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

Reflections / Réflexions

In Memoriam

Book Reviews / Comptes rendus

Note de la rédactrice / From the Editor

In this era of electronically generated information overload, many of us are concerned about the "glamour" of information, including what was once considered personal and private information and the seeming inability of information seekers to filter, analyze, synthesize and generally utilize information as a means for the creation of knowledge, rather than the consumption of information as an end in itself. I have read several articles in the past few months about the coming changes to higher education, particularly universities—those hallowed halls wherein knowledge is transferred and research generates new knowledge—in the form of Massive Open Online Courses or MOOCs. While proclaiming a sea change in education by democratizing knowledge using digital technologies to provide education to anyone who has access to the technology and the wherewithal to pay for both technology and course ware, MOOCs also generate a magical spell, a glamour to enthrall us. Thus we ignore how education and knowledge are being privatized as corporations investing in MOOCs expect a return on their millions of dollars of venture capital.

Surely, the university will, as it always has, undergo equally "Massive" changes. But, one thing remains unclear to me: as MOOCs take over the transmission of knowledge (as they seem destined to do), who will create new knowledge and the courses that MOOCs will offer? Perhaps we are looking at further exploitation of part-time, underpaid academics or even the demise of academic professionalization as contractors eke out information from other electronic sources and package it as knowledge; what of pedagogy, research and other means for attaining and maintaining excellence in knowledge creation and transfer? Indeed, what of the student, the learning process, the inspiration provided by excellent teachers, the one-on-one, face-to-face intellectual engagement?

En cette ère de surcharge d'information générée électroniquement, nous sommes plusieurs à nous inquiéter du « glamour » de l'information, y compris de celle qui était autrefois considérée privée et personnelle, et de l'incapacité apparente des chercheurs à filtrer, analyser, synthétiser, et plus généralement utiliser l'information comme moyen pour créer du savoir, plutôt que de simplement consommer cette information comme une fin en soi. J'ai lu plusieurs articles récemment à propos des changements à venir en éducation supérieure, et particulièrement dans les universités—ces nobles lieux où s'accomplit la transmission du savoir et où la recherche génère de nouveaux savoirs—sous la forme de cours en ligne ouverts au plus grand nombre, connus en anglais sous l'acronyme MOOC (Massive Open Online Courses). Cette approche à l'éducation à distance prétend apporter un changement fondamental en éducation par le recours aux technologies numériques permettant d'offrir des études supérieures à tous ceux qui ont les ressources pour défrayer à la fois la technologie et le matériel pédagogique, mais elle arrive aussi enveloppée d'une aura de magie, d'un attrait qui nous fascine tous. C'est ainsi que nous perdons de vue comment l'éducation et le savoir se trouvent privatisés alors que les sociétés commerciales qui investissent dans les cours en ligne s'attendent à un rendement sur les millions investis.

Il est certain que l'université connaîtra, comme cela s'est toujours produit, des changements « massifs ». Mais une question demeure sans réponse pour moi : à mesure que les cours offerts massivement en ligne assureront la transmission du savoir (selon ce qui semble devoir se produire), qui créera les nouvelles connaissances et les cours à offrir par internet? Peut-être faisons-nous face à encore davantage d'exploitation de chargés de cours sous-payés ou même à la disparition du caractère professionnel des emplois universitaires, alors que des sous-traitants essaieront de survivre en grappillant de l'information d'autres sources électroniques pour la remodeler

Alexandra Widmer, guest editor of our Thematic Section, *Time and the Expert: Temporalities and the Social life of Expertise*, brings us a thoughtful and refreshing set of articles that call into question and explore issues of knowledge-making, expertise and temporality. We also have a number of individual articles that present different ways of knowing, knowledges and expertise, ontologies—even our own claims to expertise, authority and anthropological knowledge. Indeed, this issue is a rich smorgasbord of food for thought and contemplation, which I hope you will dig into with great relish.

Temporality also affects the journal as we change publishers and wish farewell to Wilfrid Laurier University Press and its staff, who have served us so well for so long. With this issue, *Anthropologica* marks the beginning of a new future and partnership in publishing, and I extend a welcome to our new publisher, the University of Toronto Press (UTP) and the UTP staff. I would also like to say a very fond farewell to our francophone editor, Sylvie Poirier, who has given seven years of her time and energy to *Anthropologica*, soliciting and editing francophone contributions to enrich the journal. And to Marie-Pierre Bousquet, who is also leaving her position as our francophone book review editor, I extend thanks and appreciation for her excellent work. CASCA and *Anthropologica* thank them both for their service and commitment to our society, to the journal and to our discipline.

Enjoy this issue; there is much inside to savour, chew on and digest.

comme savoir; qu'adviendra-t-il de la pédagogie, de la recherche, et des autres moyens permettant d'atteindre et de maintenir l'excellence dans la création et le transfert du savoir? Et en fait, qu'en sera-t-il de l'étudiant, du processus d'apprentissage, de l'inspiration insufflée par d'excellents professeurs, de l'engagement intellectuel deux à deux, face à face?

Alexandra Widmer, la rédactrice invitée de notre section thématique, *Le temps et l'expert : temporalités et vie sociale du propos expert*, nous présente un ensemble d'articles réfléchis et rafraîchissants qui remettent en question et explorent les enjeux de la fabrication du savoir, du propos expert, et de la temporalité. Nous proposons aussi certains articles individuels qui présentent différents modes de savoir, de connaissance, et d'expertise, des ontologies et même nos propres prétentions à l'expertise, à l'autorité, et au savoir anthropologique. En fait, ce numéro est un riche buffet de matière à réflexion et à contemplation, où vous trouverez, je l'espère, un grand plaisir à plonger.

La temporalité touche aussi ce journal, alors que nous changeons de maison d'édition et disons adieu aux Presses de l'Université Wilfrid Laurier et à son équipe qui nous a si bien servi au fil des années. Ce numéro marque un nouveau départ pour *Anthropologica*, et celui d'un nouveau partenariat d'édition. Je souhaite donc la bienvenue à notre nouvel éditeur, les Presses de l'Université de Toronto et son personnel. Je veux également remercier chaleureusement notre rédactrice en chef francophone, Sylvie Poirier, qui a consacré sept années de son temps et de son énergie à *Anthropologica*, à solliciter et finaliser des contributions en français pour enrichir le journal. De même que Marie-Pierre Bousquet, qui quitte aussi son poste de rédactrice, comptes rendus de livres. Au nom de CASCA et d'*Anthropologica*, je veux exprimer notre reconnaissance et notre appréciation pour leur excellent travail et leur engagement envers notre association, le journal, et notre discipline.

Je vous souhaite beaucoup de plaisir, de stimulation, et de réflexion à la lecture du présent numéro.

Thematic Section

Time and the Expert: Temporalities and the Social Life of Expertise

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This issue is concerned with bringing together particular aspects of the practice of politics and subject formation: how the production and circulation of expert knowledge takes place by mobilizing or naturalizing experiences of time. In short, the articles explore how expert knowledge compels people to orient themselves in time in particular ways. The articles scrutinize expert knowledge as it purports to form the basis for policy, planning, governance and the identities of populations, as well as the livelihood and working environments of professional knowledge producers and brokers, such as academic anthropologists, missionaries, government administrators and teachers.

More than 30 years ago, in his well-known treatise "Time and the Other," Fabian resolutely critiqued anthropologists' disciplinary practices, which delineated populations as research objects by constructing temporal distances between them and the researcher's society. His argument, that the research practices resulted in "the denial of co-evalness" (1983), was a condemnation levelled at anthropological methods that produced others based on their relationship to traditional modes of living. That anthropological knowledge about particular populations has been central in the production of identities as "traditional" or "modern" is thus well-known. The theme articles in this issue examine the social circulation and production of anthropological knowledge alongside other kinds of expert knowledge, such as religious expertise and social science knowledge in public policy and governance models. The authors are fascinated by the production of various forms of expert knowledge and also by how they circulate and are performed. At the heart of this issue is a concern for understanding the practices, places, objects and forms of affect that link knowledge and power.

Writing on the taken-for-granted aspects (and thus the importance of anthropological analysis) of the social making of "place," Geertz quipped, "It is difficult to see what is always there. Whoever discovered water, it was not a fish" (1996:259). Indeed, as lives are lived in time

and space, anthropologists have been demonstrating the social and historical dimensions of what is taken for granted in these domains. This issue takes on time in the space/time dyad. Anthropologists have had a sustained interest in highlighting the temporal dimensions of human sociality but, given the pervasive aspects of time in human experience, time has formerly been a secondary analytical focus[1] because it is part of so many other social features; for example, "political structure, descent, ritual, work, history, narrative and cosmology etc. as well as, at another level, general theories of anthropological discourse with which it is inextricably bound up" (Munn 1992:93). Munn summarizes, "In short, the topic of time frequently fragments into all the other dimensions and topics anthropologists deal with in the social world" (1992:93). The articles in this issue take up the challenge of denaturalizing the place of time in the way that knowledge becomes expertise and part of the practice of politics.

When considering the nature of expert knowledge, scientific forms loom large. Indeed, the study of expertise with methods from social science and the humanities has focused on science and technology in recent years. Such scholarship, summarized by Evans and Collins, demonstrates the social and performative dimensions of expertise, that expertise resides with individuals and communities, and that its production entails "boundary work" to denote the difference between expert and lay knowledge (2008:609–610). The knowledge claims of the life sciences are particularly worthy of scrutiny, as they profess to be so pivotal to what it means to be human in this post genomic age. Time has been shown to be a central variable in methodologies and practices of human population genetics[2] (see Kowal, Radin and Reardon 2013), for example, in the collection and freezing of a broad sampling of human tissue in the International Biological Program (a predecessor of the Human Genome Diversity Project) for analysis in the future (Radin 2013). Time is used as a variable in the production of the narratives of the genetic histories of humankind writ large as well as particular populations, tenuously connecting contemporary social and political populations to biological ancestors (Lipphardt 2010, 2012).

Notions of the past and future are also part of the popularization of genomic knowledge (e.g., Schramm et al. 2012). Narratives in genetic histories can rewrite collective memory and social identities (Wailoo et al. 2012) in unexpected ways: in the case of the descendants of slaves in the United States, for example, DNA narratives are used to reconcile past injustices (Nelson 2012). The future possibilities of Icelanders' genomic knowledge (Fortun 2008) were crucial to their appeal for

venture capital, an example of what Born calls the "temporal politics" inherent to the performance of success on corporate markets (2007).[3]

This issue unpacks the temporal dimensions of the making and circulation of expert knowledge, scientific and otherwise, in ethnographic ways. The specific cultural and historical nature of expertise has been a long-standing anthropological concern (Carr 2010), but the interest in science studies and in "how legal, medical and other professional knowledge in both colonial and post-colonial settings were used and contested" (Brada 2009:1) has boosted recent anthropological interest in experts, expertise and expert communities. In this respect, the political environments and social institutions of experts and expert knowledge have increasingly come under anthropological scrutiny through ethnographic work (Cooper and Packard 1997). Anthropologists have highlighted how specific forms of expertise play a crucial part in contemporary political social forms, for example in bureaucracies of virtue (Jacob and Riles 2007), planning (Abram and Weszkalnys 2011), transparency (Ballestero 2012; Hetherington 2008) and audits (Hetherington 2011; Strathern 2000). Studying the production and circulation of expertise that takes place through the material presence of specific objects such as envelopes, legal dockets, forms and reports (e.g., Barrera 2008; Reed 2006; Riles 2006) has been an important focus in this respect. Mosse demonstrates how forms of expertise in international development frameworks and policies

> are never free from social context. They begin in social relations in institutions and expert communities, travel with undisclosed baggage and get unraveled as they are translated into the different interests of social/institutional worlds and local politics in ways that generate complex and unintended effects. [Mosse 2011:3]

These effects take place in spite of the fact that the expert knowledge is configured to occupy a "transcendent realm" where technical solutions fit all local conditions and implicitly relies on a "globalized present that compresses historical time" (2011:3).

The production of expertise is in no small way shaped by contemporary relationships among academic institutions, industry and national and local governments. This constellation creates possibilities and precludes others for knowledge production and affects the livelihoods of professional knowledge producers. The capitalist organization of work and management of time has been an important topic for anthropologists and social historians, perhaps most famously in the work of venerable labour historian E. P. Thompson (1967). While Thompson

resigned from the University of Warwick in 1971 in protest of the commercialisation of the academy (1971), Udo Krautwurst (in this issue) calls for anthropologists to "do damage" with ethnographies of knowledge production and working conditions in the contemporary academy.

Krautwurst demonstrates how academic working conditions at contemporary universities have been produced by government policies and industry priorities. The ensuing limits placed on the production of anthropological knowledge and the social and political context of academic anthropology figures large in Krautwurst's article. Analyzing this context by observing how time is invoked, he demonstrates that the ubiquitous audits— the "econometricization" of knowledge that demarcates productivity—employ a standardization of time to create commensurabilities between, for example, a neuroscientist and a socio-cultural anthropologist. This econometricization works

> in part by a reduction of their different research rhythms to an empty homogenous time. Faculty evaluations or employment offers not only are measured in terms of the number of conference papers presented or journal articles published, *but also within a (very) standardized time frame*, typically a fiscal or calendar year.

Krautwurst argues that ethnographies of science policy and university knowledge-making practices should call "attention to the *necessary* temporal multiplicities of our campuses" to "challenge the homogenizing, neoliberalizing forces acting in the spread of audit cultures, bureaucracies of virtue and campaigns for 'excellence.'" Such ethnographies would prove crucial to understanding how post-secondary education is transforming globally.

Expert knowledge has been crucial for governance through the naming of population segments that subsequently become the objects of particular policies. There are temporal dimensions to the circulation of such knowledge. In her contribution, Nicola Mooney looks at the multiple dimensions of expert knowledge to show that "discrepant temporalities of diverse expert knowledges both buttress and destabilize the legacies of colonialism." The British ethnographic classification—with administrative consequences—distinguished between Jats as a "martial race" and Jat Sikhs as "noble peasants," establishing "temporal hierarchies among Indians so that some Indians were closer to the colonial present— as well as its places—than others." Elegantly combining historical and ethnographic analysis, Mooney writes that, on the one hand, there is considerable agreement between the British colonial knowledge describing Jat culture and those cultural identities held by Jats today.

On the other hand, the social and political positioning of Jats within post-colonial India—partially the result of their categorization in British India—prevents them from being farmers. Focusing on the temporal dimensions of British knowledge and administration, Mooney analyzes the contemporary consequences resulting from "reordering of peoples in history as an outcome of colonial ethnography."

Expertise is entangled with the recalibration of the meaning of objects. When they are part of a mission's conversion projects, objects have moral and political consequences for how people are compelled to orient themselves in time. In her article, Jean Mitchell analyzes how religious and cultural objects signal possibilities for conversion. Conversion experiences profoundly structure life narratives in temporal ways (Klaver and van de Kamp 2011). Anthropologists of Christianity have debated how conversion shapes collective experiences in tropes of continuity or rupture. Mitchell argues that focusing on the multiple meanings of objects and being cognisant of material conditions (like those leading to epidemics) reveals the temporal ambiguities of conversion experiences. The Presbyterians were, Mitchell demonstrates, a group of experts working in global networks who knew that acquiring local knowledge was essential to the performance of their own expertise. Without doubt they encountered people in Vanuatu who knew that the value of expertise depended as much on protecting knowledge as on facilitating its circulation (Lindstrom 1990).

Expert knowledge is foundational to the making of policy and planning social projects, a dimension of expertise taken up by Rita Henderson and Alexandra Widmer in their respective articles in this issue. Taking policy as an anthropological object has garnered interest and multiple analytical strategies (Shore and Wright 1997). The place of experts and knowledge is critical in this respect for,

> as much as an anthropology of policy examines power, it examines knowledge and knowledge production. It examines knowledge production in an essential context, institutional settings where knowledge holds special weight because this is where it is put into action by the experts and bureaucrats who formulate, theorise and extrapolate that knowledge. [Schwegler and Powell 2008:9]

As Li (2011) and others (e.g., Ferguson 1990; Mitchell 2002; Wallman 1992) have argued, such experts render aspects of society into technical objects suitable for intervention and implementation. Expertise in planning, then, comes to bear on governmental attempts to order time and space (Abram and Weszkalnys 2011). Identifying

the expert knowledge that is the basis for future plans demands anthropological attention—it is knowledge chosen while others are overlooked.

Henderson's article covers the fascinating terrain of the making and consequences of education policy in Chile, demonstrating how education policy is a crucible for the contestation of futures. To the vibrant scholarship on Latin American popular and political cultures of memory (e.g. DuBois 2000, 2005; Gordillo 2002, 2011), Henderson adds the layer of expert knowledge and education policy, which attempts to bureaucratically erase other pasts and narrations of more politicized versions of history. Henderson provides an ethnographic account of the impact of neoliberal policies that have pervaded the education system. Summed up starkly, if nostalgically, by a teacher she interviewed who had trained before the Pinochet dictatorship: "When I was trained to be a teacher, they prepared us to teach politics. They said to us: 'You are responsible for a society'. Today nobody says this to kids. Instead, they say: 'You need to go out and earn money.'" The result, he said, is that young people fear both the past and future. Such are the poignant achievements of a decentralized and increasingly privatized education system that "discourages children from imagining themselves as active participants in history." Henderson situates this view of the next generation in the context of massive student protests.

Expert knowledge for planning the future is also at issue in Widmer's article, which examines the social life of demographic knowledge in and of Vanuatu. Vanuatu is a Pacific island nation with a rapid urban population growth rate and rapidly changing patterns of land use and de facto ownership, where formal youth and population policies are in the making. Other scholars of the history of demography and population science have found demographic knowledge to have biopolitical effects (Connelly 2008) that focus on sexuality, family size and population control or geopolitical effects in migration or agricultural policies (Bashford 2007, 2008). Widmer found that in Vanuatu, demographic knowledge has had modest effects in these spaces with respect to government policies and NGO programs and practice. Most salient is the temporal dimension of demographic knowledge that articulates with ni-Vanuatu social categories and politics of gender and generation to accentuate the ways that young mothers should orient themselves in time. Widmer analyzes the effects of anxieties about how population growth and accelerated integration into market economies will affect social reproduction. At this moment in time, unmarried young mothers are in the difficult position of being visible and vulnerable examples of people who are deemed selfish and reckless and, less often, pitied.

The temporal and affective dimensions of contemporary governance are lucidly outlined by Adams and colleagues: "The present is governed, almost every scale, as though the future is what mattered most. Anticipatory modes enable the production of possible futures that are *lived and felt* as though inevitable in the present, rendering hope and fear as important political vectors" (2009:48). Indeed, expert knowledge, be it epidemiological or genomic, is central to the creation of "global economies of fear" (Ahmed 2004:128) or the "political economy of hope" (Novas 2006). Analyzing the experiential terrain where projects of governance are accomplished, as the contributors to this issue do, means being attentive to Boyer's suggestion "that we treat experts not solely as rational(ist) creatures of expertise but rather as desiring, relating, doubting, anxious, contentious, affective—in other words, as human-subjects" (2008:38). Such experts, with their well-intentioned plans and social projects, in no small way contribute to the temporality of "cruel optimism," to the desires for progressively better lives and societies that, Berlant argues (2011), liberal capitalist societies can no longer fulfill. The contributions here show how forms of knowledge intended for planning the future mobilize anxiety through what might be if action is not taken. This often means silencing or selectively remembering the past.

It is no accident that the kinds of expertise analyzed in this issue—from anthropology (colonial and contemporary), Christianity, education and demography—are all types of knowledge about populations that could be mobilized for "improving" populations. Foucault's oft cited passage on population (and hence knowledge of it) and the practice of politics bears repeating here:

> It is the population itself on which government will act either directly, through large-scale campaigns, or indirectly, through techniques that will make possible, without the full awareness of the people, the stimulation of birth rates, the directing of the flow of population into certain regions or activities, and so on. [1991:100]

Individuals participate in these governmental processes through the "conduct of conduct," which entails "educating desires and configuring habits, aspirations and beliefs" (Li 2007:275). Taken together, these articles show the degree to which the governance and "the conduct of conduct" of individuals are held together by the narratives of the future and past, which are bolstered by the knowledge of experts. Future policies and projects are made through opting to choose certain kinds of knowledge and not others (such as making a long-form census questionnaire optional, for example). Close to the hearts of many

Anthropologica readers will be the future anxieties propelling students to make instrumental choices and changing commitments to learning and teaching in university management strategies. Notably, as every contribution in this issue shows, when considered with ethnographic sensibility, expert knowledge is never produced or circulated without contest but achieves profound effects nevertheless, reminding us that, "while the will to govern is expansive, there is nothing determinate about the outcomes" (Li 2007:280). It is the taken for granted dimensions of the futures and pasts bound up with expert knowledge that anthropological sensibilities are well-suited to unpack as part of the way the political processes unfold.

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Notes

1 Notable exceptions include James and Mills (2005); Hodges (2008); Nielsen (2011); and Coleman (2011).
2 It is also part of other life sciences, especially human reproductive biology (e.g., Schlünder 2012).
3 For more on the relationship between temporality and knowledge formation on the stock market see Miyazaki (2003).

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Section thématique

Le temps et l'expert : temporalités et vie sociale de l'expertise

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Dans ce numéro, les éditeurs se sont donné pour objectif de réunir des aspects particuliers de la pratique des politiques et de la formation du sujet : à savoir, comment se réalisent la production et la circulation du savoir expert par la mobilisation et la naturalisation des expériences du temps. Les articles explorent comment le savoir expert influence de manière singulière l'orientation des gens dans le temps. Le savoir expert, en tant que facteur constitutif au fondement des politiques, de la planification, de la gouvernance, et des identités, agit sur le gagne-pain et l'environnement de travail des producteurs et courtiers du savoir, tels les anthropologues œuvrant au sein des universités, ou bien encore les missionnaires, les fonctionnaires, et les enseignants.

Il y a plus de 30 ans, dans son ouvrage célèbre « Le temps et les autres », Fabian (1983/2006) critiquait résolument les pratiques disciplinaires des anthropologues qui décrivaient les populations en tant qu'objets de recherche à partir de distances temporelles entre celles-ci et la société du chercheur. Son argument, à l'effet que ces pratiques de recherche résultaient dans le « déni de la co-temporalité », dénonçait comment les méthodes ethnographiques produisaient « les autres » en fonction de leur rapport à des modes de vie traditionnels. Il est bien connu que le savoir anthropologique relatif à des populations particulières ait joué un rôle central dans la formation d'identités « modernes » ou « traditionnelles ». Les articles ci-réunis se portent sur la production et la circulation sociale du savoir anthropologique à côté d'autres genres de savoir expert, tels que l'expertise religieuse et des sciences sociales dans les modèles de politiques et de gouvernance publiques. Les auteurs se penchent sur la production de diverses formes de savoir expert, leur circulation et leur performance. Au cœur de ce numéro se trouve le souci de mieux comprendre les pratiques, les lieux, les objets, et les formes d'affect qui lient le savoir et le pouvoir.

En écrivant sur les aspects que l'on tient pour acquis dans la fabrication sociale du « lieu » (et de là

sur l'importance de l'analyse anthropologique), Geertz notait avec humour « It is difficult to see what is always there. Whoever discovered water, it was not a fish » (1996:259). En effet, comme nos vies se déroulent dans le temps et l'espace, les anthropologues ont voulu démontrer les dimensions sociales et historiques de ce qui est tenu pour acquis dans ces domaines. Ce volume examine donc le temps dans la dyade espace/temps. Certes, les anthropologues se sont longuement attardés à mettre en lumière les valeurs temporelles de la sociabilité. Mais compte tenu de son caractère omniprésent dans l'expérience humaine, le temps a plutôt fait l'objet d'un intérêt analytique secondaire,[1] puisqu'il est intrinsèquement lié à tant d'autres faits sociaux : « political structure, descent, ritual, work, history, narrative and cosmology etc. as well as, at another level, general theories of anthropological discourse with which it is inextricably bound up » (Munn 1992:93). Munn résume : « In short, the topic of time frequently fragments into all the other dimensions and topics anthropologists deal with in the social world » (93). Les articles de ce numéro relèvent donc le défi de dénaturaliser la place qu'occupe le temps dans la manière dont le savoir devient expert et partie prenante de la pratique de la politique.

Lorsque l'on considère la nature du savoir expert, les formes scientifiques occupent une place prépondérante. Ainsi, au cours des dernières années, l'étude du discours expert à partir des méthodes des sciences sociales et des lettres s'est particulièrement intéressée aux sciences et à la technologie. Ce champ de recherche, que résument Evans et Collins, met en lumière les dimensions sociales et performatives de l'expertise, révélant comment le savoir expert se fixe auprès de certains individus et de certaines communautés, et combien sa production suppose un « boundary work », soit un travail de mise à distance entre le savoir profane et le savoir expert (2008: 609–610). Les discours des sciences de la vie méritent un examen particulier, entre autres parce que celles-ci s'octroient une position privilégiée dans l'exploration de ce que signifie être humain dans une ère post-génomique. Justement, plusieurs ont démontré comment le temps constitue un élément central dans les méthodologies et les pratiques de la génétique des populations humaines[2] (Kowal, Radin, et Reardon 2013). C'est le cas, par exemple, du Programme biologique international qui récolte et congèle un large échantillon de tissus humains pour analyse future—une initiative antérieure au Projet sur la diversité du génome humain (Radin 2013). Le temps est une variable incontournable dans la production des histoires génétiques de l'humanité ou de populations particulières, créant un lien ténu entre des groupes sociaux et politiques contemporains et leurs ancêtres biologiques (Lipphardt 2010, 2012).

Les notions du passé et de l'avenir font aussi partie de la vulgarisation du savoir génomique (Schramm et al. 2012). Les récits sur l'histoire génétique peuvent réécrire la mémoire collective et les identités sociales de manière inattendue (Wailoo et al. 2012) : ainsi, dans le cas de descendants d'esclaves aux États-Unis, on utilise des témoignages tirés de l'ADN pour réparer des injustices commises autrefois (Nelson 2012). Les possibilités futures associées aux connaissances génomiques des Islandais (Fortun 2008) s'avérèrent cruciales à leur accès à du capital de risque, un exemple de ce que Born (2007) appelle les « temporal politics » inhérentes à la performance du succès sur les marchés entrepreneuriaux.[3]

De la sorte, et à partir de diverses approches ethnographiques, ce volume examine les dimensions temporelles de la fabrication et de la circulation du savoir expert, qu'il soit scientifique ou autre. Certes, l'intérêt de la discipline envers la spécificité culturelle et historique du discours expert ne date pas d'hier (Carr 2010). Cela dit, l'attention portée sur les *sciences studies* et sur « how legal, medical and other professional knowledge in both colonial and post-colonial settings were used and contested » (Brada 2009) a stimulé les études sur les experts, l'expertise, et les communautés expertes. À cet égard, les environnements politiques et les institutions sociales ont fait l'objet de recherches fines et poussées grâce au travail ethnographique (Cooper et Packard 1997). Les anthropologues ont souligné comment des formes distinctes d'expertise jouent un rôle crucial dans les configurations contemporaines de politiques sociales, par exemple, dans les bureaucraties méritocratiques (Jacob et Riles 2007), la planification (Abram et Weszkalnys 2011), la transparence (Ballestero 2012; Hetherington 2008) et les audits (Hetherington 2011; Strathern 2000). Ils ont étudié la manière dont le savoir expert est produit et circule, s'actualisant dans la présence matérielle même d'objets spécifiques, comme des enveloppes, des registres de la cour, des formulaires, et toute une gamme de rapports (Barrera 2008; Reed 2006; Riles 2006). Mosse démontre comment des formes d'expertise dans le cadre des politiques de développement international

> are never free from social context. They begin in social relations in institutions and expert communities, travel with undisclosed baggage and get unraveled as they are translated into the different interests of social/institutional worlds and local politics in ways that generate complex and unintended effects. [Mosse 2011:3]

Ceci a lieu en dépit du fait que le savoir expert est configuré pour occuper un « transcendent realm » où des solutions techniques s'adaptent à toutes les situations locales s'appuyant implicitement sur un « globalized present that compresses historical time » (3).

Par ailleurs, les relations contemporaines entre les institutions académiques, l'industrie, et les gouvernements nationaux et locaux façonnent de manière non négligeable la production de l'expertise. Cette constellation crée des possibilités et en exclut d'autres en ce qui a trait à la génération du savoir. Elle agit aussi sur le milieu des professionnels œuvrant à la création de connaissances. L'organisation capitaliste du travail et de la gestion du temps ont constitué un sujet de choix pour les anthropologues et les historiens des sociétés ; pensons aux écrits du respectable historien du mouvement ouvrier E.P. Thompson (1967). Alors que Thompson démissionnait de l'Université de Warwick en 1971 pour protester contre la commercialisation de l'institution universitaire, Udo Krautwurst enjoint les anthropologues à « faire mal » avec des analyses ethnographiques portant sur la production du savoir et les conditions de travail au sein des universités.

Krautwurst montre comment ces dernières résultent de politiques gouvernementales et de priorités industrielles qui limitent et contraignent autant la production du savoir anthropologique que le milieu qui le génère—thèmes occupant une place importante dans l'article. En examinant comment le temps intervient dans ce contexte, l'auteur démontre que les audits omniprésents standardisent le temps dans le but de créer des commensurabilités entre, par exemple, un chercheur en neuroscience et un anthropologue socioculturel. Il s'agit ni plus ni moins d'une économétrisation du savoir afin de mieux circonscrire la productivité. Cette économétrisation fonctionne

> « en partie par une réduction des rythmes de recherche à un temps homogène vide. Les évaluations des professeurs ou les offres d'emplois sont non seulement comparées en termes du nombre de conférences présentées ou d'articles publiés, *mais aussi en référence à un cadre temporel (très) standardisé*, s'échelonnant typiquement sur une année financière ou de calendrier » (Krautwurst, ce numéro).

Krautwurst souhaite que les ethnographies des politiques scientifiques et des pratiques de production du savoir universitaire attirent « l'attention sur les multiplicités temporelles *nécessaires* sur nos campus » de manière à « faire contrepoids à l'homogénéisation des forces néolibérales qui répandent des cultures d'audit, des bureaucraties méritocratiques et des campagnes

pour l'*excellence* ». De telles analyses seraient d'un apport crucial à la compréhension de la transformation mondiale de l'éducation postsecondaire.

L'expertise a joué un rôle déterminant dans la gouvernance en nommant des segments de population qui ont par la suite fait l'objet de politiques particulières. Or, il existe des dimensions temporelles à la circulation d'un tel savoir. Dans son article, Nicola Mooney s'intéresse à diverses facettes du savoir expert pour montrer que « les temporalités discordantes des divers savoirs experts à la fois confirment et déstabilisent les héritages du colonialisme ». La classification ethnographique britannique—forte de conséquences administratives—fait la distinction entre les Jats en tant que « race martiale » et les Sikhs Jats comme « nobles paysans ». De ce fait, elle établit « des hiérarchies temporelles parmi les Indiens de telle sorte que certains Indiens étaient plus proches que d'autres du présent colonial et de ses lieux ». Combinant avec élégance l'analyse historique et ethnographique, Mooney note d'une part qu'il existe une concordance considérable entre le savoir colonial britannique décrivant la culture Jat et les identités culturelles des Jats aujourd'hui. Mais d'autre part, le positionnement social et politique des Jats de l'Inde postcoloniale, qui résulte en partie de leur catégorisation antérieure, les empêche de devenir fermiers. S'attardant aux dimensions temporelles du savoir et de l'administration britannique, Mooney en relève les effets présents, notamment ceux découlant « de la réorganisation des peuples dans l'histoire comme résultat de l'ethnographie coloniale ».

L'expertise agit également au niveau de la signification des objets. Quand ceux-ci font partie intégrante des projets missionnaires de conversion, ils ont une portée morale et politique sur la manière dont les gens sont contraints de s'orienter dans le temps. Dans son article, Jean Mitchell analyse comment les objets culturels et religieux marquent les expériences de conversion. Ainsi, celles-ci structurent profondément les récits de vie dans leur inscription temporelle (Klaver et van de Kamp 2011). Les anthropologues du christianisme ont débattu comment la conversion façonne la vie collective sous les modes de la continuité ou de la rupture. Mitchell montre comment les ambiguïtés relatives au temps au cœur de ces processus se révèlent davantage lorsque l'on prête attention aux multiples significations des objets, tout en demeurant circonspect aux conditions matérielles qui les entourent (comme celles menant à une épidémie). Selon l'auteur, les presbytériens étaient un groupe d'experts participant à un réseau mondial qui reconnaissaient combien l'acquisition du savoir local était essentielle à la performance de leur propre expertise. Sans aucun doute, ils rencontrèrent au Vanuatu des gens qui appréciaient

combien la valeur de l'expertise reposait autant sur la protection du savoir que sa circulation (Lindstrom 1990).

Le savoir expert est fondamental à la formulation de politiques et à la planification de projets sociaux—une thématique que Rita Henderson et Alexandra Widmer abordent dans leurs articles respectifs. L'étude anthropologique des politiques témoigne d'un intérêt soutenu, et ce, sous de multiples stratégies d'analyse (Shore et Wright 1997). La place des experts et du savoir est cardinale à cet égard, car :

> as much as an anthropology of policy examines power, it examines knowledge and knowledge production. It examines knowledge production in an essential context, institutional settings where knowledge holds special weight because this is where it is put into action by the experts and bureaucrats who formulate, theorise and extrapolate that knowledge. [Schwegler et Powell 2008:9]

Comme Li (2011) et d'autres (Ferguson 1990; Mitchell 2002; Wallman 1992) l'ont souligné, de tels spécialistes transforment certains aspects de la société en objets techniques, susceptibles de subir toute une gamme d'interventions et de déploiements. La planification influence les opérations gouvernementales d'ordonnancement dans le temps et l'espace (Abram et Weszkalnys 2011). L'anthropologie identifie les formes d'expertises mises à contribution dans la planification de l'avenir, montrant quels savoirs sont retenus et lesquels sont évacués.

L'article de Henderson concerne le terrain fascinant des politiques relatives à l'éducation au Chili. Il explique comment la politique éducative est un creuset pour la contestation des futurs. Aux vibrantes recherches portant sur les cultures politiques et populaires de la mémoire en Amérique latine (DuBois 2000, 2005; Gordillo 2002, 2011), Henderson relie la question du savoir expert propre aux politiques éducatives qui tentent d'effacer bureaucratiquement des passés « autres » et des versions plus politisées de l'histoire. L'auteur jette un regard ethnographique sur l'impact des politiques néolibérales qui ont assailli le système éducatif. Dans une entrevue avec un professeur qui avait reçu sa formation avant la dictature de Pinochet, elle obtient un résumé laconique et nostalgique : « Quand j'ai été formé comme professeur, ils nous préparaient à enseigner la politique. Ils nous disaient : "Vous êtes responsables d'une société"! Aujourd'hui, plus personne ne dit ça aux jeunes. Ils leur disent plutôt : "En sortant d'ici, vous avez besoin d'aller gagner de l'argent". » Le résultat, dit-il, c'est que les jeunes ont autant peur du passé que de l'avenir. Tel est l'accomplissement déplorable d'un système d'éducation décentralisé et de plus en plus privatisé qui « décourage

les enfants à se projeter comme participants actifs dans l'histoire ». Henderson fait ses observations dans le contexte des récentes manifestations étudiantes de masse.

La manière dont l'expertise se déploie dans la planification du futur fait également l'objet d'un regard critique dans l'article de Widmer. Ce dernier examine la vie sociale du savoir démographique au Vanuatu. Vanuatu est une nation insulaire du Pacifique dont la population urbaine est en pleine croissance et où les modèles d'occupation et de propriété foncière évoluent rapidement. De plus, des politiques formelles visant la jeunesse sont en cours d'élaboration. Maintes recherches sur l'histoire des sciences de la population ont montré combien le savoir démographique a des effets biopolitiques (Connelly 2008)—lesquels touchent la sexualité, la taille des familles, et le contrôle de la population, par exemple—ou géopolitiques à l'égard des processus migratoires et des politiques agricoles (Bashford 2007, 2008). À cet égard, Widmer a trouvé qu'au Vanuatu le savoir démographique a une portée modeste sur les politiques gouvernementales et les programmes des ONG. Cependant, la dimension temporelle du savoir démographique demeure probante, surtout quand elle s'articule aux catégories sociales et aux politiques de genre et de génération ni-Vanuatu qui balisent l'orientation dans le temps des jeunes mères. Widmer analyse les inquiétudes liées à la croissance démographique et à l'intégration accélérée dans une économie de marché lesquelles agissent sur la reproduction sociale. Actuellement, la visibilité et la vulnérabilité des jeunes mères célibataires font d'elles des personnes que l'on considère égoïstes et irréfléchies et, dans une moindre mesure, source d'apitoiement—une position plutôt pénible à soutenir.

Enfin, les dimensions temporelles et affectives de la gouvernance contemporaine sont clairement délimitées par Adams : « The present is governed, almost every scale, as though the future is what mattered most. Anticipatory modes enable the production of possible futures that are *lived and felt* as though inevitable in the present, rendering hope and fear as important political vectors » (Adams *et al.* 2009:48). En effet, le savoir expert, dans les domaines génomique ou épidémiologique, joue un rôle central dans la création des « économies globales de la peur » (Ahmed 2004:128) ou d'une « économie politique de l'espoir » (Novas 2006). L'analyse des terrains expérientiels où s'actualisent les projets de gouvernance, tels que le font les auteurs dans ce volume, témoigne du souci de Boyer « that we treat experts not solely as rational(ist) creatures of expertise but rather as desiring, relating, doubting, anxious, contentious, affective—in

other words, as human-subjects » (2008:38). Indubitablement, ces experts, armés de plans et de projets sociaux bien intentionnés, façonnent la temporalité d'un « optimisme cruel », répondant au désir d'améliorer nos vies et nos sociétés—un désir que dorénavant les sociétés capitalistes libérales ne peuvent plus satisfaire, estime Berlant (2011). Les articles de ce volume illustrent comment des formes de savoir destinées à la planification de l'avenir sont source d'angoisse quand il s'agit d'envisager ce qui adviendrait si aucune action n'est prise. Souvent, ceci signifie taire le passé ou bien faire preuve de mémoire sélective.

Ce n'est pas par accident que les diverses expertises analysées ici—qu'elles traitent de l'anthropologie (coloniale ou contemporaine), du Christianisme, de l'éducation ou bien encore de la démographie—sont toutes des formes de savoir à propos de la population qui visent à « améliorer » les populations. Il serait propice de rappeler le passage bien connu de Foucault sur la population et les pratiques de la politique :

> [...]ça va être essentiellement la population sur laquelle agit le gouvernement directement par des campagnes ou, encore, indirectement par des techniques qui vont permettre, par exemple, de stimuler, sans que les gens s'en aperçoivent, le taux de natalité, ou en dirigeant dans telle ou telle région, vers telle activité, les flux de population (Foucault 1994: 652).

Les individus participent dans les processus de gouvernement par « la conduite des conduites », ce qui selon Li signifie « educating desires and configuring habits, aspirations and beliefs » (Li 2007:275). Ensemble, ces articles démontrent à quel point la gouvernance et « la conduite des conduites » des individus sont reliées dans les discours sur le passé et le futur que le savoir expert soutient et scelle. C'est à partir d'une sélection entre certaines formes de savoir au détriment d'autres que les politiques et les projets futurs se mettent en place (pensons au rôle des longs questionnaires de recensement). Sans doute, bien des lecteurs et lectrices d'*Anthropologica* seront sensibles aux inquiétudes qui poussent les étudiants à faire des choix instrumentaux, tout comme ils seront interpellés par les stratégies gestionnaires qui modifient la manière dont les universités s'investissent dans l'apprentissage et l'enseignement.

Comme en témoignent toutes les contributions à ce numéro, le savoir expert, lorsqu'il est considéré avec une approche ethnographique, n'est jamais produit, ni ne circule, sans contredit. Néanmoins, ses effets sont pénétrants et rappellent que :

« While the will to govern is expansive, there is nothing determinate about the outcomes » (Li 2007:280).

L'anthropologie est bien outillée pour décomposer les vérités toutes faites des grammaires temporelles du passé et du futur sises dans le savoir expert constitutif des processus politiques.

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Notes

1 Parmi les exceptions notables, mentionnons James et Mills (2005), Hodges (2008), Nielsen (2011), et Coleman (2011).
2 C'est aussi une partie prenante des autres sciences de la vie, en particulier de la biologie de la reproduction humaine (Schlünder 2012).
3 Pour en savoir davantage sur le rapport entre la temporalité et la formation du savoir sur le marché boursier, voir Miyazaki (2003).

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Why We Need Ethnographies in and of the Academy: Reflexivity, Time, and the Academic Anthropologist at Work

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It is illusory to hope for "another" anthropology unless and until we have dismantled one by one the certainties that still keep us locked in the old building. Hanging the walls with reflexive mirrors may brighten the place but offers no way out. [Fabian 1991:194]

Abstract: The 21st century academy is changing the conditions of possibility for producing anthropological knowledge. Ethnographic studies of the academy are few yet do provide points of departure for anthropologists to consider the specificities of their home institutions and its effects on anthropological practice. Audit cultures, bureaucracies of virtue, discourses of "excellence" and regimes of intellectual property management are recognized as spreading, but unevenly. This article encourages considering tensions between being an academic anthropologist who happens to be an employee and an employee who happens to be an academic anthropologist and considering how active transformations of the academy also transform anthropology.

Keywords: anthropology of academia, neoliberalism, reflexivity, science policy

Résumé : Le milieu universitaire du 21ème siècle modifie les conditions qui rendent possible la production du savoir anthropologique. Les études ethnographiques du milieu universitaire sont rares mais fournissent néanmoins des points de départ pour permettre aux anthropologues de s'intéresser aux caractéristiques spécifiques de leurs institutions et à leurs effets sur la pratique anthropologique. On reconnaît que des cultures de vérification, des bureaucraties méritocratiques, des discours sur l'excellence, et des régimes de gestion de la propriété intellectuelle se répandent, mais de manière inégale. Cet article interroge les tensions entre la situation d'un anthropologue universitaire qui se trouve un employé et la situation d'un employé qui se trouve un anthropologue universitaire et analyse comment les transformations actives du milieu universitaire transforment aussi l'anthropologie.

Mots-clés : anthropologie du milieu universitaire, néolibéralisme, réflexivité, politique des sciences

Introduction

Here is a simple premise: academic anthropologists' conditions of employment shape anthropologists' practice. It shapes their expertise. Given the attention directed to the many contexts and practices summarized by the term *fieldwork*, there has been surprisingly little ethnographic research concerning the academy as an institution and the place of the anthropologist *as employee* within it. Although useful fragments have been proposed in terms of the neoliberalization of the academy, the rise of "bureaucracies of virtue" in research ethics clearance, the critique of the "university of excellence" and the ascendency of "audit cultures" in employee performance assessment, particular studies of universities and colleges embedded within and overlapping with, other communities have yet to be undertaken. What I am proposing, then, is that academic anthropologists embark on multisited ethnographic studies (Marcus 1995) of their campuses to develop a comparative ethnology of the contemporary academy in transition.

What follows is not such a study but rather an extended appeal for such study to take place on campuses where ethnographers, anthropological or otherwise, practice. Although there is certainly a space in such investigations for "corridor talk" (Downey et al. 1997) or the kinds of editorializing found, for example, in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, the *Times Higher Education* or Canada's *University Affairs* magazine, it is specifically formal, full-blown, participant-observational and multisited studies I am calling for. There is broad agreement among academic faculty that post-secondary education is transforming globally, but much of this agreement emerges from quantitative methodologies, generalizations

lacking in nuance and variation or anecdotal evidence. That these have been the terms of assessment, I will argue, is indicative of some of the changes occurring in post-secondary education that would benefit from ethnographic investigations and comparative analyses.

I was confronted by these kinds of issues as a consequence of conducting ethnographic research of a bioscience research facility on the campus where I work, the University of Prince Edward Island. Here I am positioned by students, faculty and the public as an "expert," colleague, employee and instructor among others similarly positioned. I am a part of the academic context which I examine; yet, I inhabit different *spacetimes* (Barad 2007) in an academy that is a multiple singularity, an institutional "body multiple" (Mol 2002) without a stable ontological core. Consequently, I also encourage consideration of the blurred boundaries and tensions which emerge when balancing an "institutional reflexivity" (Fischer 2005, 2007) with the related yet distinct self-reflexivity usually associated with ethnographic fieldwork. Studying and researching our campuses is a manner of investigating our anthropological selves but from positionalities too frequently neglected.

The UPEI Campus: How the Personal Prompted Questioning the General

May 2008. I arrived at my fifth floor office in the main Faculty of Arts building at about 8:15 a.m. After booting up my computer, I nibbled my breakfast while wading through a few emails. At this time of year the mornings are still cool but quite compatible with a light jacket. I was already anticipating that by July the heat and humidity in my office would be intense, over 30 degrees Celsius, nearly all the time. Designated a heritage building at present, this red brick structure, whose keystone over the main entrance is engraved 1862, was granted immunity from modernizing influences which would alter its external appearance, such as rooftop air-conditioning units or even individual air-conditioners precariously perched partly in and partly outside the 3-foot by 4.5-foot window found in every office in the building. Nearly a century-and-a-half earlier the fifth floor was designated a dormitory by a post-secondary institution largely devoted to providing a liberal arts education to budding young clergymen drawn, by ferrous red dirt roads, from all parts of the soon-to-be province in a soon-to-be new and expanding nation-state. I sometimes wondered how they coped with the heat of summer or the cold of winter. I wondered, too, when the ghost stories, occasionally still recited among students and faculty today, began to circulate.

With reveries and a couple of email responses sent off, I took my jacket and headed toward the newly built North Annex of the veterinary school. With the demands of teaching behind me and commitments to committees rapidly diminishing, I was looking forward to several weeks of uninterrupted fieldwork. Walking the 200 or so paces along the asphalt pathways, I came to the front entrance. Some maintenance staff were laying new sod in preparation for the formal opening ceremonies as others were adjusting the main doors. As I walked inside the climate-controlled environment and past the reception space harbouring the administrative staff for the Department of Biomedical Sciences, still others were moving equipment I could not yet name or tending electrical panels. It seemed as if there were not yet any ghosts because there were not yet any pasts. I made my way to the second floor and into the carrell my host had generously made available as an ethnographic base of operations. I would come to share that space with three other visiting researchers. Putting my notepad, recorder and book—just in case of a lull—on my desk, I picked my lab coat from its hanger. Once the weather warmed, before putting on the white coat, I would change from shorts to pants, and sandals to sneakers, both for safety and comfort—but not on that day in May.

The significance, the polysemy, of the white lab coat was not lost on me. It has become one of the most potent signifiers of modern times about modern times. I couldn't help but notice its transformative powers in this setting. A little after 8:30 a.m., I walked across the hall and into a suite of labs where a research associate and lab technician were already preparing a gel for electrophoresis. In the span of a few steps and a few minutes I had seemingly travelled worlds. I settled in for the morning with curiosity and questions. Among them, how many communities make up a campus? What and who counted? And how?

It is something of a truism in the anthropology of science and in science and technology studies (STS) more broadly, that once you are in a lab as an ethnographer, everything—people, ideas, waste, equipment, "discoveries" and so on—leads away from it. The introductions, those events which "lead in," leave the ethnographer with the problem of ducts, of "duction" (abduction, adduction, conduction, deduction, eduction, induction, production, reduction, reproduction, seduction, subduction, transduction). From the Latin for "leading," as in the way a path or channel leads (think of aqueduct), the problem of duction, of leading and being led, imposes itself quite quickly. It is a problem only insofar as limited and limiting choices and interventions must be made, continuously, regarding which

paths or channels are to be followed to the exclusion of other choices. These choices involve, always, some senses of reflexivity, temporality, and some senses of expertise, but here, too, there are choices to be made. Notably, there is no form of duction which allows a permanent retreat, or even a respite: an eduction is always already another introduction. I take as given that ducts have no origins or finality, that insofar as they ontologically "are," it is a "being-as-doing;" they are (always already) in motion at different speeds and in different directions, intensities and extensities.[1]

From 2007 to 2009, I was an interested participant/ observer in a brand new, state-of-the-art multiuser bioscience facility at the University of Prince Edward Island, which also happens to be the campus where I perform my other academic duties beyond ethnographic fieldwork. My concern in this article does not speak so much to the intra-actions (Barad 2007) radiating from within those labs as it does to some of the other channels into which I was drawn. Among other things, I was compelled to consider not only the facility, or the research happening in the facility, but also the place of the facility within the university and the university as an institution itself under significant pressures for change from provincial and federal governments, which in turn, they claim, were (and are) responses to a variety of global neoliberal economic forces. Given the newness of the facility, there was, during the period of my research, more traffic between the rest of campus and this facility than would otherwise be the case as final infrastructural adjustments were made, tours were given and new equipment arrived, as well as, of course, new people, permanent and temporary. Under assumptions of performative ontology, I could not help but locate this series of shifting contexts within larger series of equally shifting contexts—a movement that can be considered "transductive" in Helmreich's (2007, 2009) sense—due to the kinds of professional ethnographic habits that anthropologists have developed. It is one form of cultural system, as Clifford Geertz might have said, with which anthropologists can question common sense.

The University of Prince Edward Island (UPEI) campus where I teach is relatively small; there are only about 4,500 full- and part-time students. It is the only university in this primarily rural island province of 140,000 people. Attached to UPEI is a veterinary school containing state-of-the-art biomedical research, in addition to clinical teaching facilities. This circumstance, in itself, is quite atypical for a campus this size, and it is this peculiarity which has sounded so loudly and sharply for me the kinds of changes most post-secondary institutions are currently moving through, though perhaps in more muted fashion. Veterinary programmes in Canada are limited in number and geographically dispersed, with the Atlantic Veterinary College (AVC) drawing from and serving mostly the four Atlantic Canadian provinces. Ron Freedman, CEO of Research Infosource, is quoted in Ryder (2006) as saying: "The level of research there [at the AVC—UK] is as if UPEI had its own medical school. That kind of presence has an impact that goes beyond the campus. It brings university researchers who want to collaborate with the AVC professors, it attracts business ... and it just adds spending and industrial activity to the community."

Quite simply, the federal and provincial governments, private industry and Prince Edward Island's two post-secondary institutions (a college and a university) are more tightly bound than at any time in the past in an effort to produce the critical mass for a self-sustaining bioscience-based business cluster as a means of capitalist wealth generation and economic development. This is termed the "Triple Helix" approach to the emergent "knowledge economy" in STS (Etzkowitz 2003).[2] Like many advanced capitalist nations, Canada's federal and provincial governments, in varying degrees, have drawn on concepts that have emerged in the science policy literature since the 1980s and 1990s. These concepts may vary in terms of scale and focus but all share a sense that the raison d'être, the social and institutional functions, of post-secondary education *should* change. Various levels of government have appropriated or endorsed language such as that of the Triple Helix (Etzkowitz 2003), "Mode 1" and "Mode 2" universities (Gibbons et al. 1994) or the "business cluster" model promoted by Harvard business professor Michael Porter (1998a, 1998b, 2000) as a framework for approaching the emergent global "knowledge economy." Indeed, the notion of a "PEI biocluster," actively pursued as a provincial economic development strategy, is drawn directly from Porter's conceptual framework.[3]

In that regard, consider these events on Prince Edward Island from over approximately the last 10 to 15 years. At UPEI, graduate programmes have appeared in the Faculty of Science, the Faculty of Education, the Faculty of Arts; research-based Ph.D. programs have been developed in the veterinary school; a Master of Business Administration, including a stream specializing in "Biotechnology Management and Entrepreneurship," has been launched; there has been the construction of a federal advanced bioresearch facility on the university campus (the National Research Council Institute for Nutrisciences and Health); a graduate program in the School of Nursing has been established; and the university has welcomed its first Fulbright Fellow specializing

in biocluster development. Related, yet extending beyond the immediate campus, consideration should be given to the relocation of UPEI and Holland College from the provincial Department of Education into a newly created Department of Innovation and Advanced Learning; the establishment of a "Bioscience Technology" lab technician program at the main Holland College campus; and finally, the establishment of a non-profit umbrella organization (the PEI Bioalliance) to coordinate activities and contacts between government, industry and academia. Without question, this is a big investment, relatively speaking, for such a small place (140,000 people), much of it concentrated on a small university campus of about 200 full-time and 100 contract instructors.[4]

From the brief outline above, it is evident that there is an emphasis on biomedical and pharmaceutical research and that it is intended to be an important means of biocapitalist growth (Cooper 2008; Rajan 2006) in a "knowledge economy." These particular observations and experiences at UPEI led me to wonder about the extent to which UPEI was reproducing similar changes elsewhere—changes often placed under the banner of the corporatization and neoliberalization of the academy—and the extent to which local developments were uniquely enacted with local conditions in mind.

Science Policy Concepts in Vogue

Concepts such as Triple Helix, Mode 1 and Mode 2, and clusters have been made commonplace in governmental science policy establishments in advanced capitalist nations. They *are* popular there, though these three terms are not the only ones in use. Although I do not intend to approach these and similar terms grammatologically (Derrida 1976), their broad contours will be offered here, insofar as their adoption in policy circles likely has had multiple and uneven effects on particular campuses, departments and individual researchers in particular ways, depending on how they are implemented and used by policy-makers. In Gibbons and colleagues' (1994) formulation, Mode 1 universities predominated in Europe and North America during the first two-thirds of the 20th century. They were characterized by a predominance of "basic" research, high degrees of institutional independence (though not necessarily for individual faculty), and they were only weakly integrated into their surrounding geographic communities in terms of research and economic activities. The research conducted on campus was often freely available to the scientific community but was often not immediately relevant to the many, but very different, needs of local communities. A shift to Mode 2 universities began to take place in the 1970s as demands for greater community engagement

and interaction by citizen groups, industries and governments increased. This coincided with a shift to neoliberal economic policies as well. The knowledge produced in universities was expected to have greater local relevance by responding to local social, political and economic "stakeholders" and, as such, promoted a greater emphasis on "applied" research and lower degrees of institutional independence.

In the Canadian context, an important transitional moment from Mode 1 to Mode 2 prevalence occurred when the federal government put in place the Networks of Centres of Excellence program in 1988. It was a conscious effort to change Canadian academic research culture, especially in the natural sciences. As Janet Atkinson-Grosjean notes, "The tradition of serendipitous discovery was far too anarchic for the policy establishment; research should not only be managed—a novel concept—but managed on private sector rather than academic principles" (2006:xiv). To that end Michael Gibbons, who contributed to formulating the Mode1/Mode 2 distinction, was invited by Industry Canada—the federal government department charged with overseeing the program—to serve as a policy advisor and participate in the selection committees (Atkinson-Grosjean 2006:54). Since that time, the management of federally funded research along private sector principles in Canada has become both more intensive and extensive. The kinds of pressures exercised through policy could be fairly direct, as when each of Canada's three major federal funders of academic research[5] now explicitly expect applications to have incorporated Mode 2–like features into research programmes and projects. Researchers have also been compelled by indirect means as well. For example, in recent years Canada's Social Science and Humanities Research Council unilaterally decided to no longer fund all social science and humanities researchers of health and biomedicine. They are now expected to apply to the Canadian Institutes of Health Research, part of the very "community" anthropologists, economists, historians, philosophers and others study. Whether by accident or design, the effect has been to lessen researcher independence and dampen critiques of health and biomedical research, while epistemologically and methodologically subordinating them to a much larger group of clinical and biomedical practitioners who operate through very different principles of knowledge formation—principles which have had longer exposure to neoliberal policy tenets—when adjudicating research awards.

Although there are significant differences between Mode 1/Mode 2 science policy conceptions and those of the Triple Helix (Mirowski and Sent 2005), for our purposes what matters more are the similarities between

the ideal Mode 2 university and the university as envisaged in the Triple Helix of academia, government and industry. Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff (1997) argue that, as each helix becomes more integrated with the other two, new metrics—that is, new methods of measurement—became necessary to evaluate the products of research and research as a product. The movement of universities into closer ties with government and industry, ostensibly to foster closer ties to very vaguely defined local "communities," already is suggestive of new economic expectations of universities.

Moreover, the cluster concept has also found a receptive audience in science policy circles, whether in government, industry or the academy. Michael Porter's notion of "business clusters" is derived from certain notions in economic geography (Cooke 2007; Martin and Sunley 2003). Porter proposes that physical proximity of businesses in related fields of research development and production are more successful than those that are geographically dispersed, even when advances in information technology are taken into consideration. Silicon Valley serves as a well-known example for the information technology industry. Many related enterprises of varying sizes are clustered together to facilitate embodied as well as disembodied forms of communication. On PEI, and elsewhere, there are conscious efforts to establish bioscience clusters (Singapore's Biopolis project being a well-known example). Clustering, in particular, lends itself to research-intensive industries. When this is combined with a growing trend to outsource larger shares of research from private industry and government laboratories to more or less publically funded academic institutions, clustering tends to occur around university campuses (Cooke 2007; Mirowski and Sent 2005).

The brief descriptions of these policy platforms currently in fashion are simplifications, to be sure. My point is that *they are enacted* and *they are popular* in policy circles. Even a rudimentary overview, such as offered above, suggests that these policy measures and concepts privilege an economic "character" beyond the narrowly economic. They are directed more toward STEM fields (science, technology, engineering and mathematics) than humanities and social sciences and, significantly, assume that knowledge should be commoditized. In the course of my own research, I encountered people in university administration, the provincial government and local industry who agreed that universities should be engines of economic growth *in addition to* their previous functions. In short, regarding my campus, and insofar as I pursued the matter, there is an expectation to be Mode 1 *and* Mode 2; to pursue applied *and* basic research; to teach civics *and* promote technocratic solutions.

The kinds of tensions these conflicting demands place on faculty are aptly summarized by the phrase "the schizophrenic university" (Shore 2010).

Audit Cultures, Bureaucracies of Virtue and the Value of Excellence

The kinds of changes just outlined are not entirely new to most campuses globally since the early 1980s—save perhaps the speed, relative scale and intensity with which they have been conducted on Prince Edward Island. It is easy for anthropologists who are off-campus researchers to miss such changes in medium to large research and graduate programme universities by virtue of their size, populations and physical dispersion, and it is easy to miss them in small, primarily undergraduate institutions because they tend not to have the kinds of scientific infrastructures which garner the attention of industry or government. Nonetheless, while studies are few, limited in scope and fragmented, there are a handful of anthropologists and STS scholars attuned to how the cross-currents of the Triple Helix impinge on ethnographic practices in their respective fields. These studies, with their own political and ethical spaces and dynamics of personal, professional and institutional boundary constructions and boundary crossings, can serve as introductions to greater multiplicities, not least of which are those concerning reflexivities and expertises in ethnographic practices. In this regard, the Triple Helix has been indexed in anthropology in particular by the rise of "audit cultures" (Strathern 2000) to review the performance of individual faculty, departments and entire universities; the emergence of "bureaucracies of virtue" (Jacob and Riles 2007) around ethics review processes; and the use of "university of excellence" as a signifier to transform moral values into economic values (Menzies 2010). They are lively objects in a "Dingpolitik" (Latour 2005:41) located on new ethical plateaus (Fischer 2005, 2007).

It should be noted that these kinds of studies, while important and suggestive, are not yet full-scale and detailed ethnographies of particular academic institutions and their relations to their surroundings. That work remains to be done and is crucial. Participant observation won't come easily in those circumstances where it can be done, but it is all the more important because of that.[6] Beyond classic ethnographic methods is the need for the range of multisited techniques that allow the ethnographer to follow the metaphor, money or object (Marcus 1995). Present analysis of post-secondary educational phenomena labelled neoliberal tends too much toward the homogenous, with its attendant problems (Mirowski and Sent 2005; Ong 2006).

The campus to which I am attached, like most Euro-American universities, or even post-secondary institutions globally, is in the throes of what has been variously dubbed corporatization or neoliberalization (Roseman 2010; Wright and Rabo 2010). Anecdotally commented upon by most of us in the academy as "corridor talk" (Downey et al. 1997), investigated and critiqued in fragmented fashion by a few, thoroughgoing anthropological studies of particular universities or even the contemporary academy "in general" is not a project most of us are inclined to take on.[7] The need for doing so, however, has direct bearing on our anthropological practices wherever or however they are conducted, or whoever conducts them, for a mutual leading and being led is at work here. *Our* anthropological terms of expertise are, in part, produced and productive here (Wright and Rabo 2010).

Audit Cultures

In a volume edited by Marilyn Strathern (2000), the contributors focused on the emergence of "audit cultures" in post-secondary education, especially the United Kingdom. Audit, as Strathern (2000:3) reminds us, is a "ritual of verification" that has been elevated from the world of financial accountancy to a generalized principle of evaluation in fields as diverse as education, law and medicine. Audit, as the guarantor of "value for money," has become neoliberal "common sense." Nonetheless, the spread of audit in post-secondary education is a highly uneven process, as the Strathern volume and the special issues on university reforms in journals edited by Roseman (2010) and Wright and Rabo (2010) indicate. For example, the UPEI campus, in particular, and Canadian campuses broadly presently experience audits most strongly in research areas where academic intellectual property is a concern, typically in STEM fields; whereas campuses in the United Kingdom and New Zealand (Shore 2008, 2010; Shore and Wright 1999, 2000) currently experience audits as a much more generalized phenomenon on their campuses through some version of the (by now infamous) Research Assessment Exercise. This does not mean, however, that non-STEM disciplines in Canada are untouched, nor that elsewhere audit culture has completely succeeded. Again, specific inquiries need to be made before further generalization is considered.

Bureaucracies of Virtue

Since requests for research monies are increasingly under scrutiny under the guise of "value for money," the auditing process, among other things, tends to subordinate and diminish basic research to applied research, but without eradicating basic research entirely (Atkinson-Grosjean 2006). The process of subordination must not only appear as a commonsensical governmentality, in Foucault's sense (Shore and Wright 2000), but seem ethically desirable in a manner deemed transparent. As Jacob and Riles (2007) suggest, ethics must *be* evident and be *evident*; it must be stable, demonstrable and measurable through formal, quantifiable mechanisms of oversight they term "bureaucracies of virtue." Although audit cultures and bureaucracies of virtue are separate but related phenomena, an ethnography of a university should definitely consider the extent to which these, and other forces, mutually shape one another.

Academic research proposals, for example, regardless of discipline or methods, have for some time been subject to formal ethical review procedures. Like audit cultures, such bureaucracies of virtue have been expanding because their premises seem commonsensical (Bosk 2007; Swiffen 2007). Both give the appearance of being rational and reasonable, of being accountable and responsible. The prevailing assumption at the policy-making level, but also among many faculty researchers, is that more oversight through control, in Deleuze's (1992) sense, leads to "better" research, while less is thought to place research subjects at risk and is taken as indicating the researcher is of questionable moral fibre. (Lederman 2006a, 2007; Shore 2008).

Universities of Excellence

Like audit cultures and ethics creep, Charles Menzies's (2010) thoughts on the changing meanings and practices enacted through the sign of excellence emerged in and through the rise of neoliberal economic doctrine in the 1980s. In particular, he emphasizes that, in the post-secondary context, the term *excellence* has come to connote quantity rather than quality. To generate the consent to effect that shift among faculty there is, whether purposive or not, a reductive blurring of moral and economic values as synonymous. He reminds us that as excellence is reduced to a statistical norm, that norm is not merely operating as a portion of a mathematical distribution but has become a moral and political injunction. Paradoxically, then, "being" excellent means "being" normal. In order for excellence and norms to be comparable, qualities must be reduced to quantities.

Menzies also indicates some of the consequences of aiming for excellence in terms of what it entails for anthropologists and other academics *as employees*. Drawing on examples from his home institution and elsewhere, he suggests that an emphasis on the quantity of publications by researchers puts downward pressure on their quality. At the same time, the national ranking

systems used to judge institutions or journal impact factors to rank publication venues situates researchers on a moral continuum. In the Canadian case, it has resulted in a preference for hiring academic anthropologists with non-Canadian credentials, even though there is no evidence to suggest Canadian credentials are inherently inferior (2010:49).

Audit cultures, bureaucracies of virtue and discourses of excellence, as three realms within the contemporary Mode 2 university, already provide us with some sense of how they affect anthropological practice, both in the field and in the classroom. As suggested above, more needs to be done in terms of considering other realms of common sense in the Mode 2 university, including different *kinds* of university (primarily undergraduate or research, large or small in population, located in urban or rural areas, public or private, etc.). Nonetheless, based on the work addressing audit cultures, bureaucracies of virtue and universities of excellence, it would seem that the realms of common sense rely on two very modernist, even positivist, ontological assumptions. First, the majority of administrators and faculty alike don't question a conception of ethics and value (whether economic or not) that is ontologically singular and can be established before their enactment (Lederman 2007). Performative ontological notions of the university as a singular multiplicity, a (corporate) "body multiple" (Mol 2002) as it were, or as an apparatus or phenomenon intra-actively emergent (Barad 2007) is likely to be thought of as anathema by many. Second, the widespread assumption that the act of measuring does not influence that which is measured, be it risk or financial efficiency or teaching performance, be it "quantitative" or "qualitative," has yet to receive intensive investigation. As Law and Urry (2004) and Barad (2007, 2008) have argued, measuring, as enacted practice, is not "neutral" in intention, process, affect, effect or means (see also Strathern 2000).

At my institution, the pressures that are spreading what Shore and Wright (2000:61) term "neoliberal governmentality"—the econometricization of society, its institutions and individuals—were applied initially to the nonclinical programs of the veterinary school, followed by portions of the Faculty of Science, then the School of Business. The remaining faculties and schools are just now beginning to register, at a variety of levels, those pressures. This has not been a direct process, but rather has been indirect insofar as university administrations have increasingly taken the econometricization of the biosciences and business *as the standard by which to measure all faculty activities.*[8] It is unfortunate and unfair, though to some extent understandable, that some social science and humanities faculty blame the natural sciences and the scientists for this state of affairs, rather than examining differences among the natural sciences and scientists. In many respects the antagonisms between the two cultures of academia described by C. P. Snow (1993) persist, with efforts to establish a third culture still to be realized (Rabinow 1996). This, too, deserves attention in an ethnography of the academy. Moreover, few in the human sciences self-reflexively ask about the extent to which they are complicit (Amit 2000). I cannot, however, presume this is the case elsewhere, save perhaps in very broad contours. It would be worthwhile, I think, to pursue more of such investigations to establish with greater specificity *how* neoliberal governmentality spreads in academia and how it is resisted.[9]

Studying Up and Studying Across

Points of contact between institutional ethics, research ethics, excellence and the econometricization of the academy and academics are multiplying (Fortun and Fortun 2005; Lederman 2006a, 2006b, 2007; Marcus 2007; Pels 2000). This is leading to suggestions that we need ethnographies and fieldwork on academic research to diminish and resist the trend toward establishing ever-greater numbers of "quantitative" metrics, which are frequently based on "knowledge economy" approaches hybridized with biomedical standards in order to audit "qualitative" forms of research.[10] Here also, the issue is often framed as a two culture problem by academics, administrators and policy makers. Simply stated, we have been too busy in the field *as ethnographers* to be aware *of* the field qua field in shaping expertise (Kalir 2006). The importance of a reflexive application of fieldwork on fieldwork should not be underestimated in researching a university as a multisited ethnographic object, especially if it is an institution with which the investigator is affiliated. Lederman proposes the term "informality" to describe "the undemarcated moments of ethnographic practice when 'research' and 'daily life' are inextricable. Informality is a prominent feature of partly or wholly unfunded (self-funded) research pursued part-time at home [i.e., one's 'home' institution-UK]" (2006a:477).[11]

Within anthropology, to date, it is neoliberal governmentality surrounding audit and ethics review processes that have received the most attention. STS ethnographies have focused more on the commercialization of the academy, especially the sciences, though as Mirowski and Sent (2005) note, there is an overall dearth of investigations. I recognize considerable commentary exists in the form of blogs or university-focused magazines and

research on general trends, such as Martha Nussbaum's (2010) or Henry Giroux's (2007) work. Such work is valuable, yet is still limited by a lack of specificity and detection of nuanced patterns which emerge from sustained ethnographic investigation.

Beyond these topics, however, are others worthy of ethnographic attention to track changes in the rapidly changing campus body multiple. Topics that need to be studied up *and* integrated into ethnographies of particular academies include the extent, kinds and reach of unionized and nonunionized employees; the growing importance placed on matters of intellectual property (and their potential for revenue) by university administrations; the corporatization of food services on our campuses; the growing corporate arm of universities (i.e., business enterprises incorporated by and for universities); the research and recruiting activities of military and state paramilitary organizations; the growing pace and place of forms of online instruction; the increasing number of students who have never known anything other than "neoliberal times" and, consequently, tend to develop a "neoliberal agency" (Gershon 2011a, 2011b); the decline of tenured faculty positions; the "globalization" of individual universities (see Ong 2006); a growing trend toward "teaching-only" positions; the acceptance or, less frequently, resistance to governmental science and education policy by university administrations; changing relations between and within human versus natural sciences; the growing size and changing background qualifications of administration and management; the changing balance between and definitions of research and teaching among faculty; and so on. This manner of "studying-up" (Gusterson 1997; Nader 1974), whether on one's own campus or another, is needed to plan paths of engagement but, as Amit (2000) reminds us, it should not take the place of engagement. More accurately, it should not be the *only* path of engagement.

Given the changing nature of the academy—should that be academies?—over the past 30 years, it should come as no surprise that anthropologists and others, with varying degrees of conscious awareness, are revisiting the issue of reflexivity in methodology broadly and in fieldwork in particular. As the "schizophrenic university" generally, though as yet, inconsistently, moves toward privileging "applied" over "basic" forms of research, within nations and regions and between disciplines and faculties, we should not be surprised to encounter anthropologists drawn in conflicting directions. There is less weight placed on Mode 1 (basic) forms of critique and its dilemmas (Fabian 1991), with the move toward Mode 2 (applied) forms of engagement instead (and its attendant ethical and ontological changes

in method). Put somewhat differently, academic anthropologists have been much more thoughtful about their discipline, qua discipline, and its methods, but have lagged behind in their consideration of the post-secondary institutional matrix, which is one of its most important conditions of possibility. In recent years, anthropology programmes around the world (as have many social science and humanities programmes), have been closed, threatened with closure or downsized. The place of reflexivity and thus also *our* expertise is being reconsidered and refashioned. Increasingly, there are calls to transact the self-reflexivity of recent years into "post-reflexive" engagements for individual investigators (Helmreich 2007, 2009; Maurer 2005) and attend to the growth of institutional reflexivities (Fischer 2007; Nowotny 2007; Wynne 2007).

Fischer's (2007) call for anthropologists to attend to institutional reflexivities is salutary, but it must include more than the anthropological discipline as an institution or the structural phenomena that are the most frequent objects of study (such as medicine, family, or economy).

> Reflexive social institutions are responses to decision-making requirements when unprecedented ethical dilemmas arise ... reflexive social institutions need to be built where multiple technologies interact to create complex terrains or "ethical plateaus" for decision making. Reflexive social institutions integrate knowledge from multiple sources, often are self-organizing and learning organizations, and respond to new circumstances more easily than brittle, bureaucratic forms of agrarian empires, industrial societies, or closed system, input-output, command-and-control economies. [2007:540–541]

Academic anthropologists ought to be asking the extent to which the academy in general fits this description but, perhaps more importantly, they ought to be asking the extent to which the college or university which employs them fits that description. The force fields generated by the expansions and contractions of the disciplinary and employment institutions upon one another likely have a bearing on anthropological practice that requires more than cursory or bird's-eye view investigation.

Reflexivities

In reviewing these material-semiotic productions, I was struck by a sense of déjà-vu. Twenty years ago both Johannes Fabian and Gilles Deleuze, each in their own way, intimated that reflexivity could be necessary but never sufficient, for engaged practice. Deleuze had suggested we had been introduced to, and seduced by,

the real subsumption of the "societies of control," if I may be allowed an old Marxian phrase, eclipsing the disciplinary societies so well explicated by Foucault (see also Bagué et al. 2010). The newly hegemonic neoliberal economic era, often associated with the onset of the Reagan-Thatcher political era, heralded "the introduction of the 'corporation' at all levels of schooling" (Deleuze 1992:7). As anthropology settled into its "post" age, Fabian was already drawing attention to the limits of self-reflexivity. The discipline's "dilemma," he wrote, "lies in the contradictory predicament of wanting to reject hegemonial interests by practising critical approaches and yet having to work in relationships that are determined by the context of those hegemonial interests... the question can only in part be how to avoid the damage.... Perhaps, under the circumstances the question must be how to do damage" (1991:191, 194).

The term *reflexivity* itself has expanded well beyond the intended realm of methodology, coming to connote a kind of *inherently* progressive political stance more easily asserted than demonstrated (Lynch 2000). Lynch argues a reflexive condition may well be cognitively inescapable, since "it alludes to the embodied practices through which persons singly and together, retrospectively and prospectively, produce *account-able* states of affairs" (2000:34). It is not so much a matter of "being" reflexive as strategically "doing" it as one means among many to generate certain effects and engagements.[12] Transductive ethnography (Helmreich 2007, 2009) is another means, one which opens productive juxtapositions and their potential incommensurabilities, where the ethnographer emerges as part of ongoing intra-action, rather than a reduction to a unified ethnographic ego in self-reflexivity.

Reflexivity, then, is not inherently anything. Yet, for academic anthropologists it is complementary, in Karen Barad's sense and this is a vital element when considering an ethnography of a post-secondary institution.

> This is because you need to make a choice between two complementary situations: either you think about something, in which case that something is the object of your thoughts, or you examine your process of thinking about something, in which case your thoughts about what you are thinking (about something), and not the something itself, are the object of your thoughts. (Barad 2007:21)

Such a condition of complementarity affects and effects changes in academic anthropologists and, by extension, the institutions in which they are employed. There are two overlapping "recursive publics" (Kelty 2005) diffractively in tension or superpositioned (Barad

2007) here, a disciplinary one directed at research and an academic one directed at teaching and service. These are realms usually held apart, even though there is widespread recognition at an informal and anecdotal level that each to some extent shapes the other. It is exactly their complementarity that is at issue. Here also, solid ethnographic evidence is lacking.

Recent years have also led to calls, quite probably in connection with the rise of Mode 2 universities within Triple Helices—that is, the neoliberalization of the academy—for introducing (and differentially engaging within) reflexive *institutions*, institutions which are said to be more flexible and responsive to new "ethical plateaus" (Fischer 2005, 2007; see also Fortun and Fortun 2005). Such reflexive institutions are called forth by rapid technoscientific change. They are sites where new technologies, be they abstract or material, administrative or disciplinary, come together in a play of opening and foreclosing choices and possibilities. Such may indeed be the case for the emerging "flexible workplace" associated with neoliberal economic enterprises, though I suspect Lynch's caution concerning the inherent progressiveness of self-reflexivity has a parallel application in institutional reflexivity. Moreover, the various "enunciatory communities" (Fischer 2005; Maurer 2005) of expertise within post-secondary institutions may not all have an equal interest or say in "being" reflexive, since institutional reflexivity is not a "natural" state of affairs in unstable and shifting communities of practice (Wynne 2007:499–500).

Certainly, much of this applies to my own university, one which, I suspect, fits the larger pattern, and irony, of progressively expanding on a Chandlerian model of management, with its tight vertical integration of units, while much of the corporate business world moves away from this model (Mirowski and Sent 2005:656; see also Bagué et al. 2010:11).[13] So, if the university is becoming more Chandlerian to manage its internal differences, it is becoming less reflexive (doing less reflexivity) but, at the same time, closer connections to industry and government compel more reflexivity, at least of particular (econometric) kinds. These contradictory forces are another expression of the schizophrenic university as an institutional body multiple. No doubt more investigation is needed here, since this is an important space in which to apply one's expertise, anthropological or otherwise. Building on Shore's notion of the schizophrenic university, ethnographies of the academy need to consider not only the conflicting demands placed on faculty (themselves fragmented along various axes) but also those confronted by administrators and other

personnel within the institution and vis-à-vis integration into the local Triple Helix.

Here we return once again to the "dilemma" of an "engaged" anthropology for those anthropologists based in the academy: how to conduct fieldwork when the institution which makes professional activity possible also shapes the very terms of engagement for how, when, why and with whom fieldwork is conducted, be it across the globe or across campus. Now, the path of logic I have found myself following may seem distant from those bioscientists and their new facility mentioned at the beginning. However, they too are part of those enunciatory communities of expertise often referred to as "the faculty;" they too are interested, in all senses of the term, in what the Triple Helix of academy, industry and government entails. Such communities, in terms of fieldwork, are not only to be studied up or down, but also across, with at least an offer, and its attendant potentials, of friendships. Such communities are not likely to be homogeneous, yet it will require balancing the complementary enactments of the anthropologist-who-happens-to-be-an-employee with the employee-who-happens-to-be-an-anthropologist to come to some kind of dialogic relations with other academic, administrative, service or maintenance employees.

Temporal (Re)Productions

Fortun and Fortun propose anthropologists of science immerse themselves into their field sites via new experimental methodologies, challenging the dominant trend in science studies to judge when and how science and scientists overdetermine the social (2005:51). They suggest a supplemental approach which engages scientists on their own terms through a method they term "friendship," "conceived as a way of relating to others that demands reciprocity yet tolerates times out of joint, the not-always-predictable circuit of gifts, and the way exchange can work even when not a simple, reciprocal transfer that returns an investment" (2005:51). Inside the facility I studied on my campus, I felt compelled to conduct myself this way, since there was little to be gained from being self-reflexive later. It prompted me to think about my superpositioned state of both anthropological researcher and employee of the university. Such a method is, to use Fabian's phrase, one means to "do damage" against the neoliberalizing academy. To be sure, there is no intent on my part to romanticize the past. Universities from their inception have always been tied to wider social inequalities and reliant on powerful patrons. They have always had internal divisions along a variety of axes. There is no going back to a pre-1980 golden age, nor would I want to do so. We

do, however, need to be more politically conscious about how we do damage on our respective campuses as employees informed by anthropology, precisely because we cannot be formulaic.

The matter of doing damage, however, is a temporal matter as much as an affective one (Adams at al. 2009). Better, it is enacted through *spacetimemattering* (Barad 2007). A comparative ethnology of campuses would likely shed light on the relationalities among histories, historicities[14] and historialities.[15] The superpositioned anthropologist, who is simultaneously an employee, split by research time, service time and teaching time, cannot think of time as homogenous and empty (Benjamin 1968) despite the allure of various homogenizing pressures (neoliberal policies not least among them). An attitude of time being natural, homogenous, linear and ontologically independent is a postagrarian, industrial phenomenon, now familiar globally (Mirmalek 2008). More recently the hegemony of neoliberal economic policies has promoted not only this flattening of time and temporalities but also coaxed and coerced acceptance of a recursive anticipation as a kind of promissory time calculated in terms of risk (aversion).

> Abduction ... is the concept we adopt and adapt to capture the processes of tacking back and forth between futures, pasts and presents, framing the life yet to come *and* the life that precedes the present as the unavoidable template for producing the future. Abduction names a mode of temporal politics, of moving in and mobilizing time, turning the ever-moving horizon of the future into that which determines the present.... Histories of the future are replacing histories of the present. [Adams et al. 2009:251]

Without doubt, much of the policy language and practice surrounding the Mode 2 university fits this sense of abduction, even as Chandlerian managerial and administrative practice also harkens back to previous notions of empty and homogenous time. (Think of slogans such as "moving our university into the future" or "destination university.") Such a rupture of, and in, time provides a point of intervention; one means of doing damage. As Barad (2007) carefully demonstrates, time is not uniform, linear, singular or independent of the phenomena through which it is related: it is not ontologically prior to phenomena, but a product of relating. We find ourselves amid an "ongoing" flow of agency through which part of the world makes itself differentially intelligible to another part of the world and through which causal structures are stabilized and destabilized does not take place *in* space and time but happens in the making of spacetime itself (2007:140). Spacetime is a

means of indicating temporal immediacy (Benjamin's [1968] *Jetztzeit*) *and* a radical openess to superpositioned possibilities, suggesting its multiplicity, agency and différance (Barad 2007; Derrida 1976; Rheinberger 1994, 1997).

It is understood and appreciated, though perhaps not frequently enough, that different disciplines' and subdisciplines' research practices and products emerge though at different speeds, intensities and extensities. The same can be said for research programmes or "experimental systems" (Rheinberger 1997) and even individual research projects. These qualitatively disparate spacetimematterings are increasingly compressed into quantitatively homogenizing histories of the future, which can never arrive because they must always (already) be uniformly anticipated (Adams et al. 2009). In other words, the productivity and "excellence" of, say, a neuroscientist and a sociocultural anthropologist are made econometrically auditable in part by an attempted reduction of their different research rhythms, recursions and repetitions (not to mention their very different ontoepistemological horizons and the agencies enacted by their objects of investigation) to an empty homogenous time. Faculty evaluations or employment offers not only are measured in terms of the number of conference papers presented or journal articles published, *but also within a (very) standardized time frame*, typically a fiscal or calendar year. Drawing attention to the *necessary* temporal multiplicities of our campuses is one (and far from the only) means to challenge the homogenizing, neoliberalizing forces acting in the spread of audit cultures, bureaucracies of virtue and campaigns for "excellence," for example. A comparative ethnology of campuses would likely help guide such ethnographies even as they are constituted by them.

Conclusion

Among the important questions which remain is the extent to which such approaches can be used with other, more unevenly situated, enunciatory communities on or off campus—such as senior administrators, support staff or workers in related Triple Helix industries—to contest the new forms of control emerging alongside older sovereign and disciplinary forms without "watching your co-optation unfold in the slow motion of endless minutiae that university committees appear to have perfected" (Amit 2000:232–233). On Prince Edward Island, efforts to establish a self-sustaining biocluster is not so much due to some vague force called globalization as it is a local attempt to "be global" and create wealth and jobs in a historically have-not province where resource

extractive industries are declining and tourism is stagnant. This change in economic emphasis will unquestionably lead to as yet unformed paths. Using what Rose (2007:142) calls a path-dependant theory of truth—one could say a ductive theory of truth—may be another means to "do damage," in this case not against economic "development" per se but the manner in which it is or is not allowed to be an object of contestation (Latour 2005). Universities can integrate into their Triple Helices in different ways and their Mode 2 performativity can be enacted in many ways. These enactments cannot be done in general, even if broad patterns can aid in framing questions.

My call throughout this article for multisited ethnographies of post-secondary institutions is a call for greater specificity. Not all actualized forms of the Triple Helix are the same, nor are the modes of constructing Mode 2 universities and colleges. Moreover, we need not accept the neoliberal histor(icit)ies of the future being written for us on a promissory note. Ong's (2006) investigations into local conditions led her to postulate "neoliberalism as exception;" it is a useful means to think, diffractively, through the multiplicitous singularity that is "the academy" and the manner(s) in which neoliberal policies are ab-, ad-, con-, de-, e-, in-, pro-, re-, repro-, se-, sub- and trans-ducted. As a practical matter, different forms of community and different forms of engagement matter for the institution as well as individuals. Pointing out the (historial) possibilities, as always (already) larger than we imagine, has been a long-standing strength of anthropology. In such circumstances, a superpositioned anthropological and employee practice is overtly transformative of both the discipline and the anthropologist, and the academic institution and the employee; it is transformative of spacetime. A recursive anthropological public must make choices. However, to date, the discipline has tended to focus more on the political, moral and ethical problem of duction for the anthropologist-as-researcher and very little for the anthropologist-as-employee. They cannot and should not be artificially separated from one another any longer, even if they cannot be reduced to a unity.

The present dilemmas of anthropological expertise in the academy overlap with those of an earlier, yet still vital, critical anthropology without, however, collapsing into one another. One path-crossing or point of transduction from critique to engagement in an anthropology of the academy is the dilemma "not about right or wrong; not my personal, or even my discipline's integrity are at stake, but the very 'conditions of possibility' of producing ethnographic knowledge" (Fabian 1991:187).

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pology, University of Prince Edward Island, 550 Uni-
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Notes

1 Barad's (2007) notion of spacetimemattering is a more
eloquent expression of this idea.

2 For critiques within STS see, for example, Mirowski and
Sent (2005) and Croissant and Smith-Doerr (2005).

3 The growth of a biocluster is not the only element in the
province's economic development strategy. Efforts are
underway to expand the aerospace, information technology
and renewable/sustainable energy industries. That said,
the greatest capital investments have been in the bio-
science industry. See *Island Prosperity: A Focus for
Change* (Government of Prince Edward Island 2008).

4 Contract academic staff are often referred to as "sessionals"
in Canada and "adjuncts" in the United States.

5 These are the Canadian Institutes of Health Research
(CIHR), the National Science and Engineering Research
Council (NSERC) and the Social Science and Humanities
Research Council (SSHRC).

6 When reflexivity in writing became an important issue in
anthropology nearly 30 years ago, James Clifford drew
attention to the perils of anthropology's disciplinary politics
by stating: "To write in an unorthodox way... one must
first have tenure" (1986:21). Having moved from disciplin-
ary politics to workplace politics and the practices of writ-
ing to the practices of fieldwork, we can get a sense of how
the ground has shifted beneath our feet. Perhaps the
parallel statement at the present juncture might read:
"To study-up in an unorthodox way ... one must first have
tenure. Or nothing left to lose." It is precisely what lies
between—then and now, tenure and nothing left to lose—
that would be revealing.

7 See contributions to Roseman (2010) and Wright and Rabo
(2010) for important exceptions.

8 See Kleinman (2003) for a related analysis of how industry
substantially, yet indirectly, compels university-based science
and scientists in certain directions rather than others.

9 Ong (2006) provides some important suggestions in chapter
6 of her work.

10 On the impact of bio-knowledges on the production of
knowledge in general, see Rose and Novas (2005), Rose
(2007) and essays available from the Anthropology of the
Contemporary Research Collaboratory (http://anthropos-
lab.net/).

11 I am not suggesting that ethnographic investigations of
the academy should only occur in one's home institution.
However, for reasons outlined in this article, and others
beyond the scope of this article, it is the most likely sce-
nario. That said, studying an academy other than the
one(s) that employ the researcher will promote and re-
quire different kinds of reflexivities and positionalities
than those discussed here. This too would yield benefits.
My concern here has been to emphasize the academic
anthropologist *as employee*, which in turn puts the home
institution at the forefront of consideration. I would like
to thank the anonymous reviewer for *Anthropologica* who
drew attention to this ambiguity in my text.

12 As Boyer argues, in the different but related context of the
recursive effects of cybernetics on journalism and anthro-
pology, "It is not only possible but necessary to link the
truth regimes of expert knowledge to the experiential and
material conditions of expert knowledge practices. Analyz-
ing this connection will help us to understand in a more
nuanced way why various schemata of expert knowledge
take the specific forms and contents that they do" (2010:92).

13 The Chandlerian business model refers to the work of
Alfred Chandler, especially in "The Visible Hand" (1993).
It both describes and promotes the organizational struc-
ture of large business firms that were horizontally divided
and hierarchically organized in the "pyramid" structure of
laissez-faire and Keynesian capitalism. It is now frequently
contrasted with business models and organizational struc-
tures favouring the neoliberal flexible workplace (see, e.g.,
Sennett 2006).

14 By historicity, I intend the everyday sense of a means of
conceptualizing history, as well as the more nuanced
meaning Michel-Rolph Trouillot suggests as "the ways in
which what happened, and what is said to have happened
are and are not the same may itself be historical" (1995:4).

15 Here I follow the work of Rheinberger in particular (1994,
1997).

> Historiality not only has to accept and even
> postulate a kind of recurrence inherent in any
> hindsight—hence, interpretation or hermeneutic
> action. It has to assume that recurrence works in
> the differential activity of the *system* [such as a
> post-secondary institution-UK] that is *itself* at
> stake, and in its time structure. What is called
> its history is "deferred" in a rather constitutive
> sense: The recent, so to speak, is the result of
> something that did not happen. And the past is
> the trace of something that will not have
> occurred. Such is the temporal structure of the
> production of a trace. [1994: 66–67]

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The Yeoman Jats of Punjab: Time, Expertise and the Colonial Construction of Jat Sikh Identity

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The Jats of the Punjab proper have been truly described as "the backbone of the province" by character and physique, as well as by numbers and locality. They are stalwart sturdy yeomen, of great independence, industry and agricultural skill, and collectively form perhaps the finest peasantry in India. [Barstow 1940:71]

Abstract: This article explores the social life of colonial expertise regarding the Jat Sikh community and its intersections with contemporary Jat experiences. While there has been much scholarly attention to Jats as a martial race, here I focus on British iterations of the Jat as yeoman farmer and noble peasant. I argue that British expertise positioned Jats heterochronically in anterior modern time, even as it contributed to their comparative development, regional dominance and the constructed primordialisms of Jat identity. In closing, I suggest that this particular and privileged position is postcolonially discrepant and today mitigates against Jats occupying their colonially valorized identities.

Keywords: Jat Sikhs, identity, caste, post-colonialism, India, colonial ethnography

Résumé : Cet article explore la vie sociale du propos expert colonial à l'égard de la communauté Sikh Jat et ses intersections avec les expériences Jat contemporaines. Alors que la recherche universitaire a consacré beaucoup d'attention aux Jats en tant que « race martiale », je m'intéresse ici aux mentions répétitives des Britanniques à propos des Jats comme métayers et paysans nobles. Je soumets que le discours expert britannique a situé les Jats dans un temps différent, un temps moderne antérieur, au moment même où la puissance coloniale contribuait à leur essor comparatif, à leur dominance sur le plan régional, et aux prémices construites de l'identité Jat. Je suggère que cette position particulière privilégiée est en rupture avec l'ère postcoloniale et fait aujourd'hui contrepoids à l'occupation par les Jats de leurs identités valorisées en contexte colonial.

Mots-clés : Sikhs Jat, identité, caste, postcolonialisme, Inde, ethnographie coloniale

Introduction

In 1965, the slogan *"Jai Jawan, Jai Kisan"* (hail the soldier, hail the farmer) was raised in an India beset by war with Pakistan and proliferating underdevelopment marked by drought, food shortages and riots. Prime minister Lal Bahadur Shastri's equation of these two occupations as fundamental pillars of security, prosperity and progress asserted their essential roles in building the post-colonial nation, and indeed, that soldiers and farmers are consummate nationalists. In the decades that followed—through Shastri's death in 1966, the Green Revolution he had helped foster, another Indo-Pak war in 1971 and beyond—this catchphrase oriented the nation. In 1998, following liberalization, it was resuscitated following the nuclear tests at Pokhran by then prime minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, who added a third phrase, *"Jai Vighyan"* (hail science), creating a developmental triumvirate of soldiers, farmers and scientists and engineers such that a 20th century nationalism could be brought into the information age of the twenty-first century.

Now a maxim, Jai Jawan, Jai Kisan seems perfectly suited to the Jat Sikh community, a caste of Punjabi farmers and landlords who are also well-known for their martial traditions. Thus, we might expect that Jat Sikhs would be central to the Indian national project. Although this has been valid at numerous historical junctures, it is today at some odds with the social position and self-perceptions of the community in post-colonial India, as many Jat Sikhs assert marginalization within the nation-state. The modern, post-colonial trajectory of increasing disadvantage suffered by the community—as

minimally evidenced by the Partition, land reorganization, agricultural change, Khalistani nationalism, caste reservation, urbanization, ever-increasing emigration and growing regional underdevelopment—in some ways emerges from and responds to its position of relative colonial advantage. That British formulations of Jat Sikhs as a martial race of yeoman farmers have had such post-colonial influence speaks to the relationships of expertise, time and the makings of modernity in this case.[1]

The appellation Jat Sikh is a religious, caste and ethnic category. Jats are cultivators and may be Hindu or Muslim as well as Sikh. As farmers, all Jats are among the lower castes (Shudras), but in the Punjab region, Jat Sikhs comprise a "dominant caste" (Srinivas 1959) owing to both their demographic preponderance and the wealth and status associated with their frequently large landholdings. Following community parlance, I will simply use the term *Jat*—instead of *Jat Sikh*—when religious identity is not also at issue. While I cannot here attend in any detail to the category Sikh, or its relationship to Jat identity, and while these are separate but not inseparable categories, there is an ethnographic reason to collapse them. For their part, colonial ethnographers imagined the community as one of consummate soldiers (as Sikhs) and farmers (as Jats), thus attending to and conflating both aspects of Jat Sikh identity. Curiously and, importantly, analysis of the martial "race" construct has been well-developed in post-colonial scholarship, while the colonial construction of Jat agricultural character remains largely unexplored.

The ways in which the British recorded their imaginings of Jats as yeomen noble peasants and the contemporary currency of these characterizations are the subject of this article. I explore the dimensions of instrumentality, expertise and temporality that influenced colonial ethnographic constructions of Jats as both a martial race and a caste of yeoman agriculturalists, focusing particularly on the latter category to suggest that Jat encounters with British administrative expertise and instrumental interests contributed to the community's dominance, even as it positioned Jats in anterior colonial time. I argue that the displacements of British administrators from their own historic pasts and geographic presents effected a particular vision of the Jat community as constructed in regimes of colonial expertise and, brought into modern (if prior) time and space in British accounts, that Jats were positioned within the region and the nation in ways both advantageous and problematic. As historical associations with continued social force, jawan and kisan identities are regionally important primordialisms for Jats, as well as

sources of expertise and authenticity, even as they force them into colonial, national and global agendas in ways that mitigate against their being either soldiers or farmers in the present or the future. Thus, the discrepant temporalities of diverse expert knowledges both buttress and destabilize the legacies of colonialism.

Time and the Colonial

Social constructivist approaches to knowledge, discourse, practice and identity, in which sociocultural frameworks are viewed as contingent on modern historical and social processes and the ways in which people locate themselves within them, have been prevalent for almost 50 years. In this approach, traditions are seen as the inventions of modern people with modern concerns and identities as the products of collective social imaginings organized around both of these frames (e.g., Anderson 1991; Hobsbawm 1997). Post-colonial readings, both before and after Said (1978), suggest that colonial cultures and identities were in large part imagined and thus constructed, through the Orientalist imperial gaze, which denied contemporaneous modernity to colonial subjects. However, the idea that modernity is necessarily Western is unsettled in the idea that those aspects of Indian society that might be labelled traditional are deeply enmeshed in those that might be termed modern (Rudolph and Rudolph 1967). Moreover, while Indian social structures were in part constituted in the ways in which they were described by colonial outsiders, the narrators themselves were being constituted in this process (Inden 1990). Subaltern scholars (e.g., Chatterjee 1993) have challenged the narrative of the colonial construction of India, asking what is left for Indians to imagine of India if, for instance, Anderson's argument on the export of European nationalisms is taken at face value. Indeed, the nature, implementation and meanings of colonial knowledge have been considerably scrutinized (e.g., Appadurai 1993; Prakash 1992; Sivaramakrishnan 1995). Many of the central elements of colonial modernity were based on extant social formations and expertise: "Land classification and revenue systems, tax collection procedures, judicial protocols and welfare works that are viewed as distinctive hallmarks of European rule, were in fact heavily based upon administrative systems that pre-dated colonial rule" (Gidwani 2002:18). Moreover, Western science was itself "realigned by the structure of difference in which it was articulated" in its encounter with diverse native interlocutors (Prakash 1992:172). Thus, the social and epistemological realities of India as and when colonized, formed a significant foundation for colonial expertise.

The raj commissioned and depended on the production and implementation of a broad range of expertise: its diverse offices undertook censuses, surveys and maps, engineered canals and railways, recorded land titles and revenues and administered tax and legal systems, and its officers—in both public and private capacities—wrote diverse treatises on India: gazetteers, military guides, histories, religious commentaries, ethnologies, glossaries, travelogues, memoirs and so on. Colonial forms of knowledge and representation were paradigmatic exercises in power (Foucault 1994; Hall 1990), written within a project that sought to characterize India as in a state of "arrested development" (Owen 1973) that required British intervention. While they sought to formalize objective expertise, the British administered and wrote about India on a subjective basis that denied Indians contemporaneity and modernity. Skaria suggests that Europeans classified the societies they colonized in one of two modes: "Orientalist," which attempted to delineate cultural essences so as to individuate them within a grand universal typology, and "anachronist," which ranked societies in relation to the modern time of the metropolis (1997:727). Although these taxonomies were applied in distinct contexts so as to differentiate colonies comprised of former empires from those of tribal peoples, at times they overlapped and their intersection and simultaneous application made them especially forceful (1997:729). This is the case in British writings on Punjab and its Jats, as this article describes. Mukherjee's typology of colonial writing distinguishes between useful knowledge and the picturesque in British imperial writing, the former explicitly concerned with modernity and its implementation and the latter eschewing them (2009:24–25). As I shall demonstrate, while colonial writings about Punjab and its Jats were primarily utilitarian, they were also strongly infused with elements of the picturesque.

British expertise contributed to marking and making the boundaries around religious and caste communities, ordering them socially and in time. The idea that the British observed, located, fixed and effectively made hegemonic contemporary categories of Indian identity is both productive and problematic, not least because colonialism was based on expertise as much as on direct control (Cohn 1987:650). In the first instance, at least in the Jat case, there is considerable coherence between British colonial articulations of cultural traits and those voiced today by members of the community. But in the second, the agency of the colonial subject in the production of their own identity is denied, both because British

characterizations are taken to be accurate without question of their provenance and because these Orientalist conceptions have become the prolific and dominant means of historically representing particular Indian communities. Indeed, an ongoing intellectual colonialism occurs in the necessity of reading both historical and contemporary Indian cultures through the theoretical frameworks of Western scholarship. The social impacts of colonial expertise also continue. Social and temporal hierarchies were established through the ways in which castes and tribes were characterized in colonial writing, through how their positions with regard to other social groups were fixed and vis-à-vis British assessments of their comparative evolution and modernity. The interests of the British in India and the forms of expertise they produced created not only economic and political but also cultural and intellectual colonization, via epistemologies of difference and superiority, which embedded Indian communities allochronically and differentially within the corpus of modern historicity and thus time.

The concept of time is often obscured in contemporary anthropology by processual notions of "flow and flux" (Hodges 2008); however, we have long and centrally been engaged with it. Colonial-era practices and texts subjected the world's diverse others to the flow of European time and the teleological and hierarchical schemes of European history even as they dominated their social, economic and political spaces. Fabian (1983) thus proposed that geopolitics is chronopolitics, while Munn observed that time is "a medium of hierarchic power and governance" (1992:109). Under the influence of evolutionary thought, "nineteenth-century anthropology sanctioned an ideological process by which relations between the West and its Other, between anthropology and its object, were conceived not only as difference, but as distance in space and Time" (Fabian 1983:147). The authors and subjects of colonial ethnography occupied "split temporalities," divergent historiographic locations and different pasts and futures amid the ontological priority of Western modes of temporality and history (Birth 2008). Apparently unproblematic while the discipline was subject to a positivist paradigm,

as soon as it is realized that fieldwork is a form of communicative interaction with an Other, one that must be carried out coevally, on the basis of shared intersubjective Time and intersocietal contemporaneity, a contradiction ... appear[s] between research and writing ... [which became] suffused with the strategies and devices of an allochronic discourse. [Fabian 1983:148]

Ethnographic, colonial and development encounters impose an epistemic shift concerning the introduction of European temporalities, altering everyday life and everyday time. In India, this occurred through the regimentation of British calendars and its Greenwich-based clock; the reconfigurations of timekeeping demanded by new technologies—such as railways and irrigation systems and the administration of tax and other offices—and through the reordering of peoples in history as an outcome of colonial ethnography. As I shall argue, British colonial writings on India established temporal hierarchies among Indians so that some Indians were closer to the colonial present, as well as its places, than others.

Caste and Colonial Expertise

The discourse of caste as hierarchical is commonplace (e.g., Dumont 1970), as is the colonial and post-colonial force—socioeconomic and political—of the ways in which those caste hierarchies were refracted, projected and established through the British lens (e.g., Dirks 2001). However, challenges have been raised to both the hegemony of caste as essentially Indian (e.g., Appadurai 1988) and its development, utilization and reality in colonial ethnography (e.g., Dirks 1992; Prakash 1992). British classification practices in India met up with their apparent equal in indigenous forms of the same, sharing the assumption that bodies "are the bearers of social difference and of moral status" (Appadurai 1993:319). Indigenous social taxa and systems were enlisted to justify colonial surveillance, discipline and control—for instance, through the use of "native" proverbs to speak to essentialist but putatively naturalized traits—thus evincing the "consensual nature of caste ideology" (Raheja 1996), even as caste was a matter that English intervention systematized and rendered more forceful (Dirks 1992, 2001). According to Gupta (2005), the British made three significant interventions in caste: first, ensuring (if not intending) Brahmin privilege by consulting them on custom and thereby inspiring lower caste mobilizations; second, creating a category of "depressed classes" to be enumerated and assisted with development; and, third, enacting laws to minimize the mistreatment of Untouchables (2005:413–414). The British were apparently concerned with greater caste equality but this was undone in their focus on the classification of difference among castes. Caste distinctions were categorized, quantified, administered and imposed to preserve and extend imperialism through the well-known tactic of divide and rule and religious categories were joined to caste and similarly reconfigured and fixed in tactics of colonial domination. In delineating

communities as based on caste and religion, colonial ethnographies "supplied a library of ethnicity, its shelves lined with tribal monographs," which "were also, in a potent way, ethnic charters" for "a once and future reality" via the ethnographic present (Young 1994:233). As well, in locating colonial communities in particular social, economic and political positions, colonial ethnography thus placed communities in time and in history.

This process occurred through the evaluation and location of communities in relation to European notions of history and time, under the influence of social Darwinism and in relation to "Orientalist empiricism" (Ludden 1993). Their deployment in colonial writing and administration established new hierarchies over those social groups perceived as "tribes:" communities were frequently distinguished on the basis of evolutionary distinctions between settled agricultural modes of subsistence and production rather than forest-dwelling (*jangli* or wild) ones. Particular peoples were associated with particular landscapes, agrarian or otherwise, so that *adivasis* (indigenous "tribal" peoples) such as Rajasthan's Bhils were depicted as wild and independent and celebrated as "noble savages" (Skaria 1997:733). While the colonial nuances of the notion of the tribe have since been scrutinized and rejected in anthropology, it is notable that several colonial treatments (e.g., Cunningham 1966) suggest that Jats comprise a "nation" rather than a "tribe." This label situates Jats as a community akin to those in Europe in some important ways and, thus, apparently of the same order of modern time. However, just as the noble savage motif was applied to adivasi communities, I suggest that agricultural communities such as Jats were depicted and celebrated as *noble peasants* in British accounts. As such, Jats were clearly positioned above Untouchable/Dalit, adivasi and other regional communities[2] but, nevertheless, their classification also positioned them in a time anterior to the British present for it depended on British nostalgia concerning its own past.

In Punjab, classification was a vexed matter: a heterogeneous population with a hybrid religiosity was forced to identify according to the categorizations of Hindu, Muslim or Sikh, causing or exacerbating the massive dispersal, bloodshed and anguish of Partition at independence in 1947. While Partition marks a significant point of departure for the recrafting of post-colonial Jat Sikh identities and can be pursued to later events such as those of 1984, it is also true that this history is shaped in large part by British theories, representations and ideologies. One of the most central of these has been the notion of the martial races, which served British

interests through an essentialist and masculinist view of the men of particular communities, not races nor necessarily castes or religions but ethnic groups—among them Dogras, Gurkhas, Marathas, Pathans, Rajputs and both Jats and Sikhs—as being especially suited to military recruitment by virtue of their bravery, fortitude and heroism. The male Jat body, like those of other martial races, met the requirements of the ideal colonized subject—health, strength, virility and loyalty— with little need for disciplinary intervention. Not incidentally, the Sikhs were loyal to the British in the rebellion of 1857, after which the impossibility of reconstituting the majority of Indians as moderns was recognized (Prakash 2002:85). But the martial races, being partly assimilated to European norms, particularly European masculinities, were considered to have a modern and "hybrid imperial subjectivity ... at once familiar and alien" (Rand 2006:14). Following the rebellion, the focus of military recruitment shifted to Punjab and the northwest frontier; this rewarded the loyalty of Sikh troops but was also linked to "the Great Game" and the familiarity of northwestern troops with the terrain and climate in which its battles were likely to be fought (2006:8), as well as to the local service rate that could be paid to soldiers serving in their own region, so that by 1875, a third of Indian army recruits were drawn from Punjab and, by 1914, three-fifths (Talbot 2007:4). Significantly, "the central constituents of martial aptitude were located in apparently timeless village communities" (Rand 2006:13), a matter to which I will return.

The martial race discourse is emblematic of the way in which the British classified and differentiated ethnic and caste communities, both in writing and social practice. In effect, for Jat Sikhs, the martial *race* theory was a martial *caste* theory. In the Sikh case, the martial designation was associated with social distance from caste Hinduism and the belief that they opposed caste practices such as commensality (Streets 2004:179). Overt practices of caste and religious manipulation were used by the British; thus, "when existing Sikh recruits were few on the ground, the army sometimes found it useful to ensure 'Hindu Jats be encouraged to take the Pahul[3]'" (Streets 2004:9). For their own part, Indians sometimes transformed these categorizations for their own purposes; for instance, in the early 20th century, Hindus enumerated themselves as Sikh so as to participate in Akali[4] anticolonial protests (Fox 1985:120).

Importantly, while the British certainly had instrumental interests in propagating martial race theory, in the case of the Sikhs, they used categories with indigenous meaning. Having very recently had their own

empire in the region[5] and having formed a military response to Mughal colonization before that,[6] Sikhs were militarily skilled. They had also developed a religious framework for armed defence; colonial ethnographies and regimental reports noted the martial history and character of Sikhs, relating them to Sikh theology, hagiography and religious identity and locating their traits in the history of the Khalsa, Guru Gobind Singh's religious "army of the pure," which defended against oppressions under the Mughal empire, refused distinctions between socio-political and spiritual realms (the doctrine of *miri-piri*), and developed the ideal of the *sant-sipahi* (saint-soldier). As well, the predominantly masculine nature of Sikh militarism intersected the gendered paradigm of *izzat* (honour), so that military service was status-enhancing and privileging. Still, indigenous martial traditions were significantly reorganized and inflected with new meanings: despite their important role in administering India as well as serving in the British world wars, the martial races were nonetheless subject to British power and authority in their official orders and also in a range of everyday bodily regimentations including their uniforms, diet, living conditions and, in the case of Sikhs, turbans, hair and beards. For Punjabis, one critical outcome of this social engineering was the elimination of non-Khalsa identities (Oberoi 1994:373) and, thus, the creation of a singular— and until today contested—Sikh identity. Streets (2004) suggests that the application of martial race theory in India was based on its prior use to refer to the Scottish Highland regiments, which like those of the Sikhs and Gurkhas, were comprised of colonized peoples seen as fierce, manly and thus ideally suited to the military. Like the classification of the Sikhs as a nation, the martial race designation brought the Sikhs into European historical time, albeit in a colonized fashion (like the Highlanders themselves). In this way, it is apparent that martial race discourse transcends and complicates the poles of metropolitan and imperial; thus, understanding it demands attention to the ways in which such ideologies were framed and practiced in both empire and colony. While the connection between martial race theory and Jat military prowess has often been observed and while the links between service and land rewards have been widely noted, there has been remarkably little scrutiny of the construction and representation of Jats as *farmers* in colonial accounts. It is now scarcely thinkable to posit an "agrarian race" theory, although this notion is not unworthy of analysis, not least because it too is related to the intersection of metropole and colony. I now turn to an examination of some colonial

descriptions of Jat Sikhs, focusing primarily on their representation of Jat agrarianism.

Colonial Constructions of Jat Punjab

The lumpen term *colonial ethnography* is a problematic gloss, for it throws together all ethnography written during the colonial period, regardless of the origins, aims, methods and ideologies of the ethnographers (see James 1973). In India, colonial officers rather than professional ethnographers were the frequent authors of colonial ethnography, and thus their work had particular interests and outcomes. Such ethnography is rightfully an object of post-colonial suspicion, although of course all ethnography is produced within differential relations and dimensions of power (Asad 1973; Narayan 1993). However, we must also attend to the fact that some colonial ethnographic writing concurs with social identities and conditions as claimed by the communities so described. It is likely that some colonized peoples were convinced by both subtle and overt exercises of colonial power to shape themselves to colonial images and expectations, whether to gain particular forms of advantage or simply to be left as much as possible alone. And clearly, colonial forms of knowledge were produced with the assistance and participation of at least some members of the communities in question, so that their veracity is not improbable. Before moving to an examination of colonial treatments of Jat martiality and agrarianism, I would note that these descriptions concur with many of the stereotypical and essentialist characterizations that Sikhs, and Jats in particular, still hold true for themselves as a people today, whether in their own descriptions of themselves and their authentic and timeless identities—often represented in popular culture and the media—or in a romanticized construction of nostalgic Jat identity that I call "the rural imaginary" (Mooney 2011).

Much colonial writing heaps superlatives on Jats, establishing a British-engineered grandeur of Jat caste credentials. As a racialized discourse, the genre is much concerned with Jat origins, and many commentators speculated that Jats were originally Rajputs. Ibbetson opined that Jats, having begun to practice widow remarriage and "degrading occupations," were "demoted" Rajputs (1994:100), but it was "exceedingly probable, both from their almost identical physique and facial character and from the close communion which has always existed between them, that they belong to one and the same ethnic stock" (Crooke 1890:93). The equivalency of Jat and Rajput raised the Jat position in the *varna* framework considerably, from Shudra to Kshatriya and, not incidentally, rendered the Jats a

martial race. An 1878 anonymously authored treatise entitled *The Punjaub and North West Frontier of India by An Old Punjaubee* stated that "hardy in frame, fierce in nature when aroused and when the welfare of the 'Khalsa' was at stake, it would be difficult to find an oriental nationality producing better soldiers than the 'Sikhs'" (1878:14); "there can be little doubt that the 'Sikhs' were the most formidable enemies the British troops ever encountered in the field in India" (1878:13–14). Crooke asserted:

> His disregard of caste rules, particularly of the futile restrictions which surround the eating and drinking of the ordinary Hindu, make the Sikh peculiarly valuable to our Empire. He does not, like the Hindu, object to leaving his village and crossing the "Black Water." Thus, we find him gladly volunteering for foreign service in China, the Malay Peninsula, and East Africa ... for steady, deliberate courage in the face of extreme danger, he is surpassed by no native troops in our Indian army. [1972:431]

Elsewhere, he remarked that the Jats supply "some of our best Sikh sepoys" (1973:93). Cunningham, in another overture quite typical of the genre, attributed Sikh military accomplishments to the enthusiasm incumbent to the Sikh faith:

> *They* are persuaded that God himself is present with them, that He supports them in all their endeavours, and that sooner or later He will confound *their* enemies for his own glory.... The Sikhs do not form a numerous sect, yet their strength is not to be estimated by tens of thousands, but by the unity and energy of religious fervour and warlike temperament.[7] [1966:11–12]

These descriptions produced a notion of uniform community organized around the martial aspects of the Sikh tradition. In relation to this convention, many accounts referred to Sikhs as a nation (e.g., Cunningham 1966). Martiality and its recognition encouraged notions of dominance: "Under the Sikhs the Rajput was overshadowed by the Jat, who resented his assumption of superiority and his refusal to join him on equal terms in the ranks of the Khalsa ... [so that the Jat] preferred his title of Jat Sikh to that of the proudest Rajput" (Ibbetson 1994:100). The origins of martial race discourse concerning Jats are patently clear.

But, colonial accounts are also replete with laudatory references to the farming skills of the Jats, and, indeed, the formations of kisan and jawan are linked: the preface to Barstow's *Handbook for the Indian Army* (1940), a guide for British officers, states that

he had included a chapter on agriculture "for the chief reason that the Jat Sikh is primarily an agriculturalist, and that an understanding of what this implies is essential to those who have any dealings with him." Cunningham wrote that "the Jats are known in the north and west of India as industrious and successful tillers of the soil, and as hardy yeomen equally ready to take up arms as to follow the plough" (1966:12); in his opinion, "they form, perhaps, the finest rural population in India." Crooke (1973:92–93) described the Jat as "the typical yeoman, the finest farmer in Northern India. His knowledge of crops and cattle is unrivaled, and his industry is unceasing." Ibbetson used similar terms: "He is the husbandsman, the peasant, the revenue-payer *par excellence* of the province.... Sturdy independence in deed and patient vigorous labour are his strongest characteristics" (1994:102). Rose's compilation—based on Ibbetson's census report of 1883 and MacLagan's of 1892—remarked that "these men are the backbone of the Punjab by character and physique as well as by locality. They are stalwart, sturdy yeomen of great independence, industry and agricultural skill, and collectively form perhaps the finest peasantry in India" (1911:12). And, in 1925, Darling observed:

> The Jat ... is the very marrow and soul of the peasantry. [Jats] have a tenacity of character and a skill in farming which make[s] them the best cultivators in India.... It would be difficult in any country to find a more remarkable combination of cultivator, colonist, emigrant and soldier. Educated and organized, and relieved of the handicaps imposed upon him by custom and debt, he might well become the foundation of a new rural civilization in the Punjab. [38–40]

That yeoman Jats are India's finest peasants is clearly a common and recurrent theme—they are an ideal type of the colonial oeuvre.

Because Jats are Punjab's dominant caste and pre-eminent agricultural producers, the idea that farming comprises the central strand of authentic Jat identity is normalized in both colonial and post-colonial histories. However, given the semi-arid pre-colonial environment of much of the region, agriculture was limited before the introduction of an extensive canal irrigation scheme under the British.[8] Because greater Punjab did not reliably benefit from monsoon rains, intensive cultivation was only possible in the foothills and near the rivers, and most of its indigenous inhabitants were seminomadic pastoralists who populated the region only sparsely, particularly in its western (and southern) desert reaches (Ali 1987:114), moving seasonally between the rivers

in summer and their inter-riverine tracts in winter (Muhammed 2011:68). Xeric landscape and climate notwithstanding, the British clearly noted the prospects for fertile productivity in the greater Punjab plains, doubtless encouraged by the five rivers that give the region its name.[9] They expanded the arable area by putting massive irrigation systems and new agrarian settlements known as the canal colonies into place in the inter-riverine tracts. Even under colonial agricultural schemes, large landholdings dominated by landlords and farmed by tenant sharecroppers became prevalent in the canal colonies, while peasant-proprietors with smaller holdings were more characteristic of the areas reliant on rainfall or indigenous wells (Fox 1985:31). Agriculture and military service were closely linked, as one of the rewards for being a good soldier was to be given *zamin* (land) titles in newly opened canal colonies or land revenue titles in the *jagirdar* scheme, a land rights system traceable to the Moghul period. Indeed, the canal colonies were so imbricated with military agendas that they were effectively "militarized" (Ali 1987:128–129). Moreover, Jat military experience had the potential to create a particular kind of cultivator whose training and experience closely attuned them to the necessitudes of modernity: "a type of officer, energetic, intelligent, thrifty, and often much travelled, who is keen to improve his farming and ready to make experiments" (Darling 1934:332). Importantly, as Punjabi agriculture was commoditized and both prosperity and debt exacerbated (Darling 1925), the military provided an important means of financial recourse to struggling families, as did the burgeoning opportunities of the Punjabi diaspora. Thus, Punjab's military predominance in the raj was closely related to its agricultural prowess and farming and soldiering became evermore central registers of Jat status and identity.

Punjab was annexed only in 1849 and thus was a comparative latecomer to British India. The comparative late-coming of Punjab's annexation meant that it escaped the vagaries of early colonial land tenure experiments, some of which expropriated land so as to lease it short-term to the highest bidder; rather, the Permanent Settlement legislation of 1793, which sought to economically improve the colonies through the development of a landowning class of loyal and entrepreneurial farmers with inalienable land rights and fixed revenue rates, was in place (Guha 1996). In just over a decade, Britain saw Punjab as its "model agricultural province" (Talbot 2007:3). During the late 19th century, land values and agricultural prices increased dramatically, and by the 1920s, a third of British India's wheat was grown in Punjab, while other new cash crops such

as sugarcane, cotton and tobacco flourished (2007:5). Agricultural development intensified the development of the region in other ways; for instance, the railways were rapidly expanded to export food (Das 2011:40). British bureaucracy regulated and systematized the land, formally dedicating portions to canal, farm, village, *mandi* (market) and forest use (Muhammed 2011), while urban planning schemes were also introduced: "Nowhere were the ideal of the modern rational state better epitomized than in the neatly laid squares of land in the canal colony villages, and the eight bazaars in the new market town of Lyallpur radiating out from the central clock tower" (Talbot 2007:7). The raj also established a highly paternalistic administrative structure over both land and people: it is reputed that "the peasants considered the administrators their 'ma-bap' (parents), and they believed that the availability of water was impossible without" them (Muhammed 2011:70). As problematic as this observation might be in terms of local agency, it nevertheless asserts the radical and totalizing nature of colonial reconfigurations.

The agricultural expansion made possible by the canals and the agricultural prosperity facilitated by their construction, demanded new configurations of land tenure, new relationships between the British and Punjabi cultivators and the migration of farmers from the more populous areas of east Punjab. Several agricultural castes were granted land in the region, including Arains, Gujars, Kambohs, Sainis and Jats, whether Sikh, Hindu or Muslim (Ali 1987:117, n15); however, Jats were "the most numerous peasant grantees," with "the more prominent Jat families" being awarded the largest grants (1987:122, n29). An entire canal colony land grant category was the "yeoman grant," an allotment of 50 to 150 acres; a larger grant entitled the "capitalist grant" intended to encourage entrepreneurs to invest in and improve the land but, in reality, was awarded to those with "social influence" or who had rendered some sort of service; and a still larger "landed gentry" grant was awarded to an elite class determined primarily by their extended service to the empire, particularly in terms of military service, especially during World War I (1987:123). These grants sought to maximize land revenues by minimizing intermediary claims on land (Fox 1985:32), as well as by ensuring that more land was farmed. Thus, the raj made agriculture more possible and profitable in the region through the introduction of massive irrigation systems and through land, title and revenue reorganization—and by rewarding soldiers, predominantly Jats, with land titles. In doing so, I suggest, they looked to their own agricultural economy and its history as a model. British imaginings

of the agricultural bearing of the Jats therefore relied extensively on a symbolic language drawn from their own experience; thus, the yeoman Jat, that noble peasant of British India, is deserving of some further scrutiny.

The Jat as Noble Peasant

Although a curious hybrid of nobility and peasantry, the two poles of feudal production, the noble peasant is not an oxymoron: nobility need not refer to ascribed status; rather, it might signal superior moral character and, in conjunction with the connection to land evoked by the peasant, serve to emphasize place, nature, intuitive affect, wisdom and the continuity of past and future. The noble peasant possesses and represents rootedness amid the rapid, dislocating and deterritorializing changes accompanying industrialization, urbanization, transnationalism and globalization and thus is a "moral guide" (Olson 1998:389); recourse to this rural figure of natural and moral economy is both a critique and an obfuscation of "the actual and bitter contradictions of the time" (Williams 1973:45). The yeoman farmer of England, upon which the noble Jat peasant was modelled, was an ideal type of the early modern era, manifesting particular ideas about Englishness, landscape, farming and identity, as well as elements of the Protestant ethic. A landowner, who toiled on his own farm and loyally joined the security forces when necessary, the yeoman became a national icon. British yeomen farmers formed a rural middle class between the serfs and the gentry; as proprietors of the land they farmed they were industrious, ambitious and thrifty in their agrarian pursuits, a sturdy basis for the nation and an increasingly valuable counterpoint to encroaching industrial capitalism. As an idealized and naturalized notion, the yeoman was exported to the colonies with the British. Joe Powell notes that, by the 19th century, "the 'yeoman farmer' had become a central symbol in 'a popular and politically useful agrarian idealism' in the lands of the English diaspora" (Gaynor 2006:55), especially the European settler colonies of the Americas and Australia. The yeoman ideal was also used in the non-settler context of India, where it was applied to those caste communities embodying the virtues of the noble peasant.

While socioeconomic benefits accrued to the creation of a yeoman class under colonialism, British imaginings of noble Jat peasantry should also be linked to the trajectory of British agrarian development and the particularly nostalgic ideals which infused the colonial ethnographer's imagining of agriculture both "at home" and "in the past." Colonial writing engaged in implicit and explicit comparisons between Britain and India and, moreover, between their histories and speculative futures.

The British had for a considerable time been writing travelogues of their own rural society, a social fact that suggests a certain distance of authors from agrarian occupation and rurality itself. In such texts of the early 19th century, the yeoman was the historic other of "the [modern] metropolitan bourgeois," a romantic symbol "exhibited as a human showpiece, a monument to England's glorious agricultural past;" collectively, yeomen were "living reminders of a vanished culture ... a largely autonomous community sustained by domestic manufacture and family self-sufficiency" (Pordzik 2006:74). Such romantic tropes provided colonial writers with "a ready-made language and a rich array of images and associations through which to render exotic India intelligible" to self and others, and one important element of this was "the need to attach India to more familiar literary, historical, and geographical associations" (Arnold 2004:343–344, 345). At the same time, this process of creating imperial landscapes entailed "both a conscious and an unconscious tendency to transplant British ideas and ideals ... [and] British notions of property, resource ownership and use and social organization to distant lands" (Brayshay and Cleary 2002:6). There are elements of Skaria's Orientalist and anachronist modes here, as well as Mukherjee's utilitarianism and the picturesque, and the assumption that Indian farmers would necessarily inhabit the same historical trajectories as British ones brought Jats firmly into metropolitan and modern, if anterior, time.

Colonial preoccupations with land, agriculture and farmers were variously instrumental and romantic, their expertise grounded in colonial rationality but tinged with the demise of yeoman agrarianism. In an early 20th century article arguing for small holdings and agricultural co-operation in contemporaneous Britain, C. R. Fay noted that the English yeoman class had been "squeezed out of existence ... by the harsh terms of the enclosure acts" (1910:500). This legalized seizure of previously common land throughout England (and its adjacent colonies) had occurred over the preceding three centuries (Linebaugh 2010:14). Moreover, the transformation of self-sufficient peasant farming to the market conditions of the emerging capitalist world system hastened the death of yeoman agriculture. In the colonies, as they went about reconfiguring relationships to land by asserting both administrative and scientific expertise, the British "replicated the social upheavals that accompanied the transformation" of open-field agriculture by enclosure (Sivaramakrishnan 1995:16), as well as the commoditization of agriculture. Under the Moghuls, land was not transferred or sold (Kain 2002);

inheritance and ownership were the purview of cultivators, not absentee landlords (Banerjee and Iyer 2005). The colonial shift toward land and agriculture as commodities effectively enacted enclosures in India and the introduction of capitalist agriculture was, thus, a fertile environment for the re-creation of peasant ideals from a pre-enclosure past. Thus, colonial ideas about yeoman agriculture in India hearkened to notions of a prior golden age in Britain.

In the early years of the raj, the British debated whether to govern India in a feudal mode through its indigenous lords or in a modernist vein according to its own modes of governance (Cohn 1987:633). It is clear that hinging on this decision was the ability to place Indians in historical or contemporaneous time and, while British governance demanded knowledge, their expertise had salvage elements. Both synchronous and asynchronous temporalities were manifest in British India, for they allowed that they occupied the same timeframe as some Indians, even as their rule relied on powers given by their purported evolutionary superiority and associated rights. The tribes, lower castes and mutineers were beyond British time and incapable of being brought into modernity, while the "noble" castes, whether princely, martial or peasant, were an anterior version of British yeomen that could be brought out of history to serve British interests and be modernized—and in some ways Anglicized—in the process. For instance, class was developed by placing agrarian practice in a new capitalist framework: although land tenure was allocated based on caste, its benefits were experienced in terms of class. My fieldwork among urban Jats in the late 1990s revealed that most considered themselves middle class, even as they vigorously espoused their autochthonous agrarian character through rural nostalgias (as well as their pride in their contributions to the nation).

Jawan and kisan identities signal important constructed primordialisms among contemporary Jats. Yet it is problematic to simply reiterate yet another form of colonial imagining that denies the formerly colonized community the right to imagine itself, especially as there is no doubt that, however highly they praised Jats vis-à-vis other Indians, British writings also malign them. And to suggest that Jats did not "own" or originate their most essential identity as farmers calls into question, in some ways, their colonial privilege. A range of post-colonial issues arise in these taxonomic strategies of colonial rule, not least of which is their ongoing influence on contemporary constructions of identity and the communal and, at times, violent politics they inspire. Jat

martiality and agrarian prowess should have made the community central to post-colonial development; yet, because their minority religious identity is linked to their military renown and because the successful inculcation of their agriculture into colonial modernity has prompted many to leave farming, they have been particularly subject to new forms of stereotyping, colonization and regimentation within independent India.

Post-Colonial Jat Sikh Identity and the Vagaries of Time: Some Conclusions

The ethnic characters and histories surveyed in colonial ethnographic surveys and the writings based on them, once thus textualized, became objects and sources of knowledge for both internal and external use. These texts provided ethnic charters for colonially identified social groups to claim particular collectivities and subjectivities in the Indian nationalist movement as well as in the contexts of post-colonial nationalism; thus, they are charters to future politics and entitlements (and potentially, marginalizations). Colonial statements concerning caste group identities have taken on a new role in the past two decades of Indian affirmative action policies because British records have been used to document historical caste status. Indeed, the Indian government remains as interested as the British in documenting national differences (Jenkins 2003).

From the perspective of contemporary ethnography, an examination of the social life and impacts of colonial expert knowledges on Punjab reveals that British interests created particular understandings of Jats as peerless farmers and soldiers which have influenced the formation of community identity until the present day. Moreover, as jawans and kisans, Jats find themselves in a post-colonial position of some privilege relative to many other Indians. I have described that Jat Sikhs are a large caste community of farmers and landlords, typically wealthy, prosperous and thus influential members of Punjabi society. Although it is members of less dominant and Dalit castes who perform most of the farming in the region, whether as tenant farmers or labourers, Jats predominantly own the means of production and most often do so as a result of their position of relative colonial privilege as a martial race (which indeed curtailed their labour on the land). Despite the fact that many Jats do little agrarian work, they remain renowned for their agricultural contributions to the colonial and post-colonial economies, particularly in terms of wheat and other cash crops. Characterized in colonial accounts, by present-day Indian agrocrats and in their own narratives as skilled, industrious and open to new farming methodologies, there is a central claim to regional and national—and transnational—modernity throughout. Jats also continue to be well-known as soldiers, and until the introduction in the 1990s of post-Mandal commission affirmative action processes in which economically and politically marginal castes were reserved positions in university seats, civil and military services and local government, Jats comprised nearly 20 per cent of the Indian army, despite comprising less than 2 per cent of its population.

But the situation is not simply one in which the relative colonial privilege of jawan and kisan is replaced by either a straightforward post-colonial exchange of status nor, yet, an increase or diminution of status in both roles. Although positioned by the British in allochronic but modern time and thus ahead of many other Indians, the vagaries of socioeconomic, political and historical processes—regional, post-colonial and global—resituate Jat modernity and temporality. Significantly, Jats were recently labelled an "Other Backward Caste" in Rajasthan, where they form a significant community of both farmers and urbanites in the northernmost district of Sri Ganganagar, adjacent to the Punjab border; thus, they can now avail of reservations policies, for instance, to obtain places at university. Regardless of the ways in which "backward" status is potentially claimed, this trajectory from colonial advantage to post-colonial disadvantage emerges from and is congruent with several regional issues and Jat concerns: the political events around Partition redrew and substantially reduced many Jat Sikh landholdings; the Green Revolution introduced significant new economic and ecological pressures; a further linguistically based division of the region in 1966 heightened ethnic sensibilities; the Khalistan nationalist movement brought further invasions and privations upon the region; the attacks on the Golden Temple and the anti-Sikh pogroms of 1984 confirmed national minoritization; the Mandal reforms drastically reduced Jat entry into the military and coincided with and exacerbated extant underemployment of Jat youth; ongoing rural-to-urban and transnational migration weakened Jat ties to agriculture (and thus, according to a well-known aphorism, Jat culture); and in its characterization as an agrarian state, Punjab has been on the periphery of the post-liberalization development of vighyan. This litany of factors contributes to perceptions of alienation and marginality in this otherwise wealthy and influential community. (And, the obvious efforts of post-colonial India to bring all communities into modern time are potentially misread as neglect.) Yet, according to the developmental paradigm

espoused in Jai Jawan, Jai Kisan, Jat Sikhs should be central to the Indian nationalist project. The picture of regional development in Punjab, despite increasing inaccuracy, has, for the most part, been one of emphatic fecundity and prosperity, but the region has become essentially as underdeveloped as other regions of the global south due to property regimes and capitalist market forces introduced under colonialism—and they continue today. Vis-à-vis post-coloniality, the nation-state and global neoliberal regimes, the pre-colonial sovereignty that is at the root of indigenous Jat understandings of farming and soldiering is significantly diminished.

Jats continue to imagine their martial and farming identities as authentic and timeless, although these formations cohere with colonial representation and practice and are economically, politically and socially interrupted in the post-colonial Jat experience. The jawan and kisan identities, recognizable in, if not entirely derived from, the British noble yeoman guard, suited imperial purposes, and in the calculus of the colonial system, Jats were privileged ideologically and rewarded materially for living within colonial representational categories. The real politik of the colonial system thus ensured that Jats took on the roles the British articulated for them: British representation intersected British practice as former soldiers became *zamindars* (landlords) and *jagirdars* (titleholders), regardless of their former status. To some extent, Jats still live in both material and imagined privilege based on their roles as soldiers and farmers in colonial and immediately post-colonial contexts. Despite much land loss at Partition and post-colonial land reforms that now limit individual landholdings (regardless of obfuscation of landownership within this system), the system of colonial reward and privilege continues to reinforce military and farming identities in the region owing to the impetus of national development and a coeval Jat primordialism that views them as natural, authentic, timeless and uniquely Jat.

However, the vagaries and actualities of time, as enmeshed in a post-colonial politics of caste and religious recognition, have cohered to erode this situation. While contemporary Jats tend to be educated, prosperous and middle class, they are also eagerly engaged in urban and transnational pursuits, and for these reasons, they are scarcely farmers or soldiers, although they may well continue to own rural land. And, while the "new rural civilization" that Darling (1930) envisioned has perhaps come about with the development of Punjab within post-colonial India, his claim that Jats would be at its foundation seems paradoxically both common-

sensical and contestable. In part because of their colonial privilege, Jats now occupy a neocolonized position within India, which mitigates in several ways, including caste reservations, against their becoming soldiers, while post-colonial and neoliberal development agendas have encouraged migration, diminished local agricultural knowledge and created a plethora of agrarian problems—including advancing agricultural debt, the spectre of farmer suicide, land despoilation and ecological crisis—that drastically curtail the likelihood that they remain farmers. Indeed, colonial ethnographic expertise did not foresee these considerable marginalities, arising in temporal shifts and reconfigurations, in the privileged Sikh jawan and Jat kisan they so fervently and nostalgically imagined.

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Notes

1 I am very grateful to Sandra Widmer and Jean Mitchell for suggesting this theme and for their "yeoman" service in putting together this theme.
2 Some of whom, owing to their socioeconomic marginality and possibly their nomadism, were often labelled "criminal tribes," such as the infamous "Thugs"; this label contributed to the demise of these groups via active suppression.
3 The Sikh initiation rite, which marks Khalsa identification; also known as *amrit*.
4 A movement for *gurdwara* (Sikh temple) and agrarian reforms.
5 From 1799 to 1849, primarily under the leadership of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.
6 A key feature of this being Guru Gobind Singh's founding of the Khalsa (Sikh army) in 1699.
7 Guru Gobind Singh is attributed with the saying *sava lakh se ekh laraaoon* (125,000 will be inspired to fight against 1), with the implication being that the one Sikh will be victorious in such a battle.
8 Pre-colonial Gurmukhi and Shahmukhi texts exist which describe Jats as nomadic (Gurinder Singh Mann, personal communication, May 2011).
9 Punjab, or *panj aab* (five waters), means five rivers: a reference to the Beas, Chenab, Jhelum, Ravi and Sutlej, all tributaries of the Indus, which flows to their west; however, Partition divided the rivers, as well as the land.

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Objects of Expert Knowledge: On Time and the Materialities of Conversion to Christianity in the Southern New Hebrides

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Abstract: In 1848 Presbyterian missionaries John and Charlotte Geddie travelled 20,000 miles to Aneityum, an island in the New Hebrides archipelago (now Vanuatu), in the southwest Pacific, where they established the first "successful" Christian mission in island Melanesia. Through evangelical desire, expert knowledge and ambitious projects, the Geddies along with converts, Samoan "teachers" and Scottish missionaries, transformed everyday and ritual practices within a surprisingly short period. I draw attention to the materiality of conversion to argue that "becoming" Christian was connected to knowing and "doing things" evident in how objects made and remade the temporalities of the sacred and mundane. Such fraught material enactments made visible the divergent and overlapping temporal commitments to conversion at work in Aneityum.

Keywords: time, Vanuatu, expertise, conversion, Christianity, materiality

Résumé : En 1848, les missionnaires presbytériens John et Charlotte Geddie ont fait le voyage jusqu'à Aneityum, une île de l'archipel des Nouvelles-Hébrides (aujourd'hui Vanuatu), dans le Pacifique sud-ouest, où ils ont établi la première mission chrétienne qui a « réussi » sur une île en Mélanésie ». À travers leur désir d'évangélisation, leur savoir expert, et l'ambition de leurs projets, les Geddie, avec les premiers convertis et les missionnaires samoans et écossais, ont transformé les pratiques quotidiennes et rituelles en un laps de temps étonnamment court. J'attire l'attention sur le caractère substanciel de la conversion pour montrer que le « devenir » chrétien était associé à savoir « faire des choses », ce qui transparait dans la manière dont les objects fabriquent et refabriquent les temporalités du sacré et du quotidien. Les représentations matérielles ont rendu visibles les engagements pédagogiques, cosmologiques, et temporels divergents au sein des pratiques de conversion qui se produisaient à Aneityum.

Mots-clés : temps, Vanuatu, expertise, conversion, christianisme, matérialité

In a letter dated 8 November 1859 to a member of his first congregation in Cavendish, Prince Edward Island, John Geddie describes the activities of the Presbyterian mission he established in Aneityum, an island in southern New Hebrides (now Vanuatu). The letter, written just a decade after his arrival in Aneityum, notes:

> there are over 50 schools in operation attended by persons of both sexes and every age.... We have lately completed the translation of the New Testament.... The Natives are at present employed in building a new stone church. Some of the larger stones required 60 men to carry them. This has been a great undertaking.[1]

Reported to accommodate up to 1,000 people, the church would become one of the largest in the southern hemisphere. These extraordinary activities marked the rapid conversion to Christianity in Aneityum. Even more remarkable is that the Aneityumese were simultaneously negotiating the demands of the sandalwood trade, its violence and new technologies. Still more remarkable is that the ambitious projects of conversion were undertaken as the islanders endured epidemics from exogenous causes that were exacting tragic tolls on people and their knowledge. During Geddie's tenure, more than half of the population died as islanders came to terms with spiritual and material upheavals. Geddie's letter highlights aspects of temporality and expert knowledge thus underlining that becoming Christian entailed "doing" material things or "undertakings." Expertise, evident in the letter, is, according to E. Summerson Carr, "inherently interactional, invoking the participation of objects, producers and consumers of knowledge and inescapably ideologically implicated in the evolving hierarchies of value" (2010:17). Carr's conceptualization of expertise is a useful way in which to consider Geddie's project of conversion, for expertise

"is also fundamentally a process of becoming" (Carr 2010:19).

Conversion to Christianity in Melanesia has been the subject of significant ethnographic analyses driven, in no small part, by Barker's (1990, 1992) insistence that Christianity is a cultural phenomenon that demands an anti-essentialist framing. While the introduction of Christianity in Melanesia unfolded in different ways, the relationship between indigenous and Christian temporalities and knowledge are often foregrounded. There has been a tendency to move between an emphasis on continuity and discontinuity in understanding the complex processes of conversion to Christianity and colonialism in the Pacific Islands. Anthropologists, Joel Robbins (2007) contends, have been attached to a temporal framework that privileges continuities underplaying the ruptures with the past that are central to conversion. In her early analysis of conversion to Christianity in Aneityum, Bronwen Douglas argues that it entailed a dialectic of "reciprocal processes of incorporation and transformation of new concepts and rituals in terms of local cosmology and cultural assumptions" (1989:11). In his ethnographic work in northern Vanuatu, John Taylor (2010:423) crafted the term "crossing" to convey "the simultaneous convergence and contradictions among indigenous and exogenous religious paradigms that have guided the transformative dialogues of religious colonialism." The idea that conversion is a complex and ongoing process is evident in Michael Scott's (2005:102) ethnographic work in the Solomon Islands, where he argues islanders continuously "engage and re-engage with Christianity" and its "multiple interlocking macro and micro Christian logics." This perspective suggests that conversion is not comprised of a singular cultural logic; rather, becoming Christian is a fraught ontological project in which temporalities and knowledge are continuously reworked.

Temporalities, according to Munn "are lived or apprehended concretely via the various meaningful connectivities, among persons, objects, and space continually being made in and through the everyday world" (1992:116). In this article, I am interested in the ways in which objects help to "apprehend" the "connectivities" that are made and remade in the context of conversion. I was alerted to the power of objects connected to conversion while visiting Aneityum in 2008, where I had discussed Geddie's mission with James and John, two elderly deacons in the Presbyterian Church. Just before leaving Aneityum, they showed me John Geddie's eyeglasses, which they explained, had been in the possession of islanders since his departure from the island in 1872. The eyeglasses conjure the technologies of reading and writing connected to new sources of authoritative knowledge encompassed by the introduction of the Bible that, as Anna Johnston argues, has its own "conflicted temporality" (2001:34). The eyeglasses suggest the social life of an object (Appadurai 1988) and its various trajectories and valuations. They also underline the temporal relationships between Geddie and the descendants of the early converts. Missionaries were attentive to indigenous objects which they collected, preserved and sent back to their countries. However, objects connected to religious rites and beliefs regarded as idols in the new Christian contexts were frequently destroyed or discarded (Colley 2003; Lawson 1994, 2005; Manning and Meneley 2008).

Objects, both mundane and sacred, focus attention on the "messy materiality of things" connected to cosmological worlds (Manning and Meneley 2008:287). Geddie's letter points to the materiality of conversion to Christianity by way of schools, the work of Bible translation and the heavy stones that were converted into the large church that made Christianity manifest and material. These objects make visible the pedagogical, cosmological and temporal commitments that were at the heart of becoming Christian in Aneityum. The materiality of conversion in Aneityum is underlined by Douglas who states that "sacred ground was rendered mundane, foods previously prohibited were ingested safely and sacred stones thrown away" (1989:20). By drawing on the technology of introduced cloth in Tahiti and Samoa, Nicholas Thomas described how it "made the conversion to Christianity visible as a feature of people's behaviour and domestic life" (1999:6). Special clothes dedicated to the Sabbath marked profound changes in reckoning time (Bolton 2003; Jolly 1991; Thomas 1999:6). Objects may be seen as bridges between "incompatible systems" (Thomas 1991:206) where time and knowledge are given to shifting meanings and practices. Objects mediate across contexts and the "material qualities of objects can be mobilized dynamically to reposition objects rhetorically as contested grounds between different fields of meaning" (Manning and Meneley 2008: 288). Attending to objects "makes matter matter" in cosmological worlds and underlines that objects do not passively await meaning but are intertwined with practices of knowing, doing and becoming (Barad 2008:130).

Here, I explore how objects and expert knowledge illuminate the temporal dislocations and the "connectivities" of conversion to Christianity in Aneityum. In *Entangled Objects* (1991), Thomas has discussed the ways in which seemingly passive objects introduced to Pacific Island societies are "recontextualized." He later extended his argument by demonstrating how "things"

also "actively constitute new social contexts" (1999:18). Introduced objects have the capacity to preserve "a prior order" and to "create a novel one" (Thomas 1999:18), affirming their capacities to produce cultural continuities and discontinuities with the past. Time, knowledge and objects are central to conversion that "literally refers to the act of turning a thing into something else" (Jolly 1996:231). Aneityumese sacred stones that made visible their cosmologies and connections to ancestors were "thrown away," while new stones were sanctified in an extravagant church. The Bible, translated word by word, circulated as an enchanted object among converts. Its circulation was made possible by the sale of arrowroot, which was converted from an ordinary plant. Arrowroot acquired new material-spiritual qualities, facilitating the circulation of thousands of Aneityumese Bibles that materialized new cosmological commitments to Christianity. Attending to these objects allows us to understand how knowledge and time are enmeshed in particular, material ways creating or affirming cosmologies and ontologies. Expert knowledge coincided with new temporal economies where objects constituted social contexts for enactments of the sacred and mundane.

I begin by introducing Geddie, the evangelist and clockmaker, and his acquisition of expert knowledge of the Aneityumese cosmology and its materiality. It is important to contextualize the ways in which he both privileged and disparaged indigenous knowledge and its objects. The changes already underway before the Geddies' arrival in 1848, including the introduction of new objects, technologies and pathologies are noted. A discussion of the *naroko*, a ritual centred on competitive feasting, offers insight into Aneityumese conceptions of time and how its cessation reallocated time enabling a new productive regime for the projects and objects of conversion. Finally, I discuss the translation of the Bible and the construction of the stone church as such "undertakings" suggest how material objects connect "prior" and "novel" orders. Through my consideration of the temporal lives of these objects, I show how conversion encompasses continuities and discontinuities.

Clockmaker and Evangelist: Christian Expert Knowledge and Practices

Early attempts at Christian conversion in southern New Hebrides had ended in the violent death of John Williams from the London Missionary Society (LMS) on the shores of Erromango, an island located near Aneityum. The legendary missionary of the South Seas, Williams was clubbed to death while attempting to extend his mission to the southern islands of New Hebrides. His death was

a galvanizing moment for the young John Geddie, a newly ordained Presbyterian minister serving in Prince Edward Island. Geddie had grown up in Nova Scotia reading LMS reports of heathenism and evangelical triumphs. Haunted by William's death and drawn by resistance to Christianity, Geddie spent seven years in Prince Edward Island travelling to his rural congregations in snow, sleet and sun proclaiming the need to launch an overseas Presbyterian mission. He eventually persuaded his Prince Edward Island congregations and the Maritime Presbyterian Synod that, despite their lack of funds and their own marginalized colonial status, they could initiate and support a foreign mission. His persuasive effort and relentless advocacy were effective and, by 1848, John Geddie, together with his wife, Charlotte, and children had travelled 20,000 miles to Aneityum and set about establishing "the first successfully missionized island in Melanesia" (Linnekin 1997; Spriggs 1985:24). Geddie's bold effort to establish a Presbyterian mission in Aneityum attracted missionaries to the southern New Hebrides from Scotland (Proctor 1999), Nova Scotia as well as two brothers from Prince Edward Island who also died violently in Erromango during Geddie's tenure in the Pacific.

John Geddie was not one of the "godly mechanics" (Gunson 1978:32), those earliest of missionaries sent to the South Pacific selected on the basis of faith and practical skills, both of which they were expected to pass on to Pacific Islanders. Geddie was a trained and practicing church minister; however, he was also the son of a clockmaker from Scotland who had immigrated to Nova Scotia. Geddie was himself an accomplished clockmaker having worked with his father as a youth (Patterson 1946:14). Well versed in the mechanics of time, he recalibrated notions of time and its rhythm in Aneityum by introducing new measures of time tied to teleological practices of progress (Dening 1980). Drawing on the expert knowledge of John Williams, Geddie set out to reconfigure calendars, the cyclical experience of time and to challenge the chiefly and ancestral authority that underwrote the making of time in Aneityum. Indeed, Williams had long identified the link between refashioning temporalities and "raising up" the "heathen" through material projects (Dening 1980; Johnston 2001:34; Munn 1992). Before leaving colonial Canada, Geddie had taken time to learn new skills, such as printing and medicine, considered crucial to "raising up" the Aneityumese. En route to Aneityum, the Geddies stopped in Hawai'i, Samoa and New Zealand, where they learned about LMS mission practices and techniques of translation. Samoan teachers had been placed in Aneityum by the LMS around the time of William's death, and they were

essential to Geddie's mission. Their geopolitical knowledge of the island facilitated the rapid establishment of evangelical outposts throughout the island (Spriggs 1985:26). John and Jessie Inglis from Scotland joined the Mission in 1852, and they were instrumental in the "undertakings" of conversion.

Europeans in search of sandalwood arrived in the 1830s, but sustained influence only began in the early 1840s. After a regional sandalwood and trading depot was established in 1844, Aneityum became a frequent port of call for sandalwood traders and whalers (Spriggs 1985:25). The sandalwood trade, which ended in the mid-1860s, was followed by a demand for plantation labourers in Australia and other Pacific regions. When Geddie arrived in 1848, the metal axes introduced by the sandalwood trade had replaced stone tools for food cultivation, freeing male labour for work at the sandalwood depot in exchange for food and cloth. Women's sexual services were also exchanged for material goods (Spriggs 1985:33). The trade with foreigners primarily involved those inhabitants of Anelcauhat where Geddie set up his mission and where he soon came to blows with the traders. The missionaries' "desire to raise islanders to 'moral and useful lives,' inevitably clashed with the desire of most Europeans to find pleasure and profit in islander bodies and resources" (Barker 2008:101).

Epidemics

The epidemics that followed foreign incursions resulted in enormous losses in Aneityum and many other Pacific Islands (Douglas 1989, 1994). In Aneityum there had been epidemics in the 1830s and in 1842, causing considerable mortality. Estimates of the population in the 1830s vary but, according to Spriggs, it was between 4,600 and 5,800 (1985:25). Epidemics continued to kill islanders and, according to Norma McArthur (1978), the population was halved between 1848 and 1867, a period that spanned most of Geddie's stay in Aneityum. He reported that the 1861 measles epidemic killed one-third of the population and all but "suspended" Church work (Geddie 1861b:246). Ten years earlier, the 1851 epidemic was considered a turning point for the mission, precipitating the conversion of villagers who had strongly opposed the mission (Douglas 1989). It appeared that converts under the care of the mission were benefitting from the mission's medical knowledge. There was increasing demand for medicine from those who had earlier identified Christianity as the source of such terrible illnesses (Douglas 1989; Spriggs 1985:35). Medicine positioned missionaries as ritual specialists (Lawson 1994:72; Spriggs 1985:33). The epidemics not only eroded the efficacy of local knowledge but also inflated the potential value of the Geddies' medical knowledge and authority. The deaths, due to epidemics, did not just affect individuals and clans in devastating ways but also resulted in the loss of knowledge that perished with its owners before it was transmitted. According to Thomas (2012), the population losses due to epidemics were political and not simply demographic. Knowledge connected to agricultural, maritime, medical, artistic and cosmological domains was decimated. Drawing on the experience of Marquesas, Thomas argues that it was "not just the passing of individual chiefs but more or less the end to ritual and social life, of everything they had created and struggled for" (2012:23). The catastrophic epidemics also represented enormous losses in Aneityum and forced new understandings of such events that undermined the efficacy of indigenous healing and its cosmological basis. This may well have facilitated the rapid conversion to Christianity (Douglas 1989, 1994). However, Lindstrom (2011:143) has argued that, "expectations of historical transformation ... are not necessarily exogenous" in places such as Aneityum. The epidemics along with the advent of traders and missionaries represented such a historical transformation.

Sacred Stones: Objects of Knowledge and Temporalities

While much expert knowledge was being eroded through epidemics, Geddie was acquiring knowledge about the spiritual and material world of the Aneityumese. It was an exercise considered essential to the establishment of missions in many places (Gardner 2006:296; Taylor 2010:430). Keenly interested in understanding the islanders he was dedicated to changing, Geddie quickly recognized that religion and its enactments of faith in Aneityum were woven into the practices of daily life and were, as Talal Asad has argued, "inseparable from the particularities of the temporal world and the traditions that inhabit it" (2001:139). Geddie's journal entries suggest that he was compelled to learn and to respect the system of laws (*itap*) that linked humans and ancestral spirits (*natmass*). In the early days of establishing the mission, Geddie in his journal (Miller 1975:53)[2] describes his practice of "itinerating" or walking around preaching the message of Christianity to those whom he met by chance. It was during these times that Geddie would inadvertently interrupt the activities of chiefs and ritual specialists or violate the restrictions set by itap. His transgressions resulted in insults and these public displays of Geddie's ignorance jeopardized his capacity to assert his expertise and authority. He was issued warnings about his transgressions, including cutting down coconut trees that were reserved for the

upcoming *nakaro*, an important ritual; taking coral from the reef to make lime for his building which disturbed the natmass; and closing the roads to natmass (Miller 1975:35–36). Natmass, as Douglas explained, were ancestral spirits of chiefs, which could and did intervene autonomously in human affairs and might reward or punish human actions" (1989:16). In Aneityum, natmass were approached through rituals, but their actions were unpredictable and could be precipitated by transgressive human activities (Douglas 1989). The *natimarid* or hereditary chiefs were also unsafe "if natmass wrath was incurred through the breaking of restrictions considered to be itap" (Gardner 2006:302). Understanding the nature of itap and the action of natmass became essential to all aspects of mission endeavours, including translation of the Bible and its production and circulation.

Reports from several generations of missionaries, including Geddie, described "the destruction of idols and documented [missionary] successes in creating a void then filled with their own structures and institutions" (Colley 2003:406; Lawson 1994:78, 2005). During my 2008 visit to Aneityum, James described how Geddie demobilized the *kastom* (custom) stones, integral to the Aneityumese cosmological system. James further explained: "The stone for pigs, the stone for taro, and the stone for yam and on and on were all gone." Geddie recognized the power of the ancestral spirits and sacred stones. The regenerative capacity of stones was affiliated with the production and reproduction of the essentials of daily life. Geddie noted that there is "one said to be a maker of pigs, another of fish, another of coconuts, another of taro, another of bananas. As nearly as I can learn, every division of the island has its *natmasses* of this class" (Patterson 1882:128). Geddie's efforts to eliminate the use of sacred stones and other ritual objects were so successful that he could not find a single "idol" to bring home to Maritime Canada in 1865 (Lawson 1994:78). Stones linked humans to sacred power in material ways that, as discussed below, reshaped new temporal narratives.

Recalibrating Aneityumese Temporalities

Chiefly and ancestral authority and knowledge were enacted in narrations of myth and ritual performances that underwrote the making and marking of time in Aneityum. Efforts to recalibrate the organization of time were central to the reordering of social and political life anchored by cosmological beliefs. Greg Dening observed that Christian missions did so by "making seven days in a week and one of them a sabbath, making mealtimes in a day, making work-time and leisure-time, making sacred time and profane time laid out time in a

line, as it were" (1980:264). The introduction of the sabbath in Aneityum, for example, was accompanied by a set pattern wherein islanders, as Geddie noted in his journal, were summoned to the 8:30 morning church service by the beating of a piece of hollowed out log, and later a bell. During the service, Geddie preached for 30 minutes, followed by a sabbath school. In the afternoon, at 4:00, a divine service was held and included another short sermon, short addresses given by "natives" followed by a "family devotion" (Miller 1975:75–76). Dening (1980:264) argues that the new sense of time shaped by evangelical Christianity was tethered to a notion of progress and represented "a break-out from the present. A notion of progress called for a self and social discipline informed by an image of the future." Geddie's mission also recalibrated time through its measured attachment to projects such as Bible translation (which was translated one chapter per week), its printing, arrowroot production and church building, all of which were material, spiritual and temporal. These projects and the objects that defined them, along with new knowledge practices, reconfigured but did not replace indigenous time. Drawing on his work in the Solomon Islands, Geoffrey White has argued that the "locally produced histories" of Solomon Islanders are "reflexive," privileging ancestors and communities (1991:9). In this context the "hegemony of the mission rhetoric" and its practices are "incomplete" (White 1991:9).

Aneityumese temporalities embedded in the nakaro ritual were dynamic and material. On the nearby island of Tanna, time is "centered" (Lindstrom 2011), rather than measured, taking account of nights, moons, yams and, with Christianity, prayers. Lunar months are marked by practical and cosmological associations to food production, consumption and exchange. Time, in important ways, is materialized through food. Charting lunar time, according to Alfred Gell, "means attending to life in an organized, structured way" and keeping "track of time is part of keeping up with events" (1999:251–252). In Aneityum the nakaro was a cyclical exchange ritual where large quantities of food were given and received by chiefs. It was a central feature of social and political life and, as Spriggs argued, it provided a time and space where Aneityumese social organization, the position of chiefs and relationships to ancestors were made visible (1985:32). The central role of the chiefs in the nakaro involved the appropriation and circulation of surplus food production in their own areas and its redistribution across these boundaries. The quantity of food commanded by a particular chief could indicate that he was, for example, especially knowledgeable or favoured by ancestral spirits (1985:32).

Natmass, involved in every action and phenomenon on the island, were the "power behind the success of crops" (Gardner 2006:302).

While regularizing everyday life and separating the sacred and mundane were important, it was even more important to remove "the cyclical time of rituals in which a legendary past was re-enacted to legitimate and prolong the present" (Dening 1980:264). Drawing on Alfred Gell's (1992:314) insight that temporal cycles such as the nakaro are better conceptualized as "lineal spirals of progressive time," Lindstrom notes "one never swings back around to the same moment twice" (2011:143). The indigenous system of time "pretends to eternal stasis and continual social reproduction while at another level history may rewrite eternity" (2011:150). The contrast between linear and cyclical time does not adequately capture the differences between Aneityumese and Christian practices of time. The nakaro was instrumental in the "making" and "remaking" of time. It demonstrated how natmass and mortals were "enmeshed through reciprocity in a relationship" with porous boundaries (Gardner 2006:302). Food, a key object of sociality and propitiation in Oceana, was at the core of the nakora, linking production and consumption to sacred power.

Geddie depicted the nakaro exchange as a wasteful and exploitative endeavour rather than a complex temporal enactment of knowledge and power linking islanders to ancestral spirits (natmass). Geddie, quoted in Spriggs, further explained in 1852 "that as the importance of a chief is judged by the quantity of food collected on such occasions, the common people are most heavily taxed in order to support his dignity" (Spriggs 1985:28). Paul, a young man from Aneityum whom I interviewed, explained that the Presbyterian mission was so intent on ending the elaborate food exchanges and chiefly displays of power and knowledge because "the missionaries needed to end such kastoms for they were time-consuming and the missionaries wanted the time of the Aneityumese. Feasting was a waste of time." Time, as Paul suggests, was diverted to new undertakings such as the production of arrowroot. LMS missionaries in Polynesia had taught converts to make arrowroot from the readily available "potato-like tuber" (Miller 1981:153). There was an international market for the arrowroot, considered an excellent food for invalids, and it had a variety of uses both in Europe and the Pacific. Christian converts produced countless tons of arrowroot throughout the island Pacific.[3] In Aneityum, Jessie Inglis learned to make arrowroot from a Rarotongan teacher and his wife, Tutan (Paton 1907). She then introduced the idea of using arrowroot as a source of income for the mission in Aneityum.

Arrowroot exports covered the entire and considerable costs of printing the translated Bibles and a range of other texts needed for church and schools. The arrowroot, which was of superior quality, was sold through missionary networks in Australia and Scotland (Paton 1907:126). The new object of arrowroot transited from the mundane into a thing "too sacred to be used for daily food" and "was set apart as the Lord's portion" (Paton 1907:126). Arrowroot separated from the everyday was instrumental in creating novel contexts for enactments of the sacred.

The cessation of competitive food exchanges also freed women's time heretofore absorbed by the production and processing of ceremonial food and pigs for feasting. There was, then, competition for women's time with the establishment of the mission. Charlotte Geddie had started a school for women and recognized that feasts prevented women from attending school (Spriggs 1985:32). Margaret Jolly (1991) has described the way in which women's time and knowledge were reoriented through schools for women that targeted domestic practices associated with food production for ritual events and familial relationships. Missionaries, according to Jolly (1991:36), redirected women's energies away from work outside the home to work within it and from raising food and ceremonial crops to raising Christian families. For the Presbyterian mission, the new domestic domain became "that place where difference must be inclined toward time in certain ways" (Patel 2000:59). Women who were taught to read, for example, could organize the household into "the proper temporality" (Patel 2000:59). Gender was a crucial site for remaking time in Aneityum and for the process of conversion to Christianity in New Hebrides (Douglas 1999; Eriksen 2008; Jolly 1991). The conversion of women in Aneityum, according to Douglas, "provided the perfect before and after scenarios depicting the power of Christianity" (1999:13). This temporal framing made visible the contrast of the brutality of the "heathen" past that had been indexed by the condition of women. From the mission's viewpoint, women who were among the earliest converts, received Christianity "as the means of their deliverance from temporal and spiritual degradation and misery" (Douglas 1999:113; Jolly 1991).[4]

Temporalities of Expert Texts and their Objects

When the 2,000 leather-bound copies of the Aneityumese New Testament arrived from England where they had been printed, Reverend John Inglis (1864:261) writes, "we lost no time in letting the natives have access to the Testaments; upwards of a thousand copies are already in their hands and they are reading them with great

interest." Putting Bibles into the hands of Aneityumese was a laborious process that entailed the translation of "nearly a million words" (Inglis 1877:280). A full translation of the New Testament was made available in 1860, produced from the mission's own small printing press, and three years later the entire New Testament had been revised to meet the stringent standards of the British and Foreign Bible Society (Gardner 2006). The Bible could not have been translated without indigenous scholars (Gardner 2006; Taylor 2010:431). The printing of the Bible entailed a journey from Aneityum to England where Reverend Inglis and Willamu, an Aneityumese scholar, assiduously checked the translation en route (Gardner 2006:301). Its printing in England, as noted, was made possible by income from arrowroot. Writing down the language for the first time enabled conversion by localizing the text (Johnston 2001:17), making it available to everyone to hold, which was undoubtedly, a larger number than those who could read it. The Bible, with its authoritative presence accessible through reading, allowed "the radical individualism of the Protestants," who were dependent upon the "immediate relationship between the individual and God" (Johnston 2001:24). However, the materialization of the Aneityumese Bible, as an individually owned object of faith, comprised a series of collective commitments of time and expert knowledge.

Geddie's printing press, which locally produced the first copies of the complete New Testament, was fundamental to the pedagogical and religious mandates attached to conversion. Since 1816, printing presses had been affiliated with evangelical efforts in the Pacific region (Gunson 1978; Johnston 2001). The Geddies carried a printing press to Aneityum and quickly produced an alphabet, and within six weeks he was able to preach a rudimentary sermon in the Aneityumese language. Believing that objects such as print materials were essential to the mission's success, Geddie produced elementary school books, scripture portions and hymns before undertaking the full translation of the Bible. The work of bookmaking is evident in a letter written in 1853 by Charlotte Geddie, in which she describes being interrupted by "Mr. G [who] has just come in from the printing and says that two of our boys have already struck off 900 copies of the second edition of the Catechism.... You can have no idea of the demand there is for books" (Geddie 1908:30). John Geddie noted that in Aneityum, books that had formerly been objects of fear were increasingly regarded as enchanted objects that protected people from harm (Lawson 1994:78).

The proliferation of texts was accompanied by the simultaneous teaching of all the islanders to read, a project that engaged Samoan teachers, missionaries and Aneityumese catechists (Gardner 2006:296). Young women were also engaged in teaching as well as learning (Douglas 1999). Within a very short time, a network of schools and churches throughout the island (Spriggs 1985) were provided books from Geddie's printing operation such that, as John Inglis states, "no scholar was more than a mile from a school" (Gardner 2006:300). Books in the local language make visible the process of becoming Christian and the complex technologies of translation that encompassed both competing and convergent readings of the sacred and mundane. The schools scattered throughout the island acted as nodes in the networks that comprised conversion.

Anna Johnston argues that the texts—only enabled by the material presence of books—"could produce social change" and transform notions of indigenous time (2001:24). The Bible, according to Johnston, authored a kind of "doubled discursive time" that signified the modern dissemination of the Bible while, at the same time, affirmed its universal and eternal status (2001:17). The introduction of the Bible also "opens up a doubled place for the text—a place in Imperial British culture and a place in indigenous culture" (2001:17). Among the missionaries, the translation of the Bible into Aneityumese also prompted new insights into their own as well as indigenous beliefs. Translations of the Bible into indigenous languages represent "the discursive (if not fully cosmo-ontological) inevitable crossing" (Taylor 2010:434) between the Christian and indigenous understandings of sacred categories and power. In her close reading of the translation of the Bible in Aneityum, Gardner also contends that "both missionary and local cosmologies and cultural assumptions were challenged and changed through the on-going dialogues between missionaries and Islanders" (2006:302).[5] The translation of the Bible demanded a deep knowledge of Aneityumese cosmology and an acknowledgement of the complexity of Aneityumese languages (Gardner 2006:296).

The epidemics that swept through the island also ensured that death was the subject of both "contest and negotiation between missionary and indigenous understandings of scared power" (Jolly 1996:24). Such discussions were central to the translation and the search "for understandings that would convey both the same and different meanings" (Gardner 2006:303). Debates between missionaries and islanders showed "respective understandings of sacred power overlapped in crucial areas" (Taylor 2010:434). This perspective, which attends to similarities as well as differences, complicates Anna Johnston's contention that the Bible created a rupture with the past by introducing the break that enables cultural and temporal transformations in indigenous cultures (2001:34).

Immersion in the project of translation and conversion was so thorough that the Geddies often expressed concern that their facility in English was diminishing. And even more interestingly, as Charlotte Geddie states, "native words" were considered "more expressive than English" (1908:30). The missionaries who had first translated the word *itap* as "forbidden" came to understand it as "sacred" and used itap as the title for the Old and New Testaments (Gardner 2006:302). The discursive and material qualities of the objects of conversion are evident in Charlotte Geddie's letter and in the translation and printing of biblical texts. The Bible or itap that took the form of leather-bound books suggests the "connectivities" and materialities of conversion in Aneityum.

Converting Stones and Temporalities

Translating and printing the Bible and establishing a system of schools were enormous tasks but so too were the 18 months of hard labour dedicated to building the stone church. Geddie noted (Patterson 1882:402) that such activities "occupy the minds of people to such an extent that they have neither the time nor inclination for feasting and other usages common in the days of heathenism." Time allocated to new objects of Christianity meant that, by 1859, the church in Aneityum was paying for itself without support from overseas funding. However, the church and the schools, signifying the success of conversion, were centres of deadly contagions fuelling the epidemics among islanders, who did not have immunity to the newly introduced diseases (Gardner 2006:299).

The large church built stone b-stone suggests how islanders "used things to change contexts" (Thomas 1999:19). The location of the new stone church was a practical decision based on proximity to large stones, rather than a consideration of sacred spaces and spirits in Aneityum. Geddie was clearly confident that he no longer needed to consider indigenous sacred power or the action of the natmass. Geddie describes the building of the church as follows:

> To natives who have been accustomed only to build small grass houses, it has been a great undertaking. The amount of labour expended on it can hardly be conceived by persons at home where every facility for such an undertaking is enjoyed. The stones were all carried by the natives, and some of them were so large that it required 60 men to remove them to their destination. The stones were so large they were quarried near the building, otherwise we could not have undertaken it. [1861a:40]

The heavy stones sanctified in the large new church made tangible new enactments of sacred power. In addition to quarrying the stones, islanders cut down large trees in the interior and carried them for miles to make the beams for the church. According to one account, hundreds of people carried the main beam on their shoulders and "Chief Nohoat stood on the log, with his plumes in his hair, and the best ornaments on his arms. Natives headed the procession blowing conches" (Steel 1880:102). The church was constructed without using any nails, held together by local technologies and expert knowledge. It was also intricately ornamented with decorative figures painted with various colours from dyes made with roots and "a million yards of fine plaiting" (Johnston 1861:74). Food was central to marking the opening of the new church. There was "a large collection of food which was cooked and distributed among the people of the different villages ... according to their usual custom" (Geddie 1861a:41).

While condemning the extravagance and wastefulness of competitive exchanges of food in the naroko ritual, Geddie also embarked on a taxing and competitive project of church-building. He declared, "With the exception of the King's church at Honolulu, Sandwich Islands, I have not seen any equal to it in the islands which I have visited" (Geddie 1861a:40). Competition was also extended to the hard-won Bibles, as the new "Bibles like all other books were distributed by merit: we have given them to the best readers first and only to those who can read tolerably well; we make them prizes to be contended for, but prizes which every one may obtain" (Inglis 1864:261). The arrowroot, too, was noted for its superior quality. The objects of conversion embodied a competitive spirit that resonated within the Aneityumese context, displaying the "overlapping" of exogenous and indigenous valuations of sacred and mundane.

Conclusion

I have explored how objects such as stones, books and food materialized temporalities and expert knowledge in the context of the Presbyterian mission in Aneityum in the mid-19th century. Attention to objects emphasizes the materiality of conversion to Christianity that links becoming, doing and knowing. Following objects complicates the understanding of conversion by defying static conceptions of indigenous time and querying the irretrievable loss or inevitable gains at stake in becoming Christian. Discussions of conversion to Christianity often hinge on the separation of spirit and matter, the sacred and mundane, the mind and body, the past and present. These oppositions are themselves "artefactual" (Manning and Meneley 2008:291), concealing the fragmentation of knowledge and the ephemeral nature of its expertise.

Objects such as leather-bound Bibles were essential to Aneityumese strategies of conversion, offering a hands-on context for enchantment or re-enchantment. The Bibles were distributed as a "prize" that all could obtain, and the production of thousands of Bibles (and the enormous church) sidestepped the tragedy of death and depopulation, where the numbers of Bibles could conceivably exceed the numbers of Aneityumese. Death was a sombre marker of time and epidemics were part of the new temporal regimes introduced by traders in search of whales, sandalwood and labour, as well as missionaries in search of converts. Epidemics in Aneityum eroded the expert knowledge that anchored indigenous temporal frameworks and undermined the efficacy of indigenous deities and rituals. While intent on challenging the chiefly institution of natimarid and ending rituals that enacted sacred power and its temporalities, Geddie was compelled to recognize the power of indigenous cosmologies and to understand how objects connected material and spiritual realms. I have discussed the notion that Aneityumese time was atemporal or "timelessly" reproduced through myth and ritual, in contrast to modern Christian time depicted as transformative and dynamic. "Expectations of historical transformation," as Lindstrom (2011:143) reminds us, are integral to indigenous temporalities. Attending to similarity and difference are essential to understanding "the structural dialectics of history" (Douglas 1989; Taylor 2010:423). While Geddie recalibrated time in Aneityum by measuring and organizing it in new ways and banning rituals such as the nakaro, the mission project was also the object of temporal, discursive and material reconfigurations.

Approaching Aneityum by boat in 2008, I saw the traces of the first Presbyterian mission: the landscape shelters the ruins of the stone church, some rusted metal near the beach, possibly the printing press and the foundation of the missionary's house. Geddie's church built stone by stone has now been replaced by a more modest Church. In 1861, while an epidemic raged, the newly completed church was deliberately set afire: only the stone walls remained (Geddie 1861b:246). The fire, in Geddie's view, represented the collusion of a small group of "natives" and sandalwood traders who opposed the mission (1861b:247). The fire was soon followed by a hurricane, leading Geddie to remark, "The church was not taken from us without a reason. Perhaps we have been devoting too much attention to externals" (1861b:248).

The church has been transmuted into impressive and haunting ruins where saplings erupt through the remaining stonewalls. Another generation of children plays in the ruins of the church that their ancestors built. In contrast to the ruins, Geddie's eyeglasses, safeguarded by islanders since his departure, are a more intimate object of conversion that renders time and expert knowledge tactile and personal. They, like the stone ruins, point to the complex history between Geddie's Christian mission and Aneityumese islanders and between the temporalities of past and present.

While Geddie was intent on the temporal transformation of the Aneityumese, he was himself bound by the past and haunted by his missionary ancestors. Geddie drew on the expertise of missionary John Williams, who emphasized that conversion to Christianity was yoked to "material undertakings." Geddie's expert knowledge was also tempered by experience in the art of persuasion acquired in Prince Edward Island along with the powerful insight that expert knowledge materialized in objects is essential to recalibrating temporalities.

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Acknowledgments

Notes

1 I was told about this letter to John Lockerby by his descendant Earl Lockerby. There are also several letters from Charlotte Geddie to Mrs. Lockerby, one of which is referred to later in this article.
2 R. S. Miller's book is a collection of John Geddie's journal entries from his years in Aneityum.
3 Arrow root, (*tacca leontopelaloides*) "was a pan-pacific cultigen," locally known as *tacca*, island arrowroot, Polynesian arrowroot, Tahiti arrowroot or Fiji arrowroot (Spennemann 1994:215). The plants were self-propagating and easily grown. J. G. Miller describes arrowroot "as a new and easy source of cash" to pay for the costly production of print materials at a time when there were no other readily available cash crops to pay for mission activities (1981:153). The production of arrowroot predated the introduction of copra, and cotton had proven difficult to establish as a cash crop (Miller 1981). Arrowroot preparation was a time-consuming process (Spennemann 1994:215). It was grated, washed several times, dried and sifted through a "long and careful process" (Miller 1981:153).
4 Douglas argues that, in contrast to depictions of women's conversion in Aneityum, men's "embrace" of Christianity was represented as an engaged process that considered

indigenous and Christian cosmologies and debated the nature of local and foreign spirits (1999:118). Eriksen (2008), who has considered gender differences in the Presbyterian Church in North Ambrym, Vanuatu, states that gender is fundamental to understanding Christianity and change. In North Ambrym, she argues, there is a contrast between male personified forms and female communal forms of structure. The Presbyterian Church builds on the communal principle, and the church "comes to stand for social wholes" (2008:158).

5 Margaret Jolly (1996:24) cautions that the tropes of conversation, debates and dialogue used to characterize conversion can obscure the power inequities embedded in conversion between males and females and between indigenous islanders and foreign missionaries.

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Teaching for the Flourishing Future: Educational Policy and Political Education following Chile's Democratic Transition

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Abstract: In 2011, a Chilean student strike rattled the country's political establishment in a way that no union has managed to do since the 1990 democratic transition. On-the-ground consequences of macro-changes to public education in recent decades frame pervasive disappointment in forms of political participation accorded to citizens. I explore here student, teacher and parent experiences with underfunded rural schools as a means of uncovering important temporal and affective politics structuring formal schooling in Chile today. It is no accident that the state's progressive retraction from funding public education coincides with growing interest among multinational investors to sponsor children in need.

Keywords: Chile, education policy, development, privatization, memory, expert knowledge

Résumé : En 2011, une grève des étudiants chiliens a secoué l'établissement politique du pays d'une manière dont aucun syndicat n'avait réussi à le faire depuis la transition démocratique des années 1990. Les conséquences des changements macro sur l'éducation publique dans les récentes décennies constituent le cadre d'une déception omniprésente à l'égard des formes de participation politique offertes aux citoyens. Dans le présent article, j'analyse l'expérience des étudiants, des enseignants, et des parents dans des écoles rurales sous-financées comme truchements pour révéler d'importantes politiques temporelles et affectives structurant les formes institutionnelles d'éducation dans le Chili d'aujourd'hui. Ce n'est pas par accident que le retrait progressif de l'État face au financement public de l'éducation coïncide avec un intérêt croissant des investisseurs multinationaux pour le parrainage d'enfants dans le besoin.

Mots-clés : Chili, politiques d'éducation, développement, privatisation, mémoire, savoir expert

Throughout 2011, Chilean youth were the principal force behind a student mobilization that instigated extended stoppages in at least 600 secondary schools and 17 major universities in the country. Over the entire academic year, students engaged in creative protests to pressure the government into genuine negotiation and were often met with police aggression and political scorn. Public support for the mobilization doubled to over 70 per cent of popular opinion between June and December and major unions representing teachers, miners and public servants backed the students' cause. More than any other union since the 1990 democratic transition, this movement rattled a political establishment that to this day is heavily structured by a constitution and more than a dozen organic constitutional laws[1] set forth by the Pinochet regime (1973–1990). Compelling as student mobilizations have been, these have met near refusal on the part of state agents to engage seriously with student demands. While recent civic unrest suggests disapproval for transformations to public education since the 1980s, more than two decades after the return to democracy, agitation also signals a setback in attempts by the country's recent democratic administrations to overcome the contentious nature of Chile's political transition.

From the perspective of underfunded rural schools, I observe here ways in which local knowledge about national history and the nature of civic organization have in the recent two decades become the target for bureaucratic correction. Highlighting on-the-ground consequences of enduring Pinochet-era reforms to state-funded schooling, I elaborate on ways in which educational policy established in the 1980s still significantly constrains the civic and political engagement of citizens. I begin by first outlining transformations in schooling in the past two decades as these were perceived and expressed to me, primarily by teachers in two towns and their surrounding countryside in the southern province of Valdivia. I propose that the ongoing social impacts of

transformations in schooling discussed here are most evident in a model of aid increasingly penetrating poor communities affected by large-scale industrial developments. Especially in outlying areas where multinational investors seek to sponsor underfunded public services— as compensation to residents for the impacts of industrial interventions in the landscape—we find an antiquated form of social development taking the form of charity rather than citizens' rights. By suppressing the circulation of critical memories of widespread social solidarity that flourished in Chile throughout the 20th century, education policy today helps reproduce exclusionary political practices that deny youth—and the poor more broadly—a voice in deliberative democratic processes.

For ten months in 2009, I worked in the only municipal school of the pre-cordillera town of Neltume as a language teacher for 15 hours a week, an experience in participant observation that contextualizes the data presented here. Meanwhile, I conducted in-depth interviews with over a dozen teachers and pedagogy students in the province. In equal proportion, these respondents worked in that school or in schools in neighbouring districts, or they were affiliated with a teacher training university located more than 100 kilometres away in one of the nearest cities, Villarrica. Everyone I interviewed either lived or worked in the communes of Mariquina and Panguipulli, where I carried out 27 months of fieldwork between 2007 and 2010 for a wider investigation into the learning of civic behaviour among Chile's youngest political generation.

Throughout that wider study, I was struck by how, for company officials seeking to settle impact-benefit agreements with communities affected by industrial developments, spaces of formal schooling figured prominently as strategic sites of interaction with local residents. In San José de la Mariquina and Neltume, representatives of a pulp mill and a hydroelectric company expanding operations in these areas[2] keenly proposed to sponsor school expenses and infrastructure (e.g., scholarships, uniforms, sports teams, wood-burning stoves and notebooks). I also noted that the public discourse of state actors drew heavily on the purported virtues of expanded markets; it seemed there was a collective effort to validate the role of corporations as bearers of social development. In media coverage addressing confrontations between police and those who protest the rapid expansion of forestry and hydroelectric industries in the region, it seemed that bureaucrats invariably cast the state's function as ensuring social stability through the protection of economic security. Meanwhile, in public

consultations between corporations and affected residents, I found that speeches by social assistants and executives working for these multinational investors frequently disregarded local expressions of well-being vested in the quality of relationships with land and community. Instead, these professionals promoted a vision of social improvement defined exclusively by macroeconomic growth.

In the uneven encounter between corporate promises and local hopes for greater community well-being, what role do time and technical expertise play in state efforts to teach poor southerners about their possibilities for political participation? As I elaborate below, when expertise in international development supplants local perspectives on well-being, it does much more than merely forecast social improvement through speculated economic gains. Corporate-sponsored aid—heralded by government and social development contractors—conjures a promised security and future prosperity for people at the margins of the Chilean nation, those typically hard-pressed to finance private schooling for their children. One significant, though understated, effect of such aid is that it comes to function as a technique for building local consent to large-scale industrial developments among residents affected by hydroelectric and other interventions near their homes. Importantly, the penetration of private interests into public education would not have been possible were it not for a series of reforms to education policy that, to this day, depend on the restriction of critical memory of Chile's contested past. As critical memory may inspire empirically informed alternatives to the prevailing system, its technical management is the focus of analysis here.

Background to Education Policy Reforms of the 1980s

Chile's *Organic Constitutional Law on Education*, known as the LOCE, was hurriedly promulgated on 7 March 1990, three days before the end of General Augusto Pinochet's 17-year military regime. Addressing elements in the Chilean Constitution relating to state responsibilities in the realm of education, the LOCE firmly entrenched into bureaucratic practice pro-market, neoliberal reforms carried out by the military regime. While other educational reforms occurred during the 1990s and 2000s, none fundamentally reversed those developed in the 1980s, including the introduction of a for-profit model to primary and secondary schooling. Historian Thomas Wright (2007:183) contends that Chile's organic constitutional laws have prevented governments following the transition from undoing undemocratic

features that have lingered in the political system since military rule. He supports this claim by noting that the constitution requires an exceptional majority of lawmakers to consent to any amendment to organic constitutional legislation: four-sevenths of the *full membership* of both the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. The LOCE was succeeded in 2009 by the General Education Law (LGE), which was negotiated following the Penguin Revolution of 2006. That movement was named after the masses of secondary students in school uniforms who took to the streets and barricaded their institutions for months on end. According to recent protestors, the new law makes few improvements on the system's main weaknesses, especially relating to the current reality of grossly unequal access to quality education. In 2013, students once again staged widespread protests, this time in anticipation of presidential elections, indicating that the new LGE had done little to appease core grievances.

Educational reforms of the 1980s that were protected in the LOCE and carried over into the LGE involve several transformations to the funding of schools and the teaching profession that remain troubling for those in public establishments today. These transformations, outlined in the next section, reach well beyond the core demands of current protesters, who follow more than a decade of parallel mobilizations by diverse affected groups, including the Penguin Revolution already mentioned. Led by secondary students, that mobilization instigated talks to draft the LGE. Other recent strikes include those by teachers, who throughout the first decade of the 21st century regularly staged work stoppages to dispute the impact of Pinochet-era reforms on their salaries, job security and credentials. In spite of public agitation against the now well-established 1980s reforms and in spite of strong sympathies between students and teachers, stoppages remained largely segmented until 2011. To better appreciate why diverse actors (i.e., teachers, students and parents) did not previously take up one another's causes, attention to daily relationships to schooling illuminates how the original reforms effectively dismantled horizontal alliances between diverse stakeholders.

The Consumption of Education

In pedagogical scholar Cristián Cox's (2003:24–32) assessment of educational reforms made during the 1980s, pro-market restructuring of the education system under Pinochet involved eight main areas. A brief summary of reforms relevant to this discussion follows, their relevance emerging in the diverse ways that, on the ground,

they have functioned to relinquish the state from responsibility for the provision of educational services. First, before introducing the LOCE, Pinochet transferred management of primary and secondary establishments from centralized, ministerial management to control by decentralized, municipal governments. Second, his administration changed the financing of schools from money directed to educational establishments based on historically demonstrated need, to funds directed on a per-student basis adjusted to average monthly attendance rates. Regulation of the teaching profession was also liberalized and teachers were removed from the list of public servants, which effectively deregulated their salaries and eliminated universities as the sole institutions capable of credentialing educators. Universities have since returned to being the sole credentialing institutions for pedagogy, though the staggering proliferation of private post-secondary establishments in the past 20 years means that the cost of such an education has swelled far beyond the financial means of most teachers. Lastly, a national system for evaluating educational quality through standardized testing was also introduced, with an evident impact on local competition for limited state funds. In the southern schools in which those interviewed for this article worked, the effects of these reforms played out in both public and intensely personal ways. Much like regimes of anticipation described by Vincanne Adams, Michelle Murphy and Adele Clarke, the affective experience of these neoliberal reforms is felt as a general bankrupting of traditional public services, leaving "whole sectors of the population ... eradicated and evicted from public life" (2009:259).

Municipal Management

Putting municipal authorities in charge of public education was initially promoted as a means of fostering greater citizen participation through the local management of schooling. However, Cox (2003:24) highlights the empty intentions behind such reasoning given that, in the 1980s, municipalities were headed by mayors appointed by the armed forces, which were themselves apprehensive about opening up education to control by local citizens. Throughout my encounters with senior educators, I learned that, for many, the gravest impact of the so-called "municipalization" of schooling is that families in Chile have increasingly become incentive-driven consumers of education. This is because, at least in poor, rural areas, parents now register children in either public or private, subsidized institutions, both of which compete for the same state funds. The core

difference between public and private subsidized schools is that the former are subject to management by local government authorities, while their competitors operate without this added bureaucratic oversight. My colleagues repeatedly emphasized to me that while the country's education law formally promises equal access to quality education for all, in marginal areas dependent on state funds, equality is increasingly reduced to equal funding assigned per registered student. This neglects uneven costs in transportation, supplies and building upkeep that mark regional inequalities. For instance, in Neltume, where the temperature can hover between 0 and 5 degrees Celsius, with snow on the ground for several months each year, insufficient funding from the municipal authorities meant that heating was funded by parent associations that pooled money together to purchase the firewood necessary to heat their children's classrooms. In homerooms with a greater proportion of students coming from scarce resources, money was occasionally not even pooled at all when families without sufficient heating in their own homes opted not to contribute to such comforts for their children at school.

Similar stories characterized the selective funding of transportation offered to rural pupils, as municipal directors decided where to allocate funds among numerous schools in their communes. In 2008, I spoke with a teacher who had taught in a multi-grade, single classroom school in the countryside for several decades. Not long before, Don Emiliano had bought a yellow school van to pick up his students on his way to work. For several months he had paid the bill for fuel and repairs, at a cost of nearly a quarter of his salary. That year, the municipality had withdrawn funding for his pupils' transportation, in what he believed was a ploy to encourage parents to transfer their children to a private, subsidized school being set up independently nearby. The promise of transportation was the competitive edge of the new school, which was set up temporarily in a country hall. Don Emiliano was set to retire the following year and, given that he was the only teacher in his school, he had long been classified as a principal. He insisted to me that it was no accident that this happened because it meant that his pension would begin at the lower status of a substitute teacher (the position he occupied in his last months of work) and that the municipality would enjoy the lightened burden of one less school to manage. That autumn, Don Emiliano's municipally managed school shut down, ostensibly due to low enrolment.

The Historic Debt

Lingering reforms of the 1980s also impact different generations of teachers in distinct ways. On the one hand, there are those who have practiced the profession since and even before the 1980s; many of them are approaching retirement today, and their pensions have been rendered uncertain by the frequently unreliable municipal management of payouts and benefits, as occurred before Don Emiliano's retirement. On the other hand, there are those who, trained in recent decades (often in newly established private universities), have little possibility of paying off heavy student loans without severe restrictions on their mobility and employment options. It is worth noting here that government-subsidized student loans for post-secondary education today involve the highest interest rates in the country. This led 2011 protestors to rally masses of supporters around the sound bite that it is cheaper to mortgage the family home than to finance a child's professional studies. Among educators I surveyed, members of this younger generation of teachers (generally under 45 years old) were more likely to work for lower wages in private schools, where it was believed that the most junior among these would be vulnerable to termination shortly before reaching permanent employment status. This would only take effect after five years of service in the same establishment, at which point one would qualify for greater medical and other employee benefits.

However, the job security that was widely perceived among teachers of all ages to come with working in a municipal school was by no means guaranteed. I observed this when a national teachers' strike was called in June 2009 and only three of 18 teachers at our school joined the month-long strike, these being the three most senior staff. School administrators pressured staff to continue working using the argument that funding for the school was endangered by the potential of frustrated parents transferring pupils to the town's other school, a private, subsidized Catholic institution that was not on strike. In their words, each student potentially lost would represent substantial reductions in the school's operating budget within the coming months. Though not opposed to the teachers' union or job action, younger colleagues did not stand in solidarity.

At the heart of demands during the 2009 teachers' strike were claims that during the 1980s, when the profession was liberalized, salaries were cut by as much as 75 per cent. At the time, those in government blamed a world recession. All the teachers with whom I spoke who had endured this pay cut understood they had been promised that, upon the return of national prosperity, their lost wages would be recovered. My colleagues who went on strike argued that no trickle-down of the country's relative economic stability was ever experienced. Salaries have since increased but still remain

well below the wages of similar professionals. For many senior teachers, their pay today sits as much as 200 per cent below what would be expected had cuts never occurred. By my deliberately conservative assessment, affected public teachers have each endured more than $50,000 CDN in lost wages from this historical debt. Throughout the early 2000s, almost annually, thousands of teachers went on strike, especially in urban areas. They demanded, among other things, state recognition of the historical debt toward an older generation of educators. Nevertheless, each of the 2010 presidential candidates denied its existence, leaving senior teachers particularly frustrated with their political options.

While most staff members in our school were not ideologically anti-labour, their vulnerability to the immediate impacts of extended yearly stoppages arrived via the pressure to pay credit cards and other consumer debts accrued with growing ease among the lower middle classes in recent decades (see also Han 2012). The irony that staff did not protest the state's debt toward teachers due to the potential consequences should one not attend to one's own personal debts crystallized for me in the story of one teacher who had recently been diagnosed with colon cancer. I interviewed him while he was on a one-year sick leave, during which time he managed to purchase a flat screen television in 24 monthly instalments. In spite of ample consumer credit, he could no longer secure a loan for his son to complete university studies so that the son could become a school teacher and help with the burden of staggering household debt that was exacerbated by rapidly mounting private health-care bills.

Competence and Competition

Another factor in our public school that was feared to accelerate the transfer of pupils to private, subsidized schools involved poor performances on the standardized tests that had been introduced during the 1980s to rank the quality of education offered by public schools. The tests, known nationally as the SIMCE (an acronym for the Measurement System for Education Quality), are only conducted in municipal schools. Given that in the past two decades public institutions have gone from composing 100 per cent to less than 50 per cent of primary schools in the country, fewer than half of Chilean students are subject to this measurement tool. The SIMCE became the total priority in our school in the last months of the academic year. While only two of eight primary grades wrote the exams, for six weeks no photocopies could be made for other courses. All supplementary resources were directed to 40 students upon

whom future funding as a "school of excellence" depended; I was told by administrators that, for the school to be able to break even financially, this standing offered a necessary bonus. Some teachers expressed dismay that in the long run their jobs were at stake, as disappointed parents could always remove their children en masse and register them in the Catholic school across the road, which as a private, subsidized school was not so publicly scrutinized.

Our school's yearly strategy of funnelling resources to support strong performances on the memorization-based exams undermined the externally funded second language program my colleagues and I were trying to implement. In addition to restricted photocopy privileges, students conditioned to excel in passive learning (memorization and recall) had not developed the skills to express themselves in creative and interactive situations like those proposed in English oral communication classes. This became evident in their frustration with new textbooks—designed following reforms in the 1990s—that aimed to render learning more active and inductive. While the presentation of material was meant to put greater responsibility on students' shoulders, with the lofty aim of inspiring student curiosity and a sense of ownership in the learning process, I found that it more often seemed to reinforce class inequalities. This was pronounced in English Second Language (ESL) programs, which were required for Chilean students as of the fifth grade. Students may or may not be exposed to English instruction before the fifth grade, depending on whether their schools secure special funds from outside donors (e.g., corporations, charitable foundations) to finance such instruction. When Neltume's public school initially secured sponsorship from an upscale tourism operation to host our ESL program, the principal joked to me that she had nearly donned a nun's habit to seek sponsors, a ploy to incite sympathy among wealthy neighbours to finance programs that she considered were necessary to remain competitive. I soon discovered that the new textbooks teachers were required to follow began at a level far more advanced than introductory English. For example, the textbook for the first level of ESL (Grade 5) began with reading comprehension tasks of full-page excerpts, as if with the will to succeed alone, students without prior exposure to any second language and with only modest literacy skills in their own language could guess their way to success.

Consequences of an approach to English acquisition that emphasized the student's responsibility in learning achievement were apparent in one of my high school classes. Students often insisted to me that they were

hard-wired to not master even basic language abilities, an affirmation of personal deficiency that, arguably, had been learned through repeated failure to comprehend material unsuitable for their knowledge level. For example, their ESL textbook included readings from Shakespeare, challenging material for even those whose first language is English. Meanwhile, as colleagues pointed out to me, tasks that failed to build logically on learner skills were not the only problems with textbook design. Compounding the ability of students to meaningfully engage with material was content referring mainly to urban contexts and concerns unfamiliar to youth in Neltume, several of whom had never travelled to the nearest regional capital. Teachers highlighted for me examples from the curriculum, such as activities requiring students to imagine manoeuvring stop lights while driving in their own vehicles (luxuries not even their parents enjoyed) and deciding on clothing to purchase or movies to view in the cinema. In the staff room in the weeks before the SIMCE exams, my colleagues wondered aloud about the fairness and even the objectivity of this form of standardized testing, especially since instructional resources consistently betrayed the uneven footing upon which the quality of education is evaluated nationally.

Textbook content also indicates other means by which those managing education in the country today attempt to convey the virtues of competition as a core competence. Shortly after completing my fieldwork, colleagues pursuing their teacher training sent me an image from a new textbook containing an advertisement for Watt's, the prominent juice company. It was accompanied by an activity on whether it was better to buy a larger or several smaller containers of that company's orange juice. In light of this development, it would seem that reductions in state funding for education have opened the door to private sector investments with unambiguously profit-driven motives for guiding the behaviour and tastes of young Chileans. In this context, school textbooks have become a new marketing frontier—youth whose parents can scarcely afford milk are pressured not only by popular media, but also by obligatory schooling systems, to satisfy daily needs with consumer products. While cast as economical, such goods involve silent costs all the same. In the case of opting for sweet juices and sodas above the less affordable options of milk or bottled water, one might argue that silent costs appear in reduced dental and general health, social costs not required of students to calculate in textbook activities.

Encountering the State's "Managed Retreat"

Attention to daily relationships to underfunded rural schools exposes the state's deliberate retraction, since the 1980s, from the provision of basic educational services. Also addressing the Chilean context, Veronica Schild (1998) describes this as the managed retreat of the state. Meanwhile, scholars of international development highlight that, globally, state retraction from public service provision in recent decades has involved an elaborate shift in the purpose of government itself, the result of which is that the role of social planners (read here, policy-makers) is "no longer to plan but to enable, animate and facilitate" (Murray Li 2011:59) improved versions of community. We glimpse this shift in the early rationale for municipalizing public education—a development from the 1980s that Cox (2003:24) notes was dubiously defended for its possibility of fostering citizen participation. Signs of this shift also surface in the logic that competition between public and private schools will enable the most efficient use of state funds, as though competition will invariably motivate those in need to overcome their own marginality. As we have already seen, the drive by government to facilitate improved versions of the self permeates new textbooks, which expect students to discover their way to success, in spite of minimal instruction about how to do so. Turning now to development experts who work in the midst of this managed retreat of the state, we find material interests invested in this shift, as well as a particular future upon which such investments depend.

As multinational corporations in San José and Neltume seek to compensate residents for industrial interventions near their homes, we find sites of contention over the production and circulation of knowledge about the social and environmental impacts of such developments. On the one hand, I regularly encountered the experiential and narrative knowledge of local residents, who expressed to me their perspectives on development and community consensus in casual conversations and over family meals. These perspectives often proved inconvenient for instrumentalization by rational actors. On the other hand, are forms of knowledge espoused by technical experts, which model Kregg Hetherington's (2011:5) description of *information* as a commodifiable way of knowing the local population, sought in this case by corporate actors to be used, possessed, stored, shared or hidden. I saw such forms of information stir whenever corporate donations were delivered to underfunded schools, as well as to firehouses and community

associations. In efforts to expand the charitable operations of companies investing in the area, social assistants and communications officers for the companies invariably gathered signatures and social identification numbers from donation recipients. On one occasion, a Mapuche activist friend found that the identification information of recipients later appeared on a petition shown by company officials in a Santiago meeting, as if the signatures for having received aid supported Endesa's proposed 480MW hydroelectric facility that would divert Neltume's adjacent Fuy River. Carefully orchestrated photo opportunities were also common means by which corporate representatives extracted marketable information from schools; with each wood-burning stove or similar offer to a humble rural school, donors snapped photos of themselves in sharp-looking field jackets kneeling with smiling children. In glossy self-published newsletters and in the regional newspaper, multinational companies working in the south used such photos and "news stories" to celebrate their role as harbingers of development and social improvement.

Nevertheless, some professionals were excluded from the expertise affirmed by these company agents. Mapuche leaders with whom I spoke in communities near Neltume, indicated to me that three classes of people who were not generally employed by Endesa were prohibited from accompanying community members to meetings addressing impact-benefit agreements. These were lawyers, notary publics and anthropologists. Any of us would be well-positioned to dispute corporate tactics for guiding negotiations regarding compensation to affected residents. This exposes a fissure between two types of professionals dedicated to social development: those who consider themselves to be technical experts serving to facilitate improved communities and those, like me and most of the teachers with whom I worked, who attend to daily questions of social justice arising from the state's keen departure from social service provision. Literature on the anthropology of international development, produced by professionals who would generally fall into the latter group, offers clues as to the former's motivations.

Contributors to David Mosse's *Adventures in Aidland* (2011) highlight that development expertise is increasingly produced in contexts where aid is less concerned with the elimination of poverty than with creating conditions in which development may flourish. This recalls James Ferguson's (1994) observations that while the international development industry tends to be ineffectual at eradicating poverty, it does a rather good job of expanding bureaucratic state power. The

temporal subtext to educational policy becomes increasingly evident here, as the growing need in public schools to secure private benefactors, conditions marginal communities to the possibilities of industrial development. Simone Abram and Gisa Weszkalnys note that this sort of social planning scenario involves a promise that must be concretized, institutionalized and implemented through "mechanisms to conjure worlds that are within its scope of action" (2011:10). One condition for such development that is of particular interest here is Chilean society's ability to overcome its contested past. Specifically, the challenge for corporate and government actors is for citizens to come to terms with the fact that most multinational industrial initiatives today were rendered possible, relatively recently, through the Pinochet regime's disarticulation of civil society (see Jelin 2003). After all, the overthrow of an elected socialist government and subsequent state repression enabled the privatization of natural resources and the sale of water, mineral and forest exploitation rights to foreign investors.

What, then, is the contested past to be overcome in the name of development?

A Troubled Transition

When I asked older teachers for their assessment of opportunities presented to today's youth compared to the opportunities they experienced in their youth, some 35 or more years ago, the response of retired teacher and former exile Don Tito was illuminating. Once a dedicated member of la Jota, Chile's Communist Youth, he recalled the volunteer work sponsored by the state during weekends and holidays during the Popular Unity presidency of Salvador Allende (1970–1973). In exchange for their work, youth were given a snack by regional authorities and sent into *poblaciones* (poor neighbourhoods; at the time, often squatter settlements) to clean up garbage and converse with the local people. As he recounted this work, I could hear singer-songwriter (and for some, national hero) Víctor Jara's tune in my head, "Qué lindo es ser voluntario," a song of the era that praises the building of a common destiny through volunteerism in raising bridges, constructing houses and fixing roads. Turning to the present, Don Tito spoke of a fear among youth today that he did not remember in his own generation. Himself a torture survivor, he was not speaking of fear entrained through immediate physical and psychological trauma. Today's youth were at most young children at the time of the transition to democracy; they personally experienced little of the nearly 17-year military regime. In Don Tito's view, their fear is of both past and future, achieved to

a great degree through a restrictive and increasingly privatized education system that discourages even his own children, who were in high school at the time of our interview, from imagining themselves as active participants in history.

Don Tito's memories of teaching in poor, rural communities in the 1960s contrast with the decentralized, indebted and competitive framework of education described earlier in this article, which has compelled recent demands for policy overhaul (personal communication, 8 February 2008):

> When I was trained to be a teacher, they prepared us to teach politics. They said to us: 'You are responsible for a society.' Today nobody says this to kids. Instead, they say: 'You need to go out and earn money.' And the kids respond wanting to study medicine or commercial engineering, saying that it's because they want to make money, not to do something social.... President Allende would say to us, 'Young people, you need to study, you need to work,' and he had a policy for youth so that we would open up our eyes. They used to teach politics to kids; today it's something *cupula* [elite]. Back then, almost all political leaders were at one time youth leaders, we became involved young. Now leaders come from the economic powers. I think youth are watching this and they too want to know about politics, but they don't have any idea where to start.

He continued, describing to me the historical perspective taught to his teenage children in the most reputable Catholic school in the region. Run by monks in San José de la Mariquina, the school is fully private and therefore not dependent on state funds. As a lifelong communist, a private Catholic education for his children was not exactly to Don Tito's liking, but he saw it as offering the greatest chance for his children to be able to eventually qualify for scholarships and pursue higher education. The year before our conversation, Don Tito had argued with his son's history teacher, for whom "being a communist was little more than the greatest ignorance out there" (personal communication, 8 February 2008). Don Tito told me that he retorted to that comment by insisting that Chilean communists can claim the great writers, poets and journalists—essentially the intellectual heart of the country (e.g., Nobel poet laureate Pablo Neruda and Víctor Jara). He lamented that for teachers like his son's, to speak of Allende in the classroom is often taken as wanting to return to the food lines, to having nothing to eat and to the CIA-sponsored chaos that stirred an artificial climate of civil war in the months before the coup. Within a few years of our conversation, his concerns would be enhanced when the country's current right-wing administration stirred controversy with a 2012 decision to expunge from school textbooks the term *dictatorship* in reference to the Pinochet regime, using instead *military government* (Webber 2012).

When Don Tito suggested to me that schooling today teaches that the purpose of life and work is to earn money, he lamented that unlike in the 1960s, today there is no policy for youth. However, education policy is arguably this very thing, posing to shape youth in specific ways and persisting in spite of more than a decade of significant protests. As such, this policy invites reflection on the type of actions that its advocates anticipate from youth. To paraphrase Abram and Weszkalnys (2011), what kind of world has been conjured by the LOCE (and subsequently the LGE) and, by association, the increasing penetration of private enterprise into primary and secondary schooling? In particular, what type of future is anticipated by those who brought such policies into being and who continue to defend them today?

One answer is in a narrative among international economic analysts that Chile is a free-market miracle.[3] Calling it an "economic jaguar," many have likened Chile's economy to the "Asian tigers" of the Pacific Rim and advertisers in its southern regions have played up its image as the Switzerland of South America (presumably a peace-loving and picturesque business haven). The problem with such discourse is that it deceptively distances Chile from the social and economic problems that plague other countries in the region today and naturalizes its relative stability (Cooper 2010). It also distorts the historic record by passing over the elite political strategies that orchestrated this so-called miracle, diverting attention away from those upon whom this stability most depends: the poor.

Chile enjoys a unique status as the only South American country admitted to the Organisation for Economic Development and Co-Operation (OECD), a network dedicated to promoting economic growth as a means of ensuring social stability. This is, in large part, thanks to the country's strong GDP, bolstered by competitive primary resource extraction and fuelled by efficient energy production. Throughout statements made by member states upon Chile's accession to the OECD, former president Michelle Bachelet was repeatedly congratulated for reductions in poverty from 40 per cent to 13 per cent, as well as efforts to curb corporate and government corruption. Notably absent from the OECD vision for Chile's future, as expressed by representatives of fellow member states upon its admission, is a notion of democracy that is accountable to the circumstances

by which current neoliberal economic and social policies came into being. While the role of public education in the OECD-envisioned future seems innocuous enough—to produce competitive citizens who will participate in this collective project of national betterment—this absence of accountability to the past heralds the contentious nature of educational policy today. As a result, student protestors critique an anticipated future that is taken by policy-makers to be inevitably cooperative, in spite of the nation's fragmented and silenced past.

Elements in OECD forecasting equate the Chilean state with a homogeneous national community, glossing over competing interests within the national public. This anticipatory framework resonates in the Swiss statement on Chile's admission, which implied that "OECD members [will] compete on an equal footing throughout the landscape of international organisations ... leaving old privileges behind once our level of development allows us to do so" (OECD 2009:11). In this perspective, the present serves as a mere staging ground for a harmonious future, and the past beyond the democratic transition goes entirely unmentioned. In the sense of Adams and colleagues' (2009) affective regimes, OECD forecasts are anticipatory in that they recast the present in terms expected of the future. Meanwhile, they reinforce a regime, in that this future is restrictive and acted upon as a fait accompli, excluding input from the very actors who are supposed to want to collaborate in its realization. These are Chile's working lower and middle classes, who are neither independently wealthy nor exceptionally impoverished (though today heavily indebted; see Han 2012) but whose consent through cheap and flexible labour is critical to economic growth. What spectres of the future are embedded in this growth?

Julia Paley (2001) poses that, after the departure of Pinochet as head of state, popular media battered Chileans with "illusions of choice." She observes that a rapid upsurge in opinion polls and market surveys during the 1990s characterized this new period—a period during which citizens encountered countless opportunities to express their positions on topics ranging from issues of political importance to household preferences for consumer goods. It was a time when more Chileans than ever before were invited to endlessly opine on items that many could scarcely ever afford. However, in spite of new measures for gauging public opinion, she cautions that citizens faced a relatively narrow framework of available choices for expressing their expectations of government. She finds this especially apparent with regard to critical memory, arguing that lack of control over the terms of public debate restricted the

participation that working-class and peasant sectors have had in determining the accepted historical truth about the Pinochet regime. In Paley's words, "major elements of the Chilean political elite ... had reassessed the history leading up to the military coup and come to the conclusion that the dictatorship was an outcome of the extreme political and social polarization that had characterized Chilean society before 1973" (2001:152)—and not the product of the resistance of elite sectors to socialist reforms pursued by the popular classes. This has tended to cast the Popular Unity period as having failed on its own accord and as being irrelevant to current questions of governance. Paley is not alone in this assessment, as Lessie Jo Frazier notes, "Even sectors further on the Left that still hold those core principles (such as the state's responsibility for ensuring the equitable redistribution of resources) have found little space for their expression" (2007:191).

Hence, the upsurge of opinion polls during the 1990s was not actually a means for citizens to meaningfully participate in the policy-making process or in public debates. These developments had considerable consequences for how Chilean society would move forward following the dictatorship. From the perspective of former squatter settlements in Santiago, Paley (2001) relates that the political elite—those in office since the democratic transition—framed the issue of recovering a sense of national community in terms that presented social reconciliation with the military as the only desirable course of action, even as the armed forces had no obligation to participate in the truth and reconciliation processes. In her view, this subjected Chile's civil society to a state-sponsored discrediting of positive memories of the Popular Unity period, an era admittedly marked by social tension but also by unprecedented solidarity between discrete class and cultural groups. Today, continued efforts to discredit the Socialist aspirations of the Popular Unity period have been apparent in state reactions to recent student protests, especially in police treatment of congregations of youth as delinquents, communists and *violentistas*. In this active silencing of critical memory in both popular media and in truth commission processes, the past and future become deeply intertwined.

Today, the children of the urban working classes who grew up during the transition and have recently come of age politically bring to civic life expectations of participation cultivated in the post-dictatorship climate of mass choice-making. The discourse of centrist and right-wing leaders in power since the transition has long promised Chileans that inclusion is the fruit of the democratic order for which the parents of today's youth

struggled in the 1980s. The disappointed expectations among recent post-secondary protesters are not, therefore, very surprising. While, by and large, protesting students are not those most excluded by the current system—that is, those unable to even complete high school in the first place or the majority of post-secondary students in private establishments without student unions—they signal agitation among an until recently silent majority that has long awaited the realization of democracy's promise of economic security. At stake with current student protests is not, therefore, merely the quality of education or equal access to it, but also widespread complicity with a prevailing state project for neoliberal development that keeps the attention of Chileans focused on the flourishing future.

The Hidden Restoration of a Segmented Society

As the 2011 protests extended into months, thousands of university students on scholarship were compelled back to the classroom by threats that their funding would be withdrawn should their absences continue. The movement nevertheless garnered public interest well into the 2011–2012 summer months, when key spokesperson for the Confederation of Chilean Students and former president of the Universidad de Chile Student Federation, Camila Vallejo, toured the country to promote Vallejo's new book titled *Podemos cambiar el mundo* (*We Can Change the World*). Vallejo had just been elected to the Central Committee of the Communist Youth of Chile. While much media attention had been dedicated to her pretty face, more than stir admiration, her unrelenting opposition to privatized education stirred hostility among opponents. Under pressure to address the civic unrest, government spokespersons had already betrayed unsavoury judgments about the place of youth in spaces for deliberative democracy. Most telling was when, in early August 2011, the public caught wind that the executive secretary of the Council for Books and Reading had posted in the social media a comment directed at Vallejo to the effect of killing the bitch to disband the pack (Tatiana Acuña posted on Twitter, "*Se mata a la perra y se acaba la leva,*" see Valdés 2011). This was a phrase used by Augusto Pinochet to refer to former president Salvador Allende. Geographer and director of Chile's Centre for the Study of Women's Development Ximena Valdés (2011) swiftly published a response, elaborating on the particular history of that phrase carried forward from the *hacienda* (large rural estate) era. In the 19th century, unmarried women in the countryside were seen to distract men from their work, much like female dogs in heat attract male interest. The implication was that, by removing the attractive woman from the scene, male instincts would calm and the marauding packs would disperse.

In Valdés's view, that an important government official related to education and culture referred to Camila Vallejo through the moral codes of 19th century hacienda relationships highlights a hidden authoritarian culture emerging with force today. The geographer is not alone in observing that this approach to politics is not only authoritarian but also rooted in an antiquated notion of the national order, in which the citizen is an *object* of gracious concessions and mercy on the part of the rich and powerful. Eminent Chilean anthropologist and historian José Bengoa (2006) argues that this is one of the gravest impacts of the Pinochet regime on Chilean society, as policies from that era have fostered a social order that predates the formation of the Chilean state itself. This order, he argues, is modelled on the primary space for socialization in the centuries prior to the formation of administrative and municipal structures of the Chilean state (2006:45). For Bengoa, the restoration of the sociocultural model of hacienda relations undermines all attempts to strengthen citizenship in the country, as this process negates civil society's foundation in citizen rights, which itself poses to limit the power of the state and wealthy classes. In this fashion, he highlights that policies toward the poor today have returned to being a question of generosity and good will on the part of the rich (2006:49), in stark contrast to the Popular Unity's vision of poverty as a social injustice and violation of citizen rights to work and education. To paraphrase Bengoa, Chilean society at the start of the 21st century more closely resembles social organization at the end of the 19th century than throughout the 20th, when it was (in his words) "obsessed with democracy and equality" (2006:152). The coup of 11 September 1973 was not, therefore, a rupture but, as he implies, a restorative project of social segmentation that remains beyond explication to most Chileans today.

In this light, recipients of corporate investments in schooling, healthcare and other social services are reduced to citizenship in name alone as, not unlike vassal subjects, they are denied freedom to participate in their own collective self-determination (2006:44). Applied to Don Tito's nostalgic memories described above, it would seem that current student protesters have a battle far greater than expanding access to quality public education. Most senior educators with whom I spoke agreed with Don Tito that Chile has not simply undergone political changes over the decades, from socialism to fascism

and from left- to right-leaning coalition governments; rather, it has undergone changes in the nature of its politics. More precisely, the country has endured a relapse in its political and citizen culture, and this has been orchestrated by the state's "managed retreat" from social services.

To return to my original question about the role of time and technical expertise in teaching Chileans about their possibilities for political participation, we find here that locally, the flourishing future advocated by national leaders and development experts has deep roots in Chile's conservative past. This reminds us that the "neo" in neoliberalism by no means signals a new philosophy of governance framing contemporary policy but more fittingly indicates a return to an earlier model for freeing the economy from local pressures. Much like Lessie Jo Frazier's (2007:26) critique of Chile's reputation as a democratic stronghold among Latin America countries, uncritical praise of the country's economic and political stability serves to whitewash a post-dictatorship scenario in which egalitarian reforms made during the 1960s and early 1970s have been reversed and in which control over natural resources is once again concentrated in the hands of an affluent few.

Conclusion

For Latin Americans of all political stripes who have survived military regimes and who now live in subsequent liberal democracies, memories of social confrontation, of intimidation by neighbours and in workplaces, and of overt state repression affect the extent to which citizens engage with social planning initiatives. Lindsay Dubois (2000) evokes this in her work on dissonant memories and silence in historical accounts of working-class Argentines, as do Leslie Villapolo Herrera (2003) and Patricia Foxen (2000) in their observations of civic and community withdrawal by indigenous actors affected by guerrilla conflicts in Peru and Guatemala, respectively. However, memory does not belong only to those with personal and familial experiences of torture and disappearance or to those with lingering psychological trauma. Anthropologists working throughout the region, among communities having historically encountered exploitation at the hands of outsiders, have noted that resilience often escapes rationalist frameworks for identifying the impacts of terror and healing (see Edelman 1994; Gordillo 2002; Nash 1993; Taussig 1980, 1987). Equally pressing areas of investigation suggested by the current schooling apparatus in Chile include the means by which, particularly in rural and semi-urban settings, control over the circulation of critical memory constrains the potential for "insurgent" (Holston 2009)

and "self-help" citizenships (Goldstein 2005), which are significant responses to neoliberal policies throughout urban Latin America.

In sum, the Chilean state's retraction from formal schooling does not merely penalize poor children for their low social status. When by design the state fails to provide as expected, it intensifies local needs for services previously provided by the government; this results in a dearth of social programs that may then be charitably financed by private interests. As relations of patronage between the wealthy and the poor replace citizen rights to what were once basic public services such as child welfare, lower- and middle-class Chileans (children and adults alike) are taught that their political and civic involvement is out of place and disruptive to the democratic order. In this context, recent international development experts, who labour for the interests of a global neoliberal agenda, have not only become the new authorities on community well-being; their work also serves as a depoliticizing mechanism, silencing critical memory and delegitimizing imaginations of civic life not aligned with the rapid proliferation of resource extraction by foreign capital interests. Without diminishing horrors endured at the hands of military agents, who a generation ago reinforced elite economic interests via overt state terror, today we find that the mobilization of fear exerts political control over the working and rural poor nonetheless.

While schooling has functioned in recent decades as a mechanism through which elite political and economic interests pose to refashion the involvement of Chile's poor in decision-making processes, recent protests suggest that alternatives to the prevailing order are stirring. Allied with "horizontalist" movements (see Sitrin 2006) that have mobilized around the world since the 2011 Arab Spring and Occupy Wall Street protests, in 2013, thousands of Chilean students once again took over their schools. Only this time they mobilized solidarity with sympathetic adults not on demands for inclusion in political decision-making processes but on a campaign to *not* vote, calling on the public to reject the prevailing system by refusing to cast ballots in schools (conventional voting stations) closed due to student strikes. At the time of press, following a 20 per cent voter turnout for the presidential primaries in June 2013, announcements on social media networks such as Facebook and Twitter stated that 80 per cent of Chileans had voted for genuine change. In effect, we learn from protesting youth that neither popular media (through television and a barrage of polls and marketing) nor public education (through the penetration of private enterprise into a basic public service) can merely instil conservative

values in people, wiping critical memory from future generations. Educational reforms of the 1980s have indeed conjured a world within the scope of expert development plans of action, but the institutionalization and implementation of that world must invariably contend with the contested past.

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Acknowledgments

Notes

1 An organic law pertains to the body of rules that lay out the foundations of a government, closely articulated with the constitution.
2 Respectively, these were the forestry company widely known in Chile as Celco Arauco, which was formed by privatized state forestry industries in the 1970s, and the former state electric company Endesa, which was privatized in 1989 in the last months of the Pinochet regime and is now a subsidiary of the Italian conglomerate Enel.
3 In 1982, American economist and Nobel laureate Milton Friedman was among the first to call the economic policy of the Pinochet regime a miracle. A professor at the University of Chicago, he trained over a half-dozen economic advisors to the dictatorship, his former students becoming a group of influential free market reformers known as the Chicago Boys.

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Of Temporal Politics and Demographic Anxieties: "Young Mothers" in Demographic Predictions and Social Life in Vanuatu

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Abstract: In this article, I examine demographic predictions and preliminary youth and population policy in concert with young women's experiences during and immediately after pregnancy in Vanuatu, a Pacific island nation with rapid population growth. I propose that time, in representations of the future and the past as they relate to social and biological reproduction, is a valuable lens for analyzing the interplay between demographic knowledge in development discourse and daily lives of young women. In this way, I add the notion of temporal politics to the social and historical analysis of demography that emphasizes biopolitics and geopolitics.

Keywords: Time, demography, Vanuatu, reproduction, biopolitics, geopolitics

Résumé : Dans cet article, je m'intéresse aux prédictions démographiques et aux politiques préliminaires relatives à la jeunesse et à la population ainsi qu'aux expériences de jeunes femmes pendant et immédiatement après la grossesse, au Vanuatu, une nation insulaire du Pacifique qui connaît une croissance démographique rapide. Je propose que le temps, dans les représentations de l'avenir et du passé qu'il articule en relation avec la reproduction sociale et biologique, constitue une lentille privilégiée pour analyser l'interaction entre le savoir démographique dans le discours sur le développement et la vie quotidienne des jeunes femmes. De cette façon, j'ajoute la notion de politiques temporelles à l'analyse sociale et historique de la démographie en mettant l'accent sur la biopolitique et la géopolitique.

Mots-clés : temps, démographie, Vanuatu, reproduction, biopolitique, géopolitique

Introduction

Why do populations grow or decline too rapidly? How can population size be controlled? What are the relevant categorizations within a population required to answer these questions? Such enquiries are associated with demographic expertise, the statistical study of populations whereby population size, social composition and change are documented. For demographers, human populations are the sum of people living within a particular boundary that can be entered through immigration or birth and exited by death or emigration. The population is differentiated into categories, often by sex and age and geographic location, as well as ethnicity, nationality or education status. Analyzing data generated from vital statistics—which typically count births, deaths, marital status—or a census—which typically enumerates households, education, place of birth, religion, citizenship and employment status—demographic methods mean that the rates of growth or decline in specific categories of the population can be discerned against normative expectations. Demographers make predictions that are used by governments and NGOs for planning and interventions.

Thus, the "populations" that appear in development policies and projects are, as Barbara Duden (1992) writes, "statistical driftwood" (1992:149). Like other concepts in development discourse, she argues that populations

> are immigrants into ordinary speech from the language of statistics, algorithms which are used outside of their original context. They are used to generate the semblance of a referent which may only be a pseudo-reality, but which at the same time gives the impression of something very important and obvious, and which the layman cannot understand without an explanation by experts. [1992:149]

Her provocative words indicate the high stakes of how people are "made up" (Hacking 1986) in the human sciences. Indeed, Hoehler argues that "the question of

how humans are statistically aggregated into populations and these populations are discriminated into valuable or dispensable lives, is in accordance with prevailing economic regimes" (2007:46). Furthermore, Hartmann and the Population and Development organization's analysis of the representations of overpopulation in need of control can target vulnerable groups and perpetuate negative stereotypes (Hartmann 1995; Population and Development Program 2008).

Demography is a form of expert knowledge that has been an applied science since its consolidation as a formal discipline in the post–World War II era, where scientists generated and represented numbers with the intention of being useful for intervening in particular populations or segments of populations (Greenhalgh 1996; Ramsden 2002; Szreter et al. 2004). In countries in the global south, issues of social reproduction become disaggregated into technical issues of population management, maternal and child health, family planning, disease reduction and land use planning and then inserted into development discourse. They become part of modernizing agendas, population policies of nation states and development projects that rely on demographic understandings of social and biological processes.

In this way, the numbers are associated with explanatory narratives, making action seem self-evident. Scholars have called attention to this relationship between demographic knowledge and biopolitical interventions affecting gender and sexuality that resulted in population control measures of global scope coordinated by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), (e.g., Connelly 2003, 2008). By analyzing the metaphors and representations of population growth in the postwar era, like "carrying capacity," "population density" and "spaceship earth," Hoehler (2006, 2007) argues that the production of numbers of people tends to take place with respect to spatial concepts. Relatedly, Allison Bashford (2007, 2008a, 2008b, in press) argues that, since the interwar period, agriculture and land use issues have framed discussions of population issues, linking global and local populations. Therefore, Bashford continues, scholars need to take geopolitical concerns associated with population more seriously, widening the scholarly focus from the links among demography, population policy and control of reproductive sexuality. Demography has thus been shown to be intimately connected to policies worldwide aimed to impact sexuality, birth control, migration, agriculture, immigration and urban land use, to name but a few of the biopolitical and geopolitical dimensions of planning issues at the level of population.

I argue here that the temporal dimension of demographic knowledge is also an important consideration in its political implications. After World War II, the American demographers Frank Notestein and Kingsley Davis popularized the "demographic transition theory" (Ittmann 1999:71–72). Tasked with improving societies through modernization and development, demographers no longer saw rapid population growth as a racial adaptation but the result of problematic traditions that needed to be modernized (Ramsden 2002). Transition and modernization are thus closely connected in demography (Johnson-Hanks 2008:308) as is the tendency to think that these changes take place in predictable and irreversible fashion (Greenhalgh 1996).

My interest here is to discuss the politics of time in demographic explanations[1] of population change and local concerns in Vanuatu over what social scientists would call social reproduction. Like Muehlmann's concern with the social context of enumerative practices that relegate certain aspects of human experience to "a realm that simply does not count" (2012:340), by looking at these in concert, I aim to present aspects of social reproduction that demographic knowledge and policies must contend with but cannot account for. I am proposing that time, in representations of the future and the past as they relate to social and biological reproduction, is a valuable lens for analyzing the interplay between demographic knowledge, policy and the daily lives of young women becoming mothers in a peri-urban village in Vanuatu.

I begin with a description of expert predictions for Vanuatu and show how this expert knowledge, in addition to biopolitical and geopolitical dimensions, asserts expertise through a temporal politics. The present is framed as what should be governed by representations of the future. I then provide a description of a document intended to become the basis of a national youth policy in Vanuatu, showing how "young mother" and "young people," as demographic categories, also become targets for intervention. I then locate these demographic categories as social identities implicated in contemporary concerns about reproduction in a peri-urban village. I present young women's experiences during pregnancy and the older generation's concerns in respect to marriage and pregnancy and show how these evoke temporal dimensions.

By following the use of time, in addition to the biopolitics and geopolitics that scholars of demography and population politics analyze, I am interested in the specific authority gained by the temporal dimension of demography and how that links national futures to particular groups of individuals' bodies through the promise of

modern futures and, in the documents written in Vanuatu, the right relation to the past. I also explore how local understandings of social reproduction evoke particular notions of future and past, with gendered implications and sanctions.

What Do the Demographic Experts Say?

The 2009 Vanuatu census reports the following figures: total population 234,023; children under 15: 90,973; youth 15 to 24: 45,423. Since the previous census in 1999, the national growth rate had been 2.3 per cent, while the annual growth rate in Vila had been 4.1 per cent. To put these figures in historical context, from the mid-1800s until the 1940s, missionaries and researchers reported on a rapid population decline in Vanuatu and contributed to scientific debates about race, heredity and human variation in European population sciences (Widmer 2012). Beginning in the 1970s (e.g., Bedford 1973; Bonnemaison 1976) and escalating in the 2000s, there was a concern that the population, especially urban, was growing too rapidly. Currently, the UNFPA states that Vanuatu's "total fertility rate of 3.9 lifetime births per woman is one of the highest in the Pacific" (2012a).[2] The predictions are alarming. Robert F. Grace, who worked at the Port Vila Central Hospital, indicated that the high birth rates "will place intolerable strains on the development of the country" (2002:17). New Zealand demographer Haberkorn writes that the high levels of fertility, urban migration and lack of population policies "have the potential to derail national, regional and international development goals and objectives and, in the process, jeopardize Pacific Leaders' visions of a secure, prosperous and peaceful Pacific Region where people live free and worthwhile lives" (2008:99). Australian Helen Ware (2005) warns that current population growth makes Vanuatu vulnerable to the possibility of political violence, like that in the Solomon Islands or Fiji. All are worried about the large and increasing number of young people who are, or soon will be, having children. Demographers are concerned about youth employment, the unequal position of women, urban migration and low rates of birth control use. Their solutions include a proactive national population policy (Haberkorn 2008), increasing tubal ligations, hormone and barrier methods of contraception (Grace 2002), increasing the education of women (Haberkorn 2008; Grace 2002; Ware 2005) and promoting emigration as a "safety valve" because there are not enough jobs for young people in Vanuatu (Ware 2005).

Such anxieties, linking social and economic problems to rapid population growth, are widely held about island nations in the southwestern Pacific. For example, Graeme Hugo of the University of Adelaide, interviewed

by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, claims that urban demographic growth in Papua New Guinea needs to be taken seriously, as it could eventually lead to social unrest (Razak and Hugo 2012), resulting in the headline "Population Pressure Could Cause 'Melanesian Spring.'" His solution is to promote migration to Australia, as New Zealand has done, which could benefit not only Australia but also would be a viable part of the development plan of the sending nation (Hugo 2009; Razak and Hugo 2012). Finally, on the significance of demographic research, Hugo states: "People are important. And detailed information on populations and the changes we can expect for the future are very important to create equitable, diverse and healthy societies" (Hugo 2012).

In this overview of demographic predictions for Vanuatu, the geopolitical spaces of concern and intervention become apparent in the concern about migration between urban and rural areas and in the proposal for augmenting migration between developed and underdeveloped countries. Experts promote biopolitical interventions of expanding access to biomedical birth control and the education of youth and young women in particular. It is the dreadful future, if change is not made in the present, which gives the knowledge its weight. It is a notion of a future that can be influenced through accounting in a modernizing logic. The predictions call for interventions that evoke the anticipatory dimension of contemporary governance, identified by Adams and colleagues: "The present is governed, almost every scale, as though the future is what mattered most" (2009:48). This is not to contest the good intentions of the demographic experts or the truth of their predictions; rather, it is to look at the categories of knowledge that become objects of intervention—that is, to ask which people are marked for improvement.

Demography and Emergent Population and Youth Policy

In 2010, the government of Vanuatu's approach to using the demographic knowledge was framed within development language: a good future that measures "progress against basic development goals" (Government of Vanuatu 2010:iii) in accordance with the resources available. In February 2012, the *Vanuatu Daily Post* reported on the launch of the National Population Policy Document by then prime minister Sato Kilman, authored by United Nations Population Fund. In his remarks, the prime minister equated good governance and improving quality of life with accurate demographic knowledge of the population, without which planning would be impossible. He continued: "The National Population Policy 2011–2020 is not a 'population control' policy, it does not aim

to tell families how many children they can have nor does it attempt to control population movements within the country"; rather, "the primary goal of the policy is to improve the quality of life through effective planning of development efforts" (Joshua 2012:1). To that date, while birth control was freely available either through NGO clinics or the Maternal Child Health clinic at Port Vila hospital and tubal ligations were available, with husband's signature, programs to act on the demographic knowledge had been modest.

The *Youth Monograph: Young People in Vanuatu* (2012), published by the Vanuatu National Statistics Office, uses data from the *2009 National Population and Housing Census* to focus on young people's experiences. It highlights the importance of a national youth policy, still under revision at the time that the report was published, to meet "Millenial Development Goals' and the well-being of young people. The "Vision of the National Youth Policy" is highlighted in a special text box, as follows:

> The young people of Vanuatu use their energies in constructive ways, availing themselves of traditional and religious values, along with modern technologies, in support of the national's socio-economic development and their financial, physical, social, spiritual and family needs. [2012:11]

Ultimately, the Vanuatu National Youth Policy will identify "the challenges and opportunities young people have in Vanuatu. These are: youth employment ... factors causing malnutrition; reproductive and sexual health; youth health more generally and youth contributions to their community, province and the nation" (2012:13). While the report begins with a fairly broad approach to aspects of young people's lives, including sexual and reproductive health, the remainder of the report has a more narrow focus because

> the census results can only provide data which address three issues, sex ratios of literacy and education rates and the adolescent birth rate. The latter presents a risk to health and the adolescent (15–19 years) birth rate is an important Millennium Development Goal[3] indicator of progress towards improving maternal health. [2012:13]

The report takes youth as a time "marking transition."

> A young person's success or failure in their youth transition will have a strong impact on their later life outcomes. For example, if a young man has a long period of looking for work and/or a series of temporary jobs, this may delay when he leaves home

and sets up his own household. It is also likely to affect his self-confidence, his attitudes to government and his capacity to contribute to his community. Similarly, a young adolescent girl who has a child is at greater risk of dying from complications and her child has a lower chance of survival. Teenage mothers are also more likely to be school dropouts and to have more limited life options as a result. [2012:16]

Continuing in the challenges of transition, "a key marker of the transition to adult status for young people is getting married or forming an informal 'de-facto' relationship by living together with a partner" (2012:19). Furthermore, the report notes, "An important change in behaviour for young people is managing new health risks. Many young people in their late teenage years and in their twenties begin smoking, consuming alcohol and other substances such as kava, and engaging in high-risk sex" (2012:26).

The report compares urban and rural birth rates for women 15 to 19 (77/1000 in rural areas and 40/1,000 in urban areas). The difference perhaps is explained as having "to do with the much higher proportion of young women in urban areas who are still in secondary education."[4] The education level is repeated later in association with adolescent pregnancy:

> Teenage pregnancy is associated with a low level of education attainment.... Young mothers are more likely to have either not been to school at all, or attended only some primary schooling or have only completed primary. In contrast, young women who have completed secondary school are more likely to delay marriage, are less likely to be young mothers and more likely to have fewer children over their lifetime. [2012:30]

To summarize, the framework of the document identifies demographic categories and emphasizes that young people are oriented in time. Ni-Vanuatu[5] young people's success in education, health and marriage takes place by being oriented correctly to tradition, religion, development and modernization. The emphasis is on passing through transitions like education and marriage, not on access to birth control or disseminating knowledge of safer sex. (Though, to be sure, the structure of the census data must be considered a factor here). Young mothers are framed as those who have passed through the "transition" less than successfully.

Disciplining the conduct of women, and mothers in particular, with respect to improving the future or controlling cultural change, is not new in Vanuatu. Women's activities were the focus of Presbyterian missionary endeavours in the late 19th century (Jolly 1991), and

women's mothering abilities were a key interest of scientists during the time of population decline (Jolly 1998, 2001a, 2001b). In a Northern Vanuatu articulation of tradition, women's comportment was curtailed due to the nature of men's labour migration in the 20th century (Jolly 1987). Cummings's analysis shows how young women, especially single or childless, living in Port Vila are "matter out of time" (2009). Here, in the hope of planning a particular future, the discussion of "teenaged mothers," in the demographic knowledge and policy preparation, links individual comportment with the development of a nation in gendered ways.

This is not to be read as a critique of a nascent policy that encourages girls to finish their education. Indeed, the Vanuatu National Statistics Office has been engaged in the promotion of Pacific definitions of well-being that disrupt monolithic development discourses in important ways (Malvatumauri National Council of Chiefs and Vanuatu National Statistics Office 2012). Yet, it is worthwhile to consider the construction of the subjects of concern. The emphasis on transitions, education and marriage, managing concerns like "risky sex," does position the "young mother" as someone who has failed to navigate changes and whose life circumstances stand in the way of the development of the nation.

The Pacific Institute of Public Policy,[6] based in Port Vila, published a four-page discussion paper on demographic growth and the troubled future of democracy in Melanesia. The paper's focus is democracy in the region and, with that in mind, the demographic situation is a potential threat because young people—a growing population—are "tired of the status quo" (2011:3), like youth in the Middle East. To the institute's thinking, the challenges that a youth population faces are less a problem of fertility than effective governance and land distribution. The institute states:

> Young people are getting angrier at the increasingly alienation of their birthright—their land. There are more and more young people, increasingly urbanized, many without *kastom* land to return to and few opportunities for formal employment. Higher costs of living, rising food prices and land being sold off to foreigners are all adding to the pressure. What happens when a couple of generations have no jobs and no land? [2011:3]

The discussion paper defines *kastom* as a "pijin word used to refer to traditional culture, including religion, economics, art and tradition in Melanesia" (2011:3). Anthropologists have also had a sustained interest in kastom, which in Vanuatu—to summarize a vast literature—refers to specific items and aspects in indigenous

knowledge and practices (Bolton 2003: 51). While it is part of a post-colonial national discourse (e.g., Mitchell 2011), produced in opposition to missionary judgements and colonial impositions (e.g., Tonkinson 1982), kastom also tends to be invoked in moral ways with respect to what "our ancestors did" in opposition to external influences. Of note here, which will be elaborated below, is a discourse that selectively evokes the importance of past practices in the present with an ethical inflection.

Anthropologists have analyzed the effects of the global reach of demographic and population knowledge in public health policy and the resulting family planning programs and maternal health care clinics in their work with women and health workers. These policies and projects have had varying degrees of success for many reasons. Most significantly their accomplishments can be limited because the biomedical definition of sex, birth and pregnancy is insufficiently recognized as culturally and politically inflected (Adams and Pigg 2005; Berry 2010; Chapman 2010) and because the projects do not challenge systemic problems and end up reproducing inequalities (Maternowska 2006). When considering how expert knowledge becomes part of development schemes and policies, Li astutely claims that, "while the will to govern is expansive, there is nothing determinate about the outcomes" (2007:280). This is particularly true here, when the policy is not yet written, let alone at the point of implementation. As the policies are emergent, I discuss contemporary concerns about population and social reproduction in daily life. "Young people" and "women," in addition to being demographic categories that can be used to predict futures, are also social categories whose local meanings inform how demographic and population knowledge circulates and shapes people's daily lives. Connecting the mounting numbers and the demographic category of "teenaged mother" to young women's lives during pregnancy is the focus of the remainder of the article.

Time, Population Increase and Social Reproduction

Since the publication of the 2009 census, the Vanuatu government has posted a "live population clock" outside the main government building opposite the main market house in downtown Port Vila. The sign is also posted on the Vanuatu National Statistics office website (Vanuatu National Statistics Office 2012). There is a widespread awareness that the population is increasing rapidly in Port Vila and in Pango village, the peri-urban village where I lived during ethnographic fieldwork in 2003 and 2010. Here, I focus on the population increase due to birth and not on people's concern about urban popula-

tion increase due to migration, which highlights inter-island differences and fuels anxieties about meeting kinship obligations (Widmer 2013).

One of the ways that alarm circulated about the increasing number of births was in the rumours about the number of births per month at the Port Vila Central Hospital. As well, stories of women who had just given birth having to sleep on mats on the hospital floor would frequently be told in Pango and Port Vila. While these rumours implicitly highlight the unacceptable lack of hospital resources commonly faced in developing countries, it was the number of "young mothers" that was a central factor in the explanations of the hospital numbers.

When bringing my older daughter home from the preschool in the village, I greeted an older woman and we exchanged news. She put down the baskets she was carrying and told me all the things she was doing for the church and her family. She had been working a pastor's garden, assisting with a fund-raiser and taking care of children. "I work for the community," she said, "I always think about others, not like those young mothers." In many such discussions, particularly with older adults, young mothers would be grouped with other social issues associated with youth and deemed problematic, such as excessive kava, smoking or drug use. "Young mothers" also elicited pity—they were fervently prayed for on Mother's Day in church. When I inquired about the factors that made young mothers so challenging, I heard, especially from older generations, that the fact women were young was a problem, but equally if not more dubious was the fact that they were unmarried. Young mothers were reproached for being reckless, as not thinking about the future or "the consequences of their actions." They were considered stubborn (*strong hed*) and also at times selfish. Strong hed is frequently used to describe children who do not do as they are told or adults who do not do follow expectations. Selfish, in Pango, means many things, but here it is referring to not engaging in social obligations and relationships that link the current generation of young adults with older ones (see also Lind in press).

When I listened to the life stories of the oldest women in Pango (as part of my project to understand the changes to women's knowledge of pregnancy and birth from the 1950s to today), the pattern of the narratives would be some variation of the following: "I was born in this island/village, I had children, married and moved to Pango, or this area of Pango, and now all my children are married and live in these places, and so, thank God, I can rest now." Pregnancies frequently preceded marriages but, for most older mothers and grandmothers in Pango, marriage was something they did. Often, though certainly not always, they married in conjunction with the arrangement their fathers had made. The idealized life narrative for young women today also includes completing an education, preferably before marriage and children. In these milestones, the idealized life narrative represents moments that in Vanuatu are explicitly not individual milestones but points in a life where obligations of generational expectations are enacted, as a subsequent section will show.

"I just wanted to be invisible": Young Women *Stap Qwaet*

In 2010, together with a young woman from Pango, we interviewed 16 women about their experiences during pregnancy, birth and the immediate postpartum time. They all had children less than one year of age and most could be considered "young mothers" or were when they had their first child. Afternoons being a time when there is a lull in the never-ending duties of laundering, cooking and gardening, we sat on pandanus mats under shelters outside corrugated iron houses, at tables or on couches in cement houses and listened. Many of the young women were not married to the father of the child and lived with their own parents and extended families, usually on land owned by their kin group but occasionally in rented housing. The married mothers had often moved to a new house with their husband on the land owned by their husband's kin.

"I just wanted to be invisible," a young woman told me about the time when she was pregnant. Indeed, as we listened to their experiences of pregnancy, birth and the early postpartum time, among the unmarried mothers, we frequently heard about how women would *stap qwaet*[7] and not go out much during their pregnancy. As elsewhere in Vanuatu, pregnant women in Pango can be seen as vulnerable to sorcery (Bourdy and Walter 1992:187) and are encouraged to *no wokbaot*—that is, to stay close to home and avoid places where sorcery attacks could happen. Also, pregnant women would be aware of the sanction to avoid, at any time of day; those dangerous places in the landscape (*tabu ples*) where their clan's (*naflak*) ancestral spirits are present.

There are additional reasons, in this situation, to stap qwaet or no wokbaot during pregnancy. Often there were unanswered questions about how their own and the baby's future would unfold. The young women wanted to avoid the possible gossip—potentially sympathetic or cruel—about their pregnancy, however temporarily, so they might go out of their way to avoid being seen. Learning when to stap qwaet, Cummings (2008) writes, is an aspect of managing feminine sexual

modesty in Vanuatu. Staying out of sight is a means of avoiding being the source of gossip, that ubiquitous activity of sexual culture. Young pregnant women who were unmarried, and this is a frequent circumstance, are particularly affected by fear of gossip.

Concern with not being seen did not appear to affect young women's access to biomedical care during pregnancy, though in a few cases, it delayed it. Fear of gossip did affect access to family planning, in that fear of being seen at the clinic kept young women from going to get information and supplies, a point reiterated in my many conversations with community workers, peer health educators and family planning counsellors (see also Cummings 2008). In well over half of the interviews, the young women said that they first received information about family planning at their first postpartum visit. Most said that they wished they had more family planning information sooner and identified this as a problem that needed to be solved.

Spoilem Fiujia

The young women also worried about the reactions of the parents of the prospective father, who, according to the selectively invoked kastom, was not obligated to acknowledge the child without a marriage. But more than anything, the young women feared the anger of their own parents (who generally welcomed the baby once it was born). They feared being chastised that they had not thought about "the consequences" or that they had "ruined their future" (*spoilem fiuja*).

And yet, the parents of the prospective father would not chastise (*tok strong*) him in the same way. Nor is there really a social category of "young father" that evokes the same feelings of worry and frustration. When we talked about this discrepancy with the young women—a topic that elicited smiles and giggles—we typically heard that kastom puts men higher; women are *strong hed* and don't think about the consequences, and, because of kastom, the parents of the (unmarried) girl have to look after her and the baby.

There is a broadly held hope, among those who can financially manage to stay in school, that young women finish school before having children. Straying from this opens one up to disciplinary measures, from parents and older generations, about ruining the future. While some young women told us that this might be true, that young women needed to think more about the future, others deeply resented the judgements of people who react as though the young women had intentionally ruined their future. With regard to comments about how disappointed some older adults were that she got

pregnant, one young woman told me that she had not done it on purpose but that "it just happened!" This is not naiveté but an intelligent woman making a noteworthy point. She is evoking the volatility of the relationship between desire and pregnancy (and the prevention of pregnancy) and the uncertainty of the future. It is also highlighting the difficulty of controlling life events in demanding social circumstances with few resources.

Becoming a mother is challenging under all circumstances and, to be sure, more so if one fits the demographic and social category of "young mother." Still, within the options they had, most of the young women I knew did not stop working to make a good future for themselves and their children after this life transition. Young mothers participated in subsistence agriculture and paid and unpaid household labour and child care, making it possible for those with wage work in their own household and in others to hold their jobs in town. Some young mothers held civil service and NGO positions; still others continued their education or started their own businesses. These productive activities were more possible for those who had all variety of support, at that time mostly from their parents and siblings.

"Young Mothers" and Times of Rapid Social Change

The criticism of young unmarried mothers is to be understood in the context of a widespread feeling of crisis about the future. In Pango, 2010 was a stressful and divisive time due to disputes over land sales and the chiefly title. Indeed, the land transfers to foreign holdings had reached such an extent that many wondered whether life as they knew it could continue. The resorts in the village and in close proximity to it gave Pango the reputation among other island groups in Port Vila that they have "spoiled their future." One man in Pango told me, while gathering his nets after fishing on the reef and gesturing to the coastal land sold to developers, that "in the future, people from Pango will be begging in the street." The idea that a group of people would have to live from begging—an activity with no cultural precedent in Vanuatu—is a dire comment on the fear of a complete undermining of how life had hitherto been lived. Pango village, given its proximity to the capital, was incorporated into colonial projects more intensely than other places in the archipelago (Rawlings 1999). Still, this has been a place where people had sustainable social and environmental networks that shaped forms of exchanges and obligations, which in turn formed the basis of sociality. Without doubt, the social forms have

shifted; yet, in many ways they persisted through the forms of colonialism and capitalism and Christianity that had been taken up and inculcated in Vanuatu. But at that point in 2010, those bases of sociality felt under threat.

During this tense time, a village-wide event, which managed to mobilize most people's excitement, resources and time in a whirlwind of carefully recorded gift exchanges, was a double wedding of two lovely, very pregnant women to two brothers from a prominent family. The importance of weddings for social reproduction in Pango and elsewhere is obviously manifold. Of relevance for this discussion about temporal frameworks and social reproduction is the oldest generation in Pango maintains that weddings are the only situation in Pango where real kastom is still practiced. As evidence of kastom, I was told that a bride price[8] is generally paid (depending on the Christian denomination) and traditional wealth items such as yams, pigs and mats are exchanged. In historical narratives in Pango, women are described as peacemakers between villages, families and clans (naflak) through marriage arrangements. In ideal situations, a woman would go to her father's naflak, and then a woman from that clan would marry into hers. While these unions were possible to break and were not universal, even in previous generations, they are much less common now.

Contemporary marriages are more of a circumstance for the fulfilment and regeneration of obligations between parents and their now adult children than they are of relations between clans (though clans are not absent). The marriage is agreed upon by both sets of parents and the engagement is formalized in a ceremony. Then in the months leading to the wedding, there are meetings of family members where it is decided how the wedding will be paid for, creating relationships between the two kin groups. In 2010, the preparations for the bride price ceremony, the church wedding and feast after the church wedding involved many, if not most, families in the village. The women were occupied with sewing dresses, making mats and baskets and food preparation, while the men were engaged with shelter-making and pig preparations. There were frequent trips into town to buy what could not be found in the gardens. Then, the gifts given at the events of the marriage are meticulously listed in columns in a book; this will be consulted in order to be able to reciprocate properly at future weddings.

The social importance of the wide net of relations for families whose adult children are getting married and for everyone in the village cannot be underestimated. Weddings are a time of demonstrating the extent of relationships and that obligations are being met between generations and between families in the village. Participating in exchanges performs the "right" orientation to the past and future. It demonstrates that there is reciprocity between older and upcoming generations and also shows the socially acceptable combinations of kastom and Christianity. Weddings, in short, are no place for the selfish.

In marriage, multiple obligations—some of them identified as kastom, some identified as Christian—to other generations are honoured. Being in right orientation to the future and the past is evidenced in how one meets one's obligations to other generations. "Young mothers" challenge this. Unmarried young mothers at this moment in time, marked by multifactorial rapid population growth and accelerated integration into market economies, have the difficult position of being visible and vulnerable examples of people who are sometimes deemed selfish and reckless and at other times are pitied.

I have argued here that paying attention to temporal frameworks is a way to analyze the connection between demographic knowledge and local understandings of population growth. This is a way to address Duden's concern that the population categories of statistical knowledge "can generate the semblance of a referent which may only be a pseudo-reality" (1992:149). I have discussed the temporal dimensions of the rationale in the *Youth Monograph*. The publication combines the language of development and modernization with locally and morally inflected politics of gender and generation. The publication emphasizes traditional values for youth, as well as marriage and education before having children. From interviews and ethnographic research, I have shown that in social circulation, these factors also make young women want to be invisible during their pregnancies.

The social identity of "young people" in Vanuatu, Mitchell (2011) writes, carries multiple meanings as young people can be the "most vulnerable victims" of social change, as well as a generation with insufficient respect for traditional authority. Women in Vanuatu, Cummings argues, "are deemed culpable for the negative effects of social change" (2008:134). The "young mother," with respect to the social change associated with rapid population growth and birthrate, is at the intersections of these narrations that attempt to account for rapid social change. These intersections create circumstances for social marginalization in young mothers' everyday lives. It also means that "young mothers" are implicitly a threat to collective futures in distinction to married mothers.

Conclusion

There have been calls to bring anthropological and demographic inquiry together to understand the social and biological dynamics of fertility and reproduction. In a landmark volume, Greenhalgh called for the demographic study of fertility and reproduction to include "four aspects of reproductive dynamics: culture, history, gender and power" (1995:5) (see also Kertzer and Fricke 1997; Szreter et al. 2004). In Melanesia in particular, Ulijaszek's (2008) volume portrays the importance of understanding local symbols and subsistence practices that connect the social and biological reproduction of individuals, populations and landscapes. Here, as a lens for thinking through the social and political entanglements of knowledge and social and biological reproduction, I have called attention to a politics of temporality. In times of population growth and rapid changes in land use and capitalist expansion, as is the case in Vanuatu, the future is a particularly contested terrain. I have shown how the expert knowledge of demography accrues authority in predicting particular futures that entail action in the present. Analyzing knowledge and representations of population size is vital, as these products of demographic expertise are part of how Pacific islands get incorporated into international development agendas. Ni-Vanuatu concerns over social reproduction also entail temporal dimensions in that concern for the future requires being in right relation to the past. These expectations and anxieties come to bear on expectations for young women.

The biopolitical and geopolitical spaces of proposed intervention associated with demographic expertise carry dire pictures of the future if action is not taken. In examining the social entanglements of demographic knowledge in Vanuatu, I find it noteworthy that demographic knowledge has had modest biopolitical and geopolitical effects with respect to government policies, NGO programs and practice. Most salient is the temporal dimension of demographic knowledge that articulates with ni-Vanuatu social categories and politics of gender and generation to accentuate the ways that young mothers should orient themselves in time.

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Acknowledgments

Notes

1 There is also a fascinating literature that analyzes the temporal dimensions of birth and contraceptive knowledge. Women's reproductive decisions are shaped by cultural notions of time and the lifecycle (Bledsoe 2002). This is especially true about contraceptive use when the future is uncertain due to political and social upheaval (Johnson Hanks 2005). Temporal categories apply to fertility and contraceptive practices in Melanesia as elsewhere (Johnson Hanks 2002). Birthing techniques and the location of birth, classified as traditional or modern, also carry both material and symbolic entanglements (McPherson 1994, 2007; Van Hollen 2003). Knauft (2002) demonstrates the analytical richness of the temporal frameworks at play in framing social works in Melanesia, and Wardlow (2006) lucidly shows that modernities are multiple and overlaid with traditionalisms in gendered ways.

2 Another UNFPA document states that Vanuatu's challenge is to implement its recently approved population policy to pay attention to

> accelerating the fertility transition, which appears to have stalled; Verifying maternal deaths and improving the reliability and completeness of data collection ... Improving access to safe motherhood and emergency obstetric care; Investigating and addressing increased infant mortality in urban areas; Addressing high teenage fertility, particularly in rural areas; Reducing the high rate of unemployment among urban youth. [UNFPA 2012b:1]

3 The youth Millennium Development Goals are as follows:

Goal 1: achieving full and productive employment and decent work for young men and women;
Goal 2: ensuring that children complete their primary schooling, and
Goal 3: eliminating gender disparity at all levels of education.
[Goal 4 absent in monograph]
Goal 5: improving maternal health by reducing the maternal mortality rate and universal access to reproductive health is vital to young mothers in particular.
Goal 6: on combating HIV & AIDS, malaria and other diseases is also highly relevant to young people, in particular preventing HIV & AIDS and assisting those have the ailment. [2012:13]

4 The province of Torba stands out with a high adolescent fertility rate of 116 births per 1,000 of females aged 15 to 19 years. The fertility rate in other provinces is as follows: Sanma (78), Malampa (74), Penama (68) and Tafea (67). Shefa province, which includes Port Vila, has the lowest rate (50).

5 *Ni-Vanuatu*, a postindependence term, are indigenous citizens of Vanuatu.

6 The Pacific Institute of Public Policy is an "independent, not-for-profit and non-partisan think tank, and exists to stimulate and support informed policy debate affecting Pacific island countries" (2011:4).

7 A Bislama term that literally means "being quiet". Bislama is the lingua franca of Vanuatu.

8 *Bride price* is the term from Bislama, the lingua franca in Vanuatu.

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Afterword: Expertise in Our Time

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Introduction

What do we talk about when we talk about expertise? What does it mean to be an expert? Who decides what counts as expertise and what does not? Today, at a time when we are awash in digital information, often to the point of information overload, these questions reflect a kind of expertise anxiety that may well be a hallmark of the contemporary, so-called digital age. This anxiety is exacerbated (especially, I would argue, among academics), by what I think of as expertise inflation: we live in a time when it seems like almost anyone with Internet access, a well-curated blog, clever branding and enough interest, can be a self-proclaimed expert on almost any topic. It is no accident that, after reading the collected articles in this issue, I was inspired to think about contested perspectives on expertise as a sign of our times—both the epochal time of the digital age and the turbulent times, as Annelise Riles (2013) called them in her keynote address to the Canadian Anthropological Society—post-2008 market meltdown. The key contribution the authors in this thematic section make to the anthropology of knowledge is not only their close attention to the production and circulation of various modes of expertise; rather, what makes these articles so compelling and, indeed, so *timely* is their insistence that expert knowledge is always bound up with temporality. Expert knowledge, as Alexandra Widmer points out in her introduction, becomes expert knowledge precisely by "mobilizing and naturalizing experiences of time" and by compelling people "to orient themselves in time in particular ways."

Just as expertise anxiety and expertise inflation can be used to describe the way that the neoliberal "knowledge economy" is experienced and felt in the new digital age, so too have other contests over expert knowledge located elsewhere in space and time been inextricably linked to the politics of temporality. As Nicola Mooney points out in her article, keen anthropological attention has been paid of late to those more spatial aspects of

contemporary life; to relationships between the global and the local. However, the significance of the temporal tends to be lost, or at least pushed to the margins, when we focus so much of our attention on flux and flows. As these articles demonstrate, bringing time and the temporal into focus provides a way to think critically about connections between types and effects of expert knowledge across a wide variety of contexts that might otherwise seem loosely connected at best: objects of conversion, including 150-year-old eyeglasses and demographic reports in Vanuatu (Mitchell and Widmer, respectively), protests against educational reforms in Chile (Rita Henderson), British colonial depictions of Jat Sikhs in India (Mooney), and the working conditions of anthropologists-as-employees in a small Canadian university (UdoKrautwurst).

Several of the articles (particularly those by Widmer, Mitchell and Mooney), discuss anthropological expertise as it is produced and circulates alongside other kinds of expert knowledge. The question of the relative value of anthropological expertise and how best to wield it, though not the explicit focus of the collection, was nonetheless always in the back of my mind as I contemplated these articles. Perhaps this is due in part to the fact that, like Widmer and Mitchell, I have also conducted fieldwork in Vanuatu, where I had to come to terms with the ways in which my own expertise was understood by my local interlocutors. After much hand-wringing over whether or not I was comfortable with my role as a cultural expert, I realized that, if we do not lay claim to our own expertise, someone else will gladly do it for us (Cummings 2005). As Krautwurst so adeptly reminds us (and here it is worth noting that the "us" both he and I refer to is anthropologists who work in the academy as researchers and teachers) in his essay, not only are anthropologists, as members of "the faculty" part of an "enunciatory community of expertise," we are also experts at something quite particular—doing ethnography and interrogating common sense. However, our expertise does not exist in a vacuum. For those of us working in the academy, the conditions under which we are able to produce and exercise our expertise (by doing fieldwork and writing ethnography) are caught up in the ways in which we, as university employees, are made to conceptualize and then fit our time into research time, teaching time and service time. As the working conditions under which we compartmentalize our time change in the neoliberal university, so too do the conditions under which we are able to produce and circulate our own expertise.

For instance, I know of few colleagues who think of themselves as experts at service, yet, as Krautwurst

points out, time served is increasingly one of the key econometric measures against which faculty are assessed. Furthermore, as I discuss in further detail at the end of this article, the role of student/consumer demand in shaping our expertise, so omnipresent in academic work-life today (for instance, in the way that we conceptualize our expertise as teachers with strengths in particular high-demand areas), is often downplayed in the research-focused future we discuss with our graduate students. The fact that neither service time nor student/consumer-driven demand are part of the anticipatory regime into which anthropology graduate students are inculcated but *are* such crucial aspects of contemporary academic life, deserves scrutiny—exactly the kind of ethnographic scrutiny that Krautwurst asks us to undertake. His article questions how the way we think critically about expert knowledge, or attempt to do an anthropology of knowledge, might be tied up in and shaped by our own disciplinary norms, practices and expectations (or disappointments) surrounding expertise. Below, I explore a few of the themes and insights about time and the expert that arise in this collection of articles, always keeping in mind what they might tell us about the conditions of circulation and production of our own expertise. In the end, I return briefly to the questions Krautwurst raises about anthropologist-as-employee and employee-as-anthropologist.

Expertise and Orientations in Time

A kind of time known as "the future" looms large in each of these articles. In every case, the workings of expert knowledge pay little heed to the complexities of the present, failing to do them justice. Fortunately, the expertise of anthropologists, which as noted above, often circulates alongside other kinds of expert knowledge, is firmly grounded in the ethnographic present. A strength of these articles is their steadfast attention to the everyday realities of the present and their dedication to taking lay knowledge, which inhabits the present, seriously. The irony here is that it is through this focus in and on the present that the complexities of various futures come into focus. For not all futures are created equal and, as these articles demonstrate, visions of the future and contested understandings of what is at stake in the future, look very different depending on whose expertise defines them and to what end. For instance, Mitchell and Mooney, focusing on historical missionary and colonial expertise on the New Hebridean island of Aneityum and in India under British rule, respectively, each illuminate the means by which experts deployed new temporal frameworks to implement their agendas. On Aneityum, Reverend Geddie, an expert not just on Presbyterianism

but, more generally, in the art of persuasion and conversion, understood the significance of temporality for inculcating Christian conduct. Convincing islanders to convert to Christianity, for Geddie, meant refashioning local cycles of ritual time (and therefore chiefly expertise) with a more suitably Christian temporality; for instance, a seven-day week with a Sabbath. Mitchell suggests that paying attention to the materiality of conversion to Christianity—encoded in everyday objects such as eyeglasses, stones, books and arrowroot—deflects the tendency to view conversion and its temporalities in singular ways, either as cultural projects of continuities or as ruptures with the past. Geddie's success on Aneityum is not only reflected in contemporary Christian practice, it is also reflected more broadly in the contemporary understanding, throughout Vanuatu, of the introduction of Christianity as a moment of rupture between the heathen past (the time of darkness) and the Christian present (the time of light). Similarly, Mooney describes the way that British colonial experts framed the Jat Sikh community as unparalleled farmers and soldiers, a framework that has since been taken up by the community itself as a post-colonial badge of honour and identity marker (regardless of how many contemporary Jat Sikhs actually participate in farming or soldiering). Expert colonial knowledge of the Jat Sikhs as farmers and soldiers par excellence drew heavily on a time; once categorized as superior yeomen with great military prowess, the Jat Sikhs were conceptually brought into the modern time and space of the British and, furthermore, were understood to be temporally "ahead" of other colonial subjects—simply put, less traditional and more modern.

In the articles by Widmer and Henderson, *anticipation* is highlighted as a key feature of future-oriented expertise. Anticipation seems, at first glance, to be beyond critique or reproach; after all, those things we anticipate are those things we look forward to, hope for and wish could come sooner. Or are they? Perhaps it depends on who you ask. In contemporary Vanuatu, Widmer writes, "The present is governed according to the future." The future at stake in this case is the one anticipated in the expert knowledge of demographers, one in which the archipelago, and especially its urban areas, are anticipated as overpopulated and underdeveloped. In the present, this anticipatory expert knowledge marks certain segments of the growing population for improvement and intervention; in this case, young mothers. Moreover, expert anxiety over young mothers, and their potential to derail a certain kind of future (one in which Vanuatu develops according to expert plans and timelines), translates into often-complementary forms of lay knowledge about gender and generation: young women (particularly unwed mothers) are held collectively and individually responsible for the birthrate and are alternately castigated as pitiful, reckless, selfish and strongheaded. While demographic experts, or those development experts informed by demographic predictions, are adept at targeting certain populations for intervention, it is worth noting that a little anthropological, ethnographic expertise could go a long way in this case. During my own fieldwork in Vanuatu (also with young women, many of whom were unwed mothers), exasperated expatriate development workers would often ask me why, in my expert opinion, so many unwed girls and women get pregnant. My expert opinion—that many of these same development workers were so taken in by discourses of demographic doom that they failed, quite simply, to systematically *ask young women themselves*—usually fell on deaf ears. Likewise, Widmer shows how the anticipatory temporality of demographic expertise focuses attention and often interventions in ways that are not often particularly useful in the present: stories of young mothers giving birth on mats on the floor in Port Vila hospital for lack of space in the overflowing maternity ward are cast as indicating a problem with an excess of young mothers, rather than with the desperately under-resourced conditions at the hospital.

In Chile, as Henderson demonstrates, the anticipated future, one in which development will flourish, is not merely planned but, rather, is *enabled* by the work and knowledge of neoliberal planning experts. The future is more than anticipated; it is seen to be a collectively shared fait accompli. To anticipate and enact this "flourishing future" requires that experts and lay people alike ignore the conditions of the present—for instance, the detrimental effects of neoliberal educational reforms that motivated the 2011 student protests. Moreover, the envisioning of a single, shared, uncontested future requires a peculiar reorientation to, if not a complete effacement of, the unsettled and unsettling past in Chile. As in Vanuatu, where young mothers, and even youth in general, challenge proper expert-informed orientations to the present *and* the past, so too do anticipatory frameworks in contemporary Chile have the unintended consequence of reorienting students' attitudes to both the past and the future in a way that produces intergenerational fissures. For instance, former teacher (and returned exile) Don Tito recalls having learned, in his own days as a student, to be political in particular ways and to orient himself to the future by envisioning himself as an active participant in bringing it to fruition. Today's students, he says, are differently oriented and, indeed, fearful of *both* the past and the future: increasingly

restrictive curricula (from which, for one thing, the word *dictatorship* has been expunged in favour of the less politically loaded *military government*) and an increasingly privatized education system both discourages them from imagining themselves as active participants in history and limits their imaginings of future possibilities to that of cheap and flexible labour. In short, educational reform experts in Chile ignore the present (and selectively engage the past) to anticipate the future.

Henderson's article, with its ethnographic attention to the present (she herself worked as a teacher in the reforming Chilean education system), exemplifies how we might put our own disciplinary expertise to good use in the service of a critical anthropology of knowledge. Understanding educational reforms in Chile requires understanding what Adams et al. (2009) call *abduction*, a mode of temporal politics that replaces histories of the present with histories of the future. In Canada, such abduction in the academy can be seen in anticipatory slogans such as "The University of the Future" or, in the case of my own institution, "Tomorrow is Created Here." Krautwurst's article is ultimately a call for us (anthropologists working in the academy as both teachers and researchers) to pay the same attention to the academy in transition at home that Henderson pays to educational reform in Chile and to which each of the authors here pay to their respective field sites and ethnographic documents.

Time, Seduction and Doing Damage

Why is it that the kind of ethnography of the academy under neoliberal governmentality that Krautwurst calls for has, for the most part, been left undone (see Meneley and Young 2005 for one notable exception)? One reason, he notes, is that "we have been too busy as *ethnographers* [that is, putting in the research time required to succeed as academics] to be aware of the field qua field shaping expertise." He also notes that the sort of econometric, "audit culture" expertise that is usually called upon to study, measure, evaluate and shape the future of the academy is so far removed from the kinds of questions anthropologist ask and methods we employ as to make our own expertise seem woefully inappropriate and inexpert. Here, by way of conclusion, I'd like to suggest a few other reasons, inspired by the other articles in this issue, to underscore the urgency of Krautwurst's suggestion that we need to "do damage" (Fabian 1991) in and to the current academic status quo by studying not just up but *across* and turning our critical gaze to the conditions of our own employment as they determine the conditions of our own expertise-making.

First, to borrow from Krautwurst's discussion of ducts and "duction," expert knowledge is *seductive*. And although it is not an explicit focus of these articles, the key role of material objects in this seduction is implicitly raised in several of the articles (and explicitly by Mitchell). We have been presented with several examples of material objects imbued with seductive expertise. Reverend Geddie's eyeglasses, the rusted printing press and the ruins of the once-impressive Presbyterian church on Aneityum act as haunting reminders of Geddie's expertise in the art of persuasion and they continue to index the temporalities of conversion. The real-time population clock in Port Vila flashes its expertly generated doomsday numbers directly across the road from the central location of market house, the one place in the town where it might be viewed by ni-Vanuatu, expatriates and tourists in equal numbers, turning individual issues of fertility and sexuality into a spectacle to be consumed (and fretted over). When he enters his field site, Krautwurst dons a white lab coat, which he describes as "one of the most potent signs of modern times about modern times." In Chile, economic reforms mean that one of Henderson's informants is able to orient himself to the future, not by investing in his family's future but by purchasing a television on credit. In the Punjab, the introduction of European temporalities was accomplished, at least in part, through the introduction of calendars, clocks, railways and irrigation systems.

How might the seductiveness of objects imbued with expertise apply to our work, as anthropologists, in the academy (or, our anthropology, as workers in the academy)? Myriad relevant objects spring to mind: cell phones, laptops, tablets and i-Clickers, to name just a few. The ubiquity of these objects in our classrooms and the collective anxiety about them that I hear in my corridor talk with colleagues is telling in and of itself. However, it also leads to my second point, inspired by the theme of these articles, about the contemporary state of affairs in the academy. All of these objects are used, by academics, administrators and students alike, to mark a shift in the academy that is understood on distinctly temporal terms: these objects are all part and parcel of the digital age and they are temporally marked (and often lamented or disparaged) as the tools of "the Millenials" or "Generation Y." On the one hand, we tend to talk (not always, but often) about these objects in terms of their seductiveness and as if theirs is a seduction that threatens to undermine our own expertise as scholars and teachers. I suspect that most of the academic anthropologists I know, if forced to make a choice, would identify more closely with Reverend Geddie's desire to shift Aneityumese understandings of

time by teaching the islanders to read and write than they would with those students who proclaim their desire to complete all of their course requirements via smartphone. On the other hand, I think that we may make too much of the temporal significance and seductiveness of these technologies in our attempts to understand the changing conditions of our own employment. For instance, research on the shifting nature of the academy, already rather limited in quantity, tends to be rather limited in scope by its temporal focus on "kids these days." One recent collection on the nature of today's academy is entitled *Generation X Professors Speak: Voices from Academia* (Watson 2013), and it contains an essay seductively entitled "Let X = Professor, Now Solve for Y: or, How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love Millenials" (Falcetta 2013). Two recent ethnographic studies, Susan Blum's *My Word! Plagiarism and College Culture* (2009) and Rebekah Nathan's *My Freshman Year: What a Freshman Learned by Becoming a Student* (2005), also enlist generation as a key site of difference and as an explanatory mechanism. All are interesting reads and give valuable insights into the mindset and expectations of today's students, but neither, I would argue, come close to doing damage in the way that Krautwurst suggests we ought to.

A more "damaging" approach, one that still focuses on the relationship between expertise and temporality, might focus not on Millenials as a generation, nor on their love of technological gadgetry, but rather on the fact that today's students, as Krautwurst points out, have never known anything other than neoliberal times and have subsequently developed neoliberal agency. Richard Handler's recent essay "Disciplinary Adaptation and Undergraduate Desire: Anthropology and Global Development Studies in the Liberal Arts Curriculum" (2013) explores students' neoliberal agency in action and demonstrates precisely how said agency (coupled with administrative pressures) shaped his own working conditions as an anthropologist. A group of highly motivated students at the University of Virginia desired, and successfully lobbied for, curricular innovation in the form of a new undergraduate major in global development studies. Handler, who became the director of the program, documents the challenges he faced in incorporating "anthropological wisdom" (Handler 2013:189) or expertise into the new interdisciplinary major. One of the most vexing, and telling, difficulties was that students were less interested in developing deep disciplinary expertise than they were in cultivating a specific skill set that would lead to future employment opportunities in the field of international development. Undergraduate desire for a morally admirable and, most importantly, a

useful and "engaged" curriculum (which, as Krautwurst points out, has increasingly come to characterize what the Canadian university "should" do in neoliberal times) puts anthropologists in the awkward position of needing to speak responsibly on behalf of the discipline, while still achieving access to institutional resources for intellectual and pedagogical projects. Handler suggests two tactics based on his own experience: "Anthropologists can lend their energies [and expertise] outside their departments to interdisciplinary programs ... or we can try to 'corner the market' on trendy topics by bringing them inside the anthropology major" (2013:196). These are the kinds of choices anthropologists as university employees increasingly face, and we rarely think (or write) ethnographically about how these choices, so characteristic of our times, shape our own expert knowledge. Handler echoes Krautwurst's call to do damage when he states, "Social-cultural anthropologists are well-suited to analyzing the political dynamics and cultural significance of university structures; now we must learn to play with them" (2013:201). Read together, the articles in this volume provide a much-needed ethnographic and theoretical toolkit for doing so. As Handler concludes, this kind of attention to our own time(s) and our own expert knowledge may be essential to our institutional survival.

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Chefferie, Bétail et Politique : Un notable kanak contre la revendication d'indépendance en Nouvelle-Calédonie

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Résumé : Cet article propose une ethnographie du militantisme autochtone contre l'indépendance en Nouvelle-Calédonie à partir de la trajectoire singulière d'Auguste Poadja, un leader kanak « loyaliste » de la commune rurale de Koné. Au-delà des explications classiques en termes « d'aliénation », son engagement politique découlait en pratique d'une stratégie de domination locale, fondée sur une double collaboration avec l'État français et les éleveurs européens. Dans cette perspective, son hostilité envers la décolonisation exprimait d'abord le refus de toute modification des règles du « jeu colonial » auxquelles il s'était conformé, en tant que « grand chef » et « stockman ». À partir des enjeux et des conflits locaux articulés au débat plus large sur l'indépendance, cette ethnographie historique du loyalisme politique kanak souligne finalement toute la complexité des dynamiques coloniales appréhendées « au ras du sol ».

Mots-clés : Décolonisation, relations raciales, politique, chefferie, bétail, France d'Outre-Mer, Nouvelle-Calédonie

Abstract: This paper provides an ethnography of indigenous activism against independence in New Caledonia, through the case of Auguste Poadja, a Kanak "loyalist" leader from the rural municipal district of Koné. Beyond classical explanations in terms of "alienation," his political commitment was related in practical terms to a strategy of local domination, based on collaboration with both the French State and the white settlers. In this perspective, his hostility to decolonization reflected his refusal to have the rules of the "colonial game"—which he had been playing both as a "grand chef" and a "stockman"— changed. While analysing local stakes and conflicts articulated to the wider debate on independence, this historical ethnography of Kanak political "loyalism" eventually underlines the complexity of colonial dynamics when seen "from below."

Keywords: Decolonization, race relations, politics, chiefdom, cattle industry, France's Overseas Territories, New Caledonia

Introduction

Au cours des années 1970, le mouvement indépendantiste kanak a émergé sur la scène politique de la Nouvelle-Calédonie en produisant un discours militant nouveau axé sur la dénonciation du fait colonial. Dans cette ancienne colonie de peuplement française du Pacifique Sud, comptant 133 000 habitants selon le recensement de 1976 (dont 42 pour cent d'autochtones kanak), la remise en cause des rapports sociaux hérités de la colonisation s'est articulée de façon étroite aux souvenirs des injustices et des violences de la période coloniale statutaire proprement dite (1853–1946), transmis par les « vieux »[1], de génération en génération, jusqu'aux leaders nationalistes (Tjibaou 1996). Originaire de la « tribu » (village kanak) de Poindah au sein de la commune rurale de Koné (nord-ouest) où j'ai mené une enquête de terrain approfondie entre 2002 et 2004, Auguste Poadja (1916–2005) était l'un de ces témoins de l'époque coloniale. Les propos qu'il m'a tenus sur les spoliations foncières et le travail forcé, retranscrits ci-dessous, s'inscrivaient parfaitement dans ce type de mémoires kanak incorporées à la matrice nationaliste. Et pourtant, Auguste Poadja a longtemps été l'un des principaux leaders kanak anti-indépendantistes de Koné :

> Les colons européens, quand ils sont arrivés avec leur bétail, ils lâchent leur bétail, et puis les malheureux Kanak, ils ont pas les moyens pour acheter les fils et faire les barrières, pour empêcher le bétail d'aller dans les champs pour la nourriture des Mélanésiens.... Pour éviter les histoires, les Mélanésiens ils s'en vont, vers le bas fond de la parcelle, auprès de la Chaîne centrale ....

> Vous voyez la route, là, maintenant on passe en voiture, mais avant, on entretient ça à la pioche. Ils nous mettent quinze jours, à travailler là-dessus, mais la paie, il y en a pas. Et encore, il y a un contremaître qui nous garde, qui surveille le travail. Tu veux aller quelque part, il faut demander la permission. Ils nous ont conduits comme des esclaves, dans

le temps.... Ils passaient par les gendarmes, et puis les gendarmes venaient en tribu, « toi tu vas aller », tu vas pas dire non, parce que si tu refuses, tu vas en bas en prison, on dit « à la boîte ». [Entretien avec Auguste Poadja, tribu de Poindah, 10 décembre 2003]

Au moment des affrontements violents de 1984–1988 entre partisans et adversaires de l'indépendance kanak (« les événements », selon l'euphémisme utilisé localement), Auguste Poadja militait activement au sein du Rassemblement pour la Calédonie dans la République (RPCR), le principal parti « loyaliste » (en tant qu'il affirmait sa loyauté politique à la France), très majoritairement non mélanésien et partisan du statu quo colonial. Entre 1982 et 1988, il présida également Fraternité calédonienne, une association anti-indépendantiste radicale. À cette époque, une minorité de 15 à 20 pour cent des électeurs kanak votait systématiquement contre les partis indépendantistes (Soriano 2001). Dans la commune de Koné, seul le bureau de vote de Poindah laissait apparaître la permanence d'un vote kanak RPCR à hauteur de 20 à 30 bulletins au fil des élections des années 1980, soit entre 13 et 25 pour cent des votants[2]. Enfin, trois des quatre Kanak du RPCR élus à la mairie de Koné depuis 1983 venaient de cette tribu. De ces constats découle une interrogation qui guide cet article : comment peut-on être, à l'image d'Auguste Poadja, kanak et anti-indépendantiste? Comment comprendre que des colonisés—comme ceux vivant à Poindah—puissent soutenir le parti colonial?

Pour une ethnographie historique du loyalisme politique kanak

Les interprétations les plus courantes à ce sujet analysent ce type de comportements en termes d'« aliénation » ou de « fausse conscience » des colonisés (Fanon 1952; Saïd 1980). Nous avons cependant fait le choix de répondre autrement à cette interrogation, au moyen d'une ethnographie historique du politique résolument pragmatique, tournée vers le croisement des sources ethnographiques et archivistiques et attentive à leur historicité propre (Sahlins 1989; Comaroff et Comaroff 1991, 1997; Thomas 1997). En retraçant minutieusement l'espace social des discours et des pratiques ordinaires, cette approche permet de replacer les comportements politiques dans l'ensemble des logiques sociales à travers lesquelles ils prennent sens et forme aux yeux des acteurs, et de rendre ainsi intelligibles des attitudes qu'une analyse politologique uniquement centrée sur les discours idéologiques pourrait juger incohérentes. La méthode ethnographique a l'avantage de mettre à

distance les normes de la politique légitime et d'appréhender concrètement, à partir des enjeux locaux et des trajectoires des acteurs, les diverses dimensions du travail de mobilisation et d'encadrement mené « au ras du sol » en fonction d'une multitude de ressources (sociales, économiques, familiales, etc.). Si plusieurs recherches de ce type ont déjà mis en lumière certaines logiques sociales de l'engagement militant et de la fragmentation partisane à l'intérieur du monde kanak depuis les années 1970 (Dornoy 1984; Soriano 2001; Demmer 2002; Mokaddem 2010; Naepels 2013), l'originalité du présent article tient au fait qu'il traite du cas largement méconnu des Kanak anti-indépendantistes.

Cette approche ethnographique offre également un contrepoint intéressant vis-à-vis des discours qui tantôt passent sous silence, tantôt stigmatisent les « indigènes » ayant pris une part active et dynamique à la colonisation. Dans l'ancienne historiographie impériale, les colonisés n'apparaissent généralement que comme des victimes passives, statiques et sans ressources face à un inexorable rouleau compresseur colonial. Les historiographies nationalistes ont renversé cette dichotomie en transformant les indigènes passifs en résistants héroïques, sans pour autant modifier la répartition des rôles entre une puissance impériale qui conserve l'initiative et des indigènes qui ne se définissent qu'en réaction vis-à-vis de celle-ci. Ces travaux, qui ne lisent les dynamiques coloniales qu'au travers d'oppositions binaires inconciliables (résistance/collaboration, colon/colonisé, tradition/modernité, etc.), disqualifient d'emblée les études sur les (rares?) colonisés qui ont pu, pour une raison ou une autre, « jouer le jeu colonial ». Ce type d'analyse apparaît doublement illégitime, comme le souligne Laure Blévis à propos des indigènes naturalisés de l'Algérie coloniale :

> [I]llégitime par rapport à l'histoire contemporaine algérienne qui exalte l'héroïsme des premiers mouvements nationalistes et a rejeté les naturalisés comme autant de « collaborateurs », et illégitime par rapport à ce qu'a représenté le groupe des naturalisés, minoritaire et peu représentatif de la masse de la population algérienne. [Blévis 2003:44–45]

De même, dans le contexte violent des « événements » de 1984–1988, les principaux journaux indépendantistes (*Kanak*, *L'Avenir Calédonien*, *Bwenando*, etc.) et les leaders du Front de libération nationale kanak et socialiste (FLNKS), à l'image de son président Jean-Marie Tjibaou (1996:253), ont-ils qualifié à plusieurs reprises les Kanak loyalistes de « traîtres » et de « collabos ».

En termes analytiques (et non pas militants), certains chercheurs ont pourtant souligné tout l'intérêt que pouvait revêtir une recherche sur les loyalistes indigènes, aussi minoritaires ou stigmatisés fussent-ils. Bruce Berman et John Lonsdale (1992) montrent ainsi comment, dans le Kenya colonial, le rejet des mouvements nationalistes a été élaboré à l'intérieur d'ordres moraux localement cohérents, mobilisant à la fois certains aspects de l'idéologie coloniale (christianisme, éducation, modèle agricole européen) et d'autres valeurs spécifiquement kikuyu (respect des aînés) pour disqualifier les jeunes leaders indépendantistes. Dans l'Algérie coloniale, de fortes incitations matérielles (meilleurs salaires, avantages sociaux) pouvaient expliquer les demandes indigènes de naturalisation (Sayad 1999); mais comme le note Laure Blévis, on ne peut non plus exclure qu'elles aient été motivées « par l'adhésion des postulants au mythe assimilateur de la civilisation française » (Blévis 2003:45–46). Plus largement, à l'image des métis indochinois (Saada 2007), des instituteurs algériens (Colonna 1975) ou des combattants ouest-africains de l'armée française (Mann 2006), le groupe des Kanak loyalistes offre une entrée stimulante pour penser les tensions et les ambiguïtés d'un ordre colonial où les diverses interactions et les médiations entre colonisateurs et colonisés ne cessent de brouiller les frontières des catégories préétablies. S'intéresser à ce type de trajectoires permet bien, en ce sens, de ne pas « aplatir la vie complexe des peuples vivant dans les colonies » (Cooper 1999:437).

Cet article a donc pour objectif d'examiner la question du loyalisme politique kanak à partir d'un « cas » singulier (Passeron et Revel 2005), celui d'Auguste Poadja, sans prétendre à la généralisation ou à l'exemplification, mais en tâchant de saisir par l'ethnographie et la micro-histoire l'imbrication concrète de plusieurs contextes et enjeux sociaux dans une situation politique donnée. Le choix d'Auguste Poadja renvoie notamment à la richesse de la diversité des sources dont je dispose à son sujet : aux nombreuses archives évoquant ses activités publiques des années 1960 à 1980 (rapports administratifs, presse quotidienne, bulletins partisans) s'ajoutent les quatre entretiens approfondis qu'il m'a accordés entre novembre 2002 et décembre 2003, dans le cadre de mon travail de terrain ethnographique à Poindah. En outre, plusieurs générations de chercheurs ont enquêté sur l'histoire kanak de Koné en ayant eu pour informateur privilégié Auguste Poadja lui-même (Guiart 1963; Saussol 1979; Bensa et Rivierre 1994; Trépied 2010; Muckle 2012). Il est donc possible aujourd'hui de croiser

trois types de sources complémentaires (archives, entretiens ethnographiques, travaux scientifiques) pour examiner précisément l'ensemble des logiques sociales au fondement de l'engagement loyaliste du grand chef. Concrètement, le sens de son opposition à la revendication d'indépendance semblait lié en particulier à deux éléments : les stratégies sociopolitiques de sa famille et de son clan[3] sur le long terme, d'une part, et ses propres activités professionnelles autour de l'élevage bovin extensif, d'autre part.

Cadrage historique : la Nouvelle-Calédonie coloniale

Les premiers habitants de l'île ont été nommés « Kanak » (mot polynésien) par Cook en 1774, puis « Canaques » par les Français. Devenu rapidement péjoratif, ce terme a été remplacé dans les textes officiels par « indigène », puis « autochtone » et « Mélanésien » après 1946. Dans les années 1970, les indépendantistes ont renversé le stigmate en faisant du terme « Kanak », invariable en genre et en nombre, un symbole identitaire et politique. Il a été officialisé sous cette forme par les Accords de Matignon (1988) et de Nouméa (1998), compromis politiques ayant clôturé la période insurrectionnelle des « événements » et organisant aujourd'hui l'évolution statutaire du pays.

Entre les années 1860 et 1920, l'île accueillit plusieurs vagues migratoires : bagnards, colons « libres » européens, engagés sous contrat océaniens et asiatiques. Cette colonisation de peuplement a suscité un vaste mouvement de spoliations foncières au détriment des Kanak. Au tournant du XXe siècle, le gouverneur créa des « réserves indigènes » (représentant moins de 8% de la superficie de l'île principale) que les Kanak ne pouvaient pas quitter sans autorisation. L'administration y identifia des « tribus » à la tête desquelles furent nommés des « petits chefs », tandis qu'un « district indigène », avec à sa tête un « grand chef », réunissait plusieurs tribus. Hormis la nomination officielle par arrêté du gouverneur, aucune autre procédure formelle n'encadrait la désignation des chefs, généralement laissée au choix des groupes locaux.

Avant 1946, les indigènes étaient soumis à diverses formes de travail contraint (prestations, réquisitions, engagement), à des taxes spéciales (impôt de capitation) et à un système répressif distinct du code pénal, le régime de l'indigénat. Toutes ces contraintes ont été abolies en 1946 avec l'accession des Kanak à la citoyenneté française. Les catégories administratives de l'époque coloniale (réserve, tribu, chefferie) ont en revanche été maintenues jusqu'à aujourd'hui.
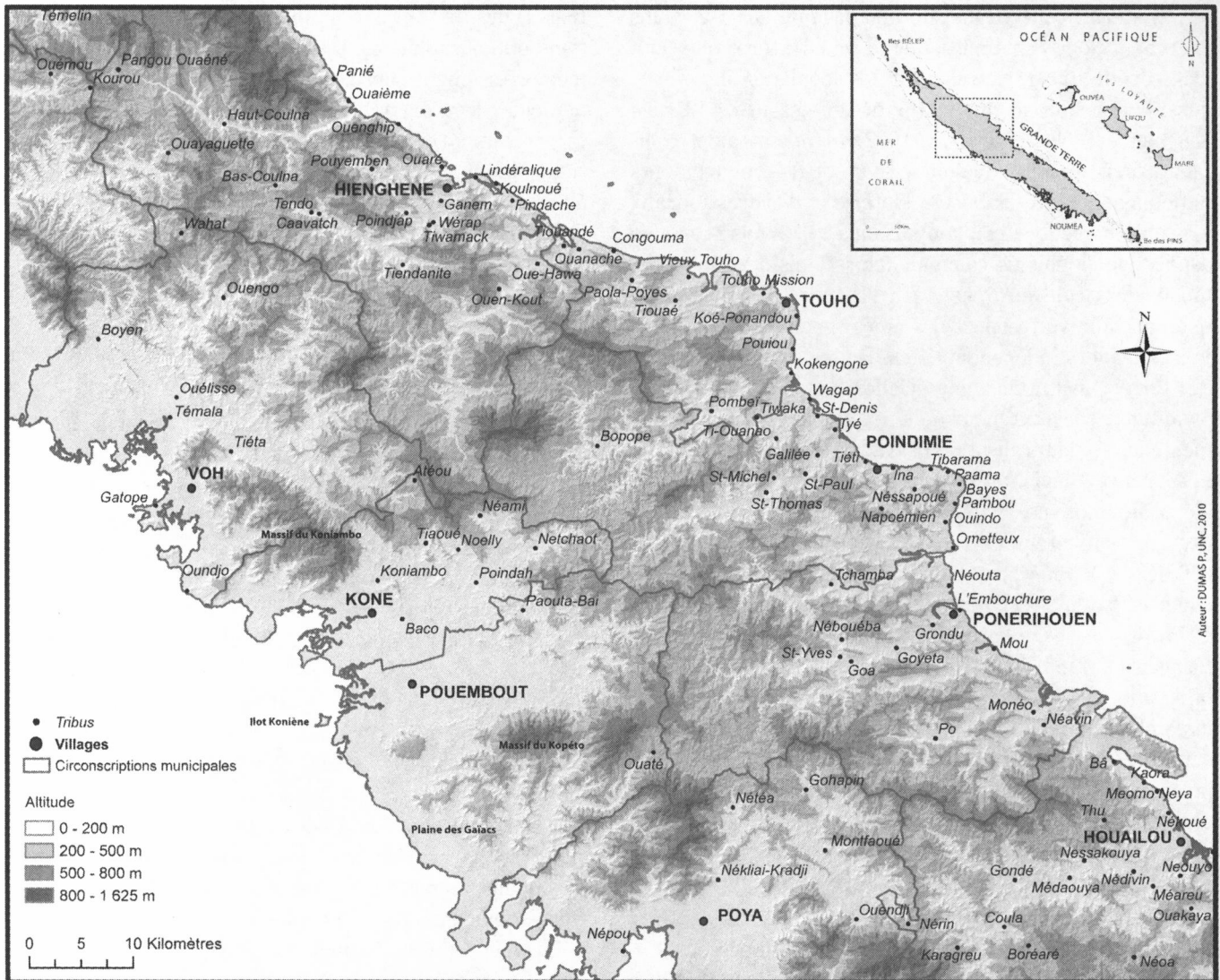
Le centre-nord de la Nouvelle-Calédonie.

Genèse d'une stratégie d'alliance (années 1860)

Depuis les années 1970, l'anthropologue Alban Bensa et le linguiste Jean-Claude Rivierre mènent des enquêtes ethnographiques approfondies auprès de plusieurs érudits de la région afin de recueillir, traduire et commenter des récits en langue paicî sur l'histoire du « pays kanak de Koné », de la fin du XVIIIe siècle au début du XXe siècle. Leurs recherches sur la grande chefferie administrative de Poindah les ont notamment conduits à s'intéresser à deux clans ayant joué un rôle central dans l'implantation de cette institution : les Görötû (clan d'Auguste Poadja) et les Nädù. L'analyse des généalogies suggère que Nädù et Görötû avaient scellé dans la région de Koné une alliance politique inédite sur la côte

ouest en pratiquant des échanges matrimoniaux répétés sur de nombreuses générations. Ils semblent avoir constitué un ensemble politique fort dans la moyenne vallée de la Koné, effaçant les traces des anciens occupants et guerroyant contre les clans rivaux localisés à la périphérie de leur territoire (Bensa et Rivierre 1994).

L'impératif méthodologique et théorique d'historicisation du savoir anthropologique (Thomas 1998) exige ici de rattacher ces représentations kanak sur le passé, recueillies dans les années 1970 et 1980, à l'engagement politique loyaliste d'Auguste Poadja à la même époque : celui-ci était l'un des principaux informateurs de Bensa et Rivierre. Les récits historiques qu'il leur confiait constituaient pour lui des références politiques signifiantes. Ainsi en 1975, Auguste Poadja raconta en détail à ces deux chercheurs la façon dont, au milieu du XIXe
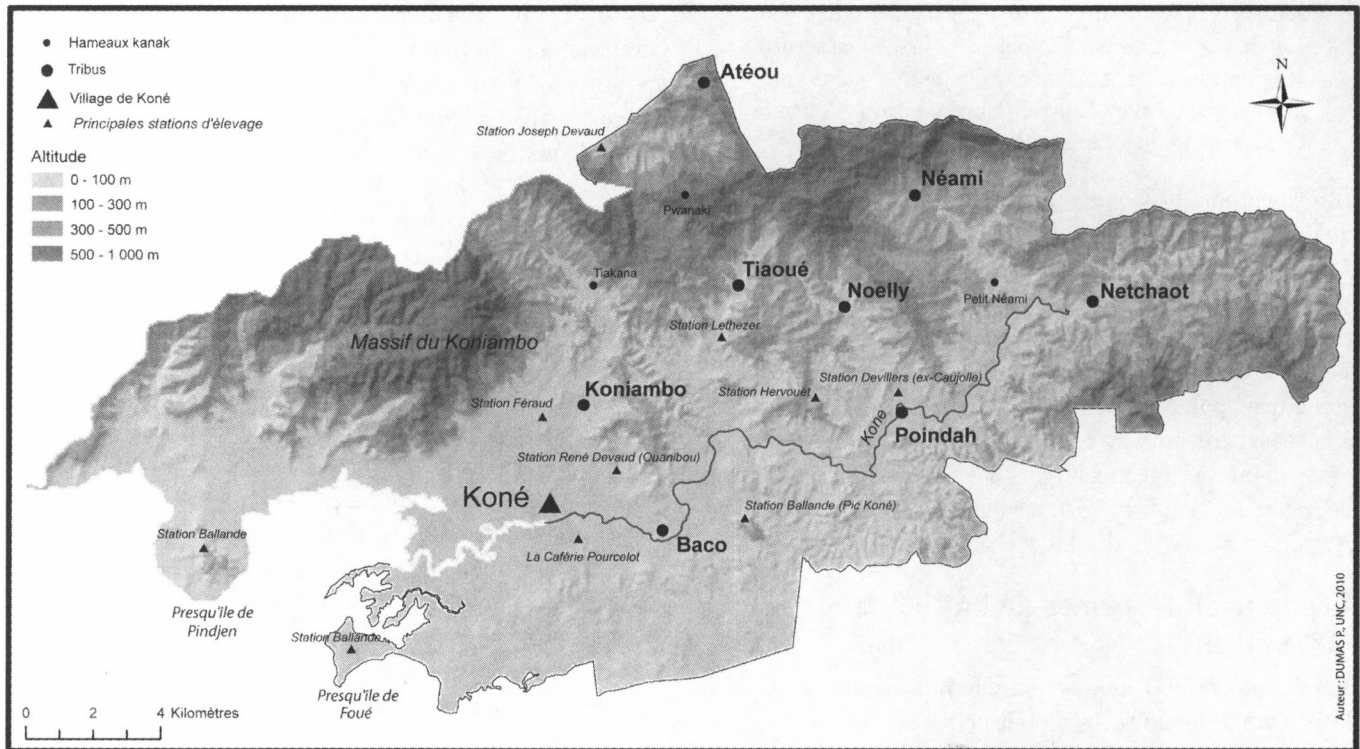
La commune de Koné, années 1970.

siècle, un membre du lignage Poadja (clan Görötû) du nom de Goodu avait migré depuis la côte est et avait été adopté par le lignage Gorohouna (clan Nädù) lors de son arrivée à Koné (récit reproduit dans Bensa et Goromido 2005:37–47). Goodu se lança alors dans de nombreuses guerres—recensées tant dans la mémoire kanak locale que dans les archives des missionnaires présents sur la côte est dans les années 1860—pour renforcer l'influence de l'institution politique qu'il dirigeait. Lorsqu'en 1865 l'armée coloniale débarqua pour la première fois dans la région afin d'enquêter sur le massacre perpétré contre les occupants de deux navires européens, les ennemis de Goodu, rencontrés par la troupe sur le rivage, imputèrent à celui-ci la responsabilité des désordres. Les militaires français et leurs nouveaux alliés kanak menèrent une campagne de répression contre lui, dont les archives européennes gardent la trace.

Au cours de cette période tourmentée—selon différents récits recueillis dans les années 1950 (Guiart 1963:107–110) et les années 1970 (Bensa et Goromido 2005:59–65)—Goodu semble s'être retourné contre les siens et avoir combattu les membres des clans Nädù et Görötû tentés d'adopter une attitude plus conciliante vis-à-vis du pouvoir colonial. L'un de ses frères, Bwaé Tiéou Katélia Poadja, se réfugia alors sous la protection des Français à Gatope, au bord de la mer. Face au refus

du guerrier de se soumettre à la troupe, « vint le jour où ils décidèrent de la façon de faire disparaître grand-père Goodu », racontait Auguste Poadja en 1975 (Bensa et Goromido 2005:69). Avec la complicité des Nädù et Görötû alliés avec l'armée, Goodu fut finalement tué le 13 janvier 1869. En 2003, la façon dont Auguste Poadja m'a raconté ces événements (en français) était sensiblement la même que lors de son entretien (en paicî) avec Bensa et Rivierre en 1975 :

[Katélia] est allé s'installer à Gatope, mais c'est pour éviter les guerres kanak. Parce qu'il y a un gars, je sais pas s'il est là son nom [pointant mon cahier], Goodu.... Lui, il est resté, mais quelques jours après, il est après [il poursuit] les autres. Il a tué les mecs, il a bouffé les mecs. C'est comme ça que les parents, ils ont barré d'ici [les ascendants du narrateur sont partis]. Ils ont considéré Gatope comme campement pour eux. Ils habitent là. Et puis quand l'administration elle arrive, elle donne [le titre officiel de chef] au grand chef Katélia, « voilà, tu vas rester là, et tu fais ça ». Le grand chef Katélia, il pense : « c'est bon, on va donner à lui pour faire le travail [proposer à Goodu de devenir grand chef], comme ça il arrête d'écorcher les mecs et de bouffer les gens ». Et l'autre [Goodu] a répondu : « vous retournez avec l'affaire, vous dîtes à lui [Katélia] qu'il va faire [occuper les fonctions de grand chef], parce qu'il sait plus où aller » [il est

soumis aux Blancs]. Et c'est de là, le grand chef Katélia, avec plusieurs familles ... ils sont d'accord, « on va tuer le mec ». Ils ont donné un rendez-vous, ils sont partis tuer l'autre. [Entretien avec Auguste Poadja, tribu de Poindah, 10 décembre 2003]

Interlocuteur privilégié des militaires français depuis qu'il s'était réfugié à Gatope, Bwaé Tiéou Katélia Poadja fut officiellement reconnu par les autorités comme le principal « chef » de Koné (selon le vocabulaire administratif de l'époque) après la mort de Goodu. Lorsqu'en 1898 le Service des affaires indigènes réorganisa les structures politiques indigènes, il fut nommé grand chef à la tête du district de Poindah, tandis que d'autres alliés devenaient petits chefs dans les tribus du district. À la mort du premier grand chef en 1902, son fils Téin Antoine Katélia Poadja lui succéda.

Les nouvelles formes de l'alliance (1878–1988)

Fondée en 1869, l'alliance des Nädü et des Görötû avec le pouvoir colonial fut remobilisée en de nombreuses occasions ultérieures, de la grande insurrection kanak de 1878 à celle de 1917, en passant par les révoltes sporadiques du centre et du nord de la Grande Terre dans les années 1880–1910 : chaque fois que ces affrontements menaçaient la paix coloniale, la grande chefferie fournissait à la troupe des auxiliaires indigènes. En outre, dès le tournant du XXe siècle, les Nädü et les Görötû déclinèrent de façon particulière la stratégie d'alliance élaborée par leurs ascendants en l'adaptant aux nouvelles formes de la collaboration coloniale. Relais privilégiés des autorités administratives puis, dans la même dynamique, des premiers colons et missionnaires au tournant du siècle, les dignitaires de la grande chefferie s'engagèrent progressivement dans les nouvelles activités sociales fondées sur les interactions avec les Blancs, comme par exemple l'élevage ou la religion. Dans cette perspective, l'accumulation des divers attributs de la notabilité coloniale (chef, diacre, stockman) tendait à renforcer, tout autant que l'emprise européenne elle-même, leur propre pouvoir local (Trépied 2010:116–146).

Après l'abolition du régime de l'indigénat et l'extension de la citoyenneté aux Kanak en 1946 (et jusqu'à l'irruption de la revendication indépendantiste kanak dans les années 1970), le débat politique en Nouvelle-Calédonie fut marqué par l'émergence puis le triomphe électoral de « l'Union calédonienne » (UC) qui prit le pouvoir au Conseil général et dans de nombreuses mairies (dont celle de Koné) et capta le seul siège de député de la Nouvelle-Calédonie à Paris. Doté du slogan « deux couleurs, un seul peuple », élaboré par ses fonda-

teurs comme une déclinaison locale du nouveau pacte impérial égalitaire de « l'Union française », ce parti politique réformiste et modéré regroupait une importante minorité de citoyens européens et la grande majorité des électeurs et des militants mélanésiens, dont la participation politique était strictement encadrée par les Missions et par les chefs. Schématiquement, le programme de l'UC consistait à améliorer les conditions de vie matérielles en tribu (eau, routes, écoles, santé, etc.) sans modifier fondamentalement l'ordre social hérité de la période coloniale—prolongeant ainsi le statu quo de la « paix coloniale » instaurée à la fin du XIXe siècle (Trépied 2011). En 1963, tandis que l'UC dominait la scène politique calédonienne et que Téin Antoine Katélia Poadja venait de décéder à Poindah, les soutiens et alliés de la grande chefferie désignèrent comme successeur son neveu Auguste Poadja, alors âgé de 47 ans. À l'image de nombreux autres notables administratifs et religieux mélanésiens, le nouveau grand chef devint au même moment un pilier de l'Union calédonienne lors du congrès du parti organisé à Koné :

C'était en 63. À ce moment-là, c'était Roch Pidjot le président de l'UC. Moi, au début je fais pas partie de l'UC, mais quand ils m'ont vu à Koné—j'étais nommé déjà grand-chef à ce moment-là—Roch Pidjot il m'a demandé de rentrer avec eux.... À ce moment-là, ils m'ont nommé au comité directeur. [Entretien avec Auguste Poadja, tribu de Poindah, 30 mai 2003]

Le règne de l'UC prit fin dans le courant des années 1970, lors du virage indépendantiste qu'initièrent les nouveaux partis fondés par les premiers étudiants mélanésiens de retour des universités de France métropolitaine (le premier diplômé kanak de l'enseignement supérieur datait de 1968). En 1977, lors de son congrès organisé à Bourail, l'UC vota à son tour une motion en faveur de l'indépendance kanak, suscitant le départ de la quasi-totalité de ses militants européens. C'est à cette occasion qu'Auguste Poadja quitta l'UC pour rejoindre le RPCR quelques temps plus tard. Son retournement partisan n'était pas un acte isolé : ses alliés et soutiens coutumiers que j'ai interrogés à Poindah indiquent avoir voté ou milité au RPCR par fidélité au grand chef et à l'institution qu'il personnifiait. La relation clanique étroite entre Auguste Poadja et Michel Poayou—tous deux membres du clan Görötû et habitants de Poindah—a par exemple joué un rôle prépondérant dans l'élection de ce dernier comme conseiller municipal RPCR en 1983 :

Je suis rentré à la municipalité, c'était le moment où il y avait deux tendances : il y a l'Union calédonienne, à l'époque, et le RPCR. Ils disaient de faire deux listes.

Moi, j'étais pas dans ce cas-là, j'étais pas membre de politique, non. J'étais simplement un gars sans étiquette.... Je suis descendu avec grand chef en bas au village, le vieux grand chef [Auguste Poadja], et avec le vieux Victor. On est parti, on est allé à la réunion, c'était le RPCR. Après, on a fait la liste.... C'était un arrangement avec le vieux grand chef. [Entretien avec Michel Poayou, tribu de Poindah, 16 avril 2004]

Bensa et Rivierre défendent l'hypothèse d'un lien historique déployé sur le temps long entre la stratégie élaborée en 1869 par les Nädù-Görötû et les comportements politiques de leurs descendants dans les années 1980. Leur engagement électoral, militant ou municipal en faveur du RPCR aurait constitué la manifestation la plus récente de l'alliance nouée par leurs aïeux avec le pouvoir français. De même, les anciennes rivalités entre les Nädù-Görötû et leurs adversaires locaux auraient recoupé non seulement les épisodes insurrectionnels de la période coloniale, mais aussi ceux des années 1980 (Bensa et Rivierre 1994:34–35). Effectivement, on ne peut qu'être frappé par la cohérence des choix stratégiques répétés des Nädù et des Görötû de la grande chefferie à plus d'un siècle de distance. Prendre la pleine mesure de l'historicité de l'enquête ethnographique suppose d'insister à cet égard sur la temporalité des récits que Bensa et Rivierre ont recueillis : leurs interlocuteurs ont très précisément évoqué les affrontements, stratégies et « coups » politiques du XIXe siècle entre les Nädù-Görötû, leurs adversaires locaux puis l'armée française lors d'entretiens ethnographiques réalisés dans les années 1970 et 1980, au moment de l'irruption de la revendication indépendantiste. À l'intérieur du district de Poