcement of hunting and fishing regulations than for its research. As noted above, my suspicion, grounded in conversations with heavy subsistence users from other villages, is that such figures represent a significant under-reporting in the size of harvests by heavy users and those most dependent on subsistence resources for resources which carry strict and frequently enforced limits. Thus, no household in George and Bosworth's (1988) sample reported harvesting more than 12 deer (the legal limit for a two adult household). Deer hunters in other villages reported to me that, in large subsistence-dependent households, they may take as many as 30 or 40 deer each year, well above the legal limit, and I suspect, well above what they would be willing to reveal to state Fish and Game researchers.

10  Community sustainability is dealt with at several points in the paper, but as is clear from my description, it is equally true of Southeast Alaska (Ellana and Sherrod 1987), as across much of the north (Searles 2002; Usher et al. 2003; Duhaime et al. 2004), that until recently, subsistence harvests and intra-community sharing were critical to community sustainability. Yet from what follows in this paper, it should also be clear that, in Southeast Alaska, the situation is somewhat different from the Polar and Sub-Arctic regions. When examined as one factor among others (including wage labour, industrial development, and state federal employment) by the mid-1990s the subsistence contribution to community sustainability in Southeast Alaska was shrinking while, ironically, its symbolic value was rapidly eclipsing all of these others in local political discourse. For those involved, subsistence was becoming much more risky and much more difficult, and was increasingly undertaken in a significant way by only the more marginal members of the community. Elsewhere in the north, where wage employment, industrial development, and bureaucratization are less significant, subsistence production often varies according to household composition (Usher et al. 2003). In Southeast Alaska, it seemed to me to vary according to household income.

11  As elsewhere; see Duhaime et al 2004, Briggs 1997, Searles 2001 and 2002, and Feinup-Riordan et al. 2000.

12  The issue of "sides" or moieties in Southeast Alaska is complicated. Historical accounts speak of exogamous moieties designated as ravens and wolves (de Laguna 1972), composed of exogamous, property holding clans (which in turn were composed of housegroups). Clans crosscut villages or "quans," and so did moieties. Moieties ceased to function as exogamous units in the early part of this century, and

clans lost most of their corporateness at the same time (Dombrowski 1995), though in fact many clan-owned resource areas were remembered much longer (Goldschmidt and Haas 1999).

13  ANILCA, 94 stat. 2371.

14  The original Act allowed individuals of Native descent to register with any village and regional corporation on the basis of their current residence, past residence, or the residence of ancestors, just as long as they registered with only one village and one regional corporation. From the beginning this caused trouble, as high levels of mobility meant that very quickly a significant portion of the shareholders in any village corporation lived outside of the village itself.

15  This provision was eventually overturned, but not before the majority of the village corporations had either cut or contracted to cut their entire holdings.

16  For Southeast Alaska and nearby areas in particular see Sigman 1985, Schoen et al. 1984, and Chen et al. 1993 for the effects of road building and deforestation on deer populations; and Schwan et al 1985, Salo and Cundy 1987, Larson et al. 2004, and Brosofske et al. 1997, for the effects of road building and deforestation on stream ecology.

17  The reasons for this are clear. See Bartholow 2000, Beschta et al. 1987, Hewlett and Fortson 1982; though see Mellina et al. 2005 for some questions about this.

18  For a review of the politics of timber harvesting in Southeast Alaska see Durbin 1999, Knapp 1992, Salazar and Cubbage 1990, Shoaf 1999, Skinner 1997, and Dombrowski 2002.

19  Narrow stream buffers located in clear cuts are subject to being knocked down by winter winds, for the trees left standing grew originally in the shelter of the surrounding forest and many are unable to withstand winters once exposed on their own (Budd et al. 1987). Ironically, once blown over, they expose the streams they were guarding to heavy silting with soil washed from their own disturbed footprint. This effect is potentially quite large when a whole section of buffer is knocked over.

20  Thinning the over-thick regrowth is possible, but it is very expensive, and it has been undertaken by only a few ANCSA corporations (in these cases this is not for subsistence reasons, but because it allows a more profitable, more immediate re-harvest of the area than if left to its crowded natural regrowth phase). Reports from hunters indicate that even thinned forests are likely to remain unusable for subsistence hunting for several decades (see also Van Horne 1983; Doer and Sandburg 1986; Yeo and Peek 1992). Estimates around the Hoonah project are that the regrowth of clear-cut areas have reduced the deer population to one third its pre-logging levels (Schroeder and Kookesh 1990:194) for the foreseeable future.

21  One very interesting exception is Collings' (2005) article on the differential distribution of social costs among Inuit in the Canadian north.

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# Sunken Voices: *Adivasis*, Neo-Gandhian Environmentalism and State–Civil Society Relations in the Narmada Valley 1998-2001

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**Abstract:** Large dams on the Narmada River have submerged some of the territories of adivasis (aboriginal peoples) of Gujarat state. Neo-Gandhian environmental movements that petitioned the Indian Supreme Court to halt dam construction recently lost their case. This paper shows that neo-Gandhian environmentalism collapsed in Gujarat for four major reasons, both external and internal. The external reasons emerge from the changing nature of state and civil society relations in the post-liberalization period, in which non-governmental movements become fragments of the apparatus of consensus. The internal reasons relate to the nature of neo-Gandhian discourse, and involve the romanticization of adivasi communities and technology fetishism.

**Keywords:** adivasis, environmentalism, social movements, state, civil society, romanticism

**Résumé :** De vastes barrages ont fait débordé la rivière Narmada qui a inondé certains territoires des Adivasi (peuples autochtones) dans l'État du Gujurat. Les mouvements environnementaux néo-gandhiens qui ont présenté à la Cour suprême indienne une requête afin de stopper la construction de barrages ont récemment perdu leur cause. Le présent article démontre que l'échec de ces mouvements repose principalement sur quatre facteurs, tant externes qu'internes. Les facteurs externes découlent du caractère changeant des relations entre l'État et la société civile dans le contexte post-libéral qui a transformé les mouvements non gouvernementaux en fragments des rouages du consensus. Quant aux facteurs internes, ils sont liés à la nature du discours néo-gandhien et incluent l'attribution d'une aura de romantisme aux communautés adivasi de même que le fétichisme de la technologie.

**Mots-clés :** adivasi, mouvements environnementaux, mouvements sociaux, État, société civile, romantisme

What the ensemble of organisms commonly called private might be at any given time, would surely depend on what kind of social situation you were looking at. [Smith 2004:102]

The lower classes, historically on the defensive, can only achieve self-awareness via a series of negations. [Gramsci 1971:272-3]

## Introduction

On October 18, 2000, the Supreme Court of India rejected a Public Interest Litigation filed by a famous environmental movement, the Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA), to halt construction of the Sardar Sarovar Dam on the Narmada River in west-central India. The judgment ignored the NBA's findings of inadequate resettlement for dam oustees and supported the Gujarat government's assertions to the contrary. The majority 2-1 decision also put limits on further public interest litigation by stating that the court should not intervene in administrative decisions (Randeria 2003). It praised the benefits of dams for national development and allowed dam construction to continue along with and not before proposed improvements to resettlement and rehabilitation had been implemented. Seen as a body blow to environmental organizations that were using national courts to challenge large-scale development projects, the decision was preceded by a drop in support for the NBA among Gujarat's *adivasi*[1] population, the groups whose lands were most affected by the submergence area of the dam.

This paper examines four major causes for the collapse of the NBA in Gujarat. The first arises from the changing relations between the state and civil society that have emerged in the wake of liberalization, including the privatization of some of the state's repressive functions. The second factor arises from the primacy which neo-Gandhian environmentalism accords to technology, especially large-scale technology, seeing it, and not social rela-

tions of production, as the root cause of social injustice and ecological degradation (Nandy 2003:171-181). Hence, a division emerged between the ecological critique of large dams and tribal rights concerning land and livelihood security. Third, the NBA's critique of large-scale technology was accompanied by romanticized images of small-scale subsistence communities living in harmony with the environment, a representation that generated both international appeal and local tensions. Finally, the paper examines the changing role of the state and civil society in the post-liberalization phase, arguing that small, non-party based social movements are not strong enough, on their own, to counteract emerging forms of transnational hegemony in which a diversity of supra-state and state actors pass the responsibility for human rights and environmental concerns to each other (Randeria 2003). While these four factors are analytically separate, they tended to overlap and converge at various points in the period between 1998 and 2001. They are therefore treated as separate "moments" of the transformation of economy, state and civil society in the era following India's "economic liberalization" in 1991. Pushed from both above and below, the NBA could not move beyond a defensive, oppositional strategy and ideology in Gujarat, ultimately becoming isolated there even from the adivasis that it claimed to represent.

In a well-known passage, Antonio Gramsci saw repression as linked to political society, or the state, while consent was largely located in the institutions of civil society.

> What we can do for the moment is to fix two superstructural levels: the one that can be called civil society, i.e. the ensemble of organisms commonly called private, and that of "political society" or "the state." These two levels correspond first to the function of hegemony that the dominant group exercises throughout society and on the other hand to that of "direct domination" or command exercised through the state and juridical government. [Gramsci 1971:12]

However, Gramsci also saw hegemony as a shifting constellation of power that often encompassed force and whose landscapes were historically and socially specific (Smith 2004; Crehan 2002:104). Indeed, his stress was on the connectivity between force and consent, with the concept of hegemony posing the question of how power was exercised in each specific context. I suggest that economic reforms in India have been accompanied by a changed set of relations between state and civil society, force and consent. In the enlarged global political space that has emerged in the wake of structural adjustment, intercon-

nections between international institutions and the Indian state have intensified. At the same time, civil society organizations and NGOs have mushroomed and sought transnational alliances, finding new networks of support for social, human rights and environmental concerns. However, these two movements are not parallel and congruent. Nor has the national state become increasingly marginal, functioning only as a "nightwatchman," as early globalization theorists assumed that it would (Turner 2002). For states like India that possess a relatively strong national bourgeoisie, reforms can be implemented in a piecemeal fashion. At the same time, the government can capitalize on its perceived assaults by international organizations to render itself unaccountable to national citizens (Randeria 2003). The state can also play the "nationalist" card against movements from below that challenge the inequities associated with accumulation by dispossession, a process that Harvey describes as a practice through which resources, land, knowledge, and services that were formerly socially owned or controlled, become privatized and hence contribute to the creation of value (Harvey 2003:145-146).[2] In the process, civil society organizations have been increasingly circumscribed to an accommodative, rather than a transformative resistance. By accommodative resistance, I mean conscious resistance that results in an overall and long-term maintenance of existing power differences and class relations.

As is well-known, the major NGO that represented the rights of the Gujarat adivasis whose lands were being submerged was the Narmada Bachao Andolan, with Medha Patkar and later Arundhati Roy emerging as prominent spokespersons. This group arose through the amalgamation of several NGOs, including the Narmada Ghati Navnirman Samiti (NGNS, Committee for the Renewal of the Narmada Valley) based in Madhya Pradesh. The NGNS was established by Gandhian leaders who took a position of total opposition to the dam. In Gujarat, ARCH, later to be named ARCH-Vahini, focussed on acquiring adequate land for resettlees, and championing the rights of the many adivasis who did not possess written ownership records of lands they had been cultivating. In 1985, Medha Patkar visited the region and, appalled at the scale of displacement, founded the Narmada Charangrast Samiti (NCS), or the Narmada Oustees Association, which later evolved into the Narmada Bachao Andolan through the amalgamation of the NCS with the Gandhian organizations in Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. In conjunction with the Environmental Defense Fund of the U.S., whose president, Bruce Rich, toured the valley in 1986, the NBA became convinced by 1988 that adequate resettlement for the 250 000-odd peo-

ple to be displaced was not possible (Sangvai 2002:43). Thereafter, it broke its alliance with ARCH-Vahini. Instead, it advocated a no-dam policy that it has maintained, despite legal setbacks, until very recently.[3]

The NBA achieved many successes during its 16-year resistance to the Sardar Sarovar Dam, with the Narmada dams becoming the most highly-debated development issue in India. In 1993, in partnership with the Environmental Defence Fund and the International Rivers Network, the NBA was able to force the World Bank to withdraw its funding for the dam. It continued to use transnational linkages to achieve continued support for its cause, and in 1995 was successful in persuading the Indian Supreme Court to halt dam construction pending further review of the resettlement process. However, by the late 1990s, it became increasingly ineffective in translating its international support into local gains. By this time, debate on the dam within India tended to support the Gujarat government's position that irrigation from the dam was needed to relieve drought conditions in the western part of that state. The gradual wearing down of the NBA's resistance is an example of the changed relations between state and civil society that have emerged in the poststructural adjustment period.

For many observers, the failure of the NBA in Gujarat is not especially surprising. Gujarat state, after all, is the self-styled "laboratory" of Hindutva, a religious nationalist movement based on high-caste interpretations of Hindu scriptures, and a majority of its population has been staunch supporters of neo-liberal development policies. In recent decades, its rural propertied groups, dominated by a Patidar peasanty, have increasingly invested in trading companies, sugar-cane mills, and other businesses that have virtually fused rural with urban commercial interests (Desai 2004:119; Bremen 2003:28-29). The Patidar caste, a non-elite but dominant caste in the Gujarat countryside, emerged as the most powerful beneficiary of capitalist development in agriculture, spearheading the green revolution in that state and benefiting from post-Independence land reforms (Bremen 2003:30). Their increasing economic clout has been accompanied by an assertive political presence in both major political parties, the Congress and the Bharatiya Janata Party. In addition, they created the Khedut Samaj, or Farmers' Organization, to promote the interests of rich farmers in Gujarat and to control labour, much of it consisting of adivasi, or tribal labour in south and central Gujarat (Bremen 2003:29; Ruttan 1990:235).

Gujarat has therefore witnessed an increasing fusion between rural and urban propertied groups. These newly propertied classes have been dominated by the Patidar

peasantry for whom technological modernization had been their means of economic advancement over the past half century and for whom an aggressive Hindu identity has marked their most recent thrust into political prominence—an arena formerly dominated by urban elites (Desai 2004:123). The Patidar peasantry was especially appreciative of large-scale dams that promised to increase the irrigation potential of lands that were already slated for sugarcane expansion. Indeed, approximately 150 new sugar-cane mills had been constructed in the catchment areas near the irrigation canals from the Sardar Sarovar Project (SSP) in eastern Gujarat in anticipation of the increased irrigation that the dam would bring.

The neo-liberal turn that benefitted the Patidars and other propertied classes in Gujarat also led to a reorganization of state and civil society that I explore in four different moments. The first moment relates to frictions arising from new "civil society" organizations that emerged with the rise of Hindu majoritarian politics in the 1990s. Unwelcome visitors to my research trajectory, they nevertheless illustrate the changing role of civil society, as the state contracts out disciplinary functions of its political will to private organizations.

## First Moment: Civil Society as Repression

My research during the summer of 2001 focussed on those adivasis who received a second transfer of land after being dissatisfied with their initial compensation package offered by the government. Not surprisingly, given the polarized nature of the debate and the triumphalist reaction of the Gujarat government to the Supreme Court decision, difficulties and barriers punctuated my fieldwork. These included district officials hanging up on my telephone calls, police presence in and around submerging villages, checks by the District Collector of my passport, visa and letter of research permission, and the refusal of the Chief Conservator of Forests to allow me permission to enter the proposed Shoolpaneshwar Wildlife Sanctuary, citing reasons of national security and fears of infiltration by Pakistani "terrorists."[4] All these are state actions of the more mundane repressive variety that I expected as the quotidian complements of studying one of the most famous civil disobedience movements in South Asia.

Yet there were new elements of repression in the summer of 2001. These involved the cellular-like local mobilization against "foreign researchers and home-grown environmentalists" by paramilitary religious organizations in rural areas neighbouring the resettlement sites. While I experienced several disturbing personal incidents, a number of activists with the NBA suffered physical harassment from such groups. Indeed, it was suspected

that the December 1999 forcible entry of the NBA's Vado-
dra office, the destruction of documents and beating of
its staff had been organized by the Bajrang Dal. A simi-
lar beating was meted out to Rasik BhaiTadvi, an adivasi
activist still awaiting resettlement lands, in the spring of
2001. The Bajrang Dal was created as a militant youth
wing of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad during the Ram
Janma Bhoomi agitations[5] starting in the late 1980s. The
Bajrang Dal describes itself as a group of "warriors and
protectors of the Hindu nation," militantly policing the
body politic by expunging India of suspected anti-national
and anti-Hindu elements. In Gujarat in recent decades,
these "anti-national elements" have variously been defined
as Christian missionaries in hill areas, environmentalists,
social activists, Muslims, and vaguely-defined "foreign-
ers." Environmentalists opposed to the dam, adivasis who
supported the NBA, and others like myself were clearly
"matter out of place" for the Bajrang Dal. Simultaneously,
the definition of anti-national elements subsumed both
minorities and social activists, illustrating how neo-lib-
eral development policies and religious "fundamentalism"
often march arm-in-arm. It was also apparent that this
was a new political-cultural landscape in which the bound-
aries between civil society and the state, repression and
consent, were being redrawn, and in which some of the
"repressive" functions normally associated with the state
were being increasingly taken up by civil society groups.

The use of "civil society" organizations such as the
Bajrang Dal allowed the state to appear to be acting dem-
ocratically and "objectively," seemingly above contending
class interests. However, the neutrality of the state was
more apparent than real, as there are multiple connec-
tions within the Sangh Parivar, the self-styled "family" of
Hindutva associations; between their militant wings, such
as the Bajrang Dal, cultural organizations, such as the
Vishwa Hindu Parishad, and the more parliamentary and
gradualist wing of Hindutva, the Bhartiya Janata Political
party, which ruled Gujarat state between 1999 and 2001.
All, at various points, have supported the creation of a
Hindu nation, albeit one that is scientifically and techno-
logically developed (Subramanian 2003). All the organiza-
tions are connected in terms of ideology and personnel,
although using diverse means to realize this political proj-
ect. The mobilization of militant civil society groups in sup-
port of the dam, however, meant that threats of harass-
ment to activists could appear to emanate from civil society
itself, as part of the "popular will" of the Hindu majority.

## Second Moment: State as Consent

Since forms of repression partly emanated from Hindu
nationalist groups, the legislative and judicial arms of the

state could be seen as "above the fray"; mediating between
the contending interests that had been polarized by an
environment versus technology debate regarding the Sar-
dar Sarovar Dam. Through a sustained and well-financed
campaign that represented environmentalists as anti-
development and anti-national, the state was able to proj-
ect itself as ultimately determinant of the future liveli-
hoods of the displaced adivasis and of representing the
general interests of Gujaratis as a whole.

My earlier interviews in Chopadi, a submerging vil-
lage, in 1998-99 indicated that a majority of adivasis there
supported the NBA policies and strategies, although this
support was not universal or unequivocal. It was based
partly on the practical premise that the anti-dam policy
pressured the government to find new resettlement lands
after disappointment with the first lands allotted. A few
wished to withdraw further into the Rajpipla Hills, and
quite a number would accept any government settlement
that was favourable. Almost no one in Chopadi wished to
actively resist displacement by standing in the rising Nar-
mada waters each monsoon, a major tactic of the NBA's
satyagrahas[6] used further upriver in Maharashtra and
Madhya Pradesh. Yet in the summer of 1999, a year before
the Supreme Court's decision, I sensed a waning of my
hosts' enthusiasm for activist work. They told me how
tired they were of the controversy and believed, given the
inflexible position of both state and central governments,
that an increase in the dam's height was inevitable. Among
several of the younger men and women, there was bit-
terness that the most prominent NBA activists were
urban-based and possessed the requisite social and cul-
tural capital to be "heard" by the media, development
institutions and the state.

I did not understand the significance of these senti-
ments, nor how important the case of the submerging vil-
lage of Chopadi was to the public interest litigation filed
by the NBA at the time. When I returned to this sub-
merging village after the Supreme Court's decision
against the NBA, permanent approval to dam construc-
tion had been given, and some of the people petitioning the
state government for new resettlement sites had, in fact,
been awarded new lands in Gorai. My former host was
no longer there, but his younger brother told me that they
had left Chopadi after receiving a very good transfer of
resettlement land in Gorai. "What about you?" I asked. He
said, "I will never give in to the government." I was some-
what surprised by his response. A few days later, the son
of my former hosts arrived to accompany me to visit his
parents at Gorai. Arriving there, I was pleasantly sur-
prised to find a well-endowed village. A large storage tank
with water and taps with actual running water provided

drinking water to the hamlet, the village was electrified, and even had a children's playground replete with slides, swings and monkey bars. Fairly large houses had been constructed on the same pattern as the houses in the hill villages, with teak beams and doors, and an upper storey to house grains and provide extra space. A road linked the hamlet with the main approach road to a neighbouring town, and workmen were constructing drainage pipes along the roadside so that fields did not become waterlogged. All these features were promised in the Gujarat government's compensation package (Dreze et al. 1997), but had been lacking in resettlement sites I had previously visited.

I was both surprised and happy to learn that my host's son had now married, that Amnibhen's amoebic dysentery had been effectively treated, and that their younger children were in school. Their route from the original submerging village to Gorai had indeed been a long, rocky and twisting one. The 15 Tadvi families now residing there, in compliance with government resettlement plans, first moved from Chopadi to resettlement sites in Dediapada district in the early 1990s. Not only was the land in Dediapada un-irrigated because it did not fall under the Sardar Sarovar Project (SSP) catchment area, it was also barren, infertile or rocky. In addition, Vasawa oustees from the Karjan Dam were already residing there, working as agricultural labourers on lands originally owned by absentee Patidars that had been subsequently purchased by the state for redistribution to the SSP oustees. Hostilities between the Tadvi SSP oustees and the Vasawa Karjan resetlees led many Tadvis to fear for their personal safety. In 1995, en masse, and despite resistance from the Gujarat government and police, they left the Dediapada resettlement sites to return to their partially submerged villages. Despite partial flooding each monsoon, these villages still managed to provide more than adequate subsistence living (Whitehead 1999). Indeed, the self-sufficiency of the submerging villages was a source of pride and autonomy, and had enabled a 16-year resistance to the state, despite the state government's refusal to compromise on the dam's height. From Chopadi, they requested that the NBA take up their cases, using NBA logistical and media support to stage numerous *dharnas* (sit-ins) in Kevadia colony to press their demands for second resettlement sites. As active members in the NBA in the late 1990s, their names appeared on petitions to the Sardar Sarovar Project Nigam Limited and they had many stories of their participation in dharnas in front of the SSP offices in Kevadia Colony, the times they spent in jail, and their travels to Mumbai and Delhi. A six-month dharna in 1998 in Kevadia Colony, with supporting demonstrations in Delhi and Mumbai, resulted in about 40% of the returnees receiving new lands by the summer of 1999. However, about 60%, or the majority, were still awaiting new compensation packages and remained in the submerging villages, or had families divided between resettlement sites and submerging villages.

When I visited Gorai, I mistakenly assumed that the 15 families there were among those who, with the NBA's support, had finally been able to pressure the state to find new lands. The following day my cynicism returned. We visited Kranti Bhai's fields and I commented how large and fertile they seemed. He mentioned that ten households from Chopadi had received not only five acres, but more land, plus more cash compensation. Arjun Kaka Tadvi, one of the former adivasi spokesmen of the NBA, for example, had received ten acres of land. I asked how that could happen, when the Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal Award stipulated five acres as land compensation and there were people left in Chopadi without a second resettlement. Kranti Bhai said that they had had to give up their case in the Supreme Court in order to acquire their new lands. He later told me that Chunnibhai Vaidya, a prominent pro-dam activist, convinced many adivasi spokespeople of the NBA in Gujarat that the anti-dam policy was futile. If they publicly withdrew their cases from the Supreme Court, they would receive new lands and cash compensation. This resulted in a rift in Chopadi, with one group, those who were still without new lands, opting to stay with the NBA and remain there despite threatened submergence. Several families had also moved further inland. Those receiving new lands left both the village and the organization. The two sides, and even families, were bitterly divided in 2001, as shown in the statement by Kranti Bhai's younger brother. NBA activists in Baroda believed that this event caused the collapse of the Gujarat Visthapit Sangharsh Samiti, the organization of Narmada oustees created by the NBA, and constituted a crucial loss of NBA's support in Gujarat's resettlement sites and submerging villages. It also meant that the Supreme Court case lost much of its legitimacy, since it was the experiences of those returning from resettlement sites in Dediapada district to submerging villages that constituted its strongest evidence. Indeed, urban activists and the adivasi "capitulators" were not on speaking terms in the summer of 2001.

The conclusion drawn by the NBA was that the "tribal" leadership weakened at a crucial moment when the legal stakes were highest. If Chopadi had remained united, they believed, all would have eventually received new lands. However, I believe that the people of Chopadi had been "broken" before this event occurred. They had

endured 16 years of broken promises, inadequate resettlement, migration to cities, and returns to submerging villages. The lives of the younger generation had been framed by this controversy: both their education and their marriages had been disrupted, as few wished to marry into families with no landholdings. They also had little hope that the courts would decide in their favour. In Gorai, Kranti Bhai told me that he felt that resistance meant a slow suicide, and he had his children to think about, while many urban activists did not. He felt that the NBA was fighting a losing battle, and was persuading adivasis to take up tactics—for example, an anti-dam stance—that were not totally of their own choosing. In choosing compromise with the state over continued resistance to dam construction, he and other Gorai resettlees emerged from a sixteen-year struggle as rural middle peasants rather than as *de facto* landless labourers.

Here, the state, working with pro-dam civil society organizations, positioned itself as benefactor to the beleagured adivasis and mediator in a polarized debate that was framed in terms of "environmental unsustainability of large dams" versus "the needs of national development." The Gujarat government recognized that adivasis experienced and understood the central issue to be land hunger and not the environmental problems associated with large dams. Through a sustained and well-financed campaign, it was also able to simplify the NBA's opposition to large dams as entirely anti-development and, by metaphoric extension, anti-national as well.[7] In addition, the SSP was equated with Gujarati *asmita* (pride), while Medha Patkar was linked to the interests of Maharashtrians. Successfully dividing an already demoralized population, the government was able to manipulate issues of livelihood security to persuade an important section of adivasi leaders to leave the NBA. Yet the phrase "already demoralized and fragmented population" points to deeper questions about the apparent willingness of an entire section of the local adivasi leadership to be so persuaded after nearly two decades of resistance.

## Third Moment: Identities and the Politics of Representation

The Narmada movement originated from critical analyses by middle class, urban activists of the "destructive effects" of globalization, offering cultural critiques of development, largely influenced by Gandhian thought (Nandy 2003:165).[8] In place of large dams, the NBA has created an alternative development paradigm that values small-scale and labour-intensive technologies, a non-consumerist lifestyle, and ecologically sustainable development (Sangvai 2002:92). While it incorporates elements of environmentalism, socialism, communitarianism, unorthodox Marxism, and Gandhian thought, the Gandhian elements remain prominent:

> The new ideology has integrated the political and ethical aspects of life, ranging from the global politico-economic analysis of issues to the criteria of lifestyles...The emphasis is on the holistic and contextualised perceptions and conceptions of reality as against a decontextualised and fragmented analysis. [Sangvai 2002:95]

Politically, their alternative development paradigm stresses decentralized decision-making, and self-governing villages, encapsulated in the slogan, "*humara gaon, humara raj*" (our village, our rule). Further, it is derived from an appreciation of local knowledge bases and a critique of modernist scientism. In the words of one of the most articulate spokespersons of this view, "development came into the southern world as an analogue of science and colonialism." Hence, "a cultural critique of development reverses its priorities in order to privilege existing cultural traditions" (Nandy 2003:164). Hence, the NBA views itself as having "digested post-modernist and deconstructionist ideas and politics," positioning itself as a post-development alternative to science and large-scale technological change (Sangvai 2002:95).

Despite its espousal of participatory politics and consensual decision-making, an unfortunate aspect of the movement is that its primary spokespeople have been urban-based, middle class activists. It is generally urban activists who have organized and led demonstrations, given press interviews, negotiated with the World Bank, state, Indian and other governments, attended international seminars and conferences, and networked with international environmental organizations. Adivasis, in this struggle for their lands and livelihoods, did not largely represent themselves, they were represented.

The everyday practices through which a middle class group organized, managed, and controlled media images of adivasis continued a longstanding pattern of distinction between the hill communities and the rest of India that dates to the early colonial period. As intermediaries between the adivasis and the wider world, urban activists often came from middle class backgrounds and were fluent in English, Hindi and local languages, unlike many Tadvi and Vasawa adivasis who were facing submergence. They also understood urban worldviews, often laced with romantic images of honest and simple "tribal" peoples, through which public discourse about and for adivasis was interpreted both nationally and internationally.[9]

This representation sometimes involved appeals to dominant groups' perceptions of adivasis as "ecologically

noble primitives" (Conklin 1995), who lived in self-sustaining communities that were "naturally" conservationist. Throughout the 1990s, the vocabulary of the movement as well as the timing of local actions was increasingly dictated by the demands of the global arena and its transnational constituency because the international campaign involved lobbying northern governments, especially the U.S. Congress, against supporting the World Bank's support for the SSP. Mobilization came to be focussed on an anti-dam policy that conformed to a Western environmental discourse that had transnational legitimacy, while the issue of compensation and land rights became secondary (Sen 1999). The image of "naturally conservationist" small-scale communities that were being destroyed by large-scale technologies had an obvious appeal for such a constituency.

I will give some examples of this imagery in action. During the Rally for the Valley in the summer of 1999 to protest an interim decision by the Supreme Court, the arrival of noted writer and activist Arundhati Roy was attended by hundreds of journalists from both India and abroad. All these had to be accommodated in the tiny hamlets of Jalsindhi and Domkhedi, in Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. For the first time since visiting the Narmada Valley, I saw groups of male adivasis attired in "traditional" *lungis*[10] and turbans—some playing long flutes—ready for the photographers. When I happened to step beside a group playing music, an irate journalist asked me to step aside, since I was spoiling his photograph of "authentic" adivasi culture.

At another point, Luhariya Bhai, a local activist from Jalsindhi, was presented to journalists as one of the victims of submergence, perhaps in an effort to promote local voices. In the ensuing interaction, however, the same imagery emerged. Luhariya Bhai recounted for national and international journalists what living in the valley meant for his family. He listed the crops he was able to grow, including *makkai, tuer, danger* and *chillis*,[11] discussed how silting from the submergence area ruined his crops, and outlined his cultivation practices, ending by stating that almost everything he needed to survive was found in Jalsindhi. The English translation by the urban activist for the journalists, however, was that the adivasis received everything they needed *from the forest*, as if they were hunter-gatherers who did not engage in cultivation. The tendency to exaggerate the primitivism and subsistence-orientation of hill communities was evident in other conversations I had with NBA activists. For example, when I mentioned to an NBA worker that my hosts in Chopadi were astute about the value of Japanese consumer electronics, her reply was that Chopadi was not a

"real" adivasi village because the resettlement process had "ruined them." At another point, I mentioned that there had been several recent divorces in Chopadi. This, too, was seen as a deviation from a pure adivasi norm, caused by "destructive modernizing influences" and not a reflection of distinctive gender norms of the hill communities. So, too, was the existence of drinking in Chopadi. Rather than being seen as characteristic of a specific hill culture that had a long history of alcohol consumption, it was interpreted as resulting from the stress of resettlement. In these examples, an isolated and non-commercialized "authentic" tribal community was juxtaposed to modernized and corrupted "tribes" of today. Conversely, behaviour that did not conform to this norm was attributed to outside influences while modernity became an overarching signifier of destruction.

An additional factor in the projection of adivasis as "naturally conservationist" may derive from the anti-consumerist ideology and life-style of the urban-based activists that derives from their Gandhian training and orientation. This includes not only a distinctive political philosophy of militant, non-violent civil disobedience, but also a cultural ethos based on satyagraha (truth-seeking), and a non-consumerist lifestyle. Indeed, I often observed and admired the habitus of the activists, their forms of dress and address, their sense of sacrifice and service, and their voluntary poverty that matched lives with ideals. Yet I also noted that this contrasted with the pragmatism that many adivasis in Chopadi expressed. "If we thought we could be film stars and live in Juhu, then of course we would move to Bombay. But there is nothing there for us. Without our land, we are nothing," was a sentiment I heard expressed in different ways and at different times during my stays in submerging villages.

Indeed, whether through their new contacts with the outside world or not, many Tadvis of Chopadi often struck me as rejecting what they viewed as the more austere lifestyle of the Gandhians. This was expressed not only through an astute appreciation of consumer goods, but more significantly through gendered idioms that explicitly rejected caste forms of moral regulation: they accepted divorce and second (love) marriages, expressed distaste for caste distinctions, and preferred bridewealth to dowry, which many women especially saw as signalling the higher status and greater autonomy of adivasi women. At one point, they referred to me jokingly as a *pukka* or pure Gandhian, because I did not drink alcohol. These different forms of habitus encoded distinctions that resonated with caste forms and norms, with the upper-caste reticence and propriety of the Gandhians contrasting with the relatively more autonomous lifestyle of the hill com-

munities. The "differences" from upper-caste propriety that marked the hill communities, however, were sometimes understood by many urban activists through a trope of corrupting modernization.

The different subjectivities, philosophies and ethos of urban activists and adivasis produced a potential gap between them of which the state was not unaware. The symbolic representation of adivasis as (presumed) outsiders to capitalist corruption contradicted Chopadiites own pragmatic evaluations of the limited political and economic options they faced. Their marginality to an emerging capitalist order was not a matter of choice but of necessity, and they understood that without land and resource control, their probable fate was proletarianization and poverty. Tensions and contradictions arose when adivasi assertions for land and survival conflicted with the image of a self-sustaining, low-technology community that lived in harmony with the forest.

Indeed, I believe that just such a disjuncture emerged between the ideals of the urban activists and the practical perceptions of many Chopadiites themselves. Unbeknownst to the urban activists, a mounting sense of futility concerning the long drawn-out legal battle with the government was wearing down many of the local adivasi leaders. In addition, the lack of organic leadership of the movement contributed to a growing sense of disillusionment among educated youth. A young man from Gadher, who claimed to have a B.Sc., was upset that he was not treated as an educated activist by the NBA and was not used by them in various media campaigns. This complaint was reiterated by a number of young, educated men I spoke to in 1999, including my research assistant, who often did not like to visit the NBA office in Vadodara because he felt ignored there.

These younger people were aware of the fact that the urban activists had attained international fame, while they had at most travelled to Delhi and Mumbai as examples of "victims of development." Some of the younger men and women thought that the NBA should have taught them English, so that they too could communicate with the media and represent their cause nationally and internationally. They were also aware of the Adi Jati Vikas Party, led by Chhotubhai Vasawa of Vagodhia, which had been championing the creation of autonomous tribal councils in Gujarat since 1993 (Joshi 2005). The perhaps unwitting representation of adivasis as noble primitives unaware of modernity did not fit the aspirations or perceptions of a sizeable section of younger people who had grown up under the shadow of the resettlement process, were articulate about the political and economic forces shaping their lives, and wanted a greater say in the direc-

tion of the NBA's strategies. The differences between the environmentalist discourse based on sustainable, low-technology communities and an adivasi rights discourse focussed on resource control was neither as explicit nor openly oppositional as reported in Madhya Pradesh (Baviskar 1995:188-191, 2003:290, 308). But in Gujarat, too, these differences pervaded the asymmetric interactions between urban activists and adivasis like a submerged undercurrent, eventually contributing to the Gujarat adivasi leaders' "betrayal" of the NBA's legal cause.[12]

## Environmental Discourse and the Politics of Land

When the NBA decided in 1988 to oppose dam construction, on the grounds that they believed adequate compensation for oustees was impossible, they subtly shifted the terms of debate from a concern with land rights and just compensation to one focussed on environmentally sustainable development. In so doing, the organization also shifted the framework of analysis from the underlying social relations of capital, value and labour, to a thing, the dam, which itself became imbued with the powers to radically alter the fate of the adivasis.

Several effects followed from this particular shift in discourse. The first was that adivasis sometimes felt alienated from the technical discourse surrounding dams and their environmental destructiveness, such as the length of canals, salination and seepage from canals and rates of evaporation of water as it travelled to Saurashtra and Kutch. Residents of Chopadi sometimes stated apologetically that they had no real knowledge about how destructive the dam was to the environment, but they knew a great deal about farming in the forest. The requirement for technical "expert" knowledge in wider fora regarding dams and their "effects," produced a potential division of labour between activists and adivasis that could be difficult to surmount and tended to increasingly privilege the voices of educated, middle-class activists.

The second major effect of this shift in discourse was that ecological concerns tended to take precedence over issues of land ownership, resource and territorial control. Protests among displaced communities focussed on land titles and just resettlement and rehabilitation, but the transnational discourse on dams tended to emphasize their ecological destructiveness. This is not to state that the NBA ignored the issue of land resettlement, far from it. However, the question of inadequate resettlement seemed at times to become a means rather than an end—a way to prove how destructive large dams, in fact, were.

The anti-dam stance also fell prey to the error of commodity fetishism. While large dams are examples of surplus value congealed in the form of a thing, they are the product of underlying social relations, social processes and social policies that produce power differentials and class relations between people. To argue otherwise is to imbue the products of labour with the capacity of ruling over their producers, while social relations that produce congealed forms of labour in the form of a dam become epiphenomenal, an outgrowth of the technology. From my interviews in submerging villages, however, the issue of territorial rights and resource control remained dominant for adivasis and structured their political choices. While most in Chopadi ideally preferred to stay there provided the dam's height was lowered and they were awarded secure forms of land possession, the second choice was to accept a government settlement provided it is was a good one. Nor were they in principle opposed to technological change, as long as they had more control over the process. Their main, justified fear was of becoming landless proletarians in the global marketplace. Hence, while the anti-technology critique of neo-Gandhianism might link the consumerist refusal by middle class activists to the subsistence-orientation of small-scale producers, it did not encompass those who were already facing proletarianization, nor those who wished to engage in "development," but from a more favourable landed position.

As many writers have noted, the environmental degradation of land, water, and forests in India is simultaneously a class issue (Jodha 1986; Iyengar 2002). This is because accumulation by dispossession in India disproportionately affects adivasis and the rural poor who have historically relied on common property resources to a greater extent than the rest of the population. Although the NBA did not ignore the land issue, the transnational focus on ecological protest changed priorities somewhat, inverting the relations between technology, social relations and capital accumulation. In understanding the effects of large-scale technologies on small scale communities, it is important to note that transnational organizations, urban activists and adivasis entered this struggle with somewhat different goals and critiques in mind, and the stakes for the adivasis were much higher because they involved questions of land dispossession and eventual proletarianization and poverty.

## Fourth Moment: Changing Parameters of State, Civil Society and Resistance

The movements to oppose large dams in India arose during a transition in modes of regulation between the 1980s and 1990s. In India, this change from Fordism to flexible accumulation involved policy changes that included the dismantling of the Nehruvian developmental project that combined import substitution policies, capitalist accumulation and industrialization with legitimation policies. The legitimation policies of state planning involved, according to Chakraborty, "social measures to avoid the unnecessary rigours of (primitive) accumulation...for the masses resident in India's villages," enshrined in the Planning Commission and its policy documents (Chatterjee 1997:283). These ameliorative policies were important parts of the welfarist rhetoric of the Congress Party that held power in India for most of the fifty years following Independence in 1947.[13] Following a balance of payments crisis in July 1991, the now familiar neoliberal economic prescriptions began to be applied to Indian economic policy by the World Bank and IMF, policies welcomed by an important section of Indian industrialists. These policies involved subtle shifts in the developmentalist rhetoric of the state. Neo-liberal development paradigms relied on the market to create growth, extolled individual autonomy and private property, and were basically anti-statist, seeing the state as creating imperfections in factor markets. Hence, the welfarist rhetoric and those state policies that "ameliorated the rigours of accumulation" were largely jettisoned, while the state was reshaped into an organization aimed at attracting capital investment, both domestic and foreign. In addition, neo-liberal policy makers promoted non-governmental and civil-society organizations in the place of the state to create a "social cushion" for those hardest hit by the shock therapies of neo-liberalism. As the welfare functions of the state were rolled back, it was assumed that civil society organizations could take up their roles:

> NGOs were considered (by the IFIs) to be a better conduit for the distribution of multilateral and bilateral aid, for the dissemination of new ideas and concepts, and as a means to foster local participation and greater democracy in order to improve civil society. [Zaidi 2000:204]

The failure of the NBA to halt construction of the dam ultimately raises questions concerning the role of autonomous organizations trying to resist both a "cunning national state" and supra-state institutions that have emerged in the wake of liberalization (Randeria 2003). Are such organizations really offering alternative forms of resistance? Kamat, for example, has analyzed the processes through which an NGO that politicized bonded labourers in Maharashtra became absorbed into the consensual wing of neo-liberal governance through adopting a developmental project. This project gradually over-

shadowed its politicizing role, and was ultimately disempowering for those it claimed to represent (Kamat 2001). Her argument is that many NGOs are in danger of being absorbed into the apparatus of consent. Are even overtly resistance organizations such as the NBA being positioned as part of the apparatus of consent by providing the human rights voice that national states are abrogating in their drive to promote international and domestic investment?

The NBA has utilized Gandhian methods, tending to favour legal challenges to the state alongside dramatic civil disobedience campaigns. This litigation undoubtedly pressured the state to find some new lands for resettlement. However, to depend on the law to challenge state policy leaves an entire set of questions unanswered and even unasked. This is because legal challenges were framed within the parameters of the 1979 Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal Award, which stipulated that five acres of land would be given to every male household head in compensation for land submerged (Dreze et al. 1997). The NBA's case was based on the premise that the state failed to live up to the promises of this Award. The protests of the NBA, and its public interest litigation, were therefore mainly against the excesses of the state, while the state's continuing dispossession of adivasi lands for "national development" was allowed to retain an overall patina of legitimate authority. Hence, they tended to accept "one of the key sources of contemporary power—private ownership of the means of production—[which was] ostensibly depoliticized (and naturalized), i.e. treated as if it were not a proper subject of politics" (Kamat 2001:72).

Despite its success in articulating the plight of the dispossessed in the Narmada Valley, the philosophy underlying neo-Gandhian resistance does not provide a critical understanding of accumulation by dispossession and its relation to large-scale dams and other capital-intensive technologies. This is because it does not frame accumulation within capitalist reproduction, but sees it as an outgrowth of technological development driven by excessive consumption. It therefore tends to equate "development" with "consumerist greed," and to espouse small-scale technologies and anti-consumerism as the answer. In Gramscian terms, neo-Gandhian critique achieves its identity mainly through a series of negations of neo-liberal policies and cultural values, rather than through understanding the underlying forms of capital accumulation that drive the expansion of neoliberal policies and state forms. It therefore fragments issues on the basis of the destructiveness of a particular technology, rather than providing a common basis of critique for all those facing the accumulation of their lands, forests, water and other common resources.

The anti-dam stance of the NBA had several unfortunate effects in Gujarat. First, the focus on dams alone had the effect of dividing various marginalized groups from different regions within the state. As was well understood by the state government, farmers and graziers in Kutch and Saurashtra were suffering from drought conditions caused partly by declining groundwater levels due to increased tube-well use by large farmers, itself a product of agricultural capitalization. Like the adivasis of the eastern belt, these populations, some of whom were adivasis, had rather large portions of common property lands and resources that were gradually being appropriated by large farmers (Iyengar 2002, Jani 2002). Yet various Gujarat governments, led by both the Congress and the Bharatiya Janata Party throughout the1990s, were successfully able to divide adivasis, the rural landless, and poor peasants of eastern and western Gujarat on this issue. They portrayed environmentalists as opposing the needs of drought-prone Kutch and Saurashtra—arguments which the NBA seemed largely unable to counteract. Second, large sections of Gujarat's population believed that the NBA's advocacy of small-scale technologies and anti-consumerism was an unrealistic and utopian response to globalization. Small-scale alternatives that the NBA suggested to alleviate the drought situation, such as watershed management, check dams, and local groundwater and rainwater harvesting, were largely met with either ridicule or silence in Gujarat itself.

By focussing on an effect rather than the underlying cause of accumulation, the anti-technology stance of neo-Gandhianism eventually became like the ritualized rebellions against the king described by Max Gluckman (2004:112). These rebellions allowed commoners to express their discontent and displeasure at particular kings, reversing roles and ideologies in a mirror-image binary form. However, they did not alter the structure of kingship itself. Both neo-Gandhian protests and rebellions against the king fulfill the rôle of accommodative resistance. They both enable expressions of discontent over specific policies, while inverting the dominant discourse in the process. However, they do not critique the underlying structure of accumulation or processes of class formation, allowing these to remain institutionally unchallenged.

Analyzed in global terms, resistance NGOs may now function as the major—and sometimes the only—agents raising human rights issues in partly global and partly national forms of shared sovereignty, demanding that the state, the IMF, and the World Bank respect principles of formal equality of citizens while pursuing capital accumulation. They occupy what can be termed a "human

rights" slot in an overall regime of neo-liberal governance that includes both national and supra-national actors. But they have not as yet challenged the separation between state and economy, nor have they challenged the process of accumulation by dispossession upon which such a separation depends. Hence, they have not been able to broaden their analytical stance sufficiently to enable all those affected by accumulation by dispossession to find a common voice and organizational platform.[14]

Indeed, one of my Tadvi interlocutors viewed his participation in the NBA in just this way: when I asked Kranti Bhai why he had finally received five acres of land while his youngest brother had not, he replied that he had been much more prominent in the anti-dam movement than his younger brother. He had worked hard for 16 years by participating in dharnas and marches, by organizing people to return to the submerging village and by arguing with district and resettlement authorities over issues related to the allotment of lands. Thus, his name came to the attention of the government, and knowing of his persistence, they had singled him out in the summer of 2000 to offer him land in Gorai. For him, joining the NBA was a means to pressure the state to live up to its promises and respect the Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal Award. One might conclude that the subaltern voices of those adivasis who betrayed a cause that represented them but did not empower them to direct its trajectory, had finally found a space within the political, symbolic and economic "enclosures" that framed them.

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## Notes

1 *Adivasis* can be translated loosely as "aboriginal people" and is a term that is applied to approximately 8% of India's population who mainly practice subsistence agriculture, slash and burn farming, hunting and gathering, or some combination of the three. The term "scheduled tribes" is the official designation of this population, while the term adivasi arose as a result of a movement for "tribal" self-assertion in Chattisgarh in the 1940s. Since most of the people I worked with chose the term adivasi, I also use that

term. The major adivasi groups that were to be displaced by the Sardar Sarovar Project in Gujarat also self-identified as Tadvi and Vasawa, names that were related to wide descent groups and constituted the sense of a separate, endogamous community.

2 Harvey thus updates and extends Marx's concept of "primitive accumulation": a process of dispossession that produces capital on the one side, and labourers on the other (Marx 1973:176). Harvey argues persuasively that periods of capitalist crises, for example, the crisis of Fordism, engender new rounds of "primitive accumulation," as services, territories and knowledge that had been socially owned become privatized and thus contribute to the creation of new "value" and "surplus-value." These recurring processes he refers to as "accumulation by dispossession," since they occur periodically, rather than just at the beginning of capitalist production. I have argued elsewhere that dams, through divesting control over water and lands from communities to the state and private companies, are a highly effective force of production that produces massive forms of accumulation by dispossession (Whitehead 2002).

3 The NBA has recently changed its no-dam policy, arguing that this is no longer a feasible alternative, and has taken up the cause of the land rights of oustees in Madhya Pradesh, where the majority of the resettlees reside. Indeed, it seems to have garnered national support for this position recently (see Frontline, April 22-May 5, 2006, http://www.hinduonnet.com/fline/stories/20060505003912000.htm).

4 The latter incident may not seem especially surprising in terms of present-day security concerns. However, it occurred two months before 9/11.

5 The Ram Janma Bhoomi agitations were a movement to demolish a Muslim temple in northeastern India, and build a Ram temple there. The spot was located in Ayodhya, and was believed to be the birthplace of Ram, a major Hindu deity. The agitations in 1991-92 led to widespread "communal" violence between Hindus and Muslims throughout India, with the minority Muslim community being targeted for organized attacks. Vishwa Hindu Parishad is the cultural organization of the Sangh Pariwar, the militant Hindu set of organizations that wishes to create a Hindu nation and state.

6 *Satyagraha* literally means "truth-force" and refers to civil disobedience that expresses the perceived "truth" of one's position and perception, even in the face of extreme repression.

7 Since the postcolonial state defined itself as a developmentalist one, this metaphoric extension between anti-developmentalism and anti-nationalism was fairly easy to create and disseminate.

8 Nandy, at some points, seems to equate science, colonialism and development, so that a cultural critique of development becomes defined as a reverse mirror-image of mainstream development thinking (see Nandy 2003:151-170).

9 Indeed, the image of traditional, environmentally sustainable tribal communities resisting destructive development policies had been a potent image for transnational environmental campaigns supported by U.S.-based environmental organizations such as the Environmental Defence

Fund, a key international ally of the NBA, who pioneered this alliance in the Amazon.

10  Lungis consist of strips of embroidered, cotton cloth that are wrapped around the body several times.

11  Makkai is a form of maize; tuer is a lentil; danger is an "inferior" form of rice; and chillis are spices.

12  There is some evidence that the split between the NBA and tribal rights movements in Gujarat has become much more explicit, as Chhottubhai Vasawa has told his followers to have nothing to do with the NBA (Joshi 2005: personal communication).

13  Indeed, many of the earlier critiques of the Congress Party prior to liberalization were based on the state's inability to offer more than rhetoric as an amelioration of poverty because its power rested on a series of alliances with powerful rural elements that were gradually incorporated into the state apparatus through a passive revolution (see Kaviraj 1997).

14  The NBA is part of a wider alliance in India, the National Association of People's Movements. However, this alliance does not include major trade unions or peasant organizations in India and hence its relative political clout is still rather weak.

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# Memorializing the Holocaust in Israel: Diasporic Encounters

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**Abstract:** In this paper, I explore interpretations of Israeli museum representations of the Holocaust that prevail among diasporic Jews. I address such questions as how the Holocaust, an event that so marks Jewish contemporary history and identity, is represented in a Jewish state. To what does the movement from the sites of the Holocaust in Europe to the site of its memorialization in Israel gesture? What do diasporic Jews tell us of their visits to these sites of memorialization? I also address the significance of shifting the sites of memorialization from their geographical and historical sites. The perspective on public history used in this paper is concerned with the orientation and set of conceptual balancing acts adopted and applied when reading, interpreting or experiencing forms of public history. It is also focussed on diasporic identifications with a nationalist public and state history. Its reflexive orientation suggests that particularistic and universalistic (or cosmopolitan) histories and interpretations of the Holocaust are possible and even reconcilable.

**Keywords:** diaspora, Holocaust, identity, Israel, Jews, memorialization, museums, public history

**Résumé :** Dans cet article, j'explore les interprétations dominantes que font les Juifs de la diaspora des représentations de l'Holocauste dans les musées israéliens. Je m'intéresse notamment à la façon dont est représenté l'Holocauste dans l'État juif, événement qui a profondément marqué l'histoire et l'identité juives contemporaines. Que nous indique le déplacement des sites de l'Holocauste en Europe vers les sites de commémoration en Israël? Que disent les Juifs de la diaspora de leurs visites sur ces lieux de commémoration? Je me penche également sur ce que signifie le déplacement géographique et historique de ces lieux de commémoration. Le présent article adopte une approche de l'histoire publique qui s'attache à cerner l'orientation et l'ensemble des actes de mise en équilibre des concepts choisis et appliqués lorsque des formes de l'histoire publique sont lues, interprétées et ressenties. L'article focalise également sur les façons dont la diaspora s'identifie à une histoire étatique, publique et nationaliste. Par son point de vue réflexif, cet article suggère qu'une pluralité d'histoires et d'interprétations de l'Holocauste, qu'elles soient particulières ou universelles (ou cosmopolites), sont envisageables et même conciliables.

**Mots-clés :** diaspora, Holocauste, identité, Israël, Juifs, commémoration, musées, histoire publique

As new historiographic approaches have emerged in discussions that integrate Holocaust[1] history with cultural theory, scholars have come to recognize the importance of approaching the "facts" of history by considering questions that focus on the narrative structure in the ways those "facts" are presented as well as the aesthetics and ethics of representing the facts themselves (Barthes 1972; Lang 2000, 2005; Langer 1991; Lewis 1975; Novick 1988; White 1987). A recurring debate in the literature focuses on the dominant historiographic conventions that should be used in representations of the past (Lowenthal 1984; Novick 1988, 1999; White 1987). On one side of the debate there is the view that classical narrative history should be used. On the other side, there is the view that all historical narratives are situated histories, presenting certain interests and thus only partial versions of the past. In anthropology, this larger debate was prompted by Hobsbawm and Ranger's 1983 work, *The Invention of Tradition*. In the case of the history of the Holocaust and Holocaust studies, with few exceptions (e.g., Spiegelman 1973, 1986), literature on the Holocaust has largely remained situated within the established canon of classical narrative history (e.g., Browning 1992; Hilberg 2003; Maier 1997; Marrus 1987). I will argue here that a history and ethnography of the Holocaust should undertake more than an examination of texts in historical context. My argument is that historical understandings of the Holocaust and their texts surface out of a field of conflicting discourses that requires complex intra-textual and trans-textual "readings" or interpretations (Bruner and Gorfain 1984; de Certeau 1984, 1986).

In this paper, I explore diasporic Jews' interpretations of Israeli museum representations of the Holocaust. The essay emerges from a much larger ethnographic study in which I explore what I describe as "diasporic nationalism": the practices and ideals of North American Jews who form cultural and political attachments and identifications to Israel (Habib 2000, 2004[2]). In under-

taking research for the larger study, I participated in tours throughout the State of Israel that were organized by a number of Jewish organizations. For the purposes of this paper, I will confine my discussion to an examination of visits to sites where the Holocaust was memorialized. The sites include *Yad Vashem* and the Museum of the Diaspora, where we were exposed to Israeli state-derived representations of the past. Following de Certeau (1984, 1986), I suggest that popular representations of history acquire new significance as the ground upon which our cultural geographies, memories and histories are formulated, articulated, negotiated and lived. At these sites I examine the narratives that are produced as well as their audience's receptions. Several key questions are raised by these visits and will be addressed. First, they raise the question of how an event that so marks Jewish contemporary history and identity is represented to a diasporic audience by a political entity officially defined as a Jewish state. Second, the visits raise the question of the implications of shifting the sites of memorialization from historical sites of the Holocaust in Europe to another site, to Israel. Another question raised by these visits is what do diasporic Jews tell us of their visits to these sites? My primary purpose in this paper is not to *compare* the practices of Holocaust memorialization which has been done, for example, in the work of James Young (1993), though I do make a brief comparison in my conclusion. It is to focus on one specific case of the practice of memorialization among diasporic Jews on tours in Israel. More than any other historical event commemorated in Israel, the Holocaust is represented as that last moment before the Jews would rise again. It is the moment when the Jews relinquished their impotence only to rise from the ashes to proceed into a sovereign and empowered future. More than any other theme, the enduring quality of the Jews' hope for—and recognition of—return to their place in Israel is recognized and memorialized at these sites (Young 1993). I argue that an exploration of reception at such sites will provide the context for understanding some of the many prisms through which diasporic attachments as national histories and identities are refracted and embodied by participants. Before turning to the narratives, I begin with some comments on public history and memorialization.

## Public History and Memorialization

In the analyses of official and public history, there appears the resolve to separate the public from the private, the facts of the event from its memorialization and the private, or individual, experiences of these events. Public history and state memorialization are understood to be practices conducive to making spaces and events into moments of collective significance (Boyarin 1994b; Handelman 1990; Mahler 1997; Young 1993; Zerubavel 1995a, 1995b). The perspective on public history depicted in this paper is not specifically concerned with representational style or aesthetic ideology. It is concerned with an orientation and set of conceptual balancing acts adopted and applied when reading, interpreting or experiencing forms of public history. Furthermore, it is concerned with presenting more than a discussion of the personal experience of memorializing (a) collective past(s). It in fact problematizes diasporic *identifications* with a nationalist public and state history. The reflexive orientation of the analytical framework used suggests that particularistic and universalistic (or cosmopolitan) histories and interpretations of the Holocaust are possible and even reconcilable, despite a range of arguments in scholarly journals that continue to insist on their distinctiveness (see especially the debates on functionalism and particularism).[3]

The definitions and experiences of what I will call here "memory–history" are somewhere between the public and private aspects of one's life. Memory–history derives from networks of associations within communities and culture, many of which are formal as well as informal.[4] While the term "history" is usually associated with elite versions of the past, public or popular memorializations of history are cast somewhere in the middle—between formal history and collective memory. Tension appears to exist between the event as such and the memorialization of the event—*the popular representation* of that history—which, in turn, may be distinct from the more intimate and personal reflections of a lived past or personal memory of an event or, as in the following examples, personal experiences of memorialized events.

Considerable debate exists around the specific relationship of history to power in the engagement and writing of popular history. For some, popular history consists primarily of statist inventions (e.g., Ben-Yehuda 1995; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Zerubavel 1995a, 1995b) with public commemorations invented by elites who want to celebrate their own self-glorifying versions of history. While others, such as Handelman (1990) and Karp and Lavine (1991), take a more transactional and dialogical or dialectical form, following either a deconstructive–Derridean–Foucauldian or a Gramscian approach. Still, most analyses are "top-down."

Following Bruner and Gorfain's dialogical account of their visit to Masada (1984), my approach is informed by an interpretive and ethnographic method. It seeks the meaning that visitors to such sites have given to past events and their place in present practices, rather than

focussing on "false" origins or "authorship." Employing these interpretive strategies moves my discussion away from what it is that tour participants believe to be true to how they understand that truth to affect the present. I am less interested in establishing the objective or scientific fact about the Holocaust than attempting to discover its interpretive fluidity. In effect, this is an ethnographic reflection on the diasporic encounter with popular representations of the Holocaust and its memorialization. This then is memory–history and these reflections explore the "art-effects" of the past.

When history and memory are examined together, then, a dynamic emerges. Whereas history involves the interaction between civil society and the state, memory involves that experience that intersects the public and the private. Both are dynamic, in a state of a flux or tension. Memory depends on one's experiences of the past, the everyday and the familiar. This quality may, however, be extended to include something that is less personally familiar and present. Historic commemorations like war memorials could hardly be excluded from the realm of memory for veterans, their families and citizens of the state. Indeed, every national calendar is replete with examples of official holidays—Veteran's Day, Holocaust Memorial Day, Remembrance Day—when "private" observances are imbued with social and public import and infrastructure.

A central assertion in this essay is that productive opportunities for creating memory–history arise out of that conceptual divide created between structural and institutional power and the individual-in-community— one who recognizes and asserts her group affiliation. This creativity entails both knowing and interpreting the community's interests, including all of its inherent tensions. Implicit in this is that "good" or "effective" memorial spaces cannot be manufactured on demand, as it were, without attending to coinciding favourable social and political conditions (much as the elitist models suggest). However, I would argue against seeing elite social, political and cultural institutions that present authoritative accounts—such as museums—as separate, or indeed separable, from popular institutions and public culture. In their totality it may also be the case that these institutions do not represent a point of view about public identity as a whole.

At the same time, such spaces of commemoration become public places where history and memory or art-effects are experienced through the very social processes that convert space into place (de Certeau 1984; Massey 1994). In this way, history and memory as experienced in these spaces further reinforce particular personal as well

as communal interpretations of the meanings of the same event—especially when the place in which that moment is commemorated becomes as "historical" as the event itself.

Literature describing Holocaust Memorial sites presents the central characteristics of a given site and thus necessarily represents an "ideal" interpretation of that site (see esp. Hornstein, Levitt and Silberstein 2003; Young 1993). Along several dimensions, these interpretations reveal that the conceptual spaces defining memorial sites are not independent of one another. This is not necessarily a problem but it does tend to exclude any interpretive variability by presenting only the narratives correspondent to a uniquely ideal instance of memory or interpretation or, for that matter, official history. In this paper, I present the dynamism and interpretive tensions that exist rather than focus on the dominant or curator's interpretation. This is valuable as it moves us into and across conceptual dimensions. As others have argued before me, where history and memory intersect, interpretations change with time as do the interweaving processes by which a sense of place is produced socially (see Boyarin 1994a; Massey 1994).

While there has been a great deal of attention paid to memorial sites (Lilienthal 1997; Lowenthal 1984; Young 1993), less has been written about the narratives that are presented at such sites and the interpretations made by their visitors (Bruner and Gorfain 1984). This has narrowed the field of vision within which the analyses of these sites take form. Significantly, what is lost is an ethnographic analysis of the experience of visiting these sites. Moreover, the role of these findings is not so much that individuals and experiences of such places may differ from that intended by the memorial sites' designer, architect or curator, but that these ethnographic findings add depth to our understanding of them. The point is to indicate the degree to which the experience is a multidimensional phenomenon that takes place against a richer horizon that previously dominant models of interpretation have not acknowledged.

## Representing the Holocaust

The Holocaust has been described as an event so far beyond any ordinary experience, so heinous and so extreme in its outcome, as to have become unrepresentable (Flanzbaum 1999; Lang 2005; Lewin 1993). While it is argued that no narrative technique is adequate to express the horror, there seems a compulsion to testify to the horror as well as to commemorate the dead. As such, numerous books, articles, photo exhibits, films, museum exhibits and memorials make it perhaps the most represented historical event of the 20th century (Lilien-

thal 1997; Novick 1999). There is the impulse to remember and there is also the impulse to forget.

In my research, I found that all the guides and many of the tourists' interpretations of memorial sites emphasized the heroism of the Jews, and those non-Jews who risked their lives in order to assist them. The victimization and destruction of the Jews' communities in Europe were de-emphasized in favour of the Jews' heroism, their resistance, and their ultimate survival. As a nationalist gesture, this redemptive trope ties the foundation and legitimacy of the state of Israel to that "other"—European and Diasporic—moment in the history of the Jews (Boyarin 1994b; Habib 2000, 2004; Kimmerling 2001; Zerubavel 1995a).

*Yad Vashem*, or the Museum of the Holocaust and Heroism, was set up by a law of the Israeli Knesset in 1953, just five years after the founding of the State of Israel in 1948, and before the Kastner and Eichmann trials (Yablonka 2003). One tour guide described what Yad Vashem means as follows: "*Yad*...[in Hebrew] is hand. It is also a memorial....It comes from the prophet Isaiah and he simply said, 'I will put on my home, I will put on my cities, and walls, a place and a name that shall never be forsaken, that you should never forget.'"

The tour guide went on to describe the site this way:

Yad Vashem is called the Hill of Remembrance...To the north we have our defenders of the modern State of Israel. On the top is the tomb of the visionary [and founder of modern Zionism] Dr. Theodore Herzl. And to the south is the Yad Vashem. Memorial Hill is all one mountain. It's physically connected. It is symbolically connected...This is not a museum. We'll be making that distinction as we go through Yad Vashem before we have our ceremony at the Valley of the Destroyed Communities. Yad Vashem is our national memorial site for the Holocaust victims and Heroes. It is called the Museum of Holocaust and Heroism. Unlike many Holocaust museums that we have in Washington...Yad Vashem is a dynamic experience...The personal part, the personal connections to the Holocaust makes everything important. We can say 6 million, we can say 8 million, we can say 12 million [died]. The numbers are cold. They are things that are difficult to relate to.

Situated on Jerusalem's Mount Herzl, the complex is part of what is called Remembrance Hill, site of not only the museum of the Holocaust and Heroism but of Israel's National Cemetery. Associated with the Museum of the Holocaust and Heroism are the Avenue of the Righteous Gentiles, the Warsaw Ghetto Plaza, the Valley of the Destroyed Communities and the Children's Memorial. It is for this reason that Mount Herzl and Remembrance Hill are all "physically" and "symbolically connected," as the tour guide explained.

The presentations on the tours focussed on the heroism of those resisting the Nazis and the heroism of those who founded the state after the devastation of so many of their communities in Europe. Often it was implied that this celebration of heroism could only be appreciated in Israel, where Jews are the majority. As we stood along the path leading to the Warsaw Ghetto Plaza, one guide— an Israeli who in his twenties had emigrated to Israel from the United States—explained:

Unlike many Holocaust museums that we have in Washington, Los Angeles, Miami and maybe several in Canada, it has a different outlook.... It is the only place in the world where it is the Jewish people telling the story of what happened to the Jewish people from the Jewish standpoint. It is not a museum in a country where Jews are not the majority.

Implied here is that the museums of the Holocaust outside the state of Israel, in Washington, for example, are very much about the victimization of the Jews in Europe rather than a celebration of their survival and resistance. Our tour guide went on to say: "This is not a graveyard...This is a memorial made to respect the victims and honour the heroes....Poland [and Auschwitz in particular] is a cemetery and a graveyard."

In interpreting the sites for us, our guide emphasized not only the resistance by Jews and non-Jews during the Holocaust era, but the need for Israel, a nascent state in the 1950s, to create its own heroes (see also Liebman and Don-Yehiya 1983). For example, at the Warsaw Ghetto Plaza, a guide pointed to two frescoes set into a wall. He explained that one of the frescos, which sunk back into the wall, represented a "weak period" in the Jews' history:

Nothing really honourable about it. Their heads down and that was Israel of the 1950s. The survivors themselves, who were still in mental shock from everything they [had undergone], [and] the younger generation who didn't know anything about their parents from that time period, in a young country looking for new heroes.

The other fresco in the same plaza, with its strong, rounded faces framed by long, flowing hair, represented the Jews of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. Our guide explained that this fresco was built for the new state, an Israel that had a "Jewish army looking for new myths" in the 1950s (see also Liebman and Don-Yehiya 1983; Kimmerling 2001; Segev 1993; Weitz 1997).

As we stood before a tall, stone column in the plaza overlooking Jerusalem, just in front of the Children's Memorial, our guide described its significance as follows:

> This is the pillar of heroism. I told you this is Israel. The heroes are important to a young Jewish nation. They still are important to those who escaped from the camps, those who fought in the ghettos, those who blew up crematoriums in the camps at Auschwitz-Birkenau... And this pillar, straight up, represents strength...Again [this is for] a young country. This is a memorial to our heroes from that time period.

At Yad Vashem, the heroes of the period also include non-Jews. There are over six thousand dedication plaques and Carob trees planted, including one for the famous Oscar Schindler, along the Avenue of the Righteous Gentiles. Why Carob trees? Our guide explained: "You cut them down, take out the roots, they grow back. You can't get rid of a Carob tree. It's courage. It's strength." The visit to the Avenue of the Righteous Gentiles is also an opportunity to celebrate the strength of the human spirit—and of non-Jewish heroes at that—rather than the victimization of Jews by non-Jews.

While Jews' and non-Jews' heroism was the focus of the narratives, it was also the case that the Jews were presented as a population uniquely targeted by the Nazis (Goldhagen 1996).[5] One guide argued that the word "Holocaust" could only refer to what had happened to the Jews. He explained it this way:

> Holocaust...is [a] word [that] is sort of thrown around. Cambodian holocaust, a Rwandan holocaust,...ecological holocaust. [But], friends, Holocaust is a set period of time. Holocaust was only [targeted at] one people that were written down for a final death solution. Only one. There were gypsies who were killed and I've had homosexuals on groups and other people...who said, "Listen these people were killed..." True, I'm not playing that down at all, but only one people [and] only one ethnic group had a stamp of death, of annihilation and...that was the Jews...I don't want to cry about it. People say, "Well he's crying. The gypsies? You don't hear about them..." "Twelve million Russians died in the Second World War?" That's not the point. Only the Jews were put on an industrialized death machine, from the minute that [they] were fingered or taken out as a Jew, right up to those last moments. [The] Holocaust happened to the Jews and when you mix it in with tribal warfare, with ethnic cleansing—which are catastrophes and horrible—it loses [the meaning of]...that particular time period and what happened to our people.

While the emphasis was not on the victimization of the Jews per se, it was always about the uniqueness of the Jews' experience as a people. In the case of the Holocaust, it was the Jews who were targeted for annihilation in a way that no other human group has ever been.

Although none of the tour guides gave a detailed account of the war and the resulting Holocaust, (e.g., the rise of the Nazis in Germany or the Jews' displacement and transfer into labour and death camps which were part of the main Museum's exhibition), on one tour, the guide stopped the group as we were about to enter Yad Vashem's Children's Memorial to give some detail of the killing process at Treblinka:

> In [one] camp...because the children were holding up the lines into the industrialized death machine, they were taken into a Red Cross building, [which] was a facade. There were nurses outside. There were flags hanging. [It] looked like a beautiful structure and...they were taken behind the building. As the lines went towards the gas chambers...[the children] were immediately killed and buried in large trenches. They were just holding up the production line.

In this way, the murder of the Jews is presented as well-planned and ruthlessly designed, one that not only targeted a human population, but targeted its most vulnerable members, the children. Narratives of Jewish children's experiences during the Holocaust, particularly in the camps, were the only moments when victimization was the essence of the narratives' theme.

The path leading to Yad Vashem's Children's Memorial is lined with what appear to be broken stone pillars which, we are told, have been cut so as to symbolize that no child honoured here ever reached adulthood. Walking through the Children's Memorial Museum is a moving experience. James Young asserts that a museum is designed to be walked through, and experienced in a particular way (1993). Among all the built spaces at Yad Vashem, the Children's Memorial is the one least designed to present "information" or "data." It seems designed for remembrance and unlike any other site on the Hill, built to evoke an emotional response by its visitors. There is little to see but mirrors reflecting hundreds of tiny white candles while a woman's voice calls out the names of those whose lives were lost. It is as if all of the silences of the space are filled with what can only be imagined as the chaos and noise of war. While it takes less than a minute to walk through the memorial, long after leaving the room, the voice continues to haunt. After exiting this site, a number of tourists are so overcome that rather than immediately entering the Museum, they

choose to return to the Warsaw Ghetto Plaza. Some choose to remain in the Plaza, never entering the darkness of the Museum at all.

The main Museum is housed in a large building. In the wall entrance to the museum is a four-panelled wall sculpture designed by Naftali Bezen. A tour guide describes and defines the significance of each of the panels as follows:

> The skeletons, the walls of the Ghettos, and the frames of the people locked up. And interesting, a fish! A fish with wings of angels, the head cut off and its mouth open. A silent fish makes noises, an unheard cry with the smoke going up into the sky. Why the fish? I think traditionally fish or fish heads were used with some connection to intelligence....This is the beginning of the Holocaust, the camps. The second picture: Here you see Jewish resistance. You see a hand coming out of...a hole in the ground. Over here with a ladder, trying to get off street level, a fiery arrow which is supposed to have a butt of a rifle. Over here, small weapons, nothing large. The ghettos [are] in flames. All the flames are on the side [of the panel]. Destruction. And of course that figure upside down...crawling through whatever they could get through. The defence and the resistance inside the ghetto. With the opening of the camps you see a bewildered old gentleman inside a boat here. The leg out and the arrow was towards Palestine...They could move the clandestine immigrants over land, whether it be by boat or by vehicles or whatever this thing is here. Building roads through the forests. They escaped from Europe by moving people through the beaches in boats and getting them to what was then British Palestine. Once again, I call this, "from destruction to redemption." Here you see the Shabbat Canvas.

The Holocaust Museum itself houses a permanent exhibit, primarily of photographs and documents from the camps and from Germany during the 1930s and 1940s, chronicling the rise of the German Nazi regime and the resulting carnage. There are also photographs taken by a German soldier who served in the Warsaw Ghetto during the height of the German occupation of the area. The exhibit includes photos of begging, starving, dying and dead ghetto inhabitants. While the sign at the entrance of the exhibit, "Warning and Witness" hints at the ambience created within, what is immediately striking is that the presentation is so very different from the narratives of heroism and resistance presented to visitors prior to entering the Museum itself.

It is in this dark museum that the victimization of the Jews during the Holocaust is made clearest. All of its photos are black and white and the labels stark and plain:

pictures of the dead carried out of the ghettoes; Nazi posters; Nazi marches; the aftermath of *Kristallnacht*. Interestingly, this is the only time that tour participants are ever left to wander on their own, without a guide. Once in the museum, the visitors walk around, taking different directions, reading some of the captions, and speaking to one another in hushed tones. There seems little that captures their attention for more than a few minutes. These pictures, these posters, these slogans seem so familiar. Perhaps it is because we have seen them all before (Zelizer 1998).

The Valley of the Destroyed Communities is the last of the areas visited at Yad Vashem. In a courtyard-like area, tour organizers hold a spiritual ceremony that includes the *Kaddish*, in addition to other readings, prayers and sombre classical music. The Valley of the Destroyed Communities is a 2.5-acre site. Large carved sections of Jerusalem stone have been "excavated" to form 107 chambers built of 25 to 30 foot walls. The area is designed to be traversed as a maze though the "map" of Europe and North Africa. Each chamber is engraved with the name of a region or country, and each wall is engraved with the names of those Jewish communities destroyed by the displacement and genocide of the Jews. Most of the walls are covered from top to bottom with the names of the communities. I watched as other tour participants searched for their parents or their own communities, and led by their example, I searched for my own. The number of destroyed communities engraved into those stones astonished us all.

The Valley of the Destroyed Communities is most evocative of what Handelman and Shamgar-Handelman (1997) call the "presence of absence." For here, as each participant stands looking at the walls engraved with lists of villages, towns, and cities, the images of the past are remembered and pieced together and their absence experienced.[6] The large stones are imbued with meanings of the past as accounts of personal loss, museum images, and official and popular historical accounts are pieced together. One does not walk through an actual community's remains—this is not an archaeological site—yet the experience of reconstructing and commemorating history places that loss in Israel. As participants gather together thousands of miles away from the sites of destruction, Europe's disappearance of the Jews is *performed* in Israel. A territorial destruction is suddenly deterritorialized and reterritorialized in the same instant as the memorial puts the sites of the Holocaust's disaster (the destruction of the Jews' communities) within the territory of the state of Israel, the Jews' newly reconstructed state.

Not all of the tours included a visit to Yad Vashem. As part of the tour of the Diaspora Museum in Tel Aviv, we are taken to a room simply marked "Remember." Our tour guide suggested that: "without understanding the need for such commemorations as Holocaust Remembrance Day, Israelis cannot understand what they are doing here." Labelled a "Memorial Column," the room has enormous, black, iron columns resembling large smokestacks suspended from the ceiling. The tour guide leads us under the columns, and as we follow her, we are instructed to look up and into the "stacks." Though very simple in design, these large, heavy structures represent models of industrial ingenuity (Bauman 1989) while simultaneously evoking a sense of overwhelming danger as they hang heavily from the ceiling. There are no photographs or other documents in the room. Our guide asks a young female participant to read the only label on the wall:

> In the year one thousand nine hundred and thirty three of the Christian era, Adolph Hitler came to power in Germany. In his time the Germans and their accomplices murdered six million Jews, among them a million-and-a-half Jewish children. Imprisoned in ghettos, the victims fight [sic] desperately for their lives while the world stood by in silence.

As she reads to us, the participant breaks down and others begin to weep openly. While seemingly unmoved by the participants' emotional responses, at the end of the reading our guide tells us that the last sentence in the inscription is the only condemnation of any kind found in the entire museum: "This is not a second Yad Vashem," the guide tells us, explaining that the "Memorial Column" and the other exhibits in the museum are ultimately about a "nation fighting for its life." In other words, the Jews' identify their historical legacy as one of resistance and revival, and not of victimization.

While the emotional reactions to these sites are likely universal, I want to point out that the majority of participants on these guided tours of Israel were Ashkenaz Jews—Jews most affected by the tragedy in Europe. As such, these sites seemed personally meaningful and resonated for these participants in a way that other sites, for example Israeli war memorials, did not. Interpretations and reflections of experiences of the Holocaust and its memorialization arose in the context of discussing the important role that Israel has to play in contemporary North American Jews' lives. It is to these reflections that I now turn.

## Diasporic Encounters

### Josie

I met Josie on a tour in 1996. When we met, she was in her mid-thirties, and married with a child. She was working as the community liaison for one of the organizations with which I toured. Josie had become very committed to the organization she was working for and exuded her enthusiasm both on tour and when I met to interview her at her office. For Josie, the experience of memorializing the Holocaust was very important. She had visited the Holocaust Museum in Washington as well as Yad Vashem in Israel. This was how she compared those experiences:

> Before that second momentous trip to Israel, the Holocaust Museum opened...in Washington. I went a couple of times with [my spouse] and the first time that I went I ended the trip in the Holocaust Museum,...and [I had] the overwhelming feeling that I wanted to have children. That was like how I felt coming out of the museum. It was a very intense understanding [of] what continuity was about. And then we left and [I] forgot about it. [I] went back to the museum a couple of months later and [I] felt that again after I left and [I] thought "Oh my God that's what I felt the first time I was here." And when I went to Israel and was actually pregnant it...was a closure for me of that feeling. It was a sense of, I understand there, [and]...I understand here what it really means to want to have children...I went to Yad Vashem my first trip and said "Oh, it's an old dusty museum. It's not particularly innovative and I don't understand it." And then when we went back on the second trip, I understood it. I understood what it meant to be at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem versus being at the Holocaust Museum in Washington...You know we grew up in an age where the Holocaust was discussed, there were Holocaust classes at my high school and college...So I feel like in some ways—and that's how I felt when I went to Yad Vashem the first time—I've seen this, I've done this. And since I didn't have the sensibility of Israel, the land...at that time...it wasn't moving. I mean it's always moving but it wasn't particularly moving to me. But that second time it really was. And the second time I went I didn't even go into the museum. We took the group and I sat out in one of the gardens and that was much more meaningful to me.

In Israel, Holocaust memorialization had become sacralized. On Josie's first trip she had noticed the museum's age and shabby appearance but after she had come to understand the meaningfulness of this commemoration for Jews in Israel, these characteristics were no longer important.

As she noted, she already knew the narrative of the Jews' destruction. What became and what remains important is Yad Vashem's location in the place of the Jews' renewal, return and re-birth in Israel. Interestingly then, it was only as her own ties to Israel grew stronger that Josie learned to make a stronger connection between the Holocaust, Jewish continuity and Israel. These ties and commitments were then reflected and literally embodied as she chose to symbolically identify and link her pregnancy with the continuity of the Jewish people, the revivalist theme that emerges with the end of the Holocaust era and with the founding of Israel.

## Ozzy

Ozzy was born in Hungary during World War II. He described his trip to Yad Vashem in 1995 as particularly important for it allowed him to reconcile his own family's past with that of Israel's presence. Yad Vashem was not a place to memorialize death but a site that celebrated a liberating humanistic response—one man's ability to overcome racial hatred and altruistically risk his own life in order to save another. At the base of the Carob tree planted in the name of the righteous gentile who saved his family's life, Ozzy recounted the story of his family's rescue.

As the son of Holocaust survivors, Ozzy describes his family's survival as nothing less than "miraculous." Ozzy's father and five of his brothers and brothers-in-law were taken into the Hungarian Work Brigades, though only his father returned after the war. Ozzy tells us that the others had "perished under slave labour conditions" working in the mines at the Ukrainian front. His father, along with 120 other men, managed to avoid the front lines because a colonel in the Hungarian army who was a Hungarian aristocrat, a Christian, and "a gentleman" sent them to do "menial tasks" instead. Although the colonel's actions were discovered and he was court-marshalled and sentenced to death for his deeds, the Soviet advance into the area saved his life. With some degree of irony, Ozzy tells us that the colonel was "'rewarded' for his courage by being demoted to night watchman in a shoe factory." Although he was only five or six years old at the time, Ozzy fondly remembers the colonel's visits to his parent's home, and the love shown by them for the man who called those he saved "his boys."

Ozzy was on his third trip to Israel when I met him. One of the reasons Ozzy had come to Israel was to complete a "mission" he had begun two years prior. He had come on this tour, and to Yad Vashem in particular, in order to "finish inscrib[ing] [the names of] the last of the fifty-one people in my family that perished" in the Holocaust.

Ozzy's identification with Israel, though recent, had quickly developed into a deep commitment to the economic and social development of the state.

Prior to his first trip to Israel in 1995, Ozzy recalled that he had "basically no relationship to Israel...Israel [was] a stranger to me other than the fact that there were Jewish people living here and some very distant relatives and some distant friends." Ozzy now describes Israel as the place of his own "awakening" and "fresh start." For him, the key to understanding his family's survival as well as the tragedy they had experienced lay somewhere in Israel. He described his relationship to Israel as follows:

> Basically being a descendent of Holocaust survivors, the only identity I had was pain and my mother's denial of who we were all about and what we're all about...Perhaps the positive things that can be happening in Jewish life, that there is a good side to being a Jew, there's things that you can be proud of, things that can be accomplished...[when you] identify yourself a Jew. It was an option that has been given to me and it's an option that I grabbed onto with two hands. I feel...I'm more at peace with myself and [with] others.

Until Ozzy had travelled to Israel, and in particular, to Yad Vashem, Jewish history and identity had been associated with pain and tragedy. Yad Vashem had given him an opportunity to explore and reflect on a place where he could identify with Jewish accomplishments and empowerment. Israel is envisioned as a political space where Jews assert their own power after centuries of subjugation. Ozzy's Holocaust experiences and memorialization form the backdrop for his life's project: to find and secure a place of refuge for Jews.

## Jeremy

Jeremy is a 30-something Jewish educator and community leader. We fast became friends on one of the tours and continued to talk long after the research period ended.

One evening after our tour of Yad Vashem, Jeremy invited me to take a late-evening walk through the Old City of Jerusalem where he insisted he was going to give me an "identity" lesson of sorts. He explained that it was the tour of Yad Vashem earlier in the day that prompted this peculiar invitation, which I accepted. We began to walk away from the Wailing Wall plaza and towards the Old City as the sun began to set. We walked in silence for a while, until Jeremy stopped me to say that he couldn't help but get angry each and every time he visited Yad Vashem and particularly the museum; that regardless of what he reads and what he hears about the period, it all comes down to one thing: the Jews have always been hated

and will always be hated. For Jeremy, Yad Vashem teaches that Jerusalem is a place that the Jews must never give up. It secures their survival and is their only place of refuge. Yad Vashem links all Jews to one history, a history that represented by only one other common link, the link to Jerusalem.

## Warren and Sarah

I met Sarah and Warren on a tour in 1995. Both were active retirees. When it came time to discuss the trip, Warren and Sarah were excited to do so and invited me to their home one day where, after more than an hour, we had the following exchange about the place of Israel in relation to the Holocaust:

> Sarah: You know what if there wasn't an Israel...and another Hitler rears its ugly head...where would we all run to?...It's very easy for another Hitler to come to be. The German Jews didn't think that there'd ever be a person, a dictator who would wipe them out, who would want to wipe them out and they stayed on. Many of them stayed on to get killed....[To Warren:] I'm surprised [you feel the way you do] because I'm still, I'm still young enough to remember what happened.
>
> Warren angrily retorts: But I'm also old enough or young to remember! I remember what happened to my parents for instance. I'm a little kid who was on the Bloor streetcar and we were immigrants. I was just a little kid, oldest of three, and we're going downtown to visit our relatives way out in the east end of Toronto on Bloor Street. My parents were jabbering at each other in Yiddish and some old drunk says: "Hey speak English; you're in an English-speaking country or go back to where you came from" or something like that. That is important to me right, because when I say we don't belong just in Israel, where do we Jews belong? Because we got a homeland and we belong in it? I think we belong to the world...and I want Israel but I think we must all fight for the sense of saying we belong in Canada too. We can belong wherever we want. A lot of these barriers are being broken down...I like the idea of globalization. I just don't like to see a few corporations dominating that globe...The idea that we belong, the world is our oyster, it's ours, it's for everybody. Not just for Jews. The Palestinians...I think they should have their homeland. We need our homeland but that doesn't mean that the Palestinians don't belong in Canada as much as Jews do or anywhere else they choose to go. That is the thing that I think is worth fighting for. But we are...being distracted by it and I think this is why...I started out...being anti-Zionist. I like the Zionist mission but not if it's going to be in terms of the idea of having a homeland. Everybody has to have a place where they can call home, right, but I'd like to be able to move where I'm not confined to our homes like they're jails. Israel is.
>
> S: You can choose to be a Jew but you can still, you're still vulnerable to anti-Semitism [and]...you can still be subjected to, you can still be enslaved by a Nazi
>
> Warren interjecting: And that will be whether there is or isn't an Israel.
>
> S: By a dictator. You can still be wiped out. You and your people can still be wiped out.
>
> W: You know what, that's true but at the . . .
>
> S: At the whim of some crackpot.
>
> Still, Warren insisted: Anti-Semitism is just one form of racism. What I'm saying is that racism will always be here....to some degree whether there is an Israel or not. My concern is that there should be less of it and my concern is that for certain people Israel means something that is more restrictive than I would like it to be...The racism will...always be there but it shouldn't be the force that it is and to many people, even Jews, the idea of a Palestinian State they say "alright that's a place for the Arabs, get them out of Israel, put them into Palestine" [and there] that goes again. The whole...whether you're Jews or Palestinians...Irish, Scottish or whatever. Yes, you got your homeland, you got Scotland, you got Ireland and we can all live in peace together in Ireland or wherever but you still can go anywhere. The Irish and Scots came to Canada and prospered here and they belong here even though they can still feel that Scotland is their homeland.
>
> S: That's why I think Israel has to exist.
>
> W: Well I'm not denying that, I said yes, but not to say that it's got to be a jail for us.

Here Sarah and Warren debated a fundamental issue of identification with Israel through the prism of history and memory of the Holocaust and anti-Semitism. Sarah's fear was palpable. She had not been raised in a Zionist household, she had not been particularly active in any Zionist organizations and had been an educator within a Reform setting—in other words, hers was not an activist's position by any stretch of the imagination. For Sarah, Holocaust history teaches that the Jews will always be in danger, and any trusting relationships with non-Jews are difficult for her to imagine. Warren, on the other hand, goes so far as to "normalize" anti-Semitism and Nazism by placing it within the spectrum of racism and discrimination, rather than imbuing it with the particularity of the Jews' national experience of the world.

## Conclusion

The chief limitations of the majority of attempts to theorize the effect of memorial sites is their emphasis on narratives or curatorial design to the virtual exclusion of how those narratives are culturally mediated or interpreted by their audiences. An attitude of scorn towards North American Jewish travel to Israel is popular among Jewish community members, especially towards the form of the organized guided tour. During my fieldwork, I often heard people in the Jewish community in North America decry the commodification of packaged tours and yet they looked back nostalgically upon their own travel experiences. If I had not travelled along with them, if I had only looked at the various travel itineraries, if I had only asked those I met "what do you think of such tours?" I too might have regarded these forms of travel as what sociologist Dean MacCannell calls a form of "alienated leisure" (1976, 1992). Yet, this critical perspective ignores the fact that the guided tour to Israel embodies the very elements of what "authentic" tourism seeks to accomplish: pursuing one's "roots," personal discovery, and even, at times, self-transformation.

In his work on Israeli educational youth tours, anthropologist Jackie Feldman writes: "The voyage to Poland [to visit Holocaust memorial sites] is not a study trip, but a rite of transformation designed to transmit understanding, not through intellectual analysis, but through identifications, embodiment and experience." Further, Feldman writes:

> The pilgrimage is constructed as a ritual reenactment of survival. The students leave the life world, the Land of Israel, for Poland, the land of the Shoah, where they 'witness' the destruction of the Jews of the Exile. But there they survive, to return with the triumphant survivor to Israel....The students do not experience these transformations as biological descendants of survivors. Rather, *it is in their capacity as members and future defenders of the state of Israel that they become spiritual heirs to the legacy of the now-dead exilic past.* [Schorsch and Feldman 2001:169, emphasis added]

In another article, Feldman writes, "by experiencing what is not Israeli as mortally dangerous, Israel takes on mythical proportions, as the only place where Jews are secure. The Jewish people become the locus of identification by experiencing non-Jews as anti-Semites. Thus, a picture of the world is created in which impermeable boundaries separate 'us' from 'them'" (2002:84). Further, Feldman writes that in the organization of the tours, "the Diaspora is portrayed as a place of hostile, strange surroundings, wandering and the inevitable end" (2002:95).

As such, Israeli youth experiences focus on "return" to Israel while those narratives presented to diaspora Jews emphasize survival. This is a necessary shift since most diaspora Jews will never take the step of moving to Israel. Thus the narrations of return are necessarily communal-national and not individual: the nation has returned to Israel even if every individual Jew has not.

The narratives on tour may appear to be neutral sources of historical truth but they have, and present, values: the marking of the land of Israel and the political and historical commentaries that narrate that marking (Zerubavel 1995a). Whatever the narration, each constructs a spectator whose position is located within a national history. Despite being overlaid with the gloss of objectivity gleaned from its status as "history," its function is to induce feeling, thought, and action. As such, it seems to me that the tour itself is much more performative than any simple "reading" of a narrative form (e.g., books, newspaper and magazine articles).

In shifting the analysis from the site itself to its visitors, we begin to see the dynamic relationship of the object of vision to the subject of action, of view to viewer, and the degree to which the tour forms invoke performance within their audiences as much as within their objects. If performance and action are at the centre of tour practices then what is being projected is an ethnographic scene—an encounter in which observation becomes participation.

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## Notes

1   Please note that in Israel, the Holocaust is often referred to as the Shoah. This distinction is rarely made in North American literature about the period. See Novick 1999; Segev 1993.

2  The field study was carried out in the mid to late 1990s. For the broader case, see Habib, 2000, 2004. Here I use some of the same ethnographic data to elaborate on the uses of history, the role of memory and the Holocaust.

3  For the broader argument from a sociological perspective, see especially Levy and Sznaider's *The Holocaust and Memory in the Global Age*, 2006.

4  My thinking here has been informed by Halbwach's distinction between social memory and collective memory (1980).

5  Heated discussions about the centrality of the role of anti-Semitism in the Holocaust have been the backdrop to a range of historical debates. One such debate arose in 1996 with the publication of Goldhagen's *Hitler's Willing Executioners*. For a discussion of this debate see also Goldhagen 1998; Riemer and Markovits 1998; Shatz 1998.

6  This site at Yad Vashem led some participants to a kiosk at the site's entranceway to gather additional information about their family and friends from the museum's genealogical record holdings.

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# Transparency: Seeing, Counting and Experiencing the System

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*Abstract:* In the last decade, transparency has become a key term of public policy prescriptions around the world. Formulated in terms of "access to information," transparency policies claim numbers are best for making visible the workings of public services systems. Contrary to these numerical objectivist stances, the "citizens," to whom transparency measures are directed, see and come to know the system by drawing on their lived experience of the system. Based on anthropological fieldwork in health care units in Romania, the paper aims to confront official and "user" perspectives on seeing and knowing public services systems.

*Keywords:* transparency, public policy, knowledge, public services systems, networks, space-time

*Résumé :* Durant la dernière décennie, la transparence est devenue un mot clé des politiques publiques à travers le monde. Formulées dans les termes de «l'accès à l'information», les politiques de transparence prétendent que les nombres sont le meilleur moyen pour rendre visible le fonctionnement des systèmes de services publics. Contrairement à ces positions objectivistes et numériques, les «citoyens», envers lesquels les politiques de transparence sont dirigées, voient et arrivent à connaître le système à travers leur propre expérience À partir d'une recherche de terrain anthropologique dans des unités de santé de Roumanie, l'article se propose de confronter les perspectives officielles et celles des «usagers» sur la manière de voir et de connaître les systèmes de services publics.

*Mots-Clés :* transparence, politiques publiques, savoir, services publics, réseaux, espace-temps

## Introduction

Transparency is one of the key terms currently employed in public policy prescriptions. Indeed, what could be a more essential means for achieving a more democratic, open society, than transparency? In eastern Europe, the appeal to transparency is all the more compelling: in the face of ever recurring corruption scandals, a call for more transparent policy and political processes seems to make a lot of sense.

Adopting a critical perspective, I argue that it is fruitful to consider transparency not as a neutral, technical policy prescription but as a component of a larger enterprise of implementing new organizational designs (Clarke 2001; Shore and Wright 1997) in eastern European public services. A Western product, these designs respond to the new imperatives of governing "at a distance" (Bloomfield 1991; Clarke 2003; Miller and Rose 1990) that followed the "hollowing-out" of the state under the economic and political imperatives of neoliberalism (Jessop 1997; Shore and Wright 2000; Escobar 1988). Driven by managerialist visions modeled on the ideal of the Market (Carrier 1997), these new organizational designs favour the quantification of public services around cost-benefit calculations (Pollitt 1990; MacLennan 1997). Transparency measures participate in this quantification by aiming to enhance, through numbers and information, the visibility of both financial flows and decision-making processes inside public service organizations (Clarke 2001).

Taking as a case study the post-communist reform of the Romanian health care system, the article aims to unsettle the central claim of transparency policies of bringing more visibility of and into the system. It will do that by confronting the manner in which the "system" is played out in transparency policies, other publicly available visions of the system, and the way in which patients and their families and friends "see" the system while they are trying to access it. In order to do that, I combine a methodological interest in networks of calculation and inscrip-

tions inspired by the work of Bruno Latour with the critical perspective of the relationship between knowledge, power and experience developed by Pierre Bourdieu. This will allow me to investigate how different visions of the health care system articulate with diverse types of networks in Romanian society, and thus to ground both official and alternative modes of seeing and knowing the system in the social relations and the material world current in the Romanian health care sector.

The study is based on seven months of fieldwork (September 2003-March 2004, and October 2005) in Bucharest (Romania) that included participant observation in health care units (hospitals, clinics, dispensaries), more than 60 semi-structured interviews and informal conversations with health care personnel (doctors, nurses, auxiliary personnel), officials in health care institutions (the Ministry of Health, the Health Fund, Directorates of Public Health) as well as patients.[1] In addition, the study included the analysis of a variety of documentary and media sources, such as official reports, newspaper articles, television and radio programs dealing with health issues.

## Policy Processes and the Production of Knowledge

Transparency policies claim they enhance the visibility of public services systems by producing essential knowledge on the way in which systems work. The production of transparency is thus also a production of knowledge, the specificity of which is derived from the particular characteristics of current policy-making processes. First, policy-making is increasingly colonized by the "science" of management and by an "audit culture" (Strathern 2000) which rest on visualist and literacy assumptions that embed knowledge in "information" and data, and particularly in such devices as written texts, numbers and graphs (Clarke 2003). In this respect, several analysts highlighted the larger importance, in modern societies, of the gathering and production of written and numerical information in the production of knowledge on humans. These processes were seen as part of surveillance and disciplinary techniques that contribute to the production of subject positions (Foucault 1971; Escobar 1988; Shore and Wright 1997), or as participating in the production of new social categories and identities (Desrosières 1993).

While these perspectives shed light on the transformation of selves under neo-liberal policies, their birds-eye perspective would benefit from a more detailed attention to the practicalities of the current social relations in which those who produce knowledge reside. Indeed, the second characteristic of contemporary policy-making is that it increasingly transgresses traditional organizational boundaries (such as the "national," the "public" or the "state") to amalgamate into extremely complex networks a diverse array of governmental, semi-governmental and non-governmental, for- and non-profit, national, regional and supra-national organizations. In this respect, the study of the production of scientific knowledge by the French sociologist Bruno Latour (1987) offers a perspective that takes into account both networks and the circulation of "information." Latour sees scientific knowledge as grounded in "reality" by networks that circulate information from their centre to their periphery with the help of specific visual "inscriptions" (such as graphs, figures, maps, tables). Networks, information and inscriptions provide new signposts for reading and interpreting reality, and thus form a "space-time" that anchors the symbolic vision produced by a particular science in the larger social arena.

While I depart from Latour's radical ontological stance on the distinction between humans and nature, I contend that his perspective is useful for the study of policy processes and of the production of transparency in particular. Indeed, Latour's perspective permits us to move from a focus on policy discourse to a focus on the concrete social relations implicated in policy networks as well as on the objects (inscriptions) that circulate through these networks. Nevertheless, I amend his approach by studying not only the flows and networks that involve knowledge producers, but also their effects on those about whom knowledge is produced as well as the self-produced knowledge of the latter (Sanders and West 2003). In so doing, I adopt a view of knowledge as being a matter not of a neutral competition for controlling networks (Latour 1987) but of the struggles for the legitimate naming and knowing of the world fought between the occupants of unequal positions of a particular social field (Bourdieu 2001). For Bourdieu, knowledge production is informed not simply by networks and objects, but by the experience actors make of the world surrounding them from the particular positions they occupy. It is this experience, I contend, that permits us to grasp the space-times, networks, inscriptions and understandings of those who not only do not make use of formal networks and inscriptions but are also made objects of official knowledge.

Therefore, policy-driven knowledge production involves not only policy makers and experts, but also those at whom policies are directed ("the people," "the citizens" or "the clients"). As it is viewed from a different position in the social field, the space-time in which the latter evolve is different from the managerialist space-time of policy producers, as their networks, information and inscriptions only partially recoup those generated by policy mak-

ers. Moreover, the field of policy making is itself segmented around various positions and networks. Indeed, the blurring of the old liberal separations between the public and the private (Du Gay 1994) in present-day "extreme capitalism" (Frank 2000) gave increased place and legitimacy to informal flex (Wedel 2002) or subjective networks (Hill and Turpin 1995). These informal networks complement the formally constituted networks of calculation usually present in accounts of policy making processes or of the development of sciences.

This brings us to our last point, which concerns the link between transparency and corruption. These two terms have come to be increasingly associated in present-day policy processes and social transformations. Not only are transparency measures presented as a reaction to and the solution for the obscurity under which corruption flourishes (Sampson 2005), but the same measures, in as much they take part in the promotion of a market-like governance, contribute to a new opacity and secretiveness in the domains they seek to transform (Sanders and West 2003:16; Hill and Turpin 1995:144-145). Thus, transparency and corruption came to be seen as two sides of the same coin, and as such need to be analyzed jointly.

Indeed, as complementary tropes of visibility, both transparency and corruption are mobilized by actors situated at different levels in order to claim knowledge on the workings of the "system," to disqualify alternative understandings or to assign blame for its deficiencies. Thus, visions of the system become both lenses through which actors see, act upon and experience the system, and the tools through which transparency claims are sustained or opposed. The article details current views on the post-socialist Romanian health care system by anchoring them in the production of a managerialist space-time through transparency policies, as well as of the more mundane space-time in which the users of the system evolve. As they are embedded in different sets of networks and inscriptions, the two space-times evolve in parallel and entertain, as we will see, quite striking contrasts between them.

Still, the corresponding visions of the system are separated by a much muddier frontier. While these visions play differently on visibility and obscurity, on individual and political factors and on levels where blame is to be assigned, they do not correspond to neat oppositions between an official sphere and a mundane, "normal people's" one. Indeed, corruption is a trope in both the official discourse of governing and opposition politicians, and in informal talk of health care personnel and patients Moreover, as many corruption accusations are quite specific and involve a more detailed knowledge of the health care system, it is principally by drawing on cases and accusations presented in the media (which, among others, also echo accusations made by politicians) that interested health care personnel and patients construct their own packaged knowledge of the system. Finally, the informal networks that sustain views of corruption traverse both the official apparatus and the lives of ordinary users.[2] I contend that while this overlap contributes to patients' acceptance of current reforms, it might also supply the spark for future contestation.

The next three parts of the article overview the manner in which transnational networks sought to produce a managerialist space-time in the Romanian health care system, the difficulties encountered by such an enterprise, as well as the manner in which parallel informal networks shape the actual working of the system. The subsequent lack of clarity in the system results in understandings which oppose claims to transparency with views of corruption and political manoeuvres. These views are analyzed in the following two sections of the article. Finally, after linking these conceptions to the alternative inscriptions and space-times which frame patients' experience of the health care system, the article concludes with a discussion of the implications of this experience for political contestation.

## Trans-National Networks and the Production of a Managerialist Space-Time in the Romanian Health Care System

Transparency was introduced in the Romanian policy vocabulary only in the first years of the new millennium. It was thus only in 2001 that the "Commission for transparency" was set up in the Health Ministry, in 2004 that a "Committee for transparency in the use of community funds" was founded, and in 2003 that a Law on Transparency In Public Offices (161/2003) and a Law on the Transparency of Decisions in Public Administration (52/2003) were adopted. While these measures might been seen as directed toward the public visibility of information, the neo-liberal context of their adoption steers them toward a quite different aim, namely the production and circulation of numerical data that would translate in market terms the workings of public institutions. Indeed, they were adopted with the view that the obscurity and messiness of the former state-controlled system were to be unravelled and overcome[3] through market tools and calculations, because, it was believed that only the market is able to accurately make visible what is going on inside the system.[4] Transparency policies are thus part of a

larger enterprise that seeks to render public institutions more market-like through the introduction of market mechanisms and modes of quantification (such as indicators on costs and results). How is this process of producing what we could call a market-like transparency unfolding in the health care system?

Until 1989, the Romanian health care system was a socialized soviet-type system. Health care units were state property subject to the Plan under the Health Ministry; physicians and health care workers were salaried state employees; and health care funds were allocated from the state budget. The fall of the communist regime in late 1989 marked the debut of repeated attempts at radically transforming the health care system on the part of Western and supranational organizations. The World Bank, the European Union, the World Health Organisation (WHO), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the United States Department of Health and Human Services (DHSS), at one moment or another, have all been involved in million-euro programs of health care "institutional reform"[5] that have directly contributed to preparing and formulating the new goals of Romanian health care reform.

As part of larger transnational calculating networks, these organizations sought to embed in the Romanian health care system new network segments, new inscriptions and new market-like manners to account for and make it visible. It is due to their various recommendations that the reform, effectively started in 1997, sought to transform the Romanian health care system from a tax-based to an employment-based mandatory health insurance system. The Law on Health Insurance (145/1997) introduced mechanisms for the collection and allocation of health funds distinct from the state budget: a special Health Fund was constituted to collect 7% of revenues from employers and employees, and allocate health money among various destinations. The reform concomitantly prepared the ground for the introduction of such managerialist tools as contracts between health care providers and health care funding institutions, evidence-based managerial and medical decisions, as well as quality and performance indicators. Two years later, these measures were further supported by the setting up of the Commission for Hospital Accreditation and the adoption of the Law on Hospital Organization, Functioning and Financing (146/1999), which both aimed, at least on paper, to change the way hospital funds were allocated, from historical budgets negotiated with the centre to budgets calculated on the basis of results and performance.

Of particular importance in this respect was the introduction in 2002 of a new method to finance hospitals based on Diagnosis Related Groups (DRG). The DRG, which aims to rationalize the allocation of funds to hospitals on the basis of treatment costs, represents an instance of direct penetration of Western-based transnational networks of cost-benefit calculation into the Romanian health care system.[6] Indeed, while health care reform was officially placed under the aegis of the Romanian Health Ministry, in practice the institution charged with implementing the DRG program was the U.S. DHHS supported by USAID. Moreover, the program uses WHO systems of codification of diagnosis and medical procedures, and as such is hooked up to WHO codification units. Finally, the local centre of the DRG network became the National Institute for Health Research and Development, an institution very much linked to international research and managerialist policy networks.

The DRG consolidated national segments of supranational networks of cost-benefit calculation. First, the program strengthened institutions created after 1990 with the aim of contributing to cost-benefit calculations and to the circulation of resources and information (the Health Fund, the College of Physicians, and particularly the National Institute for Health Research and Development). Second, the DRG mobilized and oriented toward market-like cost-benefit calculations already existing institutions like the Health and Finance Ministries, the departmental public health directorates, the National Institute for Statistics, the Centre for Health Statistics and Medical Documentation and, of course, hospitals.

Thus, global networks of calculation entered the Romanian health care system, transforming it in the name of market-like transparency. In this respect, it was necessary to create new institutions and transform existing ones into partners in contractual relationships and into nodal points of a network through which numerical information could flow. In the process, novel inscriptions (such as DRG indicators) were employed to substantiate new ways of accounting for the health care system and to form the signposts of the new space-time organizing it. The reform aimed to institute both a more visible and a more "rational" (i.e., market-like) circulation of health care funds. Health care expenditures, supplies, costs and prices were to be openly revealed, a move which also implied the adoption of a cost-benefit calculative lens to view the health care system.[7] In this light, the health care system is seen as a rational and hierarchical web of relationships. Graphic images such as the ones included in supranational policy reports on the Romanian health care reform (see Figures 1 and 2) visualize the links constituent of the new calculative networks. Part of larger managerialist discourses, such figures convey the vision of a system that can
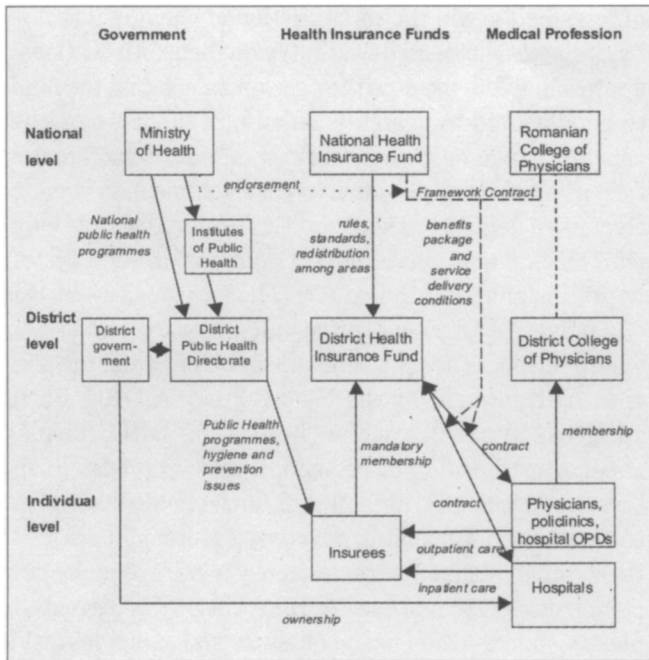
**Figure 1**

Source: European Observatory on Health Systems and Policies (EOHSP). 2000. *Health Care Systems in Transition. Romania.* HiT Country Profile: 8.
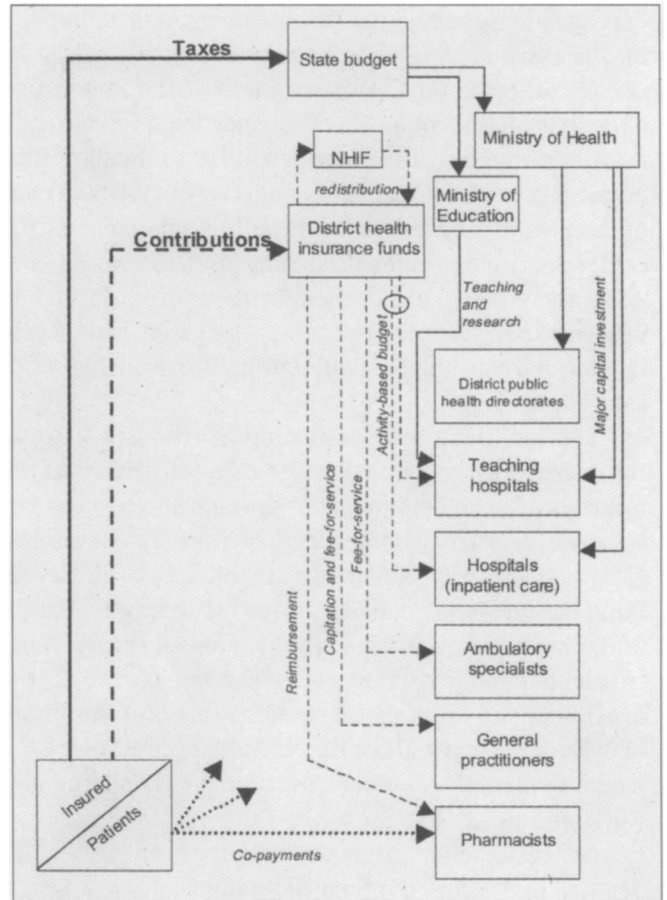


**Figure 2**

Source: European Observatory on Health Systems and Policies (EOHSP). 2000. *Health Care Systems in Transition. Romania.* HiT Country Profile: 62.

be known (by being visualized in a graphic form) but also managed and controlled through managerial inscriptions.

## From Theory to Practice: Chaos and Frail Managerial Networks

For now, these images only partially translate the transformations that currently affect the Romanian health care system, as, in practice, the formal networks that would make it a more market-like managerialist system are not yet functional. Indeed, formal flows of information are constantly broken, and therefore have to be constantly reactivated in the system. First of all, efforts to inform the public on the reform and the inner workings of the health care system remain fragmented and limited in scope. For example, while the Health Ministry created its own information bureau in June 2003, the Ministry's activity report on that year laid down no goals of production and distribution of information for its Department of Public Relations, Protocol and Administration (Ministerul Sanatatii 2004). This omission denotes the marginal role of the information bureau and the ministry's lack of preoccupation with "public information." Similarly, a campaign "to inform the population on the health care reform" entitled "Your Health Is Important" was launched at the beginning of the reform in 1999, but was not followed by any sustained policy. Realized under the aegis of the Euro-

pean Union and sponsored by USAID and the American Industrial Health Agency, the campaign left no visible and memorable trace and no longer features on the Ministry's website. This seems to confirm the fact that transparency policies are not first and foremost about informing the public about what is happening in the health care system, but more about making it visible to a limited circle of interested parties (the "stakeholders" as they are called in the current policy jargon).

Nevertheless, inside the health care system, the circulation of information, and especially of new market-like inscriptions, also encountered difficulties. The DRG's implementation in particular was constantly plagued by delays in hospital reporting to DRG network heads, and the consequent lack of data prevented the DRG centre from computing the aggregate statistics needed to calculate prices. A similar situation exists now with respect to linking physicians to formal networks of calculation and inscriptions. A 2001 survey of physicians found that 45%

of respondents had no "sufficient information on the way in which the health care system functions" (CPSS 2001). On the other hand, as the president of the Federative Chamber of Romanian Physicians claimed in 2002, the reform initiated by the government led to the paradoxical situation where "family physicians cannot take care of their patients because the Health Fund demands, for contracts, twice as many documents as in the past" (Jitea 2002). Increased demands for information from doctors do not seem to be balanced by their participation in data production and consumption and thus in the new networks of calculation.

These difficulties in activating information flows at the micro level are paralleled by similar difficulties at the macro level. The beginnings of the reform were characterized by legislative uncertainty and overlap. The Law on Health Insurance was adopted in 1997, but the Health Fund became functional only in 1999. The Law on Hospital Organisation was repeatedly amended before being re-adopted in a revised form in 2003. The result was the erosion of the links (between hospitals and the Fund, between the Fund and the Health Ministry etc.) that were meant to form the basis of a functioning calculating network (see also EOHSP 2000:72-73).

Congested information flows mirror even greater difficulties that affect the financial flows that traverse the system. From its inception, the Health Fund was periodically plagued by financial crises that threatened to paralyze the entire health care system. In autumn 2000, only one year into its activity, there was already talk of "the financial crisis of the health care system" in the media. The Health Fund president blamed the crisis on the debts inherited from the Health Ministry, the difficulty the Fund faced when collecting contributions from some companies and controlling hospital expenses, and the fact that the two "special" health funds, of the Transportation and national security ministries,[8] failed to disburse hospital services for patients "insured" with them (Jitea 2000). In parallel, from the beginning of the reform, a "drugs crisis" paralyzed the health care system by accumulating hospital arrears for the payment of medicinal supplies, which subsequently led to periodic threats or even to the actual interruption of supplies to hospitals by drugs distributors and producers.

While its promoters hailed the DRG as a means to finance and manage health care in "a more equitable, rational and transparent manner,"[9] in practice the DRG rendered visible not only and not so much the internal functioning of hospitals, but the inequalities existing between them. Indeed, despite aiming, in the long run, to level hospital prices and costs, in the short run the DRG

officers had to win the collaboration of hospital directors by compromising and deviating from their own "rational" approach. While the data they use for calculating the funds to be allocated to hospitals should, in theory, be either constant (such as case prices) or reflect the actual performance of hospitals (such as case volumes), in practice they were negotiated with the Health Fund on a "historical" basis. Thus, what the DRG "shows" is not a system where hospitals are linked to a calculating centre by way of a universal "rational" price, but a hierarchical system where hospitals are pitted against each in a bid for preferential treatment by the Health Fund. A DRG official admitted to me that while "before the DRG, hospital expenditures could not be seen, they were invisible and [hospital personnel] didn't know how much a medical act costs at another hospital, now they see it and it seems to them unjust." Thus, as transparency measures make public hospital costs and prices, they directly contribute to make visible the internal inequalities and struggles inside the health care system. As with other policies of the larger audit enterprise, transparency policies are "dividing practices" (Shore and Wright 2000:61).

These unintended consequences of transparency policies make them apt for fuelling, paradoxically, arguments which counter those put forward by the reform's advocates. As we have seen, official reports on the reform of the health care system stress clarity, transparency and control. Actors inside the system, as well as those who have to deal with it (like patients and their families and friends) convey, by contrast, a pronounced feeling that the system is overtaken by chaos. While health care reformers indulge in a mystique of numerical and quantitative rationality to defend the reform, many health care actors and patients see the reform as leading to increased messiness and lack of clarity.

## Parallel Worlds: Networks and Informal Dealings

This lack of clarity is compounded not only by the frailty of formal calculating networks and the chaos in information and financial flows the reform brought into the Romanian health care system, but also by the fact that these formal networks seem to accommodate themselves quite well to the informal networks that traverse the system as well as, more generally, Romanian society as a whole.

Informal networks in eastern European countries were documented by social scientists both before and after 1989. In the 1980s, in particular, an "economy of shortage" (Kornai 1984) constituted a fertile ground for informal networks to mushroom in Romanian society and made

"connections" a major means for getting the socialist economy working and for accessing scarce services and goods (Sampson 1986). At the upper level, cadres in decision-making positions inside the economic and political apparatuses developed parallel informal networks that helped them reach plan objectives and thus keep their privileged positions inside the apparatus (Sampson 1984). After 1990, these networks were replaced by relatively autonomous "unruly coalitions" which sought the personal appropriation of state activities now up for grabs through the privatization process, subsidies and contracts between private enterprises and governmental partners (Verdery 1996). These coalitions acted as parasites feeding off official structures in order to deviate, through secret operations, formal fluxes of resources and information.

After the reform of the health care system, both official and unofficial sources alleged that a "mafia of pharmaceutical products" (*mafia medicamentelor*) was operating in the system. The mafia was supposed to be a network of health officials who, in exchange for fat personal "commissions" (*comisioane*) agreed to facilitate the inclusion of costly drugs on the official list of partially or fully subsidised pharmaceutical drugs. Private (multinational) pharmaceutical firms that produce them were thus provided with a captive and publicly funded market for their products.[10] While being the most important in terms of public money diversion, these networks are difficult to research, especially if we aim to attain the ethnographic intimacy demanded by anthropological methods of participant observation. What we can grasp of them, nevertheless, is that neo-liberal policies such as privatization served to fuel rather than diminish their importance. Not only did the sheer quantity of money and assets that took these informal routes skyrocket, but as well, the institution that would have been able to check this diversion (the state) was weakened as a result of these policies.

Romanian society is traversed not only by mafia-type coalitions, but also by thousands of more mundane and inoffensive networks formed by ordinary citizens. While not as powerful and not controlling vast resources individually, these networks play, given their sheer total weight, a distinct role in the daily workings of the system. Even during socialism, cadre informal networks were complemented by informal networks of family relatives, colleagues, friends and neighbours seeking access to goods and services (Sampson 1986). While, after 1990, the circulation of goods was, in great part, brought back into formal channels, access to public services retained a "dark," underground, informal component (Sik 1992; Stan 2005). The under-the-counter, illegal payments made by citizens to public servants, locally known as *şpaga*, continued to flourish across a diversity of public service domains.

In the health care system, health care personnel tried to compensate for their low salaries[11] by the continuation of informal dealings with patients. Moreover, while şpaga is now more widely used to compensate for care and favours and while its monetary value has increased, money payments for health care services have also increasingly supplanted payment in produce. In spite of that, şpaga is still seen by both the patients and the health care personnel as (due) compensation for treatment. As both patients and health care personnel admit, while not all the interactions taking place in health care units are based on şpaga, for both of them, şpaga is what is needed and expected in order to get access to better and more rapid treatment. Not giving şpaga is supposed to increase waiting times and the difficulty in getting information and access.[12]

Şpaga dealings serve as the fuel for more extended informal networks that include not only patients and doctors, but also patients' family and friends, as well as other health care personnel. Indeed, in the daily functioning of health care units, health care employees such as security agents and nurses expect patients' access to physician services to be diverted from formal pathways of care to include themselves as privileged intermediaries. While aiming to pocket some of the patients' resources (in the form of şpaga), these intermediaries are also trying to establish themselves as gatekeepers or even centres of more stable informal networks linking them to patients and doctors. One efficient manner in which to do this is to try to hook oneself into the mundane, flexible and sometimes ad-hoc networks of friends and acquaintances patients mobilise in order to get access to a doctor.

The patients' propensity to include intermediaries in and thus enlarge their personal networks is counterbalanced by the equally powerful desire to bypass them. Indeed, faced with rising costs incurred by the multiplication of intermediaries and health care acts paid for with şpaga, patients try to lower their costs by seeking to establish personal, direct and immediate contact with the physician and thus eliminate intermediaries from their networks and dealings. Whereas generally unsuccessful in their quest to completely wipe out intermediaries, especially the powerful nurse assistant, the patients' "quest for immediacy" is endemic in the Romanian health care system. It is visible in a striking manner in the accumulation of patients' bodies in the recurrent queues for "programming" that fill the hallways and corridors of health-care units. As it happens, even when "programming" by phone is available, the large majority of patients still seek

to get "on the spot" access to the doctor. Coming in person to the health care unit makes possible immediate, personal contact with the doctor and reduces both uncertainty about the doctor's availability and the number of intermediaries between doctor and patient. For now then, neither health care intermediaries nor patients seek to use the formal mechanisms of accessing the health care system offered by some health care units, and thus at least some segments of formal networks of information are bypassed and rendered void of content and efficacy.

Formal networks of calculation are paralleled by webs of informal relations both at the high level of government officials, and at the more mundane level of patients and health care personnel. As will be seen, these informal networks are used by a diversity of actors to ground visions of the system in terms of "corruption" and obscurity that contradict the one advanced in official transparency policies. Ironically, what is proposed as alternative or additional knowledge of the health care system is exactly that "nothing is clear" as hidden dealings are undertaken by hidden actors. In the next two sections I will elaborate on the manner in which corruption is recuperated in the market-modeled reform discourse, as well as on the ways by which it is overcome in the discourse of those critical of reforms.

## Alternative Visions of the System: Petty Corruption...

A powerful understanding of the health care system posits that its current crisis originated in petty corruption (*mica corupție*), the șpaga detailed above. For example, in a media campaign fighting șpaga ("Don't give șpaga"), the health care system is portrayed, together with public administration and the police, as places where șpaga is endemic. One campaign poster (see Figure 3) presents a health care employee, probably a nurse, as one of its three iconic characters (along with a policeman and a public servant). The poster proposes a new definition of șpaga: "Șpaga is theft," and sees it as the reprehensible practices of those hidden behind formal uniforms. Another poster (see Figure 4) presents the same nurse along with a petty criminal and calls for a new reading of the reality of the health care system: "Some are caught, others are hiding behind white dresses. Șpaga is theft too." It explicitly acknowledges that resources and information take hidden paths. As a result, public services are seen as constituting not a hierarchical, organized and centrally controlled domain, but a maze where the citizen could get lost while having to pay for every interaction with the insiders. This is illustrated in another poster (see Figure 5), which reads "Don't give *șpagă*. You get in but you don't get out," and which presents the medical personnel



Figure 3: "Șpaga means theft."
Source: "Nu da șpagă" campaign (http://www.nudaspaga.ro/?m=CeVrea Campania)

(see characters wearing white caps) as insiders of the maze.

The "Don't give șpaga" campaign was initiated in 2004 by the Romanian Association for Transparency (*Asociația Romăna pentru Transparența*, ART), a local chapter of Transparency International. Together with other defenders of transparency, ART draws, in its discourse about corruption, on a particular image of society as moulded in the ideal image of the Market (Carrier 1997). In the leaflet on "Petty corruption" produced for the campaign, corruption is seen to be based, ultimately, in "human nature and greed," basic human characteristics nurtured in institutional environments. Administrative apparatuses in particular breed evils like "monopoly," "discretionary power" and "opacity." If the latter characteristic associates corruption with a lack of transparency, the first two point to the lack of "free competition" and of "responsibility." Thus, the implicit model used by the defenders of transparency portrays society as an aggregate of individual agents propelled by self interest and greed, the market as the mechanism that serves to aggregate greed for individual and collective good, and public service or state structures as ingraining monopolistic and discretionary power tendencies. According to this perspective, transparency is possible only in a market society, as it is the market that permits individual actors to make informed choices. In a parallel move, it is the same belief in the ideal of the Market that makes some physicians trained in the West see transparency as the other side of petty corruption. As one of them commented to me, "Transparency? Do you mean by that the fact that this and that person take money, the corruption inside the system?"

Figure 4: "Some are caught, others are hiding behind white dresses. Şpaga is theft too."

Source: "Nu da şpagă" campaign (http://www.nudaspaga.ro/?m=CeVrea Campania)



Figure 5: "Don't give şpaga. You get in but you don't get out."

Source: "Nu da şpagă" campaign (http://www.nudaspaga.ro/?m=CeVrea Campania)

However, the image of a rotten health care system, corrupted by the internal practices of health care personnel is not the monopoly of free market zealots, but is promoted by a variety of actors and developed from a variety of perspectives. The image is, for example, constantly reshuffled in media accounts of health care issues. Television news shows play an important role in visualizing these issues, as they often include presentations critical of the way in which physicians treat their patients, be it in the form of fraud and malpractice or improper hygienic conditions in hospitals. In February 2004, for example, a single evening news show on the public channel TVR 1 featured stories about a village family doctor who indirectly let a patient die because he did not consider the case to be an "emergency" in need of rapid treatment in a specialized hospital; patients who got lice while in hospital; and a patient who, after getting burned on an operation table because of a deficient electric circuit, had to spend two more months in the hospital for skin replace-
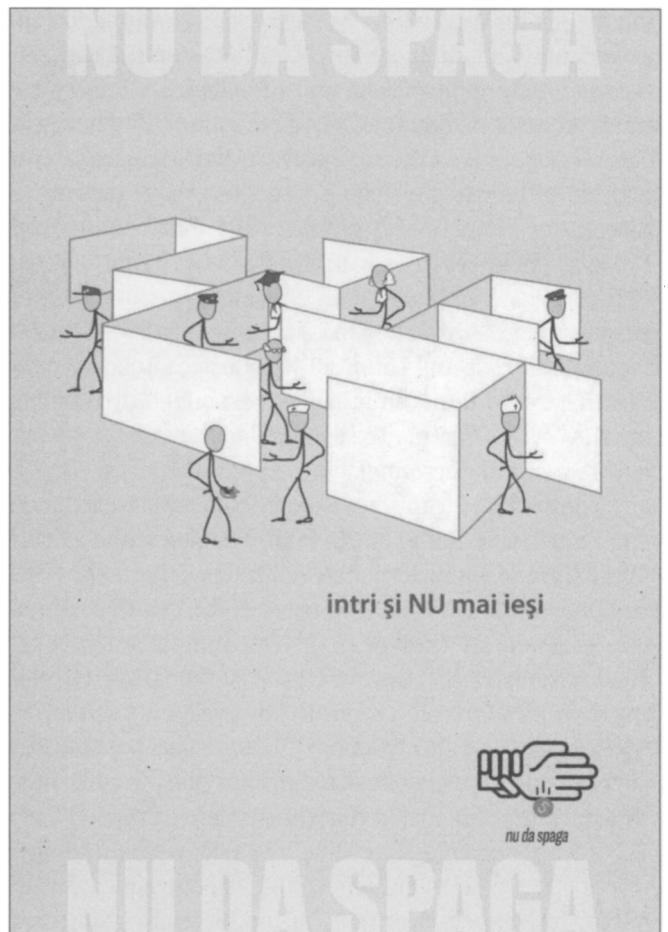
ment. In January that year, the media reported on maternity wards that inexplicably "lost" babies only to "find" them later on.

Other instances of televised *mise-en-scene* of troubles in the health care system are the even more conspicuous reports directly addressing petty corruption. Several of my informants remembered past reports focussed on the so-called *flagrante* (flagrant offences) involving physicians. These are "red-handed" discoveries of cases of bribery and wrongdoing, such as when the fingerprints of a physician were discovered on banknotes (proof then of him having had accepted bribery). These reports stage rituals of transparency, performances in which the controlling state organs are shown in the process of unveiling to the public eye, represented by the television camera, the hidden practices occurring throughout the health care system.

These petty corruption images are promoted not only by media outlets, but also by central authorities, and in

particular by the Health Ministry. For example, on the occasion of the January 2003 conflict over the contract between family physicians and the Health Ministry, the minister admonished the College of Family Physicians in these terms: "deviations (*abateri*) that occurred in the activity of family physicians, practices that nurture the discontent of parts of the population that benefit from these medical services cannot be silenced and it is the obligation of the College of Physicians to analyse and resolve them" (Jitea 2003b). More generally, having to face a disastrous and potentially explosive situation in the health care system, the Ministry responded by attributing the "evils afflicting the system" to the corrupt behaviour of medical personnel.

The petty corruption vision is not confined to media declarations on the part of Health Ministry and Health Fund officials, but is also materialized in concrete actions. In February 2003, when the crisis in the health care system reached another peak, it was announced that the Health Ministry and the Fund have "intensified controls." On that occasion, the two institutions noticed numerous "deficiencies and shortcomings" with respect to the observance of norms in hospitals and primary health care units. The minister announced that the Ministry "handed down 717 administrative sanctions and recovered damages worth 322 milliards Lei, cancelled 73 contracts and submitted to competent organs [of the judiciary] 246 criminal cases" (M.J. 2003). The following month, the minister laid off several hospital directors and the board of a departmental public health directorate on the grounds of "feeble managerial activity" (Jitea 2003b). These controls and sanctions aim to show that the Health Ministry is active, while, at the same time, blame for the "chaos" is laid on lower hierarchical levels.

Finally, the petty corruption image of the health care system is also generally adhered to by a large number of patients.[13] Indeed, accounts of petty corruption are part of what patients "know" about the health care system. These accounts circulate not only in the private sphere of the close networks family relatives and friends, but are also part of the public sphere created through the Internet, where discussion fora offer a place where health care issues can be discussed openly and publicly. For example, a "mothers' forum" hosted on a commercial site focussed on children (www.desprecopii.com), repeatedly includes horror stories of treatment received in Romanian hospitals, as well as information on șpaga payments differentiated according to types of personnel, services and health care units.

While this forum could be seen as an instance of grassroots transparency, the view entertained by many patients does not entail, as in the market oriented vision advanced by the Romanian Association for Transparency, the automatic condemnation of corruption. All of those with which I have talked consider corruption in the public and private services to be endemic not only to the Romanian society but also to all societies in the world. As such, for them corruption is an inevitable evil, as they consider that a certain level of corruption is necessary for people to be able to pursue their own interests.

This indicates that, in Romania, the ubiquity of informal personal networks nourishes local visions that contradict policy notions of a neat opposition between, on the one hand, transparency and clarity, and, on the other, corruption and obscurity. Indeed, the Romanian term describing successful interactions with state bureaucracy is "*a se descurca*" and means to manage, to see it through, and literally, to disentangle, to render orderly, to separate and thus to clarify. It is the opposite of the verb *a (se) încurca*, meaning to entangle, to mix things and persons in a disorderly fashion. Metaphors of separating and sorting things out, of making clear, of putting into order, underpin successful experiences of ordinary citizens interacting with bureaucratic systems. This ordering process goes hand in hand not with formal pathways of access, but with the personal diversion of public assets and services that breeds the "corruption" mentioned in policy reports. The means for disentangling (*descurcare*) is the skilful performance aimed at extracting useful information and claiming privileged treatment from bureaucrats, often by resorting to șpaga.

Transparency and these local idioms appear to suggest visual metaphors of clarity. Transparency policies claim that the public production and circulation of numbers on the workings of the health care system help to produce clarity and eradicate "corruption." On the other hand, descurcare always implies the unorthodox, if skilful, manipulation of formal rules, as well as the personal and private (not public) manipulation of information and resources. Here, "clarifying" belongs to private endeavours and is **not** opposed to "corruption." Rather, it nourishes and is nourished by what officials see as "petty corruption." For patients dealing with the health care system, petty corruption does not constitute a major concern per se.[14]

## ...Or High Level Machinations?

Instead of petty corruption, patients as well as health care personnel see the cause of the crisis of the health care system to be rooted in high-level machinations such as those involved in "big" corruption (*marea corupție*) or in political struggles between and within political parties.[15]

If many health care personnel and patients see corruption as permeating the whole of Romanian society and institutional structures, including the health care system, they, at the same time, see corruption as more significant and having more important consequences at higher levels. As a patient told me "big affairs are not made in medical offices or in pharmacies, but at higher levels," hinting at top governmental structures.

One such "high level" is represented by the Health Ministry and the Health Fund. The Ministry, in particular, is seen, as one patient told me, as harbouring "the white uniforms mafia," because its bureaucrats are suspected to "stuff their pockets with very fat commissions" in exchange of the approval of preferential acquisitions of medical material. As far as the Health Fund is concerned, its corruption is demonstrated, for patients, health care personnel and journalists alike, by the "sumptuous head offices whose luxury defies the dire state of the health insurance system" (Papadiuc 2003). Moreover, the legal demand to make public information of "public interest"[16] has led to an upsurge in corruption accusations directed against Health Fund officials. For example, at the beginning of 2001 the benefits that the presidents and vice-presidents of the regional Health Funds allocated themselves and their collaborators during the preceding year were made public. The fact that these benefits were up to seven times the basic salary of Health Fund employees was considered proof of malpractice by the Fund leadership (Jitea 2001).

But for many health care personnel and patients as well as opposition politicians, corruption is situated at even higher and more encompassing levels than the Health Ministry and Fund. The governing party's monopolistic hold on political and public service structures is seen as a fundamental cause of the crisis that shakes the health care system. For example, in July 2003 the president of the opposition National Liberal Party (*Partidul National Liberal*, PNL) accused the governing Social Democratic Party (*Partidul Social Democrat*, PSD) of being the sole culprit for the crisis in the health care system because it "destroyed the foundations of the health care domain and effected the hospital reform in the interest of the local barons [the department-level PSD notables]" (O.B. 2003). At around the same time, the opposition Popular Action (*Actiunea Populară*, AP) also saw the health care crisis rooted in the incompetence of the Health Ministry, and in the fact that the PSD inserted its political clients in the Health Ministry, in the departmental health directorate and in hospital management (R.A. 2003). Echoing these political accusations, many patients blamed the crisis of the health care system on the hold of

the governing party over central health care structures. As one of them told me "the Romanian health care system is bankrupt, because health care money does not reach health care, but is controlled by the prime minister. Everybody knows that!" While opposition parties were not absolved of patients' suspicions of corruption ("They did the same when they were in power"), it is the governing party who was the most common focus of their accusations.

The highest machination for which the government was made responsible was the manipulation of health care funds. While the Health Fund was designed as an agency autonomous in the management of health care money, it is the Ministry of Finance that ultimately decides how much of the money collected under the Law on Health Insurance will reach the Fund. As such, around 25% of health funds could be annually diverted by the Finance Ministry toward covering expenses in domains other than health care (EOHSP 2000:25). The input of the Finance Ministry confused the manner by which health money is accounted for and generated accusations of political manipulation and interference. Thus, the story goes, by arbitrarily fixing expenditure levels for the Health Fund, the Finance Ministry has artificially created "surplus funds" that could be allocated to covering salaries and debts of state-owned industrial enterprises (Papadiuc 2003). This alternative vision of the system highlights a parallel network through which some of the health money allegedly flows. The network re-unites state-owned industrial juggernauts, industrial ministries, the Finance Ministry and the Health Fund. According to this vision, the Health Fund is no longer placed at the centre of the network but finds itself marginalized and subordinated to other more important calculating centres like the Finance Ministry.

The creation of a separate health fund exposed the circulation of health money, and thereby made the system somewhat more "transparent." But it failed to reassure the patients, as policy makers hoped it would, that the use of health care money collected from them was properly accounted for. On the contrary, it generated even more discontent. As the Finance Ministry imposed itself as the centre of resource flows by sidelining the Health Ministry and Fund, it also altered the resulting image of the system. In this way, transparency measures themselves contributed to make visible the health fund's role as a black hole and expose the fact that part of the funds had taken an alternative route. Transparency-driven reform has stirred suspicion towards those in power and provoked alternative claims of knowledge about what was "really" happening in the system.

But if corruption plays an important part in accounts of the health care crisis, it is not the only idiom used in these accounts. In explaining the evils in the health care system, many health care personnel and patients appeal not so much to the notion of "corruption" as to a more encompassing politically informed vision. The so-called "Beuran scandal" represented an important moment when such a vision was mobilized. The scandal appealed to a view of causes lying not in the search for immediate material gains by politicians and public servants ("corruption"), but in political machinations with a longer and larger scope that point to the struggle for power among political parties and between different factions of the governing party.

Beuran was appointed Health Minister by the PSD government in June 2003 and had to resign in October 2003 amid allegations of plagiarism concerning several of the books he presented as his. Beuran and Prime Minister Nastase responded to accusations of plagiarism by alleging that the case against the minister was "political" and by stressing that the accusers were either members of the opposition PNL or "occult forces" bent on retaining control of the health care system (Stan and Turcescu 2004:15). Echoing these conspiracy theses, many patients saw the scandal as revelatory not of Beuran's "corruption," but of the political conflicts dividing the Romanian society. They believed that conflicts had developed both between the governing and opposition parties and inside the governing party, pitting the supporters of President Iliescu against the supporters of Premier Nastase.

The media as well as popular accounts downplayed Beuran's plagiarism. Several respondents told me that "intellectual work is par excellence plagiarism." Others explained the situation as follows:

> Since all medicine professors should have long publication lists, they make resident physicians work on their papers. All those who reached the status of a university professor in medicine have plagiarised. [Beuran's] fault was not to mention that he took the material from another source. But, come on, Beuran's books, plagiarised or not, are very good!

Following this reasoning, the Beuran case is ultimately excusable, because, as a patient told me, "we are all humans [prone to making mistakes]. If I was in his place, I would have done the same!" The implication of this is that, if Beuran was laid off, it was not because of "corruption" (as those who attacked him contended), but because his policies threatened some "interests." As a doctor explained it to me, Beuran had "started to evaluate the hospitals and he wanted to fire around two hundred hospital directors."

As such, some insiders in the health care system (physicians or health bureaucrats) as well as many patients believe that a recent systematic, concerted and interested media campaign has sought to destroy the image of Romanian physicians and, through them, of the Romanian health care system. For them, the "campaign" was the purposeful action of "occult agents" who prepared the subsequent destruction of the health care system Romania inherited from socialist times. A young physician summarized the situation as such: "they ["occult agents"] succeeded in doing that. The health care system was destroyed, and the image of the physician was sullied." Admitting he had no evidence to back his claim, the same physician stated that "I don't know, I only have intuitions, but [Prime Minister] Nastase already said it during the Beuran scandal. There were groups from the world of pharmaceuticals, the mafia of pharmaceuticals, with an interest in attacking the [Health] minister. If Nastase said it, it must be somehow true!"[17]

While official reports construct a cold, "rational" organizational image of the health care system, and while government officials and international NGOs blame its deficiencies on the petty corruption of its employees, many health care personnel and patients construct a vision of the health care system as being under the attack of powerful forces that might not act "corruptly" in a strict sense, but that certainly have larger political interests in mind.

## Experiencing and Knowing the System

These alternative images are not "just" representations afloat in a symbolic collective imaginary, they are also pointing to alternative space-times and inscriptions which frame the experience patients have of the health care system. Policy networks produce knowledge substantiated in a paper world traversed by a host of calculative inscriptions. By using equations, indicators, graphs and charts, they make visible the system along costs-results axes of accountability. In contrast to this, patients' knowledge is embedded more in their day-to-day experience of accessing the system than in written inscriptions. The inscriptions patients find in the system are the physical setting of health care units as well as the bodies of other patients and of the health care personnel that give life to these settings. The patients' own visions of the health care system are generated, among other things, by their daily reading of these more mundane and elusive inscriptions.

Seen from the viewpoint of the patients, the system is different from the one presented in policy documents. The latter is a flat space of interaction, where all patients are deemed to receive equal treatment, irrespective of their social status and of the time and place of access. By con-

trast, the patients' system maps out types of interaction which vary in space and time. It is a space of variable human density spanning from amorphous queues in entrance halls, to waiting lines along corridors and to the more restricted interactions inside medical offices. This system is pulsing to the rhythms of patient influxes, of tidal waves of queues, of better or worse times in accessing a nurse or a physician. It is also a chaotic, jungle-like system where one has to make one's own way to the final target, the doctor. It is a system where selective, discriminative treatment, based on social position, connections and command of authoritative talk and self-presentation play out in the open while queuing for "programming" in entrance halls, waiting on corridors or seeking treatment inside medical offices.

To an alerted eye, this system also reveals the patients' quest for immediacy. Among the inscriptions that make this quest visible are the flower bouquets and gift bags carried by patients inside health care units. They signal the patients' desire to establish personal, immediate contact with health care professionals in the hope that this will grant them better and quicker access to treatment. The system also makes visible its own failure to provide service to patients. The plastic bags and containers that hang outside hospital windows indicate that patients bring their own food both in an effort to avoid bad hospital food and as evidence of additional reliance on informal dealings with health care personnel through şpaga.

Such mundane inscriptions are prone to multiple readings on the part of different actors. Thus, the media, the government, and supranational organizations use them to promote a market-modeled understanding of petty corruption as the cause of the crisis of the health care system. Conversely, many health care personnel and patients downplay şpaga and "corruption" in favour of a political understanding of the situation. Indeed, while their own informal networks and dealings permit them, if successful, to better see and thus know and master the system (as they permit them to untangle, or a se descurca), their perception of higher level machinations and informal networks is of an unjust and selfish profiteering of common resources. For them, resources appropriated through informal channels by the powerful go beyond legitimate descurcare, not only because of their sheer quantity, but because, as this does not seem to lead to any larger sharing or trickle down effect, they represent an illegitimate pursuit of personal interests.

Moreover, physical signs could be read from the same perspective as informal dealings. While accessing the system, patients can thus choose to see queues, decaying,

smelly and miserable hospitals and medical centres for "normal people" as signs of big machinations that divert health care money for the political or personal benefit of a powerful few. In the same vein, they can choose to see the contrasting modern buildings of private offices, national security hospitals, and Health Fund headquarters as signs of the desire of the rich and powerful to appropriate for themselves the best spaces and services.

Knowledge of the health care system is nourished by the everyday experience of the health care system and of the society at large. The implementation of neo-liberal policies of liberalization and privatization after the fall of socialism plunged Romania into economic recession and rampant inflation which translated into falling salaries and the decreasing welfare of the population. In parallel, a sharp drop in industrial production, and the disengagement of the state from agricultural production, distribution of goods and from the general welfare of the population, led to an equally sharp rise in unemployment and in the general level of insecurity experienced by ordinary citizens. Urban and rural infrastructure degraded, along with educational and health care infrastructure.

The economic upturn of the new millennium has not yet managed to appease the population's apprehensions, as it started from very low levels. In 2004 for example, while the unemployment rate was still above 8%, the net average monthly salary was the equivalent of 150 euros, which represents, taking into consideration the price index, only 70% of its 1990 level (INS 2004). The perception of deteriorating social conditions and the new conscience of being poor in a poor, underdeveloped country[18] lead to an image of an increasingly "sick" country and people. As a nurse at a Bucharest hospital told me, "there are now more sick people than before [1989], because of the bad social and living conditions." Revealed in diminished resources, decaying infrastructure and persistent queues, the strain on the health care system is thus conceived in terms of a larger malaise about Romania's position relative to its socialist past and its hypothetical future (Europe).

Transparency-driven measures act then more as indicators of inequalities than as catalysts for universal democracy. What the system lets patients see are its dysfunctions in the face of restricted budgets and fuzzy property rights, the patients' quest for immediacy and the marginal place of the country on the international scene. Thus, the international networks of calculation that have lately penetrated the Romanian health care system have not yet displaced the informal personal networks that make the system "work" in its present form. While the former boast sophisticated inscriptions (such as the DRG) and trans-

parency, the latter subvert the efficacy of such inscriptions through daily interactions that deviate resources and information from formal flows. And while policy makers claim increased knowledge and control over the system through increased transparency, patients take pride in understanding "what is really happening in the system" by way of their own "occult cosmologies" (Sanders and West 2003). Thus, in the Romanian case, neo-liberal claims to transparency are undermined not (yet) by making visible alternative understandings through counter political actions (Sanders and West 2003; Escobar 1988:439), but by the visibility of the current circulation of goods (Sanders 2003), money or alternative inscriptions throughout the very social domains that neoliberal policies seek to transform.

## Transparency, Managerialism and Contestation

Transparency policies can be seen as part of a larger enterprise of mastering public service systems through the production of a new type of knowledge of them. This new knowledge has its roots in the "science" of management and was alternatively called by analysts "managerialism" or "new public management." Why does this new science need not only the production of inscriptions (as with all other sciences), but also reflexive appeals to transparency, through the public display of these inscriptions? Part of the answer is that transparency policies build new networks both by creating and mobilizing actors and institutions and also by eroding existing, "traditional" space-times and networks of information. One way to weaken powerful public services networks (unions, professional associations and orders etc.) and make room for new networks is to make visible their internal workings through the production of quantified inscriptions and then expose the latter to inquiry in the public sphere.

As the Romanian case suggests, quantification might not only follow the weakening of a particular domain of action (Porter 1995), but might also precede and contribute to it. In the post-socialist context, it is not simply that managerialism introduces quantification where previously there was none. Rather, managerialism enhances existing quantification (based on socialist planning) while changing its nature (from calculations oriented towards producing results, to calculations oriented toward producing cost-benefit ratios). The struggle between old and new is waged not so much around quantification per se, but around which type of quantification a domain must adopt. In the case of the Romanian post-socialist health care system, quantification is not a reaction of internal actors to the public doubt that erodes their legitimacy,

but a measure introduced, with the help of external actors, in the hope that quantification and public exposure will trigger public doubt about current arrangements, thus increasing support for reform.

In Romania, managerialist quantification is the work of external agents organized around transnational networks of calculation. If their effort is successful, the quest for "performance," one of the keywords of the discourse on transparency, will almost assure that exposure will be lethal for the institutions to which these measures are applied. It will always be possible to highlight deficiencies when the standard is an ever-evanescent ideal of "performance" (Clarke 2003). But, as we have seen, the managerialist quantification is not yet well embedded in the Romanian health care system. Allying the quest for market-like performance with calls for transparency is a double edged sword because claims to bring more clarity through increased quantification are subverted by the simultaneous blurring of liberal separations between public and private (DuGay 1994), and between national and non-national, enacted by managerialism. This, together with the private sector's sacrosanct right to secrecy, leads in itself to less rather than more visibility. By doing this, managerialism simultaneously breeds fuzzy dealings and networks, *and* exposes them, at least in theory, to the public eye.

Thus, networks and inscriptions are important in the production of knowledge, but so are power relations. Not only have the supranational and national actors taking part in managerialist networks of calculations managed to impose their market-driven vision in the reform of the Romanian health care system, but they did so even while the measures they advocated led to the opposite of their claims (i.e., transparency and efficiency). In this, their hold on both governmental institutions and on processes of naming played a major role, in so far as it has, as yet, prevented alternative visions that lead to any significant contestation of the reform.

Moreover, as both power relations and networks are not only analytic concepts, but are also used in social actors' own understandings of the current changes taking place in the health care system, their importance in mobilizing further change needs to be considered. Mirroring recent celebrations of networks in the social sciences, managerialist understandings of contemporary transformations of public services both celebrate informality and fuzziness as instances of "entrepreneurship" and "market forces," and blame informal networks and "corruption" on "bureaucratic" or "socialist" residues. By contrast, alternative scholarly and popular perspectives see informality and corruption as feeding on the power rela-

tions of contemporary capitalism rather than as being mere local residues (Du Gay 1994; Shore and Haller 2005; Hardt and Negri 2000:389). For now, overt contestation of managerialist post-communist transformations is prevented in Romania by the popular acceptance of informality in the workings of public services. But acceptance of informality might reach its limits if social and health care inequalities continue to grow. In that context, alternative claims to knowledge about the hidden workings of the system might prove potentially explosive. While Romanians do not accept understandings in terms of abstract "market forces" or bureaucratic failings, they do designate as responsible for the failings of the "system" those who implemented managerialist transformations in the first place.

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## Notes

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2 In this I am at a variance with anthropological accounts of corruption as mainly a discursive phenomenon (Gupta 1995). If talk about corruption is a claim to knowledge, we need then to also address the grounding of this knowledge in the networks and experience of those who contribute to its production.

3 It was believed that the socialist plan downplayed cost-benefit indicators in its calculus in favour of results-based ones.

4 Interestingly, this idea of the transparency of the market (Escobar 1988:438) is quite a remarkable development from the initial "invisible hand of the market" of Adam Smith!

5 A small sample would include the 1993 World Bank funded National Health Strategy Project, the 1997 program for "institutional reform" under the European Union PHARE (Pologne, Hongrie Assistance à la Reconstruction Economique) program, or the PHARE twinning program Consensus III (2000-2002) (EOHSP, 2000).

6 Elaborated in the 1960s at Yale University, the DRG nourishes international networks at the centre of which are, again, U.S. institutions and universities.

7 As mentioned on the DRG's official website, as a warning to hospital directors who might not be very zealous in "reporting" required data, "what is not codified and reported does not exist" (www.drg.ro/future.htm).

8 These are the Ministry of National Defence, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Justice and the Romanian Service of Information.

9 See: *Istoricul DRG in Romania*, on http://www.euro.who .int/document/e71423.pdf.

10 See, for example, *Bihor online*, 10 April 2005, "Mafia medicamentelor. CNAS a refuzat sa informeze cititorii bihoreni

despre relatia sa cu firme de medicamente private." Available at http://www.bihon.ro/Bihor-local/Bihor-local-103066 .shtm.

11 In 2003, for example, the net average monthly salary in the "health and social assistance" sector was only 4.1 million lei (roughly, the equivalent of CAN$200) (INS 2004).

12 A 2001 survey found that of its respondents who visited a hospital with a problem in the last year (47% of the total), almost half (49%) admitted that they had to "give presents" in return for medical services (CPSS 2002).

13 A 2003 survey found out that 80% of respondents consider that corruption is generalized in Romania. A year later, another survey found out that health care was the sector which the highest percentage of respondents (35%) considered as the one where spaga is most widespread (see: http://www.nudaspaga.ro/?m=CeVreaCampania&s=CeEst eNuDaSpaga).

14 The 2001 survey mentioned above (note 14), found that a large majority (75%) of those who had to "give presents" in return for medical services were also satisfied with the manner in which they were treated by health care personnel (CPSS, 2002).

15 On the uses of the distinction between petty and big corruption in Romania, see also Zerilli (2005).

16 Following the adoption of Law on the Free Access to Public Interest Information (544/2001), another transparency measure of the new millennium.

17 Indeed, premier Nastase's response to Beuran's resignation remained famous: "Beuran started to clean up a health care system which represented a market worth almost one billion dollars. He shook up very many people with different interests. Those affected, who knew things—managers of big hospitals—eventually found something against him" (Stan and Turcescu 2004:15).

18 As opposed to the previous socialist self-image of being honourable "workers" in a "developing" country.

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# Ideas / Idées

# Governmentality

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In this article I provide a brief outline of the concept of governmentality, as I understand it. Then I move to a discussion of its limits as a form of power, and discuss how an awareness of limits opens up ways to examine governmentality ethnographically.[1]

## Governmentality

Defined succinctly as the "conduct of conduct," government is the attempt to shape human conduct by calculated means. Distinct from discipline, which seeks to reform designated groups through detailed supervision in confined quarters (prisons, asylums, schools), the concern of government is the wellbeing of populations at large. Its purpose is to secure the "welfare of the population, the improvement of its condition, the increase of its wealth, longevity, health, et cetera" (Foucault 1991a:100). To achieve this purpose requires distinctive means. At the level of population, it is not possible to coerce every individual and regulate their actions in minute detail. Rather, government operates by educating desires and configuring habits, aspirations and beliefs. It sets conditions, "arranging things so that people, following only their own self-interest, *will do as they ought*" (Scott 1995:202).[2] Persuasion might be applied, as authorities attempt to gain consent. But this is not the only course. When power operates at a distance, people are not necessarily aware of how their conduct is being conducted or why, so the question of consent does not arise.

The will to govern, and more specifically, the will to improve the welfare of the population, is expansive. In Foucault's definition it is concerned with "men in their relations, their links, their imbrication with...wealth, resources, means of subsistence, the territory with all its specific qualities, climate, irrigation, fertility, et cetera; men in their relation to...customs, habits, ways of acting and thinking, et cetera; and lastly, men in their relation to...accidents and misfortunes such as famine, epidemics, death, et cetera" (Foucault 1991a:93). Experts intervene

in these relations in order to adjust them. They aim to foster beneficial processes and mitigate destructive ones. They may operate on population in the aggregate, or on subgroups divided by gender, location, age, income or race, each with characteristic deficiencies that serve as points of entry for corrective interventions.

To improve populations requires the exercise of what Foucault identified as a distinct, governmental rationality. His neologism governmentality refers to a way of thinking about government as the "right manner of disposing things" in pursuit not of one dogmatic goal but a "whole series of specific finalities" to be achieved through "multiform tactics" (Foucault 1991a:95). The identification of appropriate "finalities" and the "right manner" of achieving them points to the utopian element in government— the search for better ways of doing things, better ways of living (Dean 1999:33). It points to calculation and the need for tactics finely tuned to achieve optimal results. It points to technique, since "thought becomes governmental to the extent that it becomes technical," attaching itself to technologies for bringing improved states into being (Rose 1999:51). Thought and technique together comprise the ensemble of "institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics" through which governmental interventions are devised, and conduct conducted (Foucault 1991a:102).

An explicit, calculated program of intervention is not invented *ab initio*. It is traversed by the will to govern, but it is not the product of a singular intention or will. It draws upon, and is situated within a heterogeneous assemblage or *dispositif* that combines "forms of practical knowledge, with modes of perception, practices of calculation, vocabularies, types of authority, forms of judgement, architectural forms, human capacities, non-human objects and devices, inscriptions, techniques and so forth" (Rose 1999:52; see also Foucault 1980:194). Although there are occasions when a revolutionary movement or visionary announces a grand plan for the total transformation of society—the kind of plan James Scott describes as "high modern," more often, programs of intervention are pulled together from an existing repertoire, a matter of habit, accretion and bricolage.[3]

Understanding governmental interventions as assemblages helps to break down the image of government as the preserve of a monolithic state operating as a singular source of power and enables us to recognize the range of parties involved in attempts to regulate the conditions under which lives are lived. These parties include not only diverse state agencies with competing visions, mandates and techniques, but missionaries, scientists, activists and the so-called NGOs, both national and transnational,

involved in arenas such as public health, welfare, agricultural extension, conservation, good governance and, increasingly, conflict management, elements of the hydra-headed endeavour we have come to know as development. To what extent various governmental initiatives are concentrated in, or co-ordinated by, the official state apparatus, is an empirical question. Rather than envisage power as a thing stored in the bureaucratic apparatus and the top echelons of the ruling regime from which it spreads outwards across the nation, and downwards into the lives of the populace, the analytic of governmentality asks "how different locales are constituted as authoritative and powerful, how different agents are assembled with specific powers, and how different domains are constituted as governable and administrable" (Dean 1999:29).[4]

## Limits

Governmental interventions are important because they have effects. They seldom reform the world according to plan, but they do change things. They may be resisted, but not from spaces or positions outside power. In place of the familiar and often spatialized dichotomy, power here, resistance there, the analytic of governmentality draws our attention to the ways in which subjects are differently formed and differently *positioned* in relation to governmental programs (as experts, as targets), with particular capacities for action and critique. Governmental power is not homogenous and totalizing. It has limits, and a focus on these limits, I argue, opens critical terrain for ethnographic analysis. To order an inquiry into limits, I propose four axes.

First, consider the limit to governmental power intrinsic to its characterization as a form of power rather than force. Power, as Foucault stressed, acts on actions: it is only power so long as the target of that power retains the capacity to act. Total control requires violence so extreme that it removes agency under threat of death, enslavement or torture. Power means

> that "the other" (the one over whom power is exercised) be thoroughly recognized and maintained to the very end as a person who acts; and that, faced with a relation of power, a whole field of responses, reactions, results, and possible inventions may open up. [Foucault 1982:220]

In this passage Foucault pinpointed the capacity to act as the source of dynamism in social life. Total power is an oxymoron. Power, he proposed, is a relation of "reciprocal incitation and struggle," a relation of "permanent provocation" (Foucault 1982:222). To follow through on Foucault's insight raises, for me, some empirical ques-

tions: What actions does it provoke? How? Under what conditions? With what effects?

Second, consider the limit posed by the target of governmental power: population and, more specifically, the imbrication of "men and things." This is obdurate terrain. "Men in their relations with wealth, resources, means of subsistence," recognized by Marx and others as the fulcrum of class-based injustice and political mobilization, are somehow to be governmentalized, made the target of technologies to secure optimal arrangements. Climate, epidemics, territory—these are not passive objects. They are, as Latour reminds us, actants, dynamic forces in social life, constantly surprising those who would harness and control them (Latour 1993; Mitchell 2002:23, 28, 30). Men in "their customs, habits, ways of acting and thinking" are no less refractory. The sets of relations and processes with which government is concerned present intrinsic limits to the capacity of governmental interventions to rearrange things. There is inevitably an excess. There are processes and interactions, histories, solidarities and attachments, that cannot be reconfigured according to plan. To examine those processes, that excess, we need to attend to the particularities of conjunctures—specific times, places and sets of relations—the terrain of ethnography.

Third, consider the limits presented by the available forms of knowledge and technique. Foucault observed that governmentality's principal form of knowledge is political economy, by which he meant the liberal art of governing the polity in an economical manner—intervening in the delicate balance of social and economic processes no more, and no less, than is required to adjust, optimize and sustain them (Foucault 1991a:93).[5] Interventions must respect "the integrity and autonomous dynamics of the social body" (Hannah 2000:24). A claim of omniscience or the attempt to regulate or engineer social processes in totalizing fashion would be futile and counterproductive. Any governmental intervention risks producing effects that are contradictory, even perverse. For this reason, reflexivity and calculation of risk are intrinsic to government.

Discussions of reflexivity in the literature on governmentality tend to be rather abstract, but I see reflexivity as a practice that can be investigated ethnographically. Who reflects? What weight do the outcomes of previous interventions carry in their reflections? What are the risks of concern to variously situated subjects, and how do they figure in their calculations?

Fourth, consider the tense frontier between governmental rationality and the practice of critique. The institutionalized practices of planning, regulation, law making and so on operate by attempting to transform contestation over what constitutes improvement, and how the costs and benefits of improvement should be distributed, into technical questions of efficiency and sustainability. Yet this does not mean that the transformation is successful (see Li 1999). On this point I diverge from scholars who emphasize the capacity of expertise to absorb critique, its effective *achievement* of depoliticization.

Hubert Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, among others, argue that expert knowledge takes "what is essentially a political problem, removing it from the realm of political discourse, and recasting it in the neutral language of science." For them expertise is closed, self-referencing and secure once a "technical matrix" has been established. Resistance, or failure to achieve the program's stated aims, comes to be "construed as further proof of the need to reinforce and extend the power of the experts." Thus "what we get is not a true conflict of interpretations about the ultimate worth or meaning of efficiency, productivity, or normalization, but rather what might be called a conflict of implementations" (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982:196). In the same vein, Nikolas Rose stresses the "switch points" where critical scrutiny of the practice of government is absorbed back into the realm of expertise, and "an opening turns into a closure" (1999:192).

For me the concept of limits points to the ever-present possibility of a switch in the opposite direction: the opening up of governmental rationality to a critical challenge. There are many potential sources of critical insight, among which I would list the co-existence of multiple programs, uncoordinated and possibly contradictory; the expectations generated by programs of improvement, especially when they are institutionalized as entitlements or rights; and the inevitable gap between what programs promise, and what they achieve. The possibility of a challenge and its likely sources is one of the risks that programmers must consider in their calculations. Thus politics is not external to government, it is constitutive of it.

Investigating politics returns me, once again, to ethnographic terrain. What causes shifts in relations of power? How do the governing and the governed come to position themselves as adversaries? What can we discover about the conjunctures when reversals occur? Questions such as these require us to combine study of governmental rationalities with the examination of concrete cases and particular struggles—conjunctures at which power can be examined empirically, in its diverse forms and complex multiplicity, its instability, and above all in its historical and spatial specificity.

The reluctance of scholars exploring governmental rationalities to conduct empirical studies of particular con-

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junctures introduces an odd inconsistency in their work: an interest in politics as a hypothetical possibility that is not carried into an interest in politics as a concrete practice.[6] Nikolas Rose, for example, argues for the study of governmental rationalities and *against* what he calls sociologies of rule—studies of the ways in which rule is actually accomplished, in all their complexity (1999:19). Rose's approach yields attention to politics as an afterthought, the excess of government. In his landmark study *Powers of Freedom* his main discussion of politics is confined to the conclusion titled "Beyond Government." There he argues that "analysis of the forms of contestation might help us understand the ways in which something new is created, a difference is introduced into history in the form of a politics." This, he says, is not to seek to

> identify particular agents of a radical politics—be they classes, races, or genders—or to distinguish once and for all the forces of reaction from those of progression in terms of fixed identities. Rather, one would examine the ways in which creativity arises out of the situation of human beings engaged in particular relations of force and meaning, and what is made out of the possibilities of that location. [1999:279]

I find this a very clear statement of a critical research agenda worthy of our attention, but it is not one that Rose himself pursues. The reason for this is methodological: it can best be pursued through sociologies, histories and ethnographies that examine constellations of power in particular times and places, and the overdetermined, messy situations in which creativity arises. The study of politics demands, in short, a research strategy Rose rejects. Foucault also rejected ethnographic study. Why is this so?

## Questions of Method

To study government, Rose argues, is not to start from "the apparently obvious historical or sociological questions: what happened and why. It is to start by asking what authorities of various sorts wanted to happen, in relation to problems defined how, in pursuit of what objectives, through what strategies and techniques" (Rose 1999:20). Similarly, Foucault stopped short of inquiring into the effects produced on the targets and the arena of intervention, and his exploration of practice was also truncated. Since this was no oversight I briefly review Foucault's position on method, which he explained with reference to the disciplinary practices of incarceration:

> You say to me: nothing happens as laid down in these "programmes"; they are no more than dreams, utopias,

a sort of imaginary production that you aren't entitled to substitute for reality. Bentham's *Panopticon* isn't a very good description of "real life" in nineteenth-century prisons.

> To this I would reply: if I had wanted to describe "real life" in the prisons, I wouldn't indeed have gone to Bentham. But the fact that this real life isn't the same as the theoreticians' schemas doesn't entail that these schemas are therefore utopian, imaginary, etc. One could only think that if one had a very impoverished notion of the real. For one thing, the elaboration of these schemes corresponds to a whole series of diverse practices and strategies...For another thing, these programmes induce a whole series of effects in the real...: they crystallize into institutions, they inform individual behaviour, they act as grids for the perception and evaluation of things. It is absolutely true that criminals stubbornly resisted the new disciplinary mechanism of the prison; it is absolutely correct that the actual functioning of the prisons, in the inherited buildings where they were established and with the governors and guards who administered them, was a witches' brew compared to the beautiful Benthamite machine. But if the prisons were seen to have failed, if criminals were perceived as incorrigible, and a whole new criminal "race" emerged into the field of vision of public opinion and "justice," if the resistance of the prisoners and the pattern of recidivism took the forms we know they did, it's precisely because this type of programming didn't just remain a utopia in the heads of a few projectors.

> These programmings of behaviour, these regimes of jurisdiction and veridiction aren't abortive schemas for the creation of reality. They are fragments of reality which induce such particular effects in the real as the distinction between true and false implicit in the ways men "direct," "govern" and "conduct" themselves and others. To grasp these effects as historical events...this is more or less my theme. You see that this has nothing to do with the project—an admirable one in itself—of grasping a "whole society" in its "living reality." [Foucault 1991b:81-82]

The importance of studying the rationale of programs as "fragments of the real," and the real nature of their effects—the fact that things happen because of them that would not happen without—is amply justified here. What I find problematic is the claim that this inquiry can be entirely separated from what goes on inside the "witches' brew." Foucault describes the specificity of the historical conjuncture at which the prison system emerged—new forms of criminality, urbanization, a concern in France to consolidate the state apparatus. But surely one of the strands influencing how incarceration was revised,

adjusted and made into a system that has endured for more than a century despite recidivism and other obvious failures, lies in the details of what actually happens inside prisons. If prisoners devise their own practices and their own critiques, these have effects. Their capacity to act is intrinsic to the nature of power as a relation of "permanent provocation." The exercise of power carries within it multiple possibilities, including the possibility of opening up a governmental strategy to critique, and the incitement to act.

The relation of power to its others is not simply a contest of ideas—it is embodied in practices. Thus our exploration of practices cannot stop at those that follow from the prevailing rationality of government, the self-referencing, systematized, sanitized world of plans and documents. No space, person or social configuration is a tabula rasa, a clean slate awaiting inscription. In the passage just quoted Foucault observed, for example, that the inherited buildings, the guards and governors who retained their old ways of thinking were part of the witches' brew. So what were their effects? How were rules adjusted to the materiality of what existed—in this case, a landscape of old prison buildings configured in a particular style? How were rules adjusted to take account of the embodied presence of guards and prisoners each with their "customs, habits, ways of acting and thinking"?

To pose questions such as these does not mean attempting to grasp the "whole society" as Foucault suggests. A prison is a delimited space. Governmental interventions are also specific: they engage with a particular ensemble of population, a definite set of relations that is to be directed and improved. No doubt the study of government is a more complex inquiry than the study of the effects of a disciplinary regime on a fixed group in a delimited space, because the target of government—population—is a set of processes and relations always in motion. Moreover the apparatus of security that supplies the principal technical means of government—means such as statistics, planning, monitoring—is nothing like a panopticon, still less a set of prison rules. Governmental strategies frequently operate at a distance—a distance that is both "constitutional," as diverse forms of authority are invoked, and spatial, linking experts at distant sites (Rose 1999:50). They depend upon translations through which "alignments are forged between the objectives of authorities wishing to govern and the personal projects of those organizations, groups and individuals who are the subject of government" (Rose 1999:48). More so than the disciplinary regime of the prison, government presents the possibility noted by Foucault that the population may be "aware, vis-a-vis the government, of what it wants, but

ignorant of what is being done to it" (1991a:100) although, as I argued earlier, their ignorance or depoliticization should not be assumed. The effects of governmental interventions, and their reception by target populations, need to be teased out from, and situated in relation to, the multiple forces configuring the sets of relations with which government is engaged.

## Concepts for Empirical Analysis

By way of conclusion, I outline some key terms that can help to orient an ethnographic inquiry into government that combines analysis of governmental interventions (their genealogy, their diagnoses and prescriptions, their boundaries and exclusions) with analysis of what happens when attempts to achieve the "right disposition of things" encounter—and produce—a "witches' brew" of processes and practices that exceed their scope.

*Programs* generally receive the most attention in studies of governmentality. Simply put, a program is the goal to be accomplished, together with the rationale that makes it thinkable, and the associated strategies and techniques. In order to formulate a governmental program, the domain to be governed must be rendered technical, that is, represented "as an intelligible field with specifiable limits and particular characteristics...whose component parts are linked together in some more or less systematic manner by forces, attractions and coexistences" (Rose 1999:33). The relevant ensemble of population must be bounded, linked to a defined problem, and that problem linked again to an account of the mechanisms through which the problem can be addressed, the design for measures for evaluation and so on.

I take programs very seriously because they explain many practices, processes and events that would otherwise be utterly mysterious. As Foucault observed, programs are "fragments of the real," and they produce definite effects. But they are not determinant. An ethnography of government would pay attention to how programs take hold and change things, while keeping in view their instabilities, fragilities and fractures, and the ways in which failure prepares the ground for new programming.

The *practices* that constitute an arena of intervention and render it technical are crucial to the formulation and implementation of a governmental program. But there is another set of practices that should be of equal concern: informal practices of compromise and accommodation, everyday resistance or outright refusal. Since there is always a gap between a plan and its realization, an ethnographic study of government would be attentive to the practices that form in, around, through or against the plan

(O'Malley 1996:311; see also Scott 1998:261 and Li 1999). Compromise, for example, might take the form of the tacit agreement to look the other way when rules are broken, the failure to gather information that contradicts the premises upon which an intervention is planned, or the construction of data to demonstrate unerring "success." Pat O'Malley refers to these as the "subterranean practices of government" (1996:311). To examine practices the ethnographer would ask some very basic empirical questions: What are people connected with a governmental program as proponents, implementers or targets, actually doing? How are their practices interpreted by differently situated subjects?

The *effects* of governmental interventions are both proximate and indirect, planned and unplanned, and they can be examined at a range of spatial scales. Of particular interest to an ethnographer is the intersection between particular programs with their limited, technical field of intervention, and the many other processes that exceed their scope—the changing price of commodities on international markets, for example, or the influence of the media on patterns of consumption and desire, floods and droughts, accidents and diseases. While the will to govern is expansive there is nothing determinate about the outcomes. Ethnographers, in sum, have work to do.

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## Notes

1   For a fuller discussion of governmentality and my attempt to study it ethnographically see *The Will to Improve: Governmentality, Development and the Practice of Politics*, Duke University Press (2007b). See also John Clarke's (2004) discussion of government as unsettled and unfinished, and the political stakes of overestimating its closure.

2   David Scott attributes this phrase to the "preeminent 'governmentalist'" Jeremy Bentham.

3   I situate Scott's approach in relation to studies of governmentality in Li 2005. Compare Cruikshank (1999:42) on government as an accretion of "small things" rather than totalizing systems. I offer an extended examination of practices of assemblage in Li 2007a.

4   For critiques of models of power as a stored resource located in powerful centers see Allen 1999 and Mitchell 1991.

5   Accounts of the relationship between governmentality and liberalism are found in Dean 1999; Hindess 1997; Mitchell 1998; Rose 1999; and especially Burchell 1991.

6   This point has been made by O'Malley 1996 and O'Malley et al. 1997:509. They argue that the critical edge in Foucault submerged in the literature on governmentality needs to be reaffirmed and linked to the study of sociologies as

well as mentalities, thus to expose and expand the arena of contestation or politics. See also McClure 1995 and Valverde 1996.

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# Governmentality, State Culture and Indigenous Rights

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Tania Murray Li's commentary covers themes associated with the concept of governmentality and the state central to the work we do as anthropologists, and identifies the ethnographic study of how governmentality plays out in specific sites as the particular way we can contribute to the study of government. I see my comment as supplementing this larger contribution by showing how focus on the concept of governmentality, and on Foucault's theorization of the state provides insight into the problems and possibilities of resolving, justly, the political relationship between First Nations and Canada, a theme that has been the focus of my work over the past 30 years.

I came to enquire into the concept of "governmentality" because I was looking for a theory of the liberal state, a term defined by Trouillot as both "the apparatus of national governments," and "a set of practices and processes, and their effects" that need to be interrogated "whether or not they coalesce around the central sites of national governments" (2001:131), to help me understand the relationship that now exists between First Nations and Canada. And it is in Foucault's exploration of the liberal state as a "way of life" (*a culture* if you will) and how it came to be dominant in world affairs that I found it. Of particular value are his insights that the liberal state (to carry on with the anthropological analogy) justifies its jurisdiction on a type of origin myth that is categorically different from origin myths associated with nations, the conditions that gave rise to the hegemony of the state ver-

sion by the time Canada was established, and the consequences of that hegemony for the manner in which we live our lives today in Canada and elsewhere in the world. As it is directly relevant to what follows, let me recount this briefly.

In my reading, this aspect of Foucault's project is stated most fully in his 1975-76 lectures (1997). In them he revisits the well-worn field in political theory devoted to the role played by Hobbes' *Leviathan* in constructing the philosophical foundation for the liberal state as an institution of Modernity. Hobbes' argument rests on the distinction he makes between the State of Nature; a "thought experiment" (exemplified nonetheless in the world of the Indigenous), in which he posits that humans live in solitude, unable to form political communities; and the State of Society, exemplified by civilization, in which people live together in a community under a Sovereign. It is an origin myth, in which the "origin" is a dehistoricized moment of transformation from Nature to Society (the Social Contract), and the "myth" is constructed from juridical and philosophical principles deduced through "Reason."

Hobbes wrote *Leviathan* during the English Civil War and Foucault, following most commentators, sees it as devoted to resolving the issue of Sovereignty (or, speaking broadly, the community as defined through political allegiance) that lay at the centre of this conflict. As Foucault explains, the conflict was directly connected to two competing versions of an origin myth concerning Sovereignty based on a shared historical-political discourse that originates in the encounter between Normans and Saxons in 1066. Foucault argues that "what Hobbes wants to elim-

inate is the Conquest" (1997:98) as the basis for determining which version is authentic. To this end, *Leviathan* introduces an origin myth based on juridical-philosophical discourse as another, more compelling way to authenticate sovereignty (Foucault 1997:98-103).

Ultimately, Foucault argues (1997:104) that, on winning the war, the Parliamentarians recast the origin myth of British sovereignty so that the juridical-philosophical took precedence over historical-political as the ultimate authority upon which governance is legitimated. With that move the liberal state becomes a primary site of culture, and a powerful actor in world affairs. And, as an aside, to the extent that Foucault is right, as students of trends in culture history, it behooves us to familiarize ourselves with those aspects of political and legal theory that connect the "origin myth" of the state with its practices in the world today.

In the state form of culture, the community is defined as a collection of individuals who live within a political jurisdiction. Called "citizens," this collectivity is defined principally through inclusion within the borders of a territory circumscribed by lines on a map as agreed to by other states. Thus, membership in the first instance arises not through such historical-political principles as descent through shared ancestry, but from juridical-philosophical ones such as being born within a political jurisdiction.

As Li shows, to Foucault the state is a total social fact that presents a unique "way of life" he calls "government," a culture associated with concepts like "individual rights," "democracy," "progress" and "majority rule." But, as Li underscores, it is also associated with such characteristics as processes that transform persons into measurable units that it seeks to "improve." To Foucault (2005), this individualizing aspect of government derives from such Enlightenment values as the Cartesian principle that renders each of us to be a culture-less entity who exists in separation from the world, and "knows" the world to be an externalized object we can tame. It is a way of life Foucault finds very troubling, to be interrogated, not celebrated.

Following Li, I would argue that "governmentality" is the process by which government as a way of life is transmitted to individuals and collectivities, and becomes the process through which "government" imposes itself and ultimately acts to subordinate forms of culture based on historical-political principles. Ultimately, as I see it, defined as that field of "power relations (that) are rooted in the whole network of the social" (2000:345), governmentality can be likened to that aspect of cultural transmission we call "enculturation."

Every nation does not have a state, but every state does claim a national identity (or nationality). As Fou-

cault's work suggests, one key role played by "governmentality" is to impose this identity on a jurisdiction, thereby turning the culture of one community into the culture of a jurisdiction to which all citizens must adapt to participate in public discourse. It is a process that results in that fictive entity—the "nation-state," a condition that results most frequently in Western Europe by coupling the juridical-philosophical principle of "majority rule" to the historical-political discourse of the ethnonational majority. It is a process that Foucault suggests leads to, among other consequences, modern forms of racism (1997:89).

Foucault's project was directed explicitly towards Western Europe, a site where the state culture, "democracy," is perceived to be a fundamental, universal value discovered locally at the time of the Enlightenment. But, as comparativists, we know that what is true for Europe may not hold universally. There are, for example, many sites where, outside certain elites, "democracy" is received less as a manifestation of the Enlightenment than as the imposition of a foreign ("colonial") system on local political-historical trajectories. Here, even where a majority ethnonational community exists within a state, governmentality may be less effective in imposing its discipline to harmonize national political-historical discourse with state culture (Geertz 2004).

Nation-states like Canada present a different problematic. Here the settlers, the majority ethnonational community, do not have a historical-political discourse connected to their territory sufficiently compelling to stand as the narrative of the nation in the face of the more lengthy historical-political discourses of the Indigenous peoples within. In Canada, governmentality functions not only to establish the hegemony of juridical-philosophical principles in the establishment of state culture, but also to legitimate the historical-political discourse of the settlers as that of the nation. This process is fostered by the transformation of the State of Nature from an imaginary "thought experiment" about a period before political-juridical time to a fictionalized time before historical-political discourse came into being; an ethnological epoch before origin myths about sovereignty that is exemplified in the way in which Indigenous peoples lived before the arrival of the settlers. It is a period when the land was not occupied by political communities—a *terra nullius* as defined in Canadian jurisprudential law (Asch 1993). Therefore the historical-political origin myth to legitimate Sovereignty can only begin with European settlement.

The doctrine of *terra nullius* justifies sovereignty over Indigenous peoples and their lands in Canadian law by erasing Indigenous historical-political discourse. It

invokes racist evolutionary principles proffered by the British to justify Empire in the age of colonialism, principles that Canada strongly condemns abroad. It evokes an historical-political discourse so transparently fictional that it ought not be given serious consideration. Yet it remains the "factual" foundation upon which sovereignty over Indigenous peoples and their lands is justified in Canadian law, a story so compelling that the Supreme Court of Canada recently declared that it was beyond question when it concluded: "there was from the outset [of European settlement] *never any doubt* that sovereignty and legislative power, and indeed the underlying title, to such lands vested in the Crown" *(R. v. Sparrow*, S.C.R. 1075 [1990], emphasis mine).

The representation as indisputable fact that Canada was a *terra nullius* prior to European settlement despite its transparent falsehood is a manifestation of governmentality in creating a "reality" in which to live. It shows that governmentality is not an externality—something that is done to us. It is what we do to ourselves in making our lives. As Foucault says:

> while colonization, with its techniques and its political and juridical weapons, obviously transported European models to other continents, it also had a considerable boomerang effect on the mechanisms of power in the West, and on the apparatuses, institutions, and techniques of power. A whole series of colonial models was brought back to the West, and the result was that the West could practice something resembling colonization, or an internal colonialism, on itself. [1997:103]

To me this means that it will likely prove impossible to create a just relationship with First Nations without also decolonizing ourselves.

Tania Murray Li concludes with salient observations concerning the contribution that empirical inquiry plays into the study of government. This work, she suggests, will confirm through the observation of practices, programs and effects of governmentality that "while the will to govern is expansive there is nothing determinate about the outcome." In this, Li succinctly describes Foucault's insistence that, while government is hegemonic, it is not (yet?) in complete control. As Foucault puts it (1983:221), "practices of freedom" remain in play, and as Li observes, they include "informal practices of compromise and accommodation, everyday resistance or outright refusal" that occur in everyday life. For an anthropologist like myself, it is this point that resonates most deeply because it reminds us that there are limits to power and that people do resist the colonial positionings proffered for us, as citizens and academics, by the liberal state. Thus, it con-

firms in the face of *Leviathan* that decolonization remains possible. To the sites that Li suggests for such study, let me add that I have found that working with First Nations on practices of freedom has been particularly enriching. As *R. v. Sparrow* confirms, First Nations are represented in the culture of the Canadian state as primitives, a position they inevitably vacate, willingly or not, when confronted with the power of most "advanced" economic and political systems. Yet, after 300 years of occupation, they continue to practice freedom in both subtle and direct ways. Indeed, it was the documentation, by First Nations and anthropologists, that many First Nations remain reliant for their livelihood on the foraging mode of production not withstanding long exposure to the market economy, that put to rest forever the truth-claim proffered by government and capital that they had been absorbed by the world economy. I have found that working with people so determined to practise freedom in the face of the *Leviathan* sustains the proposition that, by learning from each other and working together, decolonization is possible, but, as the work of Foucault on the power of government to dominate our consciousness makes clear, never inevitable.

In 2001 I presented the Weaver-Tremblay lecture (Asch 2001) in which I discussed how I orient my engagement, politically and ethically. In it, I rejected Foucault's view (Elders 1974) that the goal of engagement is to gain "power" in favour of Chomsky's that it is to achieve "justice." When reduced to this stark choice, it is a position with which I still concur. But, I was wrong to dismiss Foucault on that remark. As Li's commentary makes clear, there is much in his work that is compelling. I am thankful to have had the chance to explore aspects of his contribution that I have found particularly valuable to my work.

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## The Work of Rights at the Limits of Governmentality

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The concept of governmentality is ubiquitous in the social sciences. A recent review essay begins with the assertion that "'modernity' and 'governmentality' may be two of the most overused terms in anthropology today" (Warnov 2006:369). Governmentality is a concept that informs anthropological approaches to the state (Ferguson and Gupta 2002; Hansen and Stepputat 2001; Sharma and Gupta 2006), biological and genetic resources and related subjectivities (Collier 2005; Sunder Rajan 2005; Taussig et al. 2003), citizenship and sovereignty (Ong 2000), colonialism (Redfield 2005; Scott 1999; Stoler 1995), land conflicts (Nuitjen 2004), transnational labour migration (Hairong 2003; Rudnyckyj 2004), and the anthropological study of modernity itself (Inda 2005; Stoler 2004). Ethnographic studies of governmentality are now found in fields as diverse as library science and nursing. Emerging studies of development (Watts 2003; Sivaramakrishnan and Agrawal 2003), international institutions (Bebbington et al. 2005; Goldman 2005; Peet 2003), and environmental politics (Agrawal 2005a, 2005b; Jasanoff and Martello 2004) coming from sociology, political science, and geography particularly, have also provided opportunities for fruitful interdisciplinary conversations in which anthropologists have been critical interlocutors (Moore 2003; Gupta 2003).

Tania Li points out that "understanding governmental intervention as assemblages helps to break down the image of government as the preserve of a monolithic state operating as a singular source of power and enables us to recognize the range of parties involved in attempts to regulate the conditions under which lives are lived" (this volume). Indeed, the concept of assemblages—abstractable, mobile, and dynamic forms that move across and reconstitute society, culture, and economy—has become crucial to the ways in which anthropologists have studied globalization (Ong and Collier 2005) as a process under construction (Perry and Maurer 2003). It has also figured significantly in the anthropological and historical project of contesting "visions of a stable, universal and placeless modernity seen to unfold in the shadow of Europe's Enlightenment" (Moore 2003:169). Li bypasses this field of ethnographic scholarship on governmentality to make a more distinctive argument. She suggests that an awareness of governmentality's *limits* opens up ways to examine governmentality ethnographically, because the relations and processes with which government is concerned involve "histories, solidarities, and attachments that cannot be reconfigured according to plan" (this volume).

Exploring the space of the limit requires a consideration of the "particularities of conjunctures" (Li, this volume)—the appropriate terrain of ethnography. It would be wrong, however, to understand this focus on limits as urging anthropologists to study the margins rather than the centres of power, because the very concept of governmentality renders those spatial metaphors suspect. The idea of the limit, or limits, does suggest a boundary, but it also marks the achievement of a point of exhaustion, the beginning of an ongoing lack of capacity, and a point of refusal. Governmentality has its limits, but so do people and people's limits are not wholly governmentality's own. Limits are reached in fields of power *and* meaning.

A focus upon governmentality's limits also helps to counteract some difficulties that attend many neo-Foucaultian endeavours especially the tendency toward a "top-down" analytic optic in governmentality studies. Despite the animating premise that power circulates rather than being held or imposed, the study of governmentality nonetheless tends to ally itself with the omniscient viewpoint of the administrator rather than with the position of those who are subjected. Consideration of governmentality's limits may both invite the subaltern to speak and urge us to attend to the conditions under which those voices are heard and the tactics characteristic of the politics of the governed. One way in which this can be accomplished is through a consideration of the subjects of government, "the forms of person, self, and identity... presupposed by different practices of government" and "the statutes, capacities, attributes, and orientations... assumed of those who exercise authority...and those who

are to be governed" (Dean 1999:32). While governmental practices may seek to attach individuals to particular identities and to encourage particular kinds of experience, they do not necessarily succeed in so doing. As Jonathan Inda reminds us, "for governmentality scholars, then, it is important to look not just at the forms of collective and individual identity promoted by practices of government, but also at how particular agents negotiate these forms— at how they embrace, adapt, or refuse them" (2005:11). An ethnographic exploration of this dimension of governmentality's limits thus requires an understanding of the cultural resources and political tactics available to social agents in practices of articulation.

The concept of articulation relies upon processes of discursive mobilization and contingent identification. Anthropologists have found it useful for understanding global formations and assemblages of institutions, practices, appartatuses and discourses (Choy 2005). Indeed, Tania Li has provided us with extremely nuanced ethnographic portraits of some instances in which "indigenous" identities were and were not successfully articulated in Indonesia (Li 2000), exploring the various practical and political factors at work in making such claims persuasive. The exploration of such conjunctures, however, also needs to attend to the diversity of scales at which such identity claims are made and the forms of political scrutiny and persuasion they enable. This is not, emphatically, to seek a field of "resistance" to a field of "power" but to consider how different forms of struggle take up resources afforded by different regimes and discourses of power and the characteristic subject positions they offer, the cognitive orientations and psychic inclinations they engender, and the new capacities and forms of empowerment they enable.

Governmentality studies risk becoming rather static pictures of particular regimes of power unless they attend to issues of historical sedimentation and historical emergence. This involves a diachronic understanding of the emergence of new forms of knowledge, technics and subjects as well as their *encounter* with habitual forms of practice and historical identification which may restrict their realms of encompassment. As Li puts it, "no space, person, or social configuration is a *tabula rasa*, a clean slate awaiting inscription" (this volume). Despite the general wariness around questions of culture in governmentality studies, I would suggest that the deployment of available discursive resources such as local understandings of tradition, moral economies of customary practice and specific beliefs about the nature of human dignity are crucial to articulate situated senses of injustice, convictions about governmentality's appropriate limits (Edel-

man 2005; Sivaramakrishnan 2005), and to express alternative forms of political aspiration (Appadurai 2004).

Li asks us to consider "the tense frontier between governmental rationality and the practice of critique" (this volume). Foucault "defined critique in terms of a concern with not being governed, or at least with not being governed so much or in particular ways" and as finding points of difference or exit from the present—"contemporary limits to present ways of thinking and acting in order to go beyond them" (Patton 2005:268). He recognized the historical importance of appeals to natural law as setting limits on government but he never universalized or naturalized the principles appealed to; rather he appears to have recognized these as historically specific rhetorical strategies using available discursive resources in particular struggles. The vocabulary of right and practices of rights claims continue to afford new resources and opportunities for articulations at and of governmentality's limit(s) and thus spaces of politics, critical insight and possible transformation.

A Foucaultian theory of critique is compatible with appeals to rights once rights are understood not as inherent in universal features of human nature or the human condition but as historical and contingent features of particular forms of social life in which bodies possess rights based upon legitimating social conditions. Anthropologists studying human rights have moved beyond issues of universalism and relativism to understand rights as ever-emergent articulations in which locally significant as well as transnationally validated cultural resources are used to interpret putatively universal entitlements so as to expand the scope of what justice entails and injustice demands (Merry 2001, 2006; Cowan et al. 2001; Wilson 2004). Rights claims are normatively forceful rhetorical assertions that knit historically available discourses of right with locally meaningful content in order to have the capacities of particular agents recognized and legitimated at diverse scales.

The anthropological study of human rights is still in its infancy (Wilson 2004; Goodale 2006a). It has had little engagement with the concerns of political anthropology generally, and less still with questions of governmentality. Human rights have international, state, regional, and local provenance. Enunciated in performative iterations at multiple scales, their normative content is continually reinterpreted to express new forms of grievance, aspiration, and entitlement. They may be called upon in movements of self-determination that demand greater autonomy from the modern state and they may be deployed to subject the state itself to new forms of scrutiny, judgment and discipline. Rights vocabularies are spread transnation-

ally by so-called non-governmental organizations (NGOs), development institutions, social movements and activists representing diverse minorities and global causes—interpreted across rhizomatic transnational networks. They afford forms of identity and means of identification, invite new forms of coalition building, and may provide vehicles to express alternative forms of development and visions of human improvement at odds with international institutions and developmental states.

Rights are always dialogically engaged with residual, dominant, and emergent fields of power. New programs of government provide the opportunities to assert new kinds of right; given its emphasis upon autonomy and responsibility, neoliberalism, for example, functions through new forms of empowerment and freedom. These spaces of autonomy, however, may also enable older forms of attachment and obligation to assume a new legitimacy when linked to universalizing discourses of morality. This would accord with Foucault's insight that appeals to new rights or new forms of right will always rely upon concepts derived from existing discourses of moral or political right and

> will always be incremental and experimental. In terms of Foucault's definition of critique...they will always involve working on the limits of what is possible to say and to do within a given milieu, in order to identify and assist ways in which it might be possible and desirable to go beyond those limits. [Patton 2005:284]

Intersections of neoliberal governmentality and rights-based struggles suggest promising avenues of inquiry for ethnographies 'of the limit' that explore the continuing tactical polyvalence of discourses of right. The concept of governmentality demands that we go beyond asking whether neoliberal rationality adequately represents society, to consider how it operates as a politics of truth that produces new forms of knowledge and expertise to govern new domains of regulation and intervention such as the environmental politics of sustainable development (Harvey 2001; Watts 2002). As "nature" and "life itself" are "drawn into the economic discourse of efficient resource management," (Lemke 2002:56) ecosystem or genetic resources are tapped as forms of information that can yield rents under intellectual property laws that enable new forms of capital accumulation.

New environmental regimes, such as those put into place to meet state obligations under the Convention on Biological Diversity, afford new subject positions for those positioned to embrace the positions of environmental stewardship they offer. They also attract new investments in communities that adopt the disciplines of ecosystem management while cultivating "traditional environmental knowledge" as a new source of development expertise. These activities may originally have been designed to incorporate so-called local communities embodying traditional lifestyles more completely into regimes of market citizenship (Harvey 2001). However, to the extent that these subject-positions have been encoded as "indigenous" and "traditional" they also invite local communities thus subjected to reflect upon their historical practices and to express their appeals in the moral discourses of right that global indigenous movements afford them. If "the effects of governmental interventions, and their reception by target populations" need to be "situated in relation to the multiple forces configuring the sets of relations in which government is engaged" (Li this volume) then it is necessary to recognize that all forms of government are engaged with discourses, practices and institutions of rights. Rights practices engage "one of the few moral injunctions the legitimacy of which is still acknowledged internationally" (Hristov 2005:89), to justify practices of "everyday resistance or outright refusal" (Li this volume). They are used to target state governments, international economic institutions, and transnational corporations (and to a lesser degree NGOs and communities) as subjects bearing obligations that must be continually reinterpreted and reiterated.

Indigenous rights-based movements link identitarian claims to territory and resources in an innovative fashion that often deploys the modern vocabulary of human rights to militate *against* modern tendencies to divide the human world into social, political, economic and cultural realms (Coombe 2003, 2005). If some scholars celebrate this movement as an innovative form of resistance to neoliberal governmentality (Eudaily 2004; Jung 2004), others criticize it as an ethnicisation of politics dictated by the needs of neoliberal state economic policies (Gledhill 1997; Watts 2003). More nuanced readings consider the opportunities afforded by what I will call indigenous "rights places" in the spaces of neoliberal environmental regimes to articulate distinctive forms of belonging and obligation (Escobar 1996, 1998, 2001, 2004; Hale 2005; Perreault 2001, 2003a, 2003b; Laurie et al. 2005; McAfee 1999). If indigenous rights movements encourage peoples in Southern Africa to represent themselves as isolated, pristine, primitives and to express primordial identities and essentialised cultures (for example see Sylvain 2005), contemporary Latin American indigenous movements have been described as a new form of cosmopolitanism: "a way of *reclaiming* modernity, a way of redefining what modernity as a cultural category means and what it means

to be modern" (Goodale 2006b:646; see also Clark 2005). Not every assertion or activity couched in the vocabulary of rights articulates the space of governmentality's limit; we must be continually attentive to the ways in which rights achieved entrench their own regimes of governable spaces and subjects.

Exploring the intersection of rights practices with regimes of governmentality is a promising way for anthropologists to ethnographically explore a multi-sited, multi-scale and *intercultural* conversation about the conduct of conduct. This conversation is a moral as well as a political and legal one. Our ethnographic explorations need to remain attentive to the productive capacities of regimes of power and the distinct forms of subjectivity they provide as well as the capacities afforded for people thus subjected to engage available resources from multiple traditions to enable new articulations of right at governmentality's limits.

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## Commentaire sur la notion de «gouvernementalité» proposée par Tania Murray Li

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Le terme tel qu'il est entendu ici renvoie à ce que Meyet (2005:26) appelle la «governmentality school», qui s'organise au début des années 1990 au Royaume-Uni, notamment autour des travaux de Nicolas Rose. Cette «école» s'interroge sur les mentalités, les stratégies et les techniques par lesquelles nous sommes gouvernés et nous nous gouvernons nous-mêmes, tout en poursuivant l'engagement politique. La question de la conduite des conduites, la «droite disposition» des choses et des hommes dans leur rapport à ces choses, est donc une occasion de s'adresser au présent de manière critique. Li résume ainsi ce programme: «to shape human conduct by calculated means». Cela suppose qu'il faut «éduquer» à la fois les désirs, les habitudes, les aspirations, et cetera, visant la population

dans son ensemble, afin d'améliorer son bien-être par des mesures correctives. Le texte est stimulant, mais appelle quelques commentaires que je résume en trois points : 1) la gouvernementalité vise bien la population, mais elle vise aussi les individus; 2) elle permet de montrer comment des sujets sont produits dans des rapports de domination qui impliquent les normes découlant des savoirs scientifiques; et 3) le potentiel critique de cette approche est dans l'étude de conjonctures précises, mais étant donné le rapport savoir-pouvoir, l'analyse des pratiques d'accommodation et de résistance pose problème.

1) La complexité de la notion de gouvernementalité est bien campée dans l'exposé et les citations sélectionnées, mais l'auteure ne semble pas en tirer toutes les conséquences lorsqu'elle discute de ses limites et explique son positionnement. Les effets de la gouvernementalité sont de deux ordres : d'une part, ils entraînent un travail sur la population en tant qu'être vivant dont on doit réguler la croissance, la productivité et le bien-être (le biopouvoir) et, d'autre part, ils supposent une administration des corps, des désirs, des habitudes, et cetera, véhiculés par des individus qui sont, de ce fait, les produits et les relais du pouvoir (Foucault 1994a:180). L'auteure privilégie la population; cela se traduit notamment dans le glissement vers la notion de dispositif. Ce positionnement, tout en étant parfaitement légitime, colore sa présentation de la notion de gouvernementalité et les axes d'analyse qu'elle privilégie.

La population, dans la perspective foucaldienne, c'est d'abord un problème qui naît dans la conjoncture du XVIIIe siècle et qui permet le «déblocage» d'un art nouveau du gouvernement qui fera de l'économie une sphère propre, séparée de la famille où elle était jusque-là cantonnée. La statistique est la technique qui permet ce «déblocage» car grâce à elle se constitue l'objet «population», qui devient la fin et l'instrument du gouvernement (Foucault 1994b:652). Ceci étant, «gérer la population veut dire gérer également en profondeur, en finesse et dans le détail» (Foucault 1994b:654), car les mutations historiques qui font advenir cet objet exigent aussi que les effets du pouvoir «circulent» par «des canaux de plus en plus fins, jusqu'aux individus eux-mêmes, jusqu'à leur corps, jusqu'à leurs gestes, jusqu'à chacune de leurs performances quotidiennes» (Foucault 1994c:195). C'est à ce prix que peuvent être «éduqués» les désirs, les habitudes et les aspirations. Présenter la notion de gouvernementalité sans faire référence à la fois à ses effets individualisants et à ses effets totalisants me semble incomplet. L'intérêt de l'approche foucaldienne, à mon avis, est de faire voir comment on est gouverné dans le fait même d'être individualisé et constitué en sujets.

2) L'auteure résume la conception foucaldienne du pouvoir et rappelle certaines considérations méthodologiques qui montrent que la résistance est un indice que des effets de pouvoir sont à l'œuvre[1]. Pour l'auteure, cependant, ce ne sont pas tant les mécanismes et les effets de pouvoir qui sont intéressants, mais bien les accommodations et les compromis, voire les résistances qui résultent de leur mise en œuvre.

Il faut rappeler que la gouvernementalité suppose des rapports de pouvoir qui ne s'appuient pas sur le droit, mais sur des techniques; non pas sur la loi, mais sur la normalisation; non pas sur le châtiment, mais sur le contrôle (Foucault 1976:118). Ce contrôle, l'auteure s'y réfère, mais en introduisant ce qui me paraît être un déplacement : «When power operates at a distance, people are not necessarily aware of how their conduct is being conducted or why, so the question of consent does not arise.» La conduite des conduites apparaît alors comme une action qui agirait sur des individus constitués qui ne seraient pas conscients du pouvoir qui s'exerce sur eux; elle agirait de l'extérieur en quelque sorte, ce qui rappelle la conception du sujet comme étant «doté d'une conscience dont le pouvoir viendrait s'emparer» (Laborier et Lascoumes 2005:41). Mais le processus dont il est question implique précisément la production de savoirs qui assignent des caractéristiques que les individus sont appelés à accepter pour eux-mêmes, se reconnaissant dans la vérité produite à leur sujet et ajustant leur conduite en conséquence. L'expérience est donc travaillée par le savoir des sciences humaines qui nous disent ce que nous sommes et ce que sont les autres. Le processus par lequel des subjectivités surgissent est double; il apparaît avec des pratiques de surveillance et d'examen qui visent à discipliner les corps pour produire des «sujets soumis» (l'assujettissement). Il naît aussi avec la pratique de l'aveu qui assujettit la conscience et amène les individus à accepter pour soi ce qui se présente comme une vérité à leur sujet (la subjectivation). Cette vérité est produite dans un rapport social particulier qui lie celui qui «avoue ce qu'il est» à un tiers qui l'écoute et traduit cet aveu dans des termes jugés vrais. Ce processus de traduction est connu des anthropologues qui utilisent l'aveu comme technique d'enquête privilégiée. À ce titre, la production de connaissances ethnographiques s'inscrit directement dans la dynamique de la gouvernementalisation du monde à la fois par l'examen des pratiques et les incursions dans les «âmes».

L'étude détaillée de St-Hilaire (1995) est un exemple de la place des savoirs savants dans l'avènement du sujet «femme paysanne» au sein des programmes de développement. L'implantation de projets, aux Philippines dans ce cas précis, a supposé la production d'un savoir scientifique et pratique qui a débouché sur la création de sujets reconnaissables par les organismes subventionnaires. Ces «femmes paysannes» ont des besoins précis auxquels s'adressent les programmes de l'Agence Canadienne de Développement International (ACDI). Cette relation d'incitation réciproque entre savoir et pouvoir produit les technologies propres à la gouvernementalité, technologies qui permettent de surveiller les individus et de les transformer en sujets avec des caractéristiques auxquelles un champ de possibilités est rattaché. Ce lien me paraît essentiel pour apprécier l'apport des sciences sociales à la gouvernementalité. Ces savoirs sont inscrits dans des appareils de gouvernement qui les rendent opératoires à travers des technologies. Ces technologies produisent des effets indépendamment des intentions et induisent des rapports politiques dans la mesure où elles peuvent provoquer des résistances, ou établir et maintenir la domination (Lascoumes 2004; Beaulieu 2005). Comme le souligne Butler (2005:90), «être gouverné n'est pas seulement voir imposer une forme à son existence, mais se voir imposer aussi les termes dans lesquels l'existence sera ou ne sera pas possible».

La traduction des enjeux politiques en problèmes de gestion est une conséquence directe de ce rapport savoir-pouvoir. Cette traduction permet de transformer une unité politique, le peuple, en une unité administrable, la population, dont on peut gérer la vie et la mort, la santé et la richesse. L'engouement des sciences de l'administration pour l'œuvre de Foucault en témoigne (Hatchuel et al. 2005). Cette technicisation de la conduite des hommes ne renvoie pas le politique hors du champ du gouvernement car les rapports savoir-pouvoir *sont* des rapports de force, l'occasion d'affrontements qui peuvent se renverser ou se fixer en relations de domination. Les effets de pouvoir circulent par le biais des jeux de vérité qui font des effets normatifs. Ce sont ces effets normatifs et les moyens de contrôle mis en place pour assurer l'adhésion à ces normes qui constituent le domaine des experts et le mécanisme par lequel est constituée et travaillée la «réalité» à laquelle ils nous convient. C'est pourquoi le rapport savoir-pouvoir fait partie intégrante de ce mode de gouvernement et doit être la cible d'une démarche critique (Couillard et Piron 1996; Piron 2005).

3) La pertinence de l'étude de la gouvernementalité réside dans l'étude de ce que Inda (2005:11) appelle la matérialité, la manifestation concrète de ce mode de gouvernement que Bayart et Warnier abordent comme «matière à politique» (2004), puisque c'est en agissant que l'on s'inscrit dans les réseaux d'actions sur les actions des autres. Il est important de considérer les forces en pré-

sence avant leur «stabilisation». C'est ce que Foucault appelle une «rupture d'évidence» qui permet de retrouver les connexions, les blocages, les jeux de force qui, à un moment donné, ont formé ce qui devient ensuite une évidence sur laquelle «s'appuient notre savoir, nos consentements, nos pratiques» (Foucault 1994d:23). Une telle démarche devrait, selon moi, éviter de déboucher sur une mise à nu de la résistance par sa traduction dans le langage de la science, contribuant ainsi à sa technicisation et sa dépolitisation. La question n'est donc pas, me semble-t-il, de savoir si les experts incorporent les critiques, mais bien d'interroger les savoirs sur lesquels ils s'appuient, les technologies qui en découlent et leurs conséquences pour les personnes visées. Nous participons à la gouvernementalisation du monde, alors le défi n'est-il pas d'identifier les jeux de pouvoir qui produisent le minimum de domination? Autrement dit, comme le souligne Foucault tel que rapporté par Butler, être gouverné, soit, mais «pas comme ça, pas pour ça, pas pour eux» (Butler 2005:87).

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## Note

1 Pour plus de détails sur la méthode, *La volonté de savoir* est très explicite (Foucault 1976:121-135). Sur la lutte des détenus à l'origine du texte cité, voir Revel (2005:135-138) et la production de la subjectivité.

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**La gouvernementalité selon Tania Murray Li**

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Les affirmations de Tania Murray Li visent à analyser la gouvernementalité selon des positions définies ou inspirées par Foucault. Or, ce savant a systématiquement refusé d'offrir au monde une vision intégrée de sa pensée. De nombreux chercheurs, prétendant s'inspirer de Foucault, ont donc développé des interprétations très souples (précisément parce que Foucault n'est pas toujours cohérent d'une analyse à l'autre), ou encore, ils ont tenté de projeter certaines dimensions de la pensée fou-

cauldienne sur des sujets que Foucault n'a pas analysés dans son œuvre inachevée. C'est le cas de Murray Li qui prétend utiliser la pensée foucauldienne «ethnographiquement», bien que Foucault ne mentionne l'ethnologie qu'une seule fois dans l'ensemble de son corpus. Le penseur français nourrissait une antipathie bien connue envers l'anthropologie qu'il voyait, semble-t-il, comme une discipline mystificatrice, trop apte à réifier le sujet pour le transformer en objet.

Murray Li fait appel à des positions tellement abstraites, programmatiques et surtout a-historiques pour développer son argument que j'ai de la difficulté à élaborer un commentaire qui débatte des points particuliers qu'elle soulève. Je me limiterai donc à quelques commentaires généraux, en commençant par le fait que, pour Foucault, la gouvernementalité se manifeste par sa capacité de s'attacher, métaphoriquement (souvent par l'analogie, où deux «rationalités» attachées à deux situations différentes se ressemblent), à la logique propre à certaines dimensions apparemment banales de la vie sociale qui se présentent aux personnes sous forme naturalisée et apolitique.

Par exemple, la dimension de comptabilité de plusieurs programmes politiques—devons-nous fermer les hôpitaux de banlieue pour centraliser les services et éviter le dédoublement?—peut sembler «logique» à des personnes toujours aux prises avec les problèmes d'horaire et de déplacement—dois-je prendre telle rue ou telle autre pour gagner deux minutes dans mon trajet matinal? Évidemment, dans cet exemple, les personnes sont conscientes que certains individus vont souffrir si certains hôpitaux sont fermés parce qu'ils seront incapables de se rendre aux hôpitaux centraux aussi fréquemment. Leur bien-être n'est pas pris en compte par les planificateurs, sauf quand vient le temps de calculer la hausse du taux de mortalité et les sommes qu'ils devront peut-être payer quand les familles de ces victimes tenteront de les traduire en justice. Dans cet exemple, le sang-froid et l'indifférence ne sont pas comptabilisés, et la masse de citoyens accepte la décision sans trop de protestation parce qu'elle «comprend», elle aussi, la rationalité fiscale derrière la décision du gouvernement. Bref, l'indifférence à la souffrance se manifeste justement parce qu'il existe des inégalités de pouvoir entre planificateurs et citoyens qui se cachent derrière des logiques parallèles.

Cet exemple plutôt long met en relief la pensée de Murray Li, qui semble adopter une position inverse. Selon elle, les programmes politiques naîtraient et seraient mis en scène indépendamment des relations de pouvoir qui dominent les autres aspects de la vie sociale. De plus les programmes politiques s'inspireraient de «principes» et

seraient marqués par la «volonté» des planificateurs. Je ne vois donc pas comment le programme analytique revendiqué ici peut prétendre suivre une logique foucauldienne. Je m'explique.

Murray Li postule, de façon arbitraire, une différence entre la gouvernementalité et la discipline. Il me semble clair que Foucault mentionne la différence pour souligner que les deux instances sont liées par le pouvoir. La discipline est un rapport de force, mais le pouvoir derrière la gouvernementalité n'est qu'une autre instance nuancée et masquée des mêmes rapports de force. Foucault, à mon avis, distinguait gouvernementalité et discipline pour souligner la qualité implicite et indicible du pouvoir. La position de Murray Li semble ignorer que la distinction n'était qu'une position heuristique et analytique. Elle préfère l'interpréter en réduisant la gouvernementalité à une projection idéologique, à une position essentialiste et formaliste, à un masque contemporain pour l'idéalisation hégélienne. Peut-être Murray Li avance-t-elle ici une interprétation nouvelle ou même radicale de Foucault, mais le résultat est malheureux. La stratégie visant à décortiquer arbitrairement le concept foucauldien du pouvoir pour ultérieurement créer une synthèse de ses composants fragmentés semble être dégagée de toute pensée académique, où la force motrice de la gouvernementalité est censée apparaître des principes a-historiques et surtout apolitiques. Pour Foucault, la pensée universaliste et universalisante qui émerge de la stratégie analytique classique adoptée par Murray Li n'est que l'idéologie d'inspiration romantique qui cache le déroulement du pouvoir.

L'analyse qu'offre Murray Li semble s'inspirer de l'idéalisme hégélien, mais l'auteure ignore complètement l'influence du romantisme allemand qui est devenu la marque de commerce de toute opération idéologique et essentialiste en Occident, et donc un trait inné de la gouvernementalité. Comment ignorer que chaque analyse qui cherche à identifier les principes «secrets» censés animer des dynamiques internes reproduit implicitement la prise de position hégémonique de l'analyste vis-à-vis de son objet d'étude? Voilà néanmoins exactement ce que Murray Li se propose de faire. Renan (1947) avait pourtant noté, il y a plus de cent ans, dans sa critique du romantisme allemand, qu'il ne peut exister de sujets autonomes dans une telle entreprise.

Quand Murray Li affirme que les gouvernements fonctionnent par l'éducation des désirs et la configuration des habitudes individuelles, elle semble ignorer que les gouvernements ne choisissent pas tous cette stratégie, qui n'est devenue possible qu'avec l'invention de l'État-nation romantique. Voilà pourquoi il est inutile de parler

de «principes» primordiaux, qui ne font que reproduire l'essentialisme de la gouvernementalité «rationnelle», avec sa manipulation constante de facteurs intrinsèques et exogènes au sujet gouverné—l'ethnicité (qui appartient uniquement à la sociologie de l'État romantique), les horaires de travail, etc. Discipliner des habitudes de penser n'est pas intrinsèque à l'État en tant que tel. Certes, la Rome impériale était, hors de tout doute, constituée en État. Mais rien n'indique que sa gouvernementalité ait été basée sur le conformisme volontaire et inconscient de ses citoyens. Les Romains étaient habiles dans la création de philosophies étatiques «rationnelles» qui étaient censées normaliser l'agir, et non pas la pensée. L'approche universalisante de Murray Li confond les buts déclarés de la gouvernementalité contemporaine—la tendance à réduire les fonctions de la politique à une gestion managériale—avec les relations de pouvoir cachées par cette approche socio-juridique. Murray Li devrait lancer une enquête non pas sur les soi-disant buts de la planification, mais plutôt sur le droit d'invoquer la logique naturalisée avec laquelle les politiciens érigent de tels plans.

Contrairement à ce qu'avance Murray Li, l'analyse foucauldienne de la gouvernementalité ne peut prendre comme point de départ les affirmations ou les motivations des acteurs qui formulent des plans politiques visant le bien-être des «populations». L'accent que Murray Li place sur l'aspect utopique de la gouvernementalité—suggérant que les gouvernants cherchent à améliorer les conditions de vie des gouvernés—m'apparaît comme une interprétation superficielle de Foucault, sans compter qu'il . s'agit en outre d'une interprétation tautologique de la temporalité étatique. Le fait que les États (occidentaux) favorisent une temporalité orientée vers le futur dans leurs rhétoriques n'est aucunement un témoignage de leur désir de «mettre les choses au point», comme le dit Murray Li. Je ne peux m'étendre ici sur cet aspect plutôt complexe, mais il me semble évident que tout déplacement du pouvoir vers d'autres champs—temporels, utopiques, philosophiques—au nom du peuple réifié ne peut servir de base à l'analyse, car il s'agit là précisément de la technologie de gouvernance utilisée dans l'État-nation. C'est d'ailleurs ce déplacement même qui devrait être le sujet de l'enquête sur la gouvernementalité.

Murray Li note que la gouvernementalité a des limites. Cela me semble trop évident pour qu'il s'agisse d'une découverte. Certainement, le pouvoir a des limites qui émergent de la capacité d'une population ciblée à contester les pratiques d'un gouvernement. Je voudrais souligner deux objections à cette formulation classique: (1) la grande majorité de citoyens ciblés par la gouvernementalité contemporaine opte pour des formes de résistance qui sont aussi des formes de complicité. C'est justement ce qu'indique Scott (1998), un auteur cité par Murray Li; (2) la contestation stridente n'est pas un point de départ valable pour une analyse de la gouvernementalité car elle est relativement limitée. Autrement dit, la majorité des citoyens ne ferme pas complètement la porte aux tentatives gouvernementales de les coopter dans le pouvoir. Ce n'est aucunement une grande découverte que le pouvoir se constitue en et par des dyades, que le pouvoir a toujours besoin d'être partagé par l'entremise de la légitimité. Weber l'avait noté, il y a déjà longtemps : la légitimité permettant au pouvoir d'agir repose sur un sens partagé de la communauté politique et sur ses composantes sémantiques.

Le fait que Murray Li cite Rose et se lance dans une longue critique de Foucault pour justifier l'approche ethnographique de l'analyse du pouvoir n'est aucunement convaincant. La position de Murray Li prétend critiquer Foucault parce qu'il n'a pas été précis en ce qui concerne certains mécanismes de la mise en scène du pouvoir. Mais le fait est que le pouvoir se déroule et se concrétise par plusieurs moyens, dont une grande partie ne prend aucunement en considération les «règles» formelles de la vie politique sauf sur un point fondamental : parfois les «règles» sont créées, justement, pour définir des lacunes, des idéalisations impossibles à atteindre ou à concrétiser, avec le résultat que la soi-disant vie sociale se déroule dans les espaces vides et les silences créés par la réification et par l'objectification des «règles» prétendument «rationnelles». Les idéologies étatiques, donc, ne sont pas censées définir des champs d'action, ni les refléter, mais sont censées fournir à ceux qui participent au jeu de pouvoir des jetons qui ne sont pas directement échangeables contre du capital politique. Encore une fois, les positions arbitraires et idéalisées de Murray Li la conduisent à l'erreur, car une analyse qui ne tient aucunement compte des questions de légitimité, dans ce sens un peu foucauldien, ne peut que reproduire le clivage entre sujet et observateur qui est au cœur de toute analyse classique, en dépit des rhétoriques et des citations censées établir la prétendue sensibilité postmoderne de l'analyse au sujet.

Enfin, je ne comprends pas du tout la dernière section, offerte en guise de conclusion. Murray Li déclare qu'une «ethnography of government would pay attention to how programs take hold and change things, while keeping in view their instabilities, fragilities and fractures, and the ways in which failure prepares the ground for new programming». Comment une telle analyse peut-elle être présentée comme une *ethnographie*? Au mieux, il s'agit d'une analyse formelle ou sémantique. Une ethnographie foucauldienne des programmes identifierait comment les

fragilités et les fractures autour des stratégies gouvernementales sont en fait des signes du *succès* et non de l'échec d'un programme, car ils sont des manifestations de la façon dont le pouvoir existe par et dans les relations ambiguës et polysémiques qu'il engendre, permettant ainsi des analogies métaphoriques entre deux situations différentes mises en relation par le pouvoir. La même critique s'applique à l'étude des pratiques prônée par Murray Li. Les écarts sociaux, comme les écarts entre les buts et les résultats d'un programme, ne se produisent pas uniquement par la résistance. Ils sont une partie intégrale du pouvoir qui se manifeste quand la résistance devient complicité (ou l'inverse, comme Herzfeld (1993) le suggère dans ses analyses de la Grèce). Enfin, les négociations informelles qui caractérisent la soi-disant réaction au programme, toujours selon Murray Li, ne sont pas des signes de l'échec du programme ou des tentatives de le contourner, car les responsables de l'élaboration d'un programme, bien avant sa mise en scène, sont liés aux gouvernés par des significations et des logiques partagées qui permettent au pouvoir centralisé d'influencer le biopouvoir individuel.

Bref, cet article de Murray Li ne me semble pas cibler la question de la gouvernementalité contemporaine. Il s'agit plutôt d'une mystification élaborée dans l'esprit hégélien, pour ne pas mentionner qu'il semble loin de toute instance empirique de la gouvernementalité contemporaine et surtout du fait que les gouvernements ont énormément évolué au cours des trois décennies qui se sont écoulées depuis l'œuvre de Foucault. Il est clair que les gouvernements libéraux-démocratiques de l'Occident ont, depuis plusieurs années, abandonné le prétexte de fournir des biens et des services à tout le monde, ciblant uniquement les catégories toujours en mesure de contribuer à la *plus-value* de leurs coffres. Les autres doivent et devront payer, en argent ou sous d'autres formes de capital social, leur propre marginalisation. Il nous faut de nouveaux outils analytiques qui tiennent compte de ces réalités émergentes.

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# Commentary / Commentaire

# Ptolemaic Jouissance and the Anthropology of Kinship: A Commentary on Ager "The Power of Excess: Royal Incest and the Ptolemaic Dynasty"

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S heila L. Ager's article, "The Power of Excess: Royal Incest and the Ptolemaic Dynasty" (Anthropologica 48(2006):165-186) provides a lovely opportunity for anthropologists and classicists to puzzle out together some of the old chestnuts of kinship theory and ancient civilizations. These occur along the way of her quite right skepticism about reductionist sociobiological efforts to defend the incest taboo by looking for evidence of disease and infertility, and if not that then a hypothesized instinctive or phrenomal distaste for sex with those with whom one has been raised. There's nothing wrong with looking into biological pedigrees or family trees (we do it all the time for genetic disease linkage studies), but the stripping of context and meaning is unnecessary and probably self-defeating. The parallax between biology/sexuality and passion/symbolism/power/fantasy is what that enigmatically wonderful Lacanian French word *jouissance* is all about. It is like the game of closing one eye, then the other, and trying to catch the shifts in what you see, and also like the sexual bliss of two bodies in rhythm but not fully merged or synchronized. In what follows, I wish to reflect upon the ways in which Ager's observations on the Ptolemies evoke the pleasures, excesses and addictive repetitions of this jouissance.

## Correlations and Explanations.

Like Clifford Geertz's (1967) "Deep Play," or Marcel Mauss's (1925) account of Northwest Coast potlatches, the final two and a half page "Philosophy of Excess" section of Ager's article, reinforces the anthropological insistence that one must consider the symbolic, or meaning-making, dimensions of culturally validated excess, if indeed it be excess. In this case, the putative excess is royal incest in Egypt and, for possible comparative perspectives, wherever else such a pattern might occur. The portrait of the Ptolemies and their use of luxurious display, and their "theatre state" imitation of gods (in which Kleopatra and Anthony emulate Isis and Dionysius) is

vibrant and compelling. The marriage arrangements are dramatically told, as rich as the tales of Caligula that Robert Graves and Derek Jacobi embellished. It is of course, however, not necessary for display and luxury to go with indolence and sexual excess which is a moralizing trope or narrative, one of several possible elective affinities. I think of India and the elaborate ritual displays of wealth and power of the Jains in public processions through the streets and of the celebrity diamond merchant weddings, as demonstrating the power and correctness of their faith which they even talk about in martial *varna* (caste), but "nonviolent," terms as being *kshatria* in origin. Jains, however, are often personally quite puritan and spartan as part of this same ideology, partaking of a calculative mercantile this-worldly asceticism and other-worldly merit making. Hence, as Ager says, the importance of meaning-making, and symbolism, to the actors.

## Next-of-Kin Marriages and the Logics of Royal versus Commoner Marriages

On this issue, first, I would like to clarify the frequently muddled differences between the Iranian and Egyptian cases. Second, I would like to have more clarity on the cultural differences (or not) between Egyptian royal and commoner marriage rules or patterns. Third, I would like to have more clearly delineated the relationship between Greek and Egyptian conceptual categories.

In Ager's article, I miss a discussion of the Persian Empire's *khodvedatha* (or *xwetodas*, in Ager's transliteration), which is only mentioned in passing in footnote 42. This is still a much disputed term, although many philologists-Orientalists think it does mean next-of-kin marriages. They tend to justify it on the purity logic that insofar as the king carries the divine light (*farr, farovahar*), the royal line perhaps should be maintained as purely as possible with no outside mixture. I am not quite so convinced. Kings can lose the farr, one of the topics of the *Shahnameh* epic. Moreover the textual passages praising khodvedatha as one of the highest forms of holiness do not seem to be limited to royals. And so we look to other cases, of which the Egyptian is the most often cited along with the royal Hawaiian and Inca ones.

Here is where the help of a classicist is needed both to unravel the puzzles of jural and terminological kinship systems of Greek and Egyptian provenance, and to evaluate the statistical data that Keith Hopkins (1980) adduces in favour of more widespread than royals practice of brother-sister marriages in Roman Egypt. Ager's article cites Hopkins in the bibliography, but does not discuss his data on brother-sister marriages in Egypt, saying that

they refer to a later Roman era phenomenon. Hopkins notes that we have (a few) royal examples going back to the 11th Dynasty in 2000 B.C. But is his data not credible or does it need to be contextualized, and if so, does that contextualization perhaps provide some more clues to, or constraints on, hypotheses about meaning? Might the later patterns be an imitation of a royal pattern? Scheidel (e.g., 1996a, 2005), whom Ager quotes, partly because he is a defender of sociobiological approaches, makes claims about Zoroastrian khodvedatha. First, Scheidel makes a claim to the effect that there is copious evidence for actual next-of-kin marriages in Iran. In fact there are only a few textual uses of the term khodvedatha, and no genealogies, nor census material. Second, he hypothesizes that the holiness of khodvedatha is so difficult, so repugnant even to Zoroaster, that only the most devoted insiders would undertake it. Third he repeatedly insists that this Zoroastrian pattern might provide comparative perspectives on the Egyptian one. One need not argue that khodvedatha does not mean next-of-kin marriage, as the Zoroastrian priest, Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana, did in 1888 in an exhaustive survey of the texts. One could simply raise the question of whether it is a metaphor, particularly since so much of the Zoroastrian *Gathas* themselves are often composed of enigmatic, puzzling and challenging poetic metaphors and *mathras* (Vedic *mantras*). As the texts upon which the later texts are putative commentaries, recollections and expansions, the Gathas are transcripts, as it were, of competitive (challenge-response) poetry contests (*sadhamada*, symposia) that aim to put their adepts into an inspirational state. Later illuminationist philosophy, *irfan* or sufism call this inspirational state a spritual *hal*). Indeed such contents are metaphorized, as in Greek, as winged chariot races: viz. Plato's winged charioteer with a team of two horses, one clean-limbed needing no whip, the other crooked, lumbering, "stiff-necked," and deaf to boot! In any case, if khodvedatha is the holiest of actions then how can it be incest (it is of course incest by our categories); or maybe, then we can say that incest is sacred, tabooed for ordinary folk but sacred for the gods and for those who pattern themselves after the gods. But then are we within the logic of myth that can interfere with and disrupt daily logic (as Sahlins [1981] argued in the case of Captain Cook)?

Ager might be quite correct to sharply separate royal from commoner marriage patterns, and earlier from later periods (though the end of the Ptolemies is only a century before the census data for the commoners). But one does wish for a bit of diachronic tracking of historical traces, legacies, or breaks and paradigm shifts, or just contextualization of the two data sets (Ptolemaic, Roman).

Hopkins says 63% of the 270 surviving household census returns are from the Arsinoe nom (today called the Fayum Oasis), and Scheidel says there are no brother-sister marriages recorded before 103 C.E. or after 187. Is there a coincidence or something more to the fact that the Arsinoe nom was named after Queen Arsinoe, the wife in the first Ptolemy brother-sister marriage? Hopkins notes that at this marriage one rhapsode likened the couple's embraces to those of Zeus and Hera, (a brother-sister marriage among the gods) but that another rhapsode rather obscenely disparaged the marriage, which was a second marriage when Arsinoe was almost 40, and Ptolemy already had children by a first wife. Hopkins provides arguments for taking the surviving census forms as representative of Egypt at large, but Scheidel notes that most (and a higher ratio of) marriages of this sort are from the main town of Arsinoe nom, rather than the villages. This makes one wonder again if we are dealing with a relative isolate (Fayum only) and/or an urban status-seeking, royal-imitating pattern? In any case, my question here is: do these parameters tell us anything? Scheidel looks for inbreeding diseases and infertility rates so that he can argue for a deep biological structural feedback and thus the irrelevance of semantic or cultural categories, but his data is inconclusive.

So, while there may be no connection between the Ptolemaic royal and Roman commoner patterns, might there be a common symbolic structure or background cultural sensibility, or would the Egyptians of the Ptolemaic period have viewed the inhabitants of the main town of Arsinoite as depraved, or their practices incomprehensible?

## Mythic Logic versus Kinship Logic[1]

I am puzzled by the claim that "the Zoroastrian god Ohrmazd engages in incestuous sex with his daughter Spendarmat" (p. 176). Spendarmat (spenta armaiti) is one of the amshaspands composing the godhead, not a daughter, except perhaps in some Victorian transmutation. Mary Boyce (e.g. 1970, 1975a, 1975b, 1979), for instance, has the irritating habit of turning rich metaphorical structures into hypostasized gods and given this, I find Stanley Insler (1975) a better guide to the decipherment of the Gathic texts (see also Windfuhr 1976). It is true that spenta armaiti is one of the three amshaspands that are feminine in gender, and three are neuter (or masculine if you want to make it a sexual pairing). All six amshapands go into the composition of the godhead, Ahura Mazda (Ohrmazd). In the high liturgy rituals, Ahura Mazda sits in the seat of the zot (officiant) with Sorush as his assistant (raspi), and the six amashapands

as elements of creation. In the ancient ritual there are eight priests who represent all these positions around the ritual implements, fire and barsom.

In any case, Ager is quite right that mythic and ritual logic often operates through splitting into siblings and remerging through marriage. In the Avesta there is a repeated meiosis of this sort beginning with Gaiumart. I have sketched this out in a diagram in Mute Dreams (Fischer 2004:78), contrasting it with the way it is transformed in the logic of the epic, in the Shahnameh. That the early Ptolemies should have used a mythic parallel of Hera and Zeus, and the later ones Isis and Dionysus is not surprising, but it is not clear that the logics are played out any further than simple analogies.
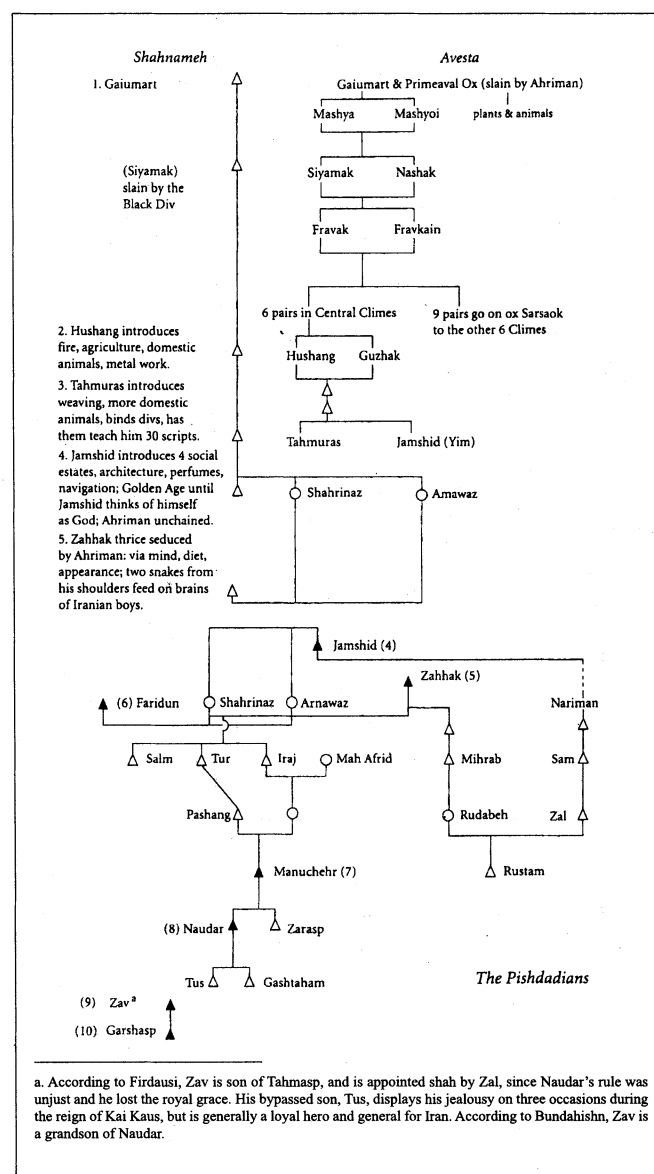


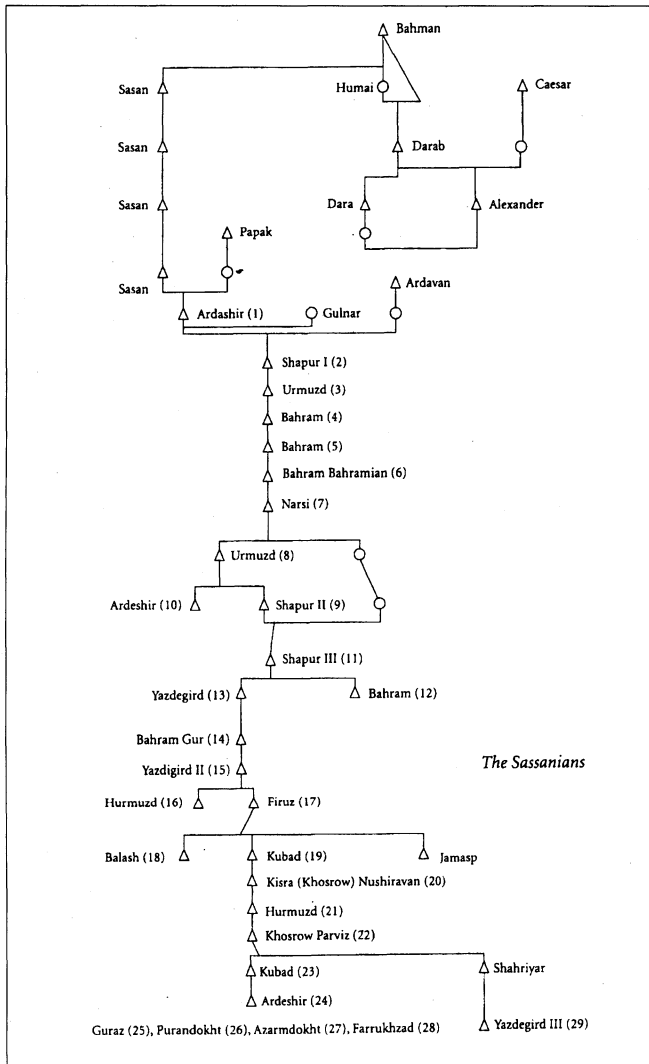Figure 1: Pishdadian Dynasty: Avesta versus Shahnameh
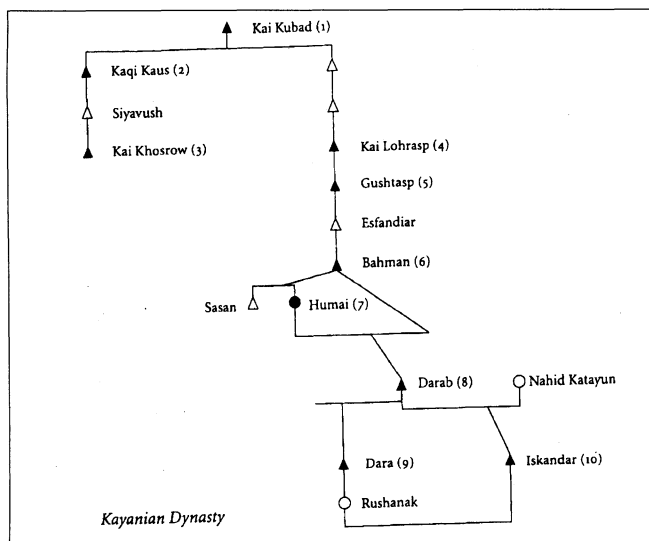
Figure 2: Kayanian Dynasty



Figure 3: Sassanian Dynasty

## Semantic Space and Comparison

If sociobiology and the work of Scheidel, as Ager says, will not get us very far, more to the point is the semantic space that different cultures divide up differently in their kinship terms and marriage rules. Here the fact that Greek did not have a term for incest might be worth exploring a bit more. Cousin marriages and uncle-niece marriages are common in the Mediterranean and Middle East and are not the same as direct sibling marriages. The case of half-sibling marriages with same father but different mother is worth further exploration. On this, Hopkins points out that the Athenians allowed marriage between half siblings from the same father but different mother, while the Spartans allowed marriage between half siblings from the same mother but different father. In much of the Middle East anyone imbibing milk from the same woman is forbidden as a marriage partner. This would be considered incest. They are milk kin, Persian *hamshir*, same milk, whether full siblings or merely wet nursed together. So it is not surprising that in the Arsinoe records we only find the half-sibling marriages of the same father but different mother. Ager cites David Schneider (1968, 1976) who not only argued that kinship ideologies go along with characteristic metaphors.[2] But he also argued that incest was a slippery notion to impose on Polynesia, where the kinship terminology, adoption practices, and other rules, and hence the notion of kinship, are quite different. Ager acknowledges this in passing by admitting that incest might only be approximately universal. But it would be interesting to sketch out how the terms in ancient Greece actually worked semantically and jurally to divide conceptual, legal, (and therefore also reproductive, and biological) space or frames of reference.

As Ager notes there is no word for incest in ancient or classical Greek. My question is what does this mean? How then does one talk about the rules of marriage, its taboos, and violations? Do we have a sense of a mapping of different systems of marriage rules in the Greek world, as Hopkins' comment begins to suggest we do? And what are the Egyptian semantics (and marriage rules) that the Greek official language might have been in subtle competition with for governance of actual marriage patterns. Scheidel mentions classificatory kinship systems in passing, but since he is a genetic fundamentalist, he gives them little credence as effective operators. A good anthropological account cannot get away with that. The problem resembles the conundrum of race: many physicians and biologists claim not to believe in racial categories as biologically meaningful, but our epidemiological statistics are still coded in those terms, and social patterns of race

classification do impose effects. So too with our modern bio-ideological insistence on the category of incest?

Fortunately or unfortunately we need to keep all these logics and factors in analytic play: such is the jouissance (delight, excess, intensity, parallax demands) of anthropological engagements. Ager's Ptolemaic jouissance, and any further clarifications, are welcome additions to the discussion.

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## Notes

1  I include the genealogical charts of the transformations of the Avestan mythic logic into the Shahnameh's epic logic (the Pishdadians), along with those of the Kayanians, and the Sassanians. For expansion on this and on the *yasna* high liturgy ritual with the roles of the *zot-raspi* and *amshaspands*, see Fischer 2004; there is some discussion of the state of the argument in the 1970s over *khedvedatha* in Fischer 1973).

2  Schneider (1968, 1976) argued that patrilineal ideologies go with the metaphors of seed and vessel, furrow or field, devaluing the egg in relation to the sperm to use contemporary terms transposed from biology. In contemporary Greece, Paxson (2006) points out, women's blood shed and flesh torn during childbirth is discursively positioned as a "sacrifice" tying them materially to the child beyond genetic contribution (which is often less important in an age of sperm and ova donation) and in return for which the child is obligated for life (both aspects of the pun intended).

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*See p. 306 for references cited in the original article.

# Response to Michael M.J. Fischer's "Ptolemaic Jouissance and the Anthropology of Kinship: A Commentary on Ager 'The Power of Excess: Royal Incest and the Ptolemaic Dynasty'"

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I am very indebted to Dr. Fischer for his careful reading of, and thoughtful response to my article. I am pleased that I was able to bring this material to the attention of an anthropological audience, though in responding to Dr. Fischer, I must once again plead diffidence. I am not well versed in the complex methodologies and theories of contemporary cultural anthropology, and so it is quite likely that I will not be able to give the kind of full response to Dr. Fischer's commentary that it deserves.

I am prompted to begin by asking a question of my own (that anthropologists probably would find easy to answer). Fischer refers to "culturally validated excess, if indeed it be excess." My question is, what do we mean in this context by "culturally validated"? In my article, I posed the question of whether the Ptolemies were "successful" in their strategies, but I do not know whether this is the same thing as "culturally validated," and in any case, I do not believe I gave any very satisfactory answers. It is clear from the ancient sources which survive that Ptolemaic behaviour in general roused contempt in Greek and Roman observers alike. Yet at the same time, it must have been functional in some ways, else one can hardly see it persisting. Perhaps the incestuous marriages among commoners, attested at a later date in Egypt, are testimony to an acceptance and validation at a social level that fell beneath the radar of our sources (more on this below). My question here really has to do with cross-cultural comparison: are anthropologists aware of other societies which practised royal incest, or other forms of "excess" (accepting for the moment the proposition of a link between incest and excess), where there is such a dichotomous response to the royal behaviour: both abomination and adulation?

Fischer queries the link between sexually excessive behaviour on the one hand and luxurious display on the other: "It is of course, however, not necessary for display and luxury to go with indolence and sexual excess which is a moralizing trope or narrative, one of several possible elective affinities." I think that Fischer and I are in fact

in agreement on this point, at least with respect to the issue of moralizing judgments (although it is certainly true that I believe the Ptolemies to provide good evidence for a deliberate link between sexual excess and *tryphē* in other areas). His point about the Jains ("often personally quite puritan") is an interesting one, and calls to mind observations that have not infrequently been made about Ptolemaic queens in particular: that in the midst of a dynasty that was often condemned for its moral behaviour, not one Ptolemaic queen was ever suspected of having an illicit sexual liaison. The sole exception is Kleopatra VII, and her unique relationships with Caesar and Antony. Whether these liaisons were "illicit" or not is a matter of debate; but they certainly were not furtive.

My point, however, is that the moralizing in this case was applied not only by what we might call "outside observers" (e.g., Victorian-era classicists), but also by the Ptolemies' Greek and Roman contemporaries, or at least by many of them. Thus, the "trope" under discussion is one the Ptolemies themselves would have been confronted with in their own time and place, not one imposed on them by a completely alien society. Still, perhaps one thing that may have deserved more attention in my paper (even if only in the area of speculation) is the potential disjunction between the "Westernized" Greco-Roman attitude, coloured by philosophical traditions and enshrined in literature produced among the intelligentsia, and the eastern traditions of the native people and commoners whom the Ptolemies and other Hellenistic monarchs ruled. If the Ptolemaic practices were validated anywhere, it would have been among the latter group. The former—the educated elite of Greece and Rome—looked at the Ptolemies and saw what they expected to see: absolute rulers, conforming to all the expectations of a tyrant, and therefore corrupt, luxurious, decadent, weak and hubristic (on the connections between tyranny, luxury, incest, and hubris, see Passerini 1934; Fisher 1992:337; Holt 1998; Gambato 2000; Thompson 2000; Vernant 2000).

I am grateful to Fischer for his comments clarifying the "frequently muddled differences between the Iranian and Egyptian cases." He notes quite rightly that I made next to no reference to the Persian tradition, and his own well-researched insights on these matters are most welcome, particularly his clarification of the role of "Spendarmat" (my reference to this was drawn from Herrenschmidt 1994:120-124). My own knowledge in this area remains admittedly quite limited, and is drawn largely from the discussions in Lee 1988, Herrenschmidt 1994, Mitterauer 1994, and Scheidel 2002. I myself am not convinced by all of Scheidel's arguments, either in the area of the problematic Iranian evidence, or in the somewhat

more clear-cut area of the evidence from Roman Egypt. I do share Fischer's lack of conviction about royal next-of-kin marriages (whether Iranian or Egyptian) necessarily being connected with purity as such. But it does seem feasible that an act of supreme meritoriousness or holiness—and difficulty—could be both inconceivable to the run of common folk and at the same time a sign of special people or gods—which is exactly what taboo is.

Fischer seeks further clarity on the "cultural differences (or not) between Egyptian royal and commoner marriage rules or patterns." My article was in no way intended to dismiss the phenomenon of sibling-marriage among commoners in Roman Egypt as insignificant, or as unrelated to the phenomenon of royal sibling-marriage. Among classicists, however, the works of Hopkins (1980 and 1994) in particular, as well as Scheidel (1995, 1996a, 1996b, 1997, 2002, 2005), are so frequently cited, even in (brief) discussions of Ptolemaic marriage, as to obscure the fact that neither Hopkins nor Scheidel really incorporate the Ptolemaic evidence at all. My own unwillingness (if it was that) to engage with the question of sibling-marriage in the population at large was merely the inverse of Hopkins' and Scheidel's approach, and perhaps over-corrected in the other direction.

Fischer seeks a better understanding of the value of the data used by Hopkins and Scheidel. The data—chiefly papyri recording census returns—are indeed reliable, and are given their place in a larger context in Bagnall and Frier's study (1994) of the surviving documents that allow us to make (at least conjectural) conclusions about the demography of Roman Egypt. Bagnall and Frier point out that the papyri indicate that "the practice was obviously common" (1994:129) by the beginning of the second century C.E., and that both Greeks and Egyptians pursued it (but the latter is not so easy a point to determine as it may seem, given that Egyptians often adopted Greek names). Scheidel's work on marriage among commoners, based on these data, focusses largely on questions of biological viability and the place of the Westermarck effect in cases of sibling-marriage in ancient Egypt. Hopkins speculates more broadly, and brings into play literary evidence as well as the papyri. Yet his conclusion—that "Egyptian brothers and sisters married each other because they themselves wanted to" (1980:353)—is still wanting, and to be fair to Hopkins, he himself admits this (he characterizes his conclusion as "tentative").

Two questions relevant to Ptolemaic royal sibling-marriage arise from contemplation of the documentary evidence for such marriages among non-royals. One is a question of time (when did such marriages become acceptable or common among the people?). The other is one of

space (was there a concentration of such marriages in a particular area, i.e., the Arsinoite nome, and if so, what does this mean?). The issue of timing has relevance to the Ptolemaic phenomenon if only because there appears at first glance to be a temporal disconnection between the practice of royal sibling-marriage in Egypt (the last examples being Kleopatra VII's probable marriages to her brothers in the 40s B.C.E.), and the evidence for such marriages in the population (the vast bulk of the documentary evidence stems from the second century C.E., over a hundred years later). But it so happens that any documents of this type—census returns—are rare from the earlier period (Bell 1949:91; Hombert and Préaux 1949:138). Therefore, the fact that we have next to no evidence for sibling-marriage among commoners from the Ptolemaic period itself may simply be an accident of recording practices or documentary survival.

To draw the conclusion, simply because of the time-lag in the evidence, that there is no connection between the highly-advertised custom of sibling-marriage among the Ptolemies, the rulers of Egypt, and the singular practice of sibling-marriage among commoners in that same land, seems to me to place a staggering weight on the notion of "coincidence." It is my view that the non-royal incestuous marriages were in all probability inspired by and sanctioned by the royal ones, and that they had probably begun already in the Ptolemaic period (see Bell 1949:91; Turner 1984:138). The commoner marriages may in their turn have validated the royal practice. (When the Roman emperor Claudius had the law changed in order that he could marry his own niece Agrippina, his example in what had heretofore been designated as an incestuous marriage was followed by a single Roman knight, who allegedly was motivated by the desire to win Agrippina's favour.)

Another reason for thinking that sibling-marriages in the population at large took place already within the Ptolemaic period is that it is hard to see what particular incentives for such a peculiar practice could have been provided by the Roman conquest of Egypt. Augustus, whose victory it was, took care to dissociate himself from the Ptolemies and all they stood for. While Kleopatra VII still lived, he vilified her. After her death, in secure possession of Alexandria, he took in the local tourist sights and went to see the embalmed body of Alexander the Great, but scorned to view those of the earlier Ptolemies, declaring that he had come to see a king, not a row of corpses. (His reverence for Alexander's remains was perhaps a little too enthusiastic: he is said to have accidentally broken off part of Alexander's nose.)

Augustus' hostility to Kleopatra was of course prompted by her relationship with his rival Marc Antony.

Later Roman emperors, however—notably Caligula and Claudius—were direct descendants of Marc Antony, and it is perhaps no coincidence that both of them may have attempted to evoke Ptolemaic behaviour. Claudius married his own niece, even though, as noted above, this had hitherto been regarded as an incestuous relationship by the Romans; as for Caligula, any reader of Robert Graves knows that he was widely held to have engaged in incest with his sisters, particularly Drusilla, whom he venerated. Wood (1995) argues against the assertions made by the scandal-mongers of antiquity, but what she has to say about the propaganda Caligula deliberately promulgated about his siblings resonates well with the notion that, at least in the eastern Mediterranean, he may have been trying to emulate Ptolemaic images (see also Green 1998:784; Moreau 2002:93-96). Caligula, like Ptolemy XII, bore the epithet *Neos Dionysos*, the "New Dionysos" (Athenaios 148d, Gulick translation 1955: vol. II:177). Speculation about Claudius and Caligula aside, however, the Romans in general never rivalled the Ptolemies in this type of propaganda, and their behaviour is not very likely to have influenced the common people of Egypt into instigating a custom of sibling-marriage. If anything, the inverse is likely to have been the case: Roman emperors such as these two may have been interested in mollifying at least some of the peoples in the Empire, and may have been influenced in their self-presentation by Egyptian (or more generally eastern) customs, rather than the other way around.

Bagnall and Frier, among others, make the point that "brother-sister marriages are heavily concentrated in the Arsinoite nome"; Scheidel remarks that, at 37% of known unions in the Arsinoite nome, the number of sibling-marriages "approaches the feasible maximum" (Bagnall and Frier 1994:129; Scheidel 2005:93). It is hard not to be struck by the fact that the bulk of our evidence for incestuous unions among the common people comes from a place named for Arsinoë II Philadelphos, the famous sister-wife of Ptolemy II, and tempting to think that there was some special cultural practice connected with this place. But it is all too easy to be caught up in what is here probably (if not certainly) no more than a coincidence. The "Arsinoite nome" was only one of roughly 40 nomes, or administrative districts, into which the land of Egypt was divided under Ptolemaic rule. It was a large and fertile district (today known as the Fayoum), reclaimed from Lake Moeris by Ptolemy I and his son Ptolemy II; it was the latter who was responsible for giving it the designation of his sister's name, and for assigning to her the revenues from the fishing in what remained of Lake Moeris (Pomeroy 1984:14, 152-153). But there is no reason to posit

a particularly strong relationship between the inhabitants of this nome and Arsinoë herself. When Ptolemy II issued orders that a percentage of the revenues from vineyards and orchards be dedicated to the cult of Arsinoë, these orders applied to all of Egypt, not merely the Arsinoite nome (Bagnall and Derow 2004 no. 114). The Fayoum simply happens to have been a large and well-populated region, in which a great number of papyri and other antiquities (such as the famous mummy portraits) were fortunately preserved. It seems most likely, therefore, that if the "disconnection" between royal sibling-marriage in the Ptolemaic period and commoner sibling-marriage in the Roman period is simply an accident of documentary survival, then so too is the putative "connection" between those sibling-marriages and the "Arsinoite" nome (see Scheidel 1995:154).

There are other aspects of the practice of sibling-marriage among commoners in Egypt which remain baffling, and which suggest a connection to the royal practice, yet without offering a clear notion of what that connection actually is. For instance, scholars often seek to find the motivation for sibling-marriage in inheritance issues (a sibling-marriage keeps wealth within the family). But such a motivation would not have been particularly suited to the Ptolemies themselves, who were not notably frugal, and who indeed made much of their beneficence. Furthermore, the very common custom of first cousin marriage already functioned well enough along these lines: without outraging a taboo, it still did not disperse family wealth too far afield. On its own, therefore, this is not a sufficient explanation of why some of the siblings of Roman and (arguably) Hellenistic Egypt married one another. · Whatever their reasons, however, there is no indication that the inhabitants of the Arsinoite nome (or any married siblings elsewhere) were seen as depraved, although this is admittedly an *argumentum e silentio*. There certainly was no shyness about declaring the status of these marriages in public documents.

Fischer comments on the notable lack of a single ancient Greek word for incest. But is the absence of a specific term to be equated with the absence of a concept—even a clearly defined concept? The ancient Greeks made little use of specific terms meaning "husband" and "wife" (using instead the generic terms "man" and "woman"); that does not mean that they had no notion of legitimate marriage. And even in spite of their very clear notions on legitimate marriage, the language they employed is frequently confusing to us, since they typically used the term "live with" to denote both legal marriage and what we might refer to as a "common law" arrangement with a concubine (the Egyptians also employed similarly broad

terminology). Ancient Greek was in many ways a simpler language than English (though equally difficult to learn), with a much smaller and much less technical vocabulary. It often employed periphrases; yet these periphrases do not appear to have sprung from a reticence in dealing with distasteful topics, a reticence that might have been based in shock or shame. Drama—central to the communal life of Classical Athens—regularly depicted horrifying subject material (including incest), while contemporary artwork (vase paintings) displays a staggering variety of explicit sexual acts (not all of which would have had a name). I do not know, therefore, that I would attach too much meaning to the lack of a specific term for "incest" as such. My limited understanding of the various terms for "incest" across cultures is that they are very often terms which may have a much broader (and often non-sexual) meaning than the English term "incest," or they may have a much narrower meaning, or there may exist a number of terms within the same culture for various acts or relationships which an English speaker might define as "incest" (Needham 1974:61-68). In any case, I suspect that what this all means in anthropological terms is much better tackled by anthropologists specializing in the area than by a classicist who dipped into it rather selfishly to explore a particular problem of interest.

Fischer's comments and queries about marriage and kinship rules raise another point of discussion. As he states, "first cousin marriages and uncle-niece marriages are common in the Mediterranean and Middle East," but while the former is true of the ancient Mediterranean cultures, the latter is less so. It has already been pointed out that for the Romans at least uncle-niece marriage was considered incestuous until Claudius had the law changed (and even then it does not appear to have become a popular marriage choice). Among the Greeks, first cousin marriages were perfectly acceptable and very common, but while uncle-niece marriages were legally allowed (and even mandated in certain inheritance situations), some of our evidence suggests that such marriages might be rather frowned upon socially. Less so because of what we might designate as the incest of such a situation (the Greeks would not have), and more because of the generational disproportion and the potentially unworthy motives of the uncle (marrying his niece for the sake of her inheritance, and legally even having the right to separate her from her husband—if she had one—in order to claim her for himself).

There is of course in all societies at times a disjunction between what is legally allowed and what is socially acceptable.[1] Laws often deal with limits (i.e., extremes), while social pressures may favour a middle ground. More-

over, laws do not always take account of every possible scenario, if only because they can fail to forecast that an individual will take it into his or her head to do a particular thing. So does the fact that the Code of Hammurabi has nothing to say about brother-sister incest, while proscribing other forms of nuclear family incest (Mitterauer 1994:238; Pritchard 1958:155), mean that sibling incest was perfectly legal and acceptable (unlikely)? Or does it mean that it was so appalling that people could not conceive of it happening? The latter choice too may seem unlikely, although it is perhaps reflected in certain Polynesian societies for whom sibling incest was the most horrifying form (see Goody 1956:292-294; Fox 1962; Labby 1976; Fischer et al. 1976; Arens 1986:142; Reynolds and Tanner 1995:170).

It is true indeed that Athenian half-siblings could legally marry, provided they were the offspring of different mothers. But it does not seem to have happened very often, and full-sibling sexual attachments certainly were seen as morally wrong, even if we do not have a clear idea of what the laws were restraining them (the fact that the law explicitly allowed half-sibling marriages suggests that at the same time it did *not* allow full-sibling ones). Suspicions of sexual activity with a sibling could be used to rouse social condemnation, as was the case with the Athenian politician Kimon, accused of having engaged in sexual relations with his sister Elpinike.

As for the Spartans, we do have an ancient source that declares that at Sparta it was just the opposite: half-siblings could marry, but only if they were the offspring of different *fathers*. But while it is quite true that the Spartans frequently had a different take from other Greeks on matters of kinship, marriage, and inheritance, it seems very likely that in this instance, the report on half-sibling marriage simply reflects the typical assumptions made by outsiders about the contrary Spartans ("the Spartans always have to be different from the rest of us"; see Vérilhac and Vial 1998:94). In any case, whatever differences we find in Spartan custom should not lead us to assume widely divergent customs or assumptions about kinship and marriage in the Greek world. Athenian customs are probably more reflective of the majority of Greek societies.

Fischer has brought up the point of "milk kin," and on this, it is interesting to note Scheidel's arguments (2005:101-105) about cross-fostering. In the context of his discussion of the possible impact of the Westermarck effect among the sibling couples of ancient Egypt, Scheidel puts forward the possibility that siblings might have been fed by unrelated wet-nurses, and consequently became "sensitized to an MHC (major histocompatibility complex) type other than their own [which] thereby reduced their inhibitions against sexual relations with their own kin at mature ages." Scheidel bases this proposition on arguments previously made by Gates in connection with the *sim-pua* children of Taiwan, to the effect that unrelated children might smell alike because they had been nursed by the same woman; but while Gates' argument might account for the fact that the unrelated Taiwanese couples eschewed each other as adults, it is not quite so clear to me why nursing at the breasts of different and unrelated women would destroy or compromise the existing MHC type of *related* children. (Perhaps someone more versed in this area than I am could speak to this question.)

The question of Egyptian semantics and marriage rules, which might have provided another model, one that had its own set of influences on the customs which developed in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, is valid, but I think far too large for the scope of this rather rambling response. Much of the work on ancient Egyptian marriage is based on trying to come to grips with the Egyptian semantics: see Pestman 1961, Watterson 1991, Robins 1993 and El-Mosallamy 1997. At times, it seems that the Egyptian categorizations are even vaguer than the Greek (thus there is difficulty in determining the word for "wife," and much potential for confusion with other female relations; Robins 1993:60-62). Of course, the most famous example of blurry categories and semantic confusion lies in the use of the terms "brother" and "sister" as designators of erotic or conjugal relations (El-Mosallamy 1997: 262). One thing the Egyptian evidence does show, however, is that notwithstanding the fact that Egyptians were widely believed by their contemporaries to engage in brother-sister marriage, and that the Egyptians themselves probably were initially more accepting of the Ptolemaic custom than were the Greeks, it does seem that we should not over-estimate Egyptian complacency in the face of sibling sexuality. El-Mosallamy reports an objection lodged by an Egyptian father troubled by the intimacy between his two children: "Does the law allow marriage between brother and sister?" (El-Mosallamy 1997:262).

Dr. Fischer raises many excellent questions in his commentary, and has certainly fleshed out a number of areas left blank in my own treatment of this vast and fascinating topic. I am well aware that I really have provided few answers, and have chosen instead to pose questions of my own. I would welcome most warmly the response of others who have more expertise in these areas than do I.

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## Note

1 The "prohibited degrees" laid down in the Canadian Marriage (Prohibited Degrees) Act of 1990 do not include marriage with aunts or uncles, or first cousins—but it is difficult to imagine that a marriage between uncle and niece in modern Canada would not meet with considerable social opprobrium in many circles. Interestingly, the prohibited degrees *do* include adoptive (i.e., non-blood) relatives.

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# Book Reviews / Comptes Rendus

**Michael Taussig,** *Walter Benjamin's Grave,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006, 258 pages.

Reviewer: *Craig Campbell*
*University of Alberta*

> The recording would thus be a continuation, a plumb line of magnetic tape hurled into the abyss of history, then hauled out, wet with the sticky weight of dripping speech. [Taussig p. 43]

Punctured through with an enigmatic door-shaped rectangle, *Walter Benjamin's Grave* is a volatile and exciting collection of articles. This book is presented as a loosely themed take on the writings and projects of the German cultural critic, Walter Benjamin. Michael Taussig, a professor of Anthropology at Colombia University, has eight previously published books and has carved out a unique niche for himself on the margins of ethnography and critical theory. With *Walter Benjamin's Grave*, he makes another notable contribution to this borderland terrain by presenting a command of both disciplinary perspectives and by pursuing his distinctive form of critical ethnography.

The picture on the cover of *Walter Benjamin's Grave* shows a melancholic and dreary bay; at the same time we see down a passage towards the boiling sea, whirlpools and rocks at the bottom of a cliff. The image also looks down at the silhouette of a person in a door-shaped reflection of light on glass. The door-shaped rectangle is a feature from a monument built at the site where Walter Benjamin killed himself, on the coastal border of France and Spain, while attempting to flee Nazi forces in 1940.[1] The rectangle on the cover, which is replicated through the entire book at the beginning (or is it the end?) of each chapter, can be seen as a gateway to and from the communal grave (*fosa commún*), the location where Benjamin was probably interred and, "where even if you were buried at first with a name you end up nameless" (p. 17). While naming and memory are important theoretical vehicles for Taussig, it is the transgression of culturally meaningful boundaries—the passages suggested by the image of the door-shape—that

really motivates this collection. Michael Taussig examines the perennial anthropological idioms of boundaries and passages through cultural critique. Furthermore, it is in this cultural critique that he is able to both explore and incite transgressive acts, pointing towards passages and exposing the banal and sometimes dangerous word games of academic writing; the plays of mimesis and tricks of representation.

Most of the essays in Walter Benjamin's Grave are adapted from previously published articles and book chapters, including one that was published only in Spanish. Some of the original publications may be obscure or at least not part of anthropology's more orthodox cannon,[2] a fact that makes this a useful collection of disparate writings. Regardless of the fact that the articles were published over a ten-year period, this collection generally reads as a thematically coherent work. Although at times there seem to be queer echoes of repeated ideas, phrases, and idioms—remnants of the chapters' previous incarnations—this is little more than a minor irritation. One tentative criticism is that the collection might have been better framed with more extensive discussion of the role of Benjamin's theories vis-à-vis Taussig's own work. Such an explicit framing, however, would perhaps undermine the spirit of one of Taussig's key projects: agitation against academic conventions and rituals that seek to neatly contain everything within a façade of coherence. The closest thing to this is the Author's Note, a four-page introduction to the book, which I imagine was written as a pre-emptive strike—perhaps at the behest of the publisher—against plain-style zealots, the academically conservative, and others who are either baffled or suspicious of Professor Taussig's work. The Author's Note does, in any event, give a useful, if brief, framework for approaching the rest of the book:

> Looking back at these essays written over the past decade I think what they share is a love of muted and even defective storytelling as a form of analysis...They also share a love of anthropological field-work, a love of the classical anthropology of so-called primitive societies, and an intense curiosity as to the displacement of Marx and Freud by Nietzsche and Bataille that such old-fashioned anthropology provokes. [p. vii]

Walter Benjamin's critical practice is only the starting point for a work that is as concerned with Friedrich Nietzsche, Georges Bataille, Theodor Adorno, Michel Leiris, William Burroughs and André Breton as it is with Walter Benjamin. For those unfamiliar with Benjamin, this book will point to a number of different approaches and introductions to this irrefutably important 20th-century theorist. For those more familiar with Benjamin's work, it is an opportunity to consider Taussig's long-engagement with ideas like the dialectical image and profane illumination, as well as Benjamin's highly particular style of cultural critique.

Each chapter in *Walter Benjamin's Grave* flows through thick discursive constructs, enlivened with ethnographic reverberations. The challenge in reading this collection is to see how the writing itself becomes part of the critique and description, testing the reader's capacity to read, think, and write about it. Thus a very literal and engaging narrative is mixed liberally with obtuse and esoteric references. Ethnographic fragments are carefully lifted from their environment, all the more marked for their obvious fragmentary-ness. There is no structuralist pretense to represent the whole culture here. Colombian shamans, peasant farmers, New York policemen, storytellers, and gold miners are all characters in Taussig's world. Their stories, we learn, teach us as much about the questions that we ask as they do about their own social worlds. This forms a tremor through throughout the book, articulating ongoing concerns with the practice of ethnography, history and of academic representation in general. "What fun it would be" muses Taussig, "if our historians were quick-witted enough, were sufficiently brave and adept with language and image, so that they, too, instead of perfecting the culturally contrived performance of objectivity could sing us their verses—verses that gambol with truth's pretensions" (p. 60).

Taussig's use of ethnographic fragments in his writing could arguably be seen as an appropriation of stories, cutting them from their cultural milieu. It is likely that some will see this approach as opportunistic. Taussig, however, is also concerned with this. He warns against the mining of ethnographic experience, citing the dangerous ground that provides the authority to make claims about how things really work. What he advocates is an approach that highlights the mutual constructedness of the ethnographer and his or her subject. It is at the very limits of language that Taussig finds inspiration in the work of surrealist artists and writers who

> resurrected the stimulating impact of the unsayable through cunningly crafted contradiction in visual image, poetry, and unusual forms of narrative. At its best this amounted to what Walter Benjamin, in his essay on surrealism, termed "profane illumination," playing off against the mystical sense of illumination (rather than Enlightenment) to give it a sense at once secularized and materialist while maintaining something mystical as well. [p. 161]

Taussig's own projects, though opaque on one level, are meant to be more transparent about the various engagements and ties that bind the ethnographer to the subject, to the academy, and to the canon.

There is perhaps a danger in Taussig's style. It is a danger, as noted by Barry Sandywell (2005) vis-à-vis Walter Benjamin's Arcades Project, that "we lose the wider context, the 'movements' and long-term structural 'tendencies' in the blizzard of fragments, citations, and quotations. In sum, we fail to see the wood for the trees." As with my experience of reading Benjamin, by the end of this book I do not always know what I have pulled out of it. While it is eminently quotable it is also frustratingly challenging to plunder, as if it had a built in self-destructing mechanism. Perhaps, that too, is the point, proving to be fatally inconsistent for some while being incisive and visionary to others. Susan Sontag (1980) affably stated that Benjamin's "major essays seem to end just in time, before they self-destruct." It would not be entirely unfair to say the same of Taussig's own writing style, which has peculiar volatility that is at once enticing and challenging. Taussig, however, navigates these dangers by allowing ethnography and cultural critique to compliment and activate one another. In his own cautionary note, he warns that "we must not commit stories to the servile operation of getting them to say something that could be said otherwise—for example, to see them instrumentally, as devices to achieve some other thing, such as equality, limits to individualism, morality tales against greed, prodigality and capitalist logic" (p. 89).

Tacking between ethnographic description and critical theory, Taussig maintains a space he has been cultivating for years. And, like the Colombian peasant plantations he writes about, the amalgam of ethnographic fragments and intellectually challenging theory work together as a sustainable whole, in spite of a certain degree of opacity—a density that many would shun, preferring (to extend the metaphor) the monoculture of open sun farming, of ethnography and history where the weirdness, the inconsistencies and inexplicabilities are written out for the sake of coherence on paper and elegance of method.

## Notes

1 The monument was built by Dani Karavan. It is worth going to Karavan's website to get a better sense of the it [www.danikaravan.com].

2 I am not sure that there is a clear orthodoxy in the discipline but it is doubtless that Professor Taussig has made a career as a non-conforming and famously unorthodox ethnographer. Earlier versions of two of the articles were published in the excellent journal *Critical Inquiry*.

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**Danny Postel,** *Reading Legitimation Crisis in Tehran: Iran and the Future of Liberalism,* Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2006, 124 pages.

Reviewer: *Parastou Saberi*
*Independent Scholar, Toronto*

Danny Postel focusses on the present philosophical-political profile of Iran. The book is a journalist indication of "who" is reading *Legitimation Crisis* and other genres of modern Western philosophy in Iran, rather than being a Habermasian analysis of an actual crisis taking place in that country. But, Postel's attempt to put agency and structure against one another competitively does have a Habermasian aspiration of its own.

He starts by picturing some of the less propagandized scenes that have occurred on the internal sociopolitical landscape of Iran since 2003: the frequent demonstrations of different social groups that oppose theocracy and demand more democratic rights and a better socio-economic situation. This has been happening while the government has increasingly tended toward censoring the public sphere and oppressing and arresting oppositional forces. Beneath the fanaticism of the Iranian neo-conservatives, Postel correctly sees an actual crisis in the legitimation of the Islamic Republic in process. This ideological crisis is interrelated with a widespread social transformation that is being nourished by the sociopolitical margins of Iranian society.

Postel is amazed by the "the fascinating reception of thinkers like Habermas, Arendt, and Berlin" among political dissidents, feminist activists, students and intellectuals. He is fascinated by the liberal tendencies of these movements, the social base of which are the members of the New Class, or the intellectuals in a broad sense. They are shaking the legitimacy of an authoritarian theological (Islamic) state.

Chapter 1 questions the shocking silence of the Western Left on the Islamic Republic's oppression of the voices of the democratic grassroots movements. In Postel's view, the Left's rhetoric of Empire has produced its own form of fundamentalism by turning into a kind of tunnel vision. Cases that fall outside its scheme are simply left out. Contemporary Western radicalism does not speak to Iranian progressives. The issues atop its agenda—anti-imperialism, anti-globalization and anti-capitalism—are not the central concerns of Iranian oppositions, agitating for pluralism and democracy. Meanwhile the denunciation of the U.S. Empire in Iran is the rhetorical dominion of the state. The situation gets further complicated as the neo-cons in the U.S. not only forcefully condemn the Iranian regime, but also vocally support the internal democratic struggles. So, in his words, "it's just plain uncomfortable for the leftists to say anything that sounds like it could also come out of the mouth of George Bush or Paul Wolfowitz."

Postel emphasizes the importance of a revival in the radical tradition of internationalism, asking for immediate intellectual and on-the-ground solidarity with democratic movements in places like Iran, in order to generate more dialogue. Chapter 2 is an effort to initiate this dialogue: "What Iranian Liberalism can teach the West?" Some immediate lessons are radicalism and internationalism. He calls for a liberal Third-Worldism instead of the failed Third-Worldism of the New Left, advancing liberalism as a superior framework to address the dilemmas of the Third World today. But why radicalism? Because Liberalism in Iran means: the struggle for human rights, women's rights, civil liberties, pluralism, religious toleration, freedom of expression and multiparty democracy. The so-called Islamic Republic defines itself largely in opposition to these things. Subsequently, Iranians have to struggle, at great personal risk, to realize the bourgeois liberties that citizens of Western democratic states take for granted. Under such conditions, Liberalism is a radical project vis-à-vis the state.

Chapter 3 reconsiders Foucault's "necropolitical imagination" and his "Iranian Odyssey." It is the shortest chapter of Postel's pamphlet, which nonetheless plays a double role in his arguments. It gives a quick summary of Janet Afary and Kevin Anderson's book, *Foucault and the Iranian Revolution: Gender and the Seductions of Islamism* (2005).

Between September 1978 and May 1979, Foucault published a series of articles about the Iranian Revolution, showing his deep interest in what he called the emergence of a "political spirituality" in the Islamic wing of the movement, which, in his view, promised not only a new political order, but a whole different "regime of truth." Afary and Anderson (2005) accuse Foucault of dismissing feminist warnings about the dangers the Islamists posed to women and the authoritarianism of Khomeini's movement. They relate these to his fierce enmity toward modernity and the impact of the male-oriented religious rituals that he witnessed in Iran on what they call his sexual imaginary. They also accuse him of Orientalism. Foucault portrayed the Iranian people as completely unified in their support for an Islamic government.

In mentioning Foucault's analsysis of Iran, Postel aims to assure the reader that he is well aware of the pitfalls of both Orientalism and anti-Western-modernism before moving on to the last part of his book. Chapter 4 describes his 2006 interview with Iranian-Canadian philosopher Ramin Jahanbegloo, which occurred a few months before the latter was sent into solitary confinement in Tehran's notorious Evin prison. He spent four months in prison, accused of planning a velvet revolution.

Jahanbegloo discusses what he calls a "renaissance of liberalism" taking place in Iran; why Marxism as a school of political thought has lost its heyday and other current intellectual trends in the country; his own position as a democratic universalist and a cosmopolitan intellectual; as well as the fashionable status of philosophy among Iranian students. In his view, today in Iran, philosophy represents a window on Western culture, on an open society and on the idea of democracy. Iran's "renaissance of liberalism" is characterized by rejecting any form of determinism (religious or historical). The

extension of anti-utopian thinking and the urge for a non-imitative dialogical exchange with the modern West are the two main methodological positions of Iranian liberal intellectuals. It is in this sphere that Marxism is assumed to be no longer a valid or sufficient theory for the explanation of social and political reality in Iran. Instead, one confronts traditionalist clerics referring to Heidegger, liberals to Habermas, Berlin, and Kant, feminists to Arendt, and some young nihilists to deconstructionism.

The validity of Postel's arguments is open to discussion. His celebration of liberalism as the cure for the present dilemmas of the Third World lacks theoretical and practical plausibility when one recalls the actual peripheral position of the Third World within the capitalist world-system. The downfall of Marxism in Iran is not only the result of the political entrenchment of Islamic fundamentalists, the absence of an organized proletariat in Iran, the upper-class origins of Iranian Marxists and the support of some Marxist groups for Islamists after the revolution, as both Postel and Jahanbegloo wish the reader to believe. Since the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Soviet Union, the speedy expansion of capitalism has been imperative in pushing Marxism into the margins of the social, political and intellectual landscape all over the world. Iran is no exception.

Iranian liberal progressives have yet to comprehend the utopian nature of what they perceive as their anti-utopian, non-imitative, non-dominative exchange with the West. They cannot escape the real political and economic constraints of the present historical moment by invoking the universality of human experience in the realm of philosophy. It is worthwhile to recall Marx's famous dictum that "[m]en [sic] make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under given circumstances directly encountered and inherited from the past."

Despite the good will involved in his effort to provide an empathetic portrait of Iranian politics and society, Postel's image is still trapped within an Orientalist framework. His analysis is based on the fact that a relatively small group of intellectuals based in Tehran are reading modern Western philosophy. The practices and dreams of these few figures, who belong to rival bourgeois classes in Iranian society, are no basis for generalizations about 70 million people. Nevertheless, as one of the relatively few efforts to dispel the spectre of Iran as a dangerous fundamentalist country, Postel's work deserves Slavoj Zizek's advance praise for the book in showing that Iran's story is the West's own story.

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    2005    Foucault and the Iranian Revolution: Gender and the Seductions of Islamism. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

**Laurel Bossen,** *Chinese Women and Rural Development: Sixty Years of Chinage in Lu Village, Yunnan,* Lanham and Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002, 391 pages.

Reviewer: *Eric Henry*
*Cornell University*

Understanding social change in gender, the division of labour, land tenure and political culture requires an historical depth usually unobtainable by ethnographers of rural communities. However, in this study of Lu Village in China's rural Yunnan province (conducted over the course of ten years, from 1989 to 1999) Laurel Bossen avails herself of a classic of Chinese ethnography, Fei Xiaotong and Zhang Zhiyi's *Earthbound China: A Study of Rural Economy in Yunnan* (1948), part of which was conducted in the same village. Fei was the principle investigator in Lu Village, and Bossen uses his ethnography to good effect, comparing the data he collected on agriculture and land ownership in the 1930s with contemporary trends, and using interviews with older informants to fill in the gaps that resulted from Fei's cursory concern with issues of gender.

Bossen does not engage in an extended critique of Fei's work, but uses his ethnographic descriptions as starting points for her own analyses. She is not concerned here with any particular theoretical problem, but attempts to trace out the wider intersections of gender and development as they have affected Lu Village over the past 60 years. This book includes studies of the role of gender in land ownership and farm work (chap. 4), the distribution of wealth (chap. 6), marriage (chap. 7), family planning (chap. 8) and village politics (chap. 9). In all of these cases, Bossen carefully documents the historical trajectories of change in Lu Village that can be deduced from Fei's ethnography and from local records, as well as current configurations. She describes how these changes have affected village women, although at times the progress of gender equality seems stalled as when Bossen remarks "the gender division of labor in 1990 would not surprise a member of the 1938 community" (p. 145). Her demographic data also indicates a "suspicious sex ratio" heavily favouring male children that may (Bossen is frustratingly inconclusive here) be linked to the increasing use of ultrasound technology in prenatal examinations; in other words, sex selective abortion may have been an issue. But there are also positive signs. Economic development has brought some measure of security to village families. While women are still more concentrated in farming, they are also able to participate in rural industry, transportation and even political institutions. Bossen notes that this situation may be peculiar to Lu Village which, with a history of uxorilocal marriage, tends to favour local women over in-marrying males.

Some of the most interesting ethnographic description concerns the extremes of wealth and poverty in the village. Bossen describes the material conditions and daily routines of some of the poorest families, often relegated to this status

by disability, infirmity, bad luck or the moral calculus of the Chinese state during past political crusades—Bossen points out that many families which were classified as "landlords" after Liberation in 1949 were so labelled only because they had fewer sons among whom to divide their land. In turn she records the stories of the newly wealthy households, showing how a mixture of education, hard work and political opportunity provided the means for them to accumulate more than their neighbours. She concludes that wealth is produced by co-operation between men and women in the rural economy and migrants to Lu Village without ties of kinship, or unmarried individuals, are limited in what they can earn.

Two further chapters deserve special attention. In chapter 3, Bossen outlines a theory of the demise of female footbinding in the early Republican era (1911-49). While most analysts argue that the rapid decline of footbinding was the result of changing cultural norms (the desire of men for bound feet) and government-initiated reforms, Bossen links it to a decline in women's domestic textile production. When cheap imported fabrics became available, women's labour moved outside into the fields, often replacing the labour of men who sought paid work in the cities or in the military. Thus for Bossen it was the shift in labour practices (from housebound textile production to outside agricultural production) and not rapid cultural change which eradicated footbinding. She also points out that the change was not abrupt, as is often described, but often involved the "early release" of young women's bindings, resulting in what were called "cucumber feet" rather than the "three-inch golden lily" ideal of imperial times (p. 73). Bossen's other unique contribution is her reconstruction of the experiences of a female shaman (chap. 5) who practised in Lu Village during the 1930s. Through interviews with the shaman's daughter and elderly members of the community, Bossen paints a picture of a shrewd outsider to the community who was able to establish herself in a comfortable lifestyle on the basis of her insights into the spirit world.

Unfortunately one of the drawbacks of rural Chinese ethnography is the limitations of access. It sounds as though Bossen's experiences with government minders and local Party officials were generally productive, but many of her conclusions are inferred from production or demographic data rather than confirmed by informants. These include such sensitive topics as political participation in the past (the Cultural Revolution and Great Leap Forward are like dark pits in the villagers' memories), infanticide, suicide and even the ongoing political struggles in the community. To some extent this is to be expected, but it lends the overall ethnography a sense of speculative conjecture on many topics for which the reader might hope for firm answers. Typically Bossen presents her data in the form of tables and statistics, befitting the overall focus on economic anthropology. At times however the reader might wish for more than the life histories which Bossen provides, but instead the opinions, motivations and judgments of the Lu Villagers themselves concerning the sweeping changes taking place around them.

Still, the advantage of this book is its historical depth and topical breadth concerning one village in China's rural countryside. It provides a necessary corrective to the gender myopia of past studies of Chinese peasants, including Fei's work, with which this ethnography might be read in tandem. The book will appeal to anyone interested in rural China, peasant economies and the intersections of gender and development. While the picture of the Chinese countryside is not always rosy, Bossen extends the metaphor of the unbinding of women's feet in the early 20th century to the potential for unbinding the technological, political and structural inequalities that afflict Chinese peasants in this one. However, as the book demonstrates, especially in the case of women, there is much ground that remains to be covered.

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**Marie Mauzé, Michael E. Harkin and Sergei Kan**, eds., *Coming to Shore: Northwest Coast Ethnology, Traditions, and Visions,* Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2004, 508 pages.

Reviewer: *Mark Ebert*
*University of Victoria*

The book *Coming to Shore* is a collection of papers that grew out of a June 2000 conference in Paris and represents, as the editors suggest in their introduction, "the culmination of a several-year collaboration among many of the most prominent researchers in the field of Northwest Coast ethnology"—a project, they assert, that is long overdue (p. xi). But like most Northwest Coast ethnographic volumes, there is a decided bias in the number of chapters devoted to the more prominent and expressive northern cultures of the region (only about three, out of 21, chapters focus on the peoples of southern coastal British Columbia).

The initial impetus for the Paris conference was Claude Lévi-Strauss's 90th birthday, and it seems only fitting that the first chapter is of the honoree's personal reflections on his Northwest Coast work. I found this chapter and Frederica de Laguna's similar, autobiographical chapter quite fascinating. Along with most of the chapters in the first section, "The Legacy of Northwest Coast Research," Lévi-Strauss and de Laguna provide interesting insights into the development of this regional tradition and draw out the "anchored radiance," to borrow a phrase from the notably missing Jay Miller (1999), of Northwest Coast academics. Of particular note in this first section is Regna Darnell's contribution describing the similarities, continuities and differences between historical particularism and structuralism. She argues that the Northwest

Coast provides a focal point into which the French and Americanist traditions intersect, providing "a veritable microcosm for the history of anthropology" (p. 7). In light of who the conference honoree was, it is perhaps unsurprising that the "legacy" discussed in this first section focusses a lot on the contributions of Lévi-Straussian structuralism. Though finding the discussions of the use and difficulties of this theoretical perspective illuminating, particularly the chapters by Marjorie Myers Halpin and Margaret Seguin Anderson, at times the connections to this theory and scholar are a bit awkward—with reference to Lévi-Strauss just seeming to be dropped in. For example, in Marie Mauzé's chapter on the lasting influence of the Northwest Coast on French anthropology, and particularly regarding Marcel Mauss's work, Lévi-Strauss is not really discussed until the concluding section. That said, Mauzé's chapter is an excellent compliment to Darnell's work tracing the development of the Americanist tradition.

The next section of the book deals with texts and narratives and represents a shift in emphasis toward more ethnographically oriented discussions. An underlying theme in the three chapters of this section is on the status of Northwest Coast oral traditions vis-à-vis the Western literate tradition. Further, these chapters illustrate the dynamism and practicality of these peoples and their verbal arts from pre-contact times through to the more recent efforts of native elders to have their knowledge recorded for future generations. In terms of the latter, Martine J. Reid and Daisy Sewid-Smith's contribution, which also forms part of the introductory chapter to their book (Alfred 2004), is of particular interest as they explore a new perspective on writing down ("textualization") native verbal art. Here though, as throughout this section, the focus on northern cultures and peoples is quite prominent. For example, Reid and Sewid-Smith contend that while Northwest Coast ethnology is replete with biographical accounts of men, it "is still lacking in similar materials on women" (p. 188)—seemingly ignoring the recent biographies of female elders from Washington State that have been published (e.g., Goodman and Swan 2002; Hilbert 1995).

The third, and shortest, section of the book turns to issues dealing with the consumption of Northwest Coast peoples and cultures by non-native peoples. Here Sergei Kan contrasts the images constructed in tourist literature of the Tlingit with those of the native peoples in the American Southwest and highlights the bind in which many native peoples still find themselves: that to exist in the contemporary world somehow denies (or brings in to question) their "authenticity" as indigenous. As Kan suggests, those who visited the Alaskan Panhandle in the late 1800s-early 1900s seeking picturesque, "Noble Savages" were disappointed by the real-life contexts and lives of Tlingit peoples. Ira Jacknis, the other contributor to this section, traces the history and influences of the Northwest Coast Indian Hall at the American Museum of Natural History and the hall's "critical role in forming our image of Northwest Coast Indian cultures" (p. 222).

The final section of the book, "Politics and Cultural Heritage," is the one I found personally to be the most interesting and useful. With my research interests shifting from Washington State into British Columbia and toward the issues of Aboriginal rights and title, Daniel Boxberger's chapter on anthropological expert witnesses and the marginalization of elders' testimony is of particular value. Chapters by Richard and Nora Marks Dauenhauer, and Aaron Glass provide further, interesting illustrations of how the cultures and peoples of the Northwest Coast have practically and dynamically responded to their changing social, political and economic contexts. One issue that Glass discusses, that connects well with the chapter that follows by Bruce G. Miller, concerns the use of ethnographic texts in the revitalization of cultural practices. In Glass's discussion these texts were used in disputes regarding recent innovations and transformations in the Kwakwaka'wakw Hamat'sa performance. Through the examples of a hereditary chief giving a professional dance group the rights to perform (for money) one of his family's Hamat'sa dances and of women having the Hamat'sa and the right to its performance bestowed on them, Glass shows how both supporters and opponents use the same language of "tradition" while selectively drawing on the historical evidence to support their positions. This selectivity in the use of the ethnographic record forms the starting point for Miller's chapter on Coast Salish justice practices. For Miller, though, the use of the publications and field notes of earlier anthropologists by contemporary native communities "in the (re)construction of indigenous ways of life and in internal debates about where communities should head" provokes a re-examination of "several issues and address questions that did not receive much anthropological attention in earlier generations" (p. 305). Having already read his book *The Problem of Justice* (2001) and found it thoroughly useful, I found this chapter, which draws heavily on the book, a bit cursory.

These examples of the selective readings and interpretations of the ethnographic record returns us to Boxberger's discussion of court proceedings where "we see the situation where an oral tradition written down in the past is valid history, but that same oral tradition alive in the community today is dismissed as biased" (p. 328). An implication of this, according to Boxberger, is that anthropologists, under the guise of the "expert witness," "are still engaged in a hegemonic process over control of knowledge" (p. 338). Patricia Pierce Erikson's exploration of the Makah Cultural and Research Center (MCRC) provides a counterpoint to the bleak picture depicted in Boxberger's chapter. This tribal museum and cultural centre, according to Erikson, is an example of a larger, global process where indigenous peoples "have greater resources for creating more authoritative autoethnography and mediating more directly between their community and the general public" (p. 347). The result being a shift in the collaborative relationship between native communities and academia that Erikson proposes "can challenge us to etch finer-grained, more accurate, and more reflexive ethnographies" (p. 358). The other chapter that deals with the Makah, and the final chapter of

the book, is a wonderfully written piece by Janine Bowechop, the Director of the MCRC and enrolled member of the Makah Nation, regarding the historical antecedents and preparations involved in the recent revival of Makah whaling.

Overall I found this book extremely interesting and useful. That being said, I am also part of the Northwest Coast ethnology community and I found at times that parts of the book entailed a certain degree of background knowledge that those unfamiliar with the region may find problematic. The inclusion of more maps may have been helpful in this context. But this drawback should not dissuade others from this valuable book as I found the engagement with wider anthropological issues, such as those surrounding the translation of native language texts and narratives, interesting and refreshing.

One issue I did find peculiar was who was included in both the original conference and in this book. Particularly in light of the contemporary atmosphere of interdisciplinarity, the absence of historians and others working in the region (even in terms of referencing them) is curious. Another issue I found with this book is stylistic: there are multiple typographic and formatting errors, which in certain parts, such as Kan's chapter, become quite noticeable. This last comment is a relatively minor point, and none of my quibbles take away from the overall value of this book—it is an excellent addition to the Northwest Coast ethnographic literature and points towards where the future of this regional tradition may be heading.

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**Bernard Saladin d'Anglure**, *Être et renaître inuit. Homme, femme ou chamane*. Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 2006, 429 pages.

Recenseur : *Frédéric Laugrand*
*CIÉRA*

Voyageur infatigable, chercheur prolifique, récent récipiendaire du Prix de la recherche scientifique sur le Nord, Bernard Saladin d'Anglure livre ici les résultats d'un demi-siècle de recherche auprès des Inuit de l'Arctique de l'Est canadien. Les premiers terrains de l'ethnologue ont eu lieu dans le Nord du Québec, au Nunavik, au milieu des années 1950. Au début des années 1970, ils s'étendent à la région d'Igloolik, lorsque l'auteur s'y installe pour une période de quelques mois afin d'y étudier la conception inuit de la reproduction de la vie. Depuis 1971, Bernard Saladin d'Anglure n'a pas cessé de fréquenter la région. Il a vu ce petit village se transformer -sa population va plus que tripler en trente ans-, puis devenir une communauté de plusieurs milliers d'habitants particulièrement dynamique sur le plan culturel. Grâce au film *Atanarjuat, la légende du coureur rapide* produit par la société Isuma et les Inuit de cette communauté, les traditions d'Igloolik sont aujourd'hui connues bien au-delà des frontières du Nunavut.

D'entrée, Bernard Saladin exprime sa profonde reconnaissance aux Inuit de ce village, en particulier à trois de ses plus grands informateurs qui appartiennent tous à une même et grande famille: Iqallijuq, Ujarak et Kupaaq. Déjà interviewés par Knud Rasmussen qui passa à proximité de cette région au milieu des années 1920, ces Inuit vont s'avérer des sources intarissables sur le chamanisme et la mythologie.

Le livre plonge ensuite le lecteur dans la complexité des mythes des Inuit de l'Arctique de l'Est canadien, des récits que l'auteur a recueillis en inuktitut et qu'il compare méticuleusement avec d'autres variantes collectées jadis par ses prédécesseurs, Franz Boas et Knud Rasmussen. Claude Lévi-Strauss qui signe la préface de l'ouvrage a relevé l'une de ses plus grandes qualités, à savoir cette disposition typographique qui permet de distinguer clairement les versions originales des mythes, des commentaires et explications de l'exégète. Un tel dispositif met en valeur les très riches témoignages des Inuit, tout en permettant au lecteur de suivre les raisonnements de l'ethnologue, sa perspicacité comme ses doutes et ses hésitations. À cet égard, l'ouvrage de B. Saladin d'Anglure s'annonce à la fois comme un classique et une contribution modèle pour les chercheurs.

Hormis l'avant-propos qui dresse une brève histoire d'Igloolik depuis 1824, date de la visite du capitaine Parry, et une brève introduction qui présente les trois principaux informateurs de l'ethnographe, l'ouvrage est divisé en quinze chapitres. Le premier traite de la réincarnation de Savviurtalik, un ancien chasseur décédé vers 1904, dans sa petite fille Rose Iqallijuq qui en portait le nom et l'identité. *A priori*, ce récit pourrait sembler exceptionnel mais Bernard Saladin d'Anglure montre qu'il en existe beaucoup d'autres, suggérant de considérer les récits de réminiscences intra-utérines comme un véritable genre narratif. Ce premier chapitre fournit à l'auteur l'occasion de présenter les grandes notions clés de l'univers spirituel des Inuit, des conceptions de l'âme à celles de la vie et de la mort. Le lecteur apprend comment, par un jeu d'échelles, l'utérus opère comme une métaphore de l'iglou et ce dernier comme une métaphore de l'univers. L'auteur rappelle enfin le phénomène du *sipiniq*, cette croyance d'un changement possible du sexe d'un nouveau-né au cours de l'accou-

chement, déjà évoqué par Rose Dufour. Dans le chapitre 2, l'auteur traite de la genèse, tel que ce processus est décrit dans plusieurs mythes de la Terre de Baffin et de l'apparition des premiers humains. Les récits retenus indiquent la précarité de l'univers inuit. L'auteur fait ressortir ce paradoxe d'une autochtonie fixée par les mythes qui ont souvent un ancrage local pour un peuple migrant et semi-nomade. Le chapitre se clôt par une relecture de l'adoption et de la renaissance que pouvait engendrer la pratique d'un saut périlleux de jouvence, les premiers humains ne connaissant pas encore la mort. Comme le jour est introduit après une joute verbale entre le corbeau et le renard, la mort fait son apparition après les paroles d'une femme effrayée par la terre en train de sombrer dans la mer en raison d'une surpopulation. Les chapitres 3, 4 et 5 traitent de plusieurs figures centrales de la mythologie inuit dans lesquels l'anthropologue met en corrélation des données tirées de la parenté et des pratiques, avec celles que livrent subtilement les mythes. Le chapitre 3 est consacré à la figure énigmatique de Silap inua, parfois décrite comme un bébé géant au sexe proéminent, et connu sous le nom de Naarjuk (Gros-Ventre). Sans entrer dans les détails d'une discussion qui anima jadis les spécialistes des Inuit, force est de constater que les données de ce chapitre paraissent plus fragmentaires et plus lacunaires qu'ailleurs, les informations de Rasmussen demeurant ici la source principale d'information. Cette figure mythique de *silaap inua* exigerait donc de plus amples recherches. Fin ethnographe, l'auteur fait cependant ressortir d'intéressantes caractéristiques avançant l'idée que Sila constitue le principal opérateur des changements d'échelle qui permettent de passer du microcosme au macrocosme. L'air encapsulé dans la bulle de l'âme et relâché au moment de la mort est ainsi vraisemblablement associé au Sila qui désigne également l'air extérieur, l'atmosphère, la raison. D'autres associations sont bien établies – Sila et les souffles corporels, Sila et les *silaat*, ces gigantesques caribous mâles –, mais il faudra expliquer un jour pour quelles raisons l'ethnographie contemporaine demeure si timide à propos du maître du Sila? Le chapitre 4 traite des frasques et de l'inceste commis par Frère-Lune (Taqqiq) sur sa Sœur-Soleil (Siqiniq). Contrairement au récit précédent, l'ethnographie de ce mythe pan-arctique paraît très solide, certains épisodes étant même associés aux aventures d'autres personnages mythiques connus ailleurs dans l'Arctique, qu'il s'agisse de Kiviuq, le grand héros épique, ou d'Atungaq. Comme pour les autres récits, l'auteur commente une myriade de détails et offre des explications très riches: sur les pouvoirs chamaniques du plongeon, la clairvoyance chamanique (*qaumaniq*), l'origine des narvals et sur plusieurs catégories d'entités non-humaines que sont les gens-aux-longues-griffes (*qittuarjuit*), les gens-sans-anus (*itiqanngittut*) que rencontrent le frère et sa sœur dans leurs pérégrinations. Le chapitre se poursuit avec une réflexion sur l'inceste et le problème de la transgression des tabous qui provoquent le rapetissement du gibier, dans le cas d'un mauvais accouchement ou d'une fausse couche. La section s'achève avec la dynamique des contraires, l'opposition entre le soleil et la

lune permettant de comprendre de nombreuses pratiques et représentations chamaniques.

Dans le chapitre 5, l'auteur examine un autre mythe fondamental des traditions inuit, celui de Uinigumassuituq. Ce récit décrit comment une fille rebelle qui ne souhaitait pas se marier devient finalement l'épouse d'un chien et la mère des différents peuples humains et des mammifères marins. Bernard Saladin d'Anglure utilise abondamment les versions recueillies auprès de Kupaaq qu'il met en rapport avec celles de Boas et de Rasmussen et même d'Alexina Kublu. Fille de Kupaaq et petite-fille d'Iqallijuq, Alexina Kublu a joué un rôle essentiel dans la promotion des traditions inuit au Nunavut Arctic College qui lui doit la traduction de plusieurs ouvrages remarquables. Dans ce chapitre, le statut ambigu du chien est évoqué de même que les diverses races humaines issues de l'union de cette femme avec un chien : Indiens, Tuniit, ces ancêtres des Inuit contemporains, et Ijjirait, ces esprits invisibles des montagnes qui prennent souvent l'apparence de caribou. Le second épisode du mythe relate l'union de cette fille avec un fulmar déguisé en homme. L'auteur examine chaque séquence avec minutie: le dialogue du fulmar avec son beau-père, la colère de l'oiseau, le sectionnement des phalanges de la fille par le père effrayé, etc. Ce mythe traite fondamentalement de la question du bon mariage, lequel doit s'accomplir avec un partenaire situé ni trop près, ni trop loin de soi.

Les chapitres 6, 7 et 8 poursuivent cette réflexion sur le mariage et sur la femme. Ils offrent à l'ethnologue l'occasion d'entamer de nouvelles digressions. Le chapitre 6 traite des amours déçues à travers trois récits qui mettent en scène un homme mal-marié. Lemmings, renards, carcajous, outardes et salmonidés font leur apparition dans cette histoire d'amour. Le chapitre 7 présente une autre histoire de mariage qui prend le contrepied de celle relatée au chapitre 5 et met en scène quatre jeunes filles qui jouent à avoir un mari, ce dernier prenant tantôt les apparences d'un scorpion, tantôt celles d'un aigle. Dans ces récits, insiste l'auteur, les mythes servent à rappeler d'autres mises en garde : contre un mauvais usage de la parole, du jeu ou du libre choix du conjoint. Le chapitre 8 traite du mythe d'Arnaqtaaqtuq qui relate les transformations en différents animaux d'un fœtus d'une femme maltraitée. Une série de réincarnations – dans un chien, un loup, un caribou, un morse, un corbeau, un phoque – servent ici de prétextes pour entrer davantage dans l'univers symbolique des Inuit et des animaux qui les entourent. L'auteur souligne au passage les dimensions sociologiques, ontologiques et cosmologiques de ce mythe qui traite des rapports de parenté mais également des rapports de sexe, et des règles à suivre pour qu'humains et gibiers puissent coexister, comme si la chasse demeurait à la base de leur reproduction respective. Les chapitres 9 et 10 traitent des pouvoirs de l'Homme-Lune, d'abord à travers le mythe de Kaujjajjuk, cet orphelin maltraité et secouru par l'Homme-Lune, ensuite à travers les différentes transformations qu'il est capable d'opérer pour venir en aide aux femmes battues. Ces deux chapitres comportent de nombreuses informations sur le chamanisme et montrent la difficulté des rap-

ports humains, d'une part, et des rapports entre humains et animaux, d'autre part. Ces deux mondes doivent rester séparés et seuls les chamanes, médiateurs par excellence, sont habilités à les chevaucher. Les deux chapitres suivants sont respectivement consacrés à Grand-Anus, une orpheline qui deviendra la première guérisseuse et dans laquelle l'auteur voit la toute première figure chamanique (chap. 11), et à l'homme travesti qui accoucha d'un baleineau (chap. 12). Ce mythe est le seul dans l'ouvrage à provenir de l'Alaska mais l'auteur l'utilise pour faire de cet homme étrange une sorte de réplique masculine de Grand-Anus. Cette mise en perspective des deux héros alimente la thèse centrale de l'auteur autour de la notion de troisième sexe. Car selon l'auteur, ces deux personnages mythiques incarnent deux figures complémentaires, deux médiateurs et chevaucheurs de frontières.

De facture plus singulière, les chapitres 13 et 14 traitent de la fabrique des héros et des rapports entre récit mythique et récit historique à partir de deux cas empiriques, le dorénavant célèbre mythe d'Atanaarjuat porté à l'écran par Z. Kunuk, et l'histoire d'Ataguttaaluk, cette femme cannibale qui dut un jour, pendant une famine, manger son mari pour survivre. Dans le cas d'Atanaarjuat, l'auteur exploite et commente chaque détail du récit, relevant les différences que comportent les variantes de ce mythe dans l'Arctique de l'Est. Il explique comment le dénouement de l'histoire a été modifié avec la christianisation. Dans le cas d'Ataguttaaluk, l'ethnologue confronte avec beaucoup de talent les versions détaillées d'Atuat et de Tagurnaaq recueillies à différentes époques pour montrer comment se fabrique un terrible récit. Il reprend le découpage proposé jadis par le Père Mary-Rousselière, un autre grand ethnographe, qui a recueilli de précieuses informations sur cette tragédie. Il est vrai que l'histoire d'Ataguttaaluk est aujourd'hui en voie de devenir un mythe, son souvenir étant perpétué et son nom attribué à la plus grande école de la communauté.

Avec le tout dernier chapitre, Qisaruatsiaq, le lecteur revient au point de départ. A l'instar des conceptions cycliques du temps et de la personne inuit, le livre se boucle en effet par un retour sur les récits intra-utérins de cette aînée originaire de Sanikiluaq, une communauté située sur les îles Belcher. L'auteur pointe ici la capacité remarquable des narratrices de ce type de récit à changer d'échelle, à entrer dans la perspective du monde infra-humain qu'est celui de la vie fœtale. Ce serait là, dans cette reproduction de la vie, que résiderait «l'essence du système de valeurs inuit» : «Cette habileté à changer d'échelle, et donc de point de vue, apparaît comme une clé pour décoder les systèmes symboliques à l'œuvre dans la tradition orale et les rites des Inuit» (p. 382).

Après ce long voyage au Nunavut et ce retour dans la baie d'Hudson, l'ethnologue revient lui aussi à son point de départ, dans les régions méridionales de l'Arctique canadien.

La conclusion du livre retrace rapidement l'itinéraire intellectuel de l'auteur qui met en exergue la profonde influence qu'il a reçu du structuralisme lévi-straussien au début des années 1970. Un schéma synthétique du troisième sexe apparaît à la page 385, mais sans aucun commentaire supplémentaire. On soulignera au passage la qualité des cartes, dessins et des photos qui agrémentent l'ouvrage. En revanche, en raison de la richesse des matériaux et des nombreux détails tirés des corpus mythologiques, un index aurait été utile pour mieux naviguer dans le volume.

Bernard Saladin d'Anglure clôt ses propos sur une nouvelle ouverture en indiquant comment les Inuit voient, dans le chevauchement des frontières, une solution aux grandes contradictions dont traitent leurs mythes et parmi lesquelles figurent la différence entre les sexes, la stérilité des couples, la proximité parentale avec le monde animal, le vieillissement et la mort. Les structures sociales et les flux historiques sont sans aucun doute les deux aspects les moins bien couverts par ce livre, comme si la mythologie fonctionnait dans un cadre intemporel. Les derniers chapitres montrent pourtant combien l'ethnologue est pleinement conscient de l'ouverture de la structure, un point que traitent avec justesse les chapitres 13 et 14. Mais le lecteur peut espérer qu'un volume sur les rites, les pratiques et l'organisation sociale viendra prochainement enrichir et compléter cette première somme. Pour l'auteur, ce serait d'ailleurs boucler un autre cycle commencé en 1967 avec la parution de son tout premier volume dans la collection du Centre d'Études Nordiques de l'Université Laval, *L'organisation sociale traditionnelle des Esquimaux de Kangirsujuaq (Nouveau-Québec)*.

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Gisli Pálsson, *Travelling Passions: The Hidden Life of Vilhjalmur Stefansson*, Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2005, 374 pages.

Reviewer: *Chris Southcott*
*Lakehead University*

As the author points out, there have been a number of books about Vilhjalmur Stefansson over the past two decades. A man who was both an explorer and an anthropologist, his exploits have been of interest to the world at large as well as selected elements of the anthropological community. He is an individual who continues to hold the attention of groups in the United States, Canada and Iceland. While the title of this book seems particularly titillating to Stefansson fans, it is much more than a tabloid discussion of his romantic connections. While Pálsson does tell us a lot more about Stefansson's personal relationships than some of us would like to know, he does so as part of an attempt to comprehend the relationship between anthropology and colonialism in the Arctic. Building on the work of authors such as Stoler (2002), Pálsson uses Stefansson's personal experiences to help understand the construction of categories so crucial to the early stages of Arctic science and anthropology.

Pálsson notes that, since the publication of Bronislaw Malinowski's field diaries (1967), contemporary anthropology has been very much aware of the importance of personal relations

in fieldwork. In the post-Said era we are aware that "orientalism" tells us much about the West and its relationship to its colonies. Yet Stefansson's work and experiences have remained relatively untouched in this regard. As an Icelander generally sympathetic to Stefansson, Pálsson attempts to fill this void.

The Introduction outlines Pálsson's primary interest in writing the book: his discovery that during Stefansson's expeditions to the Canadian Arctic from 1906 to 1918, he had apparently fathered a child with a local Inupiat. This was a detail that some knew about previously but which had been conveniently ignored, in part because Stefansson refused to admit or deny it. In addition, letters were discovered in 1987 that revealed unknown intimate relationships with two other women, one of whom was the novelist Fannie Hurst. These discoveries revealed another side of Stefansson, a side that may help to reveal gaps in his writings and the influence of a "tension between his private life and the official life the outside world knew."

The chapters of Pálsson's book generally follow the chronological order of Stefansson's life. The first starts with the history of Stefansson's family in Northern Iceland, follows their emigration to Manitoba, his birth and move two years later to North Dakota. Unlike earlier biographies, Pálsson tries to highlight the conflicting influences of a staid Icelandic upbringing and frontier passions, including Stefansson's early desire to be a poet. The next chapter takes us through his university days. Much attention is given to two summer research trips to Iceland that Stefansson undertook for Harvard University and which Pálsson suggests first kindled his interest in the north by bringing his attention to the Icelandic Greenland settlements.

Subsequent chapters deal with the relationship between Stefansson, his research and explorations in Northern Canada, and tensions arising from his relationship with two women. The first was a Canadian living in Boston who Stefansson became engaged to prior to his first trip to the Arctic. The next is an Inupiat "seamstress," Pannigabluk, with whom he apparently fathered a child, Alex Stefansson. Pálsson discusses the colonial relationships that would have governed the relations between Stefansson, Pannigabluk and Alex pointing out the difficulties such relationships would entail for all three.

The book also deals with Stefansson's relationships following his return from Canada: his bohemian lifestyle in New York's Greenwich Village, his long-term intimate relationship with novelist Fannie Hurst, his marriage at 62 years of age to a much younger woman, and his final days at Dartmouth College. While these chapters may be of extreme interest to Stefansson fanatics, one of the most interesting chapters in the book deals with the life of Alex Stefansson and his family—a life which included no direct contact with Stefansson himself.

Unlike the work of Stoler, Pálsson's work deals with a single iconic figure in Arctic history. His work is strained between attempting to use Stefansson's relationships to better understand colonialism, and the temptation to fill in gaps about Stefansson's life that some would find important, others titillat-

ing and others irrelevant. For those readers who are interested in the first objective, they will find that the book deals too much with private details that are hard to link with an analytical thesis statement. Those who are interested in the second objective will find that the book deals too much with theoretical discussions which slow down the action.

Overall, this reader found the book fascinating. To those anthropologists who would find it too salacious for their tastes I would urge them to lighten up a bit.

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**Nelson-Martin Dawson**, *Feu, fourrures, fléaux et foi foudroyèrent les Montagnais : Histoire et destin de ces tribus nomades d'après les archives de l'époque coloniale*, Sillery, Québec: Les éditions du Septentrion, 2005, 262 pages.

Recenseur : *Adrian Burke*
*Université de Montréal*

Ce livre est écrit par Nelson-Martin Dawson, auteur d'un autre livre récent sur les Amérindiens du Québec intitulé *Des Attikamègues aux Têtes-de-Boule* (Septentrion 2003). Son nouveau livre est organisé en six sections : une brève introduction, quatre chapitres qui constituent le cœur du travail et une conclusion. Les quatre chapitres s'intitulent *Des Montagnais, Les peuples des pays du Haut Saguenay, Les peuples de la Côte-Nord, et Des peuples immigrants* et ils décrivent bien les groupes et les territoires couverts par le livre. Il s'agit, pour citer l'auteur, d'une «lecture serrée» (p. 79) des documents coloniaux du XVIIᵉ siècle et de la première moitié du XVIIIᵉ afin de placer dans le temps et dans l'espace les groupes amérindiens de la région comprise par le Haut Saguenay, l'Estuaire, la Côte-Nord et le plateau de l'intérieur, allant même s'étendre parfois jusqu'à la Baie James et aux Grands Lacs. On dirait que l'auteur se sent contraint en quelque sorte par les ethnonymes modernes qui l'obligent à organiser son travail d'une certaine façon et de suivre certains groupes qu'il considère plutôt des simples «amalgames de rescapés» (p. 155). Dawson réussit à contourner ce problème, pourtant, et la dimension du monde amérindien qui ressort le plus souvent de son interprétation est le dynamisme de ces groupes, un dynamisme qui est lié à un monde en mouvement et en bouleversement. Les groupes se scindent, s'effritent, se réorganisent. Ils se déplacent sur des centaines de kilomètres, parfois en une seule génération, jusqu'à des territoires qui leur sont méconnus. Dawson décrit avec soin l'impact des raids iroquois,

des épidémies, de l'alcool, des demandes économiques de la traite des fourrures et du déplacement d'autres groupes autochtones sur les groupes amérindiens comme les Montagnais. Il se sert de ce modèle pour traiter, un par un, les groupes amérindiens comme les Rats Musqués de la région de Tadoussac qui apparaissent très tôt et disparaissent aussi rapidement des textes coloniaux européens.

Qui sont ces gens? Où sont-ils allés? Est-ce qu'ils se sont incorporés à d'autres groupes comme le groupe «générique» des Montagnais qui semble rassembler déjà au milieu du XVIIe siècle plusieurs petits groupes déplacés? Pour Dawson, ce processus de fission et fusion des groupes amérindiens semble se répéter à travers le XVIIe siècle et rend difficile une seule interprétation globale de l'histoire coloniale de ces groupes. Lorsqu'il aborde la traite des fourrures dans le Domaine du Roi par exemple, Dawson nous présente le cas intéressant où les Français se sont trouvé obligés de re-localiser certains groupes amérindiens, car la région avait été dépeuplée à la suite de raids et d'épidémies. Le manque de personnel pour la chasse et le piégeage nuisait fortement à l'économie coloniale et donc ajoutait un autre élément qui encourageait fortement, voire obligeait, les petits groupes de chasseurs-cueilleurs à se déplacer. Dawson connaît bien les sources primaires et les met au profit de son étude suivant une analyse, ou une décortication, très détaillée de certains segments de textes coloniaux. Cette analyse textuelle peut paraître parfois lourde, voire répétitive, mais elle est nécessaire. Dawson est aussi porté à interpréter les données négatives dans les documents coloniaux, c'est-à-dire les choses qui ne sont pas mentionnées ou dites par les auteurs de ces documents. Ceci peut être dangereux et il y a des endroits où l'on constate que Dawson sur-interprète des preuves par défaut : il analyse le fait que des événements ou des groupes n'apparaissent pas comme des éléments à charge dans sa démonstration.

Un monde amérindien extrêmement fluide et changeant tel qu'il est présenté par Dawson est donc difficile à réconcilier avec la vision plus statique, et homogène, que soulèvent les ethnonymes traditionnels de notre géographie culturelle québécoise (par exemple : Montagnais, Kakouchak, Mistassins, Bersiamites, Naskapis, Abénaquis ou Micmacs). Cette vision dynamique des groupes amérindiens du XVIIe siècle et de la première moitié du XVIIIe est un des aspects positifs du livre. Même s'ils sont souvent présentés comme étant les victimes plutôt passives des événements géopolitiques européens, il faut voir aussi une autonomie et une résilience chez ces peuples amérindiens. En revanche, Dawson donne parfois l'impression que ces dynamiques de mouvement sont nouvelles et largement dues à l'impact du contact avec les Français. En tant qu'archéologue de formation, je ne peux accepter cette vision. Même si ce n'est pas son but dans ce livre, il faut mentionner que Dawson ne cite pas le travail des archéologues qui ont travaillé dans son aire d'étude comme Chapdelaine pour le site de Chicoutimi, Tremblay et Plourde dans l'estuaire du Fleuve, ou Plumet sur la Côte-Nord. Tous ces chercheurs ont démontré que le mouvement des groupes amérindiens dans ces

régions fait partie depuis longtemps de la vie quotidienne; il y a toujours eu expansion et recul, échanges et guerre, cohabitation et conflit. Dans cette perspective, il est plus difficile d'accepter les arguments de Dawson, qui présente les impacts du contact comme menant à un changement radical dans les dynamiques sociales, par exemple dans l'organisation des relations inter et intra-groupes.

Mentionnons rapidement les aspects plutôt matériels de l'œuvre. Le livre comprend 262 pages, 5 cartes en noir et blanc, une table des matières et une bibliographie. L'index comprend 10 pages supplémentaires et il est très complet. Malheureusement, il a été supprimé de la version imprimée et est disponible seulement en version pdf, téléchargeable sur le site web de l'éditeur (www.septentrion.qc.ca). Nous présumons que c'est parce que l'éditeur a trouvé des erreurs ou a voulu élargir l'index. Les cinq cartes qui sont fournies sont tout simplement inadéquates. Pour un livre qui parle essentiellement de déplacements de groupes sur le territoire, de toponymie et d'ethnonymie, les cartes sont très décevantes. D'ailleurs, on se demande pourquoi l'auteur n'a pas ajouté une ou deux cartes anciennes car il les mentionne (par ex. Delisle, Franquelin). Il insère seulement une petite section d'une carte de Du Creux de 1660 (Carte 2). Dans son ensemble, le style du texte est clair et facile à lire, même si parfois les données présentées sont denses et ralentissent la lecture. La rédaction du livre est bien réussie et je n'ai pas remarqué de fautes d'orthographe ou de grammaire. Les citations des sources primaires sont bien employées et n'alourdissent pas le texte. L'utilisation des notes de bas de page est limitée, ce qui facilite aussi la fluidité dans la lecture.

La majorité des lecteurs seront familiers des sources primaires qui constituent les archives coloniales et qui sont à la base de ce travail. Ils seront aussi familiers des sources secondaires, comme le livre en question, qui nous informent sur la façon dont les ethnohistoriens interprètent ces documents et construisent une vision plus globale du passé historique des groupes amérindiens. Chose que Dawson réussit à faire, mais bien sûr à sa façon. J'ai lu ce livre avec beaucoup d'intérêt, soit de la perspective d'un archéologue, d'un anthropologue, d'un amérindianiste, et/ou d'un lecteur averti. Étant archéologue, et donc non-spécialiste, je peux constater que je dépends des ethnohistoriens (les spécialistes dans ce cas) pour démêler les données et reconstituer un récit qui est intégral et logique. Dawson réussit ici aussi. Par contre, en tant que chercheur en sciences sociales, je suis conscient aussi que toute interprétation des données historiques, que ce soit la lettre d'un jésuite ou un tesson de poterie, comporte aussi des choix de problématique, de concepts et de cadre théorique. Ce livre ne présente pas de cadre théorique explicite et, si on se fie à quelques mentions brèves dans l'introduction et la conclusion, il semblerait que ça ne préoccupe pas trop l'auteur. Mais ceci ne nuit pas *stricto sensu* au livre, à son analyse détaillée des documents coloniaux et à la géographie culturelle du Québec colonial. Par contre, des termes comme «Néo-Montagnais reconstitués» et «déculturation» (p. 230) pèsent lourd et laissent

sous-entendre des concepts non énoncés au début par l'auteur. Ces termes seront sans doute un point contentieux parmi les spécialistes et les descendants des groupes amérindiens qui peuplent ces territoires aujourd'hui. Pour l'anthropologue en particulier, ce qui me semble plutôt fascinant est le fait qu'il y a des groupes qui persistent depuis très longtemps et ceci, même si la dynamique sociale permet une certaine fluidité dans la composition de ces groupes. Voici un autre concept que Dawson décide de ne pas mettre de l'avant. Pour le lecteur averti qui s'intéresse aux Amérindiens du centre du Québec et à leurs modes de vie, et qui se considèrent plutôt comme des «consommateurs» de l'ethnohistoire comme moi, ce livre sera sans doute d'intérêt. Le texte est éminemment accessible à un grand public, ce qui est très louable. Pour les spécialistes, surtout les ethnohistoriens, il y aura, pour longtemps, de la matière à discussion au niveau des interprétations de Nelson-Martin Dawson.

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Olivier Maligne, *Les nouveaux indiens. Une ethnographie du mouvement indianophile*, Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2006, 284 pages.

Recenseure : *Anny Morissette*
*Université de Montréal*

Olivier Maligne présente, d'entrée de jeu, un avertissement au lecteur où il précise sa position d'ethnologue et le sujet de son livre «Les indianophiles», c'est-à-dire «des personnes fascinées par le monde amérindien au point de vouloir recréer ce monde dans leur propre quotidien, ici et maintenant, et pas nécessairement en allant vivre parmi les Amérindiens» (p. 7). En plus d'examiner et de tenter d'expliquer le phénomène complexe, polymorphe et délocalisé de l'indianophilie, cet ouvrage traite de la culture en action, en récréation permanente, celle qui ne forme pas un tout cohérent, dont la transmission n'est pas mécanique, «culture» qui peut être appropriée et instrumentalisée par un autre groupe humain extérieur à celle-ci.

Basé sur deux enquêtes de terrain, l'une en France et l'autre au Québec, ainsi que sur de la recherche documentaire, de l'observation directe et des entretiens individualisés, ce livre de 284 pages comprend une bibliographie et une filmographie (pp. 279-284). Utilisant à la fois l'analyse compréhensive du sociologue Jean-Claude Kaufman ainsi que la démarche descriptive telle que la conçoit Jean Bazin, Olivier Maligne est soucieux de donner la parole aux indianophiles dans cet ouvrage qui se divise en trois parties.

La première partie, constituée de quatre chapitres, explore les représentations, les connaissances, les réappropriations, les usages, l'expérience et l'actualisation de l'univers indien et du mythe de l'indianité en France. Malgré une passion pour les Indiens de l'Amérique du Nord et une certaine identification à eux par l'entremise de pratiques (p. 31), apparaissent clai-

rement, dans cette section, les centres d'intérêts divergents et l'hétérogénéité des groupes «indianistes», un qualificatif d'ailleurs jugé équivoque et restrictif par l'auteur, d'où l'utilisation du néologisme indianophile.

Tout en dressant un inventaire des activités (fabrication d'objets «indiens», rassemblements, accomplissement de cérémonies indiennes, performances rémunérées) et des pratiques des indianophiles (échanges, reconstitutions du XIX$^e$ siècle, danse, port d'accessoires, de coupes de cheveux et de vêtements à l'indienne, respect de l'environnement), Maligne démontre, dans cette première partie, le rapport métonymique reliant ces pratiques et l'univers indien des indianophiles. Afin de comprendre la mécanique (référent-pratiques-représentations) de cet univers vécu, imaginé, mis en action ainsi que les différentes références faites par les indianophiles à propos du caractère «indien» d'un objet, d'un individu ou d'un acte, l'auteur élabore quatre régimes de l'indianité (la Tradition, l'Esprit, le Sang, la Destinée partagée[1]) qu'il utilise par la suite comme outil d'analyse. Les questions d'authenticité, d'historicité ou d'ahistoricité de l'Indien, ainsi que la place de la réalité actuelle amérindienne dans la démarche indianophile, sont également abordées dans cette section et sont omniprésentes tout au long du livre.

Loin de prétendre à la présentation d'une typologie du monde indianophile, la deuxième partie s'intéresse aux différents modèles dynamiques de l'indianophilie vue à travers des études de cas, des portraits de l'implication personnelle au sein de l'univers indien. L'auteur introduit, en trois chapitres, les trois courants de l'indianophilie contemporaine : les *Indian-hobbyists*, les professionnels ainsi que les indianophiles de l'utopie. Le plus ancien, le plus organisé (en clubs et en réseaux) et celui qui détient le plus d'adeptes, le modèle *Indian-hobbyists* considère l'indianophilie comme une activité récréative, un loisir, une passion prise au sérieux. Sont considérés comme professionnels les indianophiles qui sont impliqués économiquement dans des activités lucratives et publiques d'actualisation ou encore de médiation de l'univers indien. Pour les indianophiles de l'utopie, l'univers indien est un «choix de vie», un mode de pensée vécu au quotidien, un engagement personnel et total jusqu'aux sources des mythes de l'indianité (vie en communauté sous le tipi). Afin de saisir le rapport à l'indianité des indianophiles de ces trois modèles, l'auteur se réfère aux régimes de l'indianité précédemment élaborés, notant que la présence d'un régime prédominant n'exclut pas les autres.

La troisième partie se divise en deux chapitres. Le premier se consacre au Québec où, en l'absence d'un mouvement indianophile similaire à la France, l'auteur établit des analogies entre l'indianophilie et les réalités autochtones de la «belle province» (particulièrement l'instrumentalisation des savoirs ethnographiques, historiques, et la mise en actes de l'univers indien). Outre une explication des préconceptions et des enjeux identitaires du statut juridique d'Indien (*Loi sur les Indiens*), Maligne suggère que les Amérindiens, comme les indianophiles, font peut-être eux-mêmes appel aux divers régimes de l'indianité dans leurs façons de vivre et «ce qu'il convient d'être

et de faire pour être un Amérindien» (p. 208). À travers une analyse des fêtes de la Nouvelle-France et de la Saint-Jean-Baptiste, de même que de la crise d'Oka, l'auteur examine l'ambiguïté de la place et de la représentation des Amérindiens au sein du Québec ainsi que la confrontation des nationalismes. La persistance, l'adaptation, la transmission, la performance et la revalorisation des cultures amérindiennes, de même que le développement des communautés et les réactions face à l'indianophilie, sont également abordés à l'aide de différents témoignages.

Le dernier chapitre met en perspective l'indianophilie «comme laboratoire de la construction culturelle» (p. 241). Tout en rappelant l'actualisation du mythe, de ses «valeurs» et des régimes de l'indianité, Maligne démontre l'articulation complexe, à la fois floue et structurée, de l'univers indianophile et sa réalité sociale au sein des mondes qui l'entourent. S'appuyant sur les travaux d'Ernest Gellner et de Jean Bazin, cette section offre une réflexion sur la notion de culture, celle des États, des militants nationalistes, des gens, celle qui est le produit de la «haute culture universelle», des instances de définition, celle qui est transmise sur «le tas» ou par endoformation et exoformation, celle qui est «consciemment construite et activement promue» (p. 265) et celle qui, pour certains, est un emblème. L'auteur démontre l'application des régimes de l'indianité à des champs plus larges de recherche, à savoir au sein des discours constitutifs de la culture nationale et de la culture *autre*. Enfin, Maligne critique certaines pratiques ethnographiques et préconise le recours à la fois à la culture instituée et à la culture vécue dans l'étude anthropologique car c'est ce qui lui a permis d'expliciter le monde indianophile.

Le style «journal de terrain», plus ou moins réussi, occupe la majeure partie de l'ouvrage. Olivier Maligne s'y attaque non seulement à un sujet peu connu, mais aussi à un nouvel objet anthropologique qu'il a passablement su cerner et théoriser.

Ce livre, qui répond en partie aux attentes du lecteur, comporte plusieurs erreurs. La cinéaste, réalisatrice, chanteuse et conteuse autochtone, Alanis Obomsawin, n'est pas d'origine mohawk mais bien abénaquise (p. 49). Les pourvoiries au Québec ne sont pas l'apanage du Nord québécois; elles sont réparties sur l'ensemble du territoire de la «belle province» (p. 227). Dans son explication sur les sections 6.1 et 6.2 de l'amendement C-31 à la *Loi sur les Indiens* (p. 205), l'auteur indique incorrectement que la catégorie d'individus auxquelles s'appliquent ces sections sont considérés comme «métis». Ceux qu'on appelle des «six un» et des «six deux» sont bel et bien Indiens aux yeux de la loi car le gouvernement canadien n'a jamais défini qui est «métis». D'ailleurs, il existe toute une polémique tant sur les plans social, culturel, académique et légal entourant le terme «métis». C'est pourquoi il faut prendre des précautions lorsqu'on parle de l'identité «métis». Ainsi, il nous apparaît problématique de définir un métis comme étant indianophile (p. 113) même en contexte français.

On déplore la perception, par moment, du monde autochtone comme étant sur le point de disparaître (pp. 238-239), les nombreuses répétitions au cours du texte, la non-uniformité du format des extraits d'entrevue, le manque d'informations sur l'ensemble des informateurs (âge, état civil, profession), l'utilisation de plusieurs néologismes ainsi que l'emploi d'anglicismes tout au long de l'ouvrage, malgré le fait que l'auteur justifie cette dernière pratique en notant qu'il utilise le vocabulaire de ses informateurs. On est surpris de voir surgir des phrases comme «dans le cadre d'une modeste thèse de doctorat» (p. 236) à propos de ce livre. Si «le monde de l'indianophilie vécue est un monde d'objets» (p. 61), comme le note Maligne, il est aussi regrettable que celui-ci n'illustre pas ce monde d'objets, ni l'univers indien des indianophiles.

Il aurait été plus approprié que Maligne s'intéresse davantage aux événements publics autochtones plutôt qu'à ceux des Québécois, car il existe une présence indianophile au Québec. Celle-ci est visible dans les pow-wows, dans les rassemblements spirituels autochtones et dans les festivals autochtones. Il semble donc exister une distorsion entre la connaissance que l'auteur a de la France et celle qu'il a du Québec, et qu'il ne révèle pas pour cette dernière la même profondeur.

Il faut espérer que l'auteur poursuive l'enquête dans ce champ d'étude qui peut ouvrir sur des pistes de recherche tant sur le plan théorique (l'instrumentalisation d'une culture *autre*) qu'ethnographique. Ceux qui gravitent autour de l'univers amérindien au Québec sont encore méconnus et affublés de noms péjoratifs tels que les «new ageux» et les «wanabis»? Peut-on les qualifier d'indianophiles?

## Note

1   Maligne entend par régime de la Tradition «la conformité aux cultures amérindiennes instituées en référent des pratiques» (p. 103). Le régime de l'Esprit consiste à «l'adhésion personnelle à des valeurs et à des modes de pensées "indiens"» (p. 108). Le régime du Sang, d'après l'auteur, fait référence au fait d'avoir une ascendance amérindienne. Finalement, entreprendre une «démarche personnelle de recherche de contacts directs avec les Amérindiens» de même qu'adhérer «à une organisation se donnant pour but de participer activement à l'histoire contemporaine des Amérindiens» (p. 119) constitue le régime de la Destinée partagée.

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**Afsaneh Najmabadi**, *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards: Gender and Sexual Anxieties of Iranian Modernity*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005, 363 pages.

Reviewer: *Parastou Saberi*
*Independent Scholar, Toronto*

Afsaneh Najmabadi's book is a historiography of the work of gender in the making of Iranian modernist and nationalist discourses. Employing a Foucauldian approach to the sexualities of "other places and other times," along with a rich array of visual and textual material from 19th-century Iran, the book challenges Iranian modernity's heteronormalization of all gen-

der and sexual categories to the male-female binary. It examines the consequences of these re-articulations on notions of beauty, love, sexuality, marriage, the veil, education, national emblem, nation, homeland and citizenship. The volume ends with a critique of Iranian feminism for its screening away the sexuality of modernity.

Najmabadi's main argument is that Iranian modernity's gender and sexual anxieties were expressions of male anxiety. They were concerned much more with masculinity than femininity. The initiation of modern thought in Iran had been interrelated with the displacement of the "sex troubles" of premodern homosocial–homoerotic Iranian-Islamic cultures. In premodern Iran, gender differences were not read through a template of sexuality, evident in the presence of the *amrad* (a beautiful, adolescent, beardless, male beloved) and the *amradnuma* (an adult man who made himself look like an amrad, displaying a wish to remain the object of desire of adult men), besides the feminine woman and the masculine man (with a full beard as his iconic feature). The visibility of male-male homosocial–homosexual practices in the heterosocial–heterosexual eye of European modernity resulted in perceiving premodern Iranian culture as abnormal and backward. Since the mid–19th century, Iranian modernity embraced this normative assumption, closeted the amrad into the premodern and blamed homosexual desire on the social practice of women's seclusion and gender segregation. Accordingly, heteronormalization of eros and sex became a condition of "achieving modernity." A project, thus, that called for the heterosocialization of Iranian society aimed for the denial, abjection and feminization of the amrad(numa). For Najmabadi, this historical screening of the male beloved from modern Iranian memory, not only became one of Iranian feminism's burdens of birth, it also crafted modern manhood in part by reconfiguring the amrad(numa)'s sexual difference as cultural difference.

The book's provocative title, *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards*, along with its cover illustration targets these sexual and cultural reconfigurations. While they hint at a gender-undifferentiated notion of beauty and aesthetic sensibilities of premodern and early modern Iranian culture, they recall the erasure of other gender positionalities of "men-without-beards," namely, the amrads and the amradnumas.

Chapter 1 revisits gender-undifferentiated notions of beauty and desire, as well as modes of maleness (amrad, amradnuma) in early Qajar Iran (1785-1925). Qajar Iran began with a concept of love embedded in Sufi allegorical associations. Love and desire in Sufi discourses were embodied in a gender-ambivalent semiotic between the transcendental and the material. The grammatical gender neutrality of the Persian language added to this ambiguity. They were intimately linked with beauty (as the "testimony" of God's beauty) and the practice of gazing at the beloved, who could be either a beautiful young male or female. By the end of the 19th century, a highly gender-differentiated portrayal of beauty emerged, along with a normative concept of heterosexual love, turning the "beloved" into an exclusively female beloved. Chapter 2 explores this

cultural displacement by studying iconic changes in Qajar paintings. It analyzes how in early Qajar the outward gaze of the painted female-male "amorous couple," with identical facial features, stimulated a triangle of desire between the figures, the viewers and the (male) painters. It traces the feminization of beauty through the later appearance of exclusively female figures in painting, and, the emergence of bare breasts in female representations, emphasizing the sexuality of the figures. The chapter continues with the transformation of a particularly popular Sufi love narrative in the midst of these cultural displacements.

The second part of the book examines the cultural labour of sexuality and gender in building modern Iran. Chapter 3 discusses the Iranian national emblem (first adopted in 1836), arguing how the heterosexualization of gender resulted in the unpresentability of what once had been presentable. The national emblem was a male lion holding a sword, with a human-faced sun rising from behind his torso. Initially, it signified the double meanings of shah—king and holy man—through the most auspicious sign of the sun in its preferred home of Leo. During the 19th century, the sun burst into an artistic beautiful Qajar (fe)male face, signifying the king, while the lion became more masculinized, symbolizing the state. Once beauty became feminized, the tolerance of gender ambiguities of a beautiful sun-king disappeared. The sun, an icon of kingship, could no longer stand its representation as the by-now called lady-sun. In the early 20th century, the conceptualization of the nation as a brotherhood demanded the erasure of the sun's most feminine markings. By the mid-1930s, all such features were erased and the emblem became totally masculinized. Later in the 1970s, it was fully geometrized, and finally it was discarded by the Islamic Republic of Iran in 1979.

Chapter 4 explores the patriotic labour of heteronormalized love. It examines how the feminization of the "beloved" made the figure of Iran as a female beloved available to the male national brotherhood, making the entire discourse about the protection of women and the defense of honour available to nationalism. Iran as a female beloved, in turn, consolidated love as heteroeros, further contributing to the erasure of the amrad. While Iran's ethnic diversity made the discourse of "Iran-a-female-beloved" problematic, nationalists' reconfiguration of Sufis' allegorical associating homeland with womb transformed the former discourse into that of "Iran-the-motherland." A process that facilitated women's entrance into the patriotic family romance, claiming their citizenship and expressing their expectations in terms of maternal rights, daughters of the motherland and companionate wives.

In chapter 5, Najmabadi challenges the politics of public visibility by examining modern urban figures. The desire to be modern entailed anxiety about mimicry and authenticity in the modern Iranian "look." Women's veils (and later their mustaches), along with men's beards, hair, and clothes, as the most visual markers of difference between Europe and Iran, began to acquire significance. The first figure of mimicry was not the unveiled Iranian woman (she came into the picture as

the "Westoxicated" woman in the 1960s), but the Europeanized dandy, called the *fukuli* (bow-tied) man. Male nationalists projected him as an unauthentic, superficial, empty character. Nonetheless, with his shaved beard and grown hair, the fukuli, indeed, was a reminder of the by-now disavowed amrad and feminized amradnuma; a threat to the honorable masculinity associated with the urban brotherhood. Later the question of the women's veil pushed aside the anxiety over the fukuli man. But the veil was also a marker of the homosocial–homoerotic affectionate world of men and women. Within this perspective, the project of unveiling women became pivotal, not simply in the modernists' sense, that is, as necessary for women's emancipation, but for the modernists' heterosocialization of culture and heteronormalization of eros and sex.

Chapter 6 reviews some Iranian classical literature and modern novellas, showing how the heterosexualization of love provided the opportunity for re-imagining marriage as a romantic rather than a procreative contract. Romantic, heteroeroctic love entered into the scene of Iranian modernity as a tragedy in which its ideal happy ending (marriage) was blocked by political and cultural forces: the despotic government, ignorant people, men of religion, and lawlessness of the country. Despite the fact that men advocated romantic marriage, polygamy and divorce at their will remained unproblematic to them. This was contrary to women's critique of both in their early writings, combined with demands on men to disavow male homosexual practices.

Chapter 7 examines modern educational regimes and their regulatory and emancipatory impulses, while the later effects of these tensions on women's national claims are the subject of the last chapter. The re-imagination of women as companionate wives reconfigured their procreativity into a new notion of motherhood, fueled by the modernist drive for progress and science, yet trapped in a discourse of scientific domesticity. It enabled women's quest for education and schools provided a space in which women could claim citizenship. Nonetheless, women's assertion that they were (and are) compatriots of men were contained by the protectionist prerogative of the masculine over the feminine, real and allegorical. This conceptualization of women constructed a language of parity—in which "woman" was juxtaposed to "man." Gradually, besides schools, the press and the new judicial courts became new national channels for women's grievances, a movement that eventually moved the language of parity toward that of much more equality.

Najmabadi's endeavour to integrate the study of genders and sexualities is a landmark in Iranian (and Muslim) feminist studies. Even though all of her illustrations are printed in black and white, she also deserves praise for offering one of the few efforts to use visual text as primary material for Iranian feminist historiography. The book is useful reading for students and scholars of cultural, Middle Eastern and women's studies, as well as art history and history. She, perhaps, assumes too much knowledge of Iranian history; certainly, non-specialist readers may have trouble knitting the argu-

ments together. There are also some theoretical weaknesses. Despite her attempt to look with an "Iranian eye," Najmabadi's still relies too much at times on a European way of seeing. Her de-closeting of the amrad(numa) and challenging the modernists' (and Islamists') transcendentalization of Sufi love are courageous, accurate and appreciable. But her materialization of Sufi love—explicitly in the domains of sex and desire—overlooks Sufi political history and de-contextualizes Sufi love from its proper politics of visibility.

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**Susan McKinnon and Sydel Silverman**, eds., *Complexities: Beyond Nature and Nurture*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005, 330 pages.

Reviewer: *Matthew Wolf-Meyer*
*University of Minnesota*

*Complexities* is the fruit of an attempt to bring together anthropologists from across the discipline's subfields to consider anthropology's fraught relationship with models of human determinism and the public debates (as the title implies) regarding "nature" and "nurture" in human cultures, development and their futures. As the editors make clear in their introduction, the contributors to the volume include the organizers of the Wenner-Gren funded workshops from the mid-1980s to the late 1990s. This set of largely senior researchers is supplemented with material solicited from junior faculty and subdisciplines otherwise under-represented in the collection. All told, there is an impressive array of scholarship included in *Complexities*, which represents watershed essays from some of the contributors, as well as state-of-the-science summaries from others.

I imagine that most readers of *Complexities* will approach the book much as I did, from the unenviable position of only being formally trained in one of anthropology's subdisciplines, but having interest in how the subdisciplines might articulate. Because of this, some essays fail to properly orient the reader to debates within the respective subdiscipline, with some chapters unnecessarily arcane in their interests, and in a couple cases, arguing against concepts which seem to no longer hold such great sway in the minds of the public or within the academy. It should be noted, however, that there is no attempt to appeal to cultural anthropologists in particular (as might be expected since both editors are cultural anthropologists); rather, each author frames the debates they engage in as they see fit, which, in at least a couple of cases makes the debate seem quite distant from the anthropological mainstream. The more successful essays in the collection are the ones that borrow from a number of the subdisciplines, or which deploy subdisciplinary methodologies on issues germane to more than one of the anthropological subdisciplines. Rather than stress the inadequate contributions (which might be more appealing to adherents to the subdiscipline of the author), I prefer to

focus on some of the contributions to *Complexities* that are exceptional in their ability to engage readers from across the subdisciplines.

In their "Reassessing Male Aggression and Dominance: The Evidence from Primatology," Katherine C. MacKinnon and Agustin Fuentes confront the usage in sociobiology, evolutionary psychology and in some quarters of anthropology of cross-species models of aggression to explain human male behaviour. In looking at the reductionist claims made by authors who attribute aggression, promiscuity, and other "negative" male behaviours to roots in primate cousins, MacKinnon and Fuentes also examine the roles that the cultural expectations of Western scientists play in their interpretation of primate behaviour. MacKinnon and Fuentes stress that by comparing the diversity of human behaviours (as evidenced through ethnological studies) with the range of primate behaviours, "the hallmark of primates...is behavioral and adaptive flexibility and variability." They choose, in their conclusion, to stress a biocultural model of human behaviour, stressing both genetic predispositions and cultural norms, but weighting neither unduly; this tack is taken by the other contribution from a biological anthropologist, Kathleen Gibson, in her study of brain plasticity and behavioral versatility across primate species. Although for the widely read primate enthusiast MacKinnon and Fuentes offer little new, they do synthesize a great body of literature into a concise chapter that brings together primatology, contemporary biological anthropology, and elements of both cultural anthropology and (unwittingly) science studies. As such, the chapter is ample evidence that the intersection of human and primate behaviour is fruitful intradisciplinary ground to explore. Other biocultural chapters include contributions from Thomas Leatherman and Alan Goodman on mixed-method approaches to diet and health, and a charming piece from Mary Orgel, Jacqueline Urla and Alan Swedlund on popular interpretations and scientific research into human bodily aesthetics and male attraction to waist ratios. Both, like MacKinnon and Fuentes' contribution, stress the need to integrate biological and cultural models into the understanding of dominant scientific paradigms, their prestige, and the possibility of their unsettling.

Lynn Meskell offers a survey of the role of gender in archaeological research in her chapter, "Denaturalizing Gender in Prehistory," primarily as it is deployed in the New Age "goddess movement" and popular studies of archaeology. Most anthropologists are familiar with the myth of a primordial matriarchy, from which humanity has fallen; taking it upon themselves to dispel our collective androcentrism, the goddess movement attempts to evidence the primordial matriarchal order and deploy it as a foundation for contemporary women's empowerment. Meskell's offense is not at the ends to which this myth is used, but rather the shoddy archaeological work that is relied upon to make claims about the veracity of a primordial matriarchy. Meskell draws on the contemporary archaeological excavations of Çatalhöyük, a site notorious for

its role in the development of the modern matricentric mythology. Under excavation by Ian Hodder, the findings of recent years have challenged the earlier interpretations of a pristine matriarchy brought low by the introduction of men and their technology. In bringing together popular culture and archaeological knowledge, Meskell shows how eager some constituencies are for "scientific" expertise, and how critical it is for anthropologists to question their assumptions and interpretations before offering them up for popular digestion. In challenging popular misconceptions of science, Meskell offers a fine example of how anthropologists can contribute to contemporary debates, in this case about gender, sex and sexuality and their roles in social life. Other contributions from Karen-Sue Taussig, Margaret Lock, Susan McKinnon, and Nina Glick-Schiller respectively offer similar forays into challenging cultural expectations about health, disease, gender norms and the "natural" basis of citizenship. This is a tactic also employed by Mary H. Moran, in her "Barbarism, Old and New: Denaturalizing the Rhetoric of Warfare," which offers a timely repudiation of the "New Barbarism Hypothesis," represented in attempts to reduce modern conflicts to evolutionary misunderstandings and "ancient tribal hatreds." Drawing on her own research among those who appear to suffer from "ancient" animosities in Africa, Moran demonstrates the need for cultural anthropologists to attend to both the emergent and residual components of society. In so doing she offers a glimpse of how well cultural anthropological and historical research can articulate to produce explanations that resist simple reductions. More importantly, she also illustrates how cultural anthropologists can intervene in popular debates.

A concise and compelling introduction to the "new" linguistic anthropology is provided by John J. Gumperz and Jenny Cook-Gumperz. More attuned to the ways in which power and cultural expectations shape and legitimate the use of language, current movements in linguistic anthropology bring it closer to concerns within both archaeology and cultural anthropology. Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz provide a state-of-the-science summary of this current movement and examine how these recent developments help to make sense of the use of standardized and national languages. For those anthropologists already working in this idiom, there is little new here (other than an excellent review of the literature); for anthropologists in the other subdisciplines, "Language Standardization and the Complexities of Communicative Practice" offers a rich glimpse at current concerns in linguistic anthropology and the possibility of applying linguistic models to issues in archaeology, cultural anthropology, and (possibly) biological anthropology. The other contributions from linguistic anthropologists, William Foley and Eve Danziger, tend more closely to the concern with the role of the "natural" in human cultures, as it relates to innate mental structures and to the interpretation of what is "natural." While neither of these contributions evidences the same intradisciplinary concerns of the Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz chapter, they both offer illuminating views of how linguistic anthropologists deal with per-

sistent concerns about the human brain and the understanding of nature and culture in everyday life.

As one can quickly tell by a survey of the titles of chapters in the collection, "nature" and its contestation is a dominant strategy of the collected authors, commonsense for a collection subtitled "Beyond Nature & Nurture." Unfortunately, "nurture" fails to receive similar scrutiny, and "culture" is more often used as an explanatory device than deeply interrogated for its logics. Moving beyond its stated themes, there are spectres other than the nature–nurture debate that haunt this text, and it is worth focussing on these to expose the lingering effects that dominant anthropological ontologies have on contemporary anthropology across the subdisciplines. René Descartes or Cartesianism appear in a handful of the essays, sometimes named, other times used as a ghostly point of critique. Mind–body dualism might offer another rallying point for anthropologists across the subdisciplines, as where it appears in *Complexities*, it is often argued against. That being said, very little of the philosophical literature that struggles against Cartesianism is engaged with; instead, the contributors rely on their empirical data to overcome mind–body predicaments. In so doing, the contributors fail to take seriously how ideological (and counterfactual) most of the debates they are entering into are, and how the popular predispositions that are being worked against will hold despite logical or empirical evidence to support them.

*Complexities* shows that the subdisciplines can work together, and that there are debates that still unite anthropologists regardless of training. The nature–nurture debate is only the tip of the iceberg in this respect, and one can hope that anthropologists will engage with other public debates. Given the proper political motivations, *Complexities* provides a model for how pan-disciplinary journals like *American Anthropologist* and *Current Anthropology* could be refigured for engagement with these debates; *Complexities* reads like a primer in pan-disciplinary praxis. There are more and less successful contributions, but the project itself is a refreshing one, and demostrates that anthropology need not be side-lined (or marginalize itself) in current politics, both within the academy and at large.

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# Film Review / Revue de film

**Charlotta Copcutt, Anna Weitz, and Anna Klara Åhrén,** *Can't Do It in Europe*. Distributed by First Run Icarus Films, 2005.

Reviewer: *Julia Harrison*
*Trent University*

Advertising literature for the film *Can't Do It in Europe* suggests that it "portrays this new phenomenon of "reality tourism," whereby American or European travellers seek out real-life experiences as exciting tourist "adventures." The real life that is sought out in this documentary is the silver mines in Potosí, Bolivia. According to the Lonely Planet Guide, quoted in the film, in these mines you can, "witness working conditions that should have gone out in the Middle Ages." The camera follows tourists and tour guides as they prepare for the trip down a Potosí mine—a process which involves both dressing in protective boots, clothing and hard hats, and purchasing coca leaves, dynamite or soft drinks for the miners. It then goes down into the mine, and finally follows the exit of relieved tourists to the surface, and their ceremonial explosion of a piece of dynamite—an episode which makes them all look rather appropriately naïve. The film builds its narratives through interviews by the off-camera filmmakers with tourists, miners, former miners, local tour guides, tour company owners and city development officers about various dimensions of this touristic experience.

Tourists' attitudes to the Potosí mine excursion vary from being disinterested and dismissive, to nervously self conscious at their desire to partake of the experience, to those who truly enjoyed going down the mine, to those joyously enamoured by the fact that they survived the trip, impatient to run off and "grab a couple of *cervezas*"; to those who express horror and disgust at the working conditions of the miners. One tourist says that he expects "to learn a lot," but what exactly he might learn is unclear. Another says upon his exit from the mine that it is, "the Third World at its greatest"—again causing one to ponder. Exactly how does this experience make that world "great"? The film's title, which is uttered by a tourist at the end of the film, would seem to capture the essence of what is relevant here: this experience provides the fuel for an impressive tale to demonstrate the exotic character and "awesomeness" of one's travels upon one's return home. As such, it has the potential to garner significant social capital. Its "extreme" characteristics startle even the savvy (maybe slightly bored) individual whose has travelled a lot, as one tourist in the film characterizes those who seek out this experience.

Is this "realist tourism"? One tourist enjoyed the fact that those in the mine were "real people," as if somehow all the others encountered in Bolivia (and elsewhere in the Third World, one presumes) were somehow not. Are they "real" because their labours can be imagined to situate them somehow in a time and place, comfortably not coeval with the "modern," maybe even the postmodern, world of the tourist? The sweat, labour and heavy toll this work takes on the bodies and health of the miners is real, but for the tourists it remains only an abstract experience, even if for a fleeting visit their bodies endured the filthy, cramped and claustrophobic mine environment. Theirs was largely passive experience. Some it appeared "played" at the backbreaking labour of pushing the ore carts up to the mine opening. The tourist experience in the Potosí mines, staged or not, is entirely contrived, highlighting that "realist tourism" remains something that exists only in the tourist mind.

In a manner reminiscent of the locals in Dennis O'Rourke's 1988 landmark film *Cannibal Tours* (which follows a group of

tourists on a luxury cruise up the Sepik River in Papua New Guinea), a range of Potosi residents are the other voices heard in the film. One miner states with a certain degree of pathos, "we do not understand why you come to see us." He continues to ponder why tourists find it of interest to watch the miners working in extremely arduous and dangerous conditions in an effort to simply support their families. For while the subject of the tourist gaze, the miners receive no direct benefit from being the main attraction, apart from the modest gifts the tourists give them. Rather it is the local hotels owners, tour guides, restaurants, bus companies and internet café owners who profit most directly. Interviews with one tour guide highlighted the local tensions that emerge between those who work with tourists (and thus are presumed to be rich by local standards), and those who constitute "the main attraction." As a tour guide, rather than a miner, he had found steady wages and relief from the grueling labour of the mines, work which had permanently damaged his father's health. A discussion emerges in the film about whether it would be appropriate to set up a "staged mine" for the tourists to visit. It would be less dangerous for all concerned; the miners would not be disrupted by the tourists coming into the mine (they are paid per load they take out of the mine and cannot afford to waste much time talking to tourists); and it could possibly have less of a "zoo-like" character, something not lost on local tourism operators. Consensus, however, falls down on the view that the tourists do not want to see something that is not "real," and it is their desires which must be met. Potosi's Director of Development sees a robust future in the development of tourism in his city, and is strongly resistant to the idea of any kind of staged attraction. Such commentaries highlight the intricacies and realities of the social landscapes which are the backdrop for this and every other tourism development strategy, even if they are something driven by energies at the local level.

*Can't Do It in Europe* will be a useful film in a range of classroom situations. Accessible to those first being introduced to anthropology, it is also provocative and engaging for senior students able to address more fully themes of postcolonialism, the tourist gaze, authenticity, commodification, globalization and discourses of Orientalism and "imperialist nostalgia." Few films have come along which deal imaginatively and engagingly with such subject matters and the complexities of their manifestation in a tourism context since *Cannibal Tours*. While technically less sophisticated, *Can't Do It in Europe* is a worthy contribution to this genre. It focusses on the backpack traveller, the type of tourist many students claim to be. Naïve presumptions about the virtues of travel and a desire to "see real life" as it exists or existed in distant times and places are boldly challenged in this film. It should be ordered for your film collection.

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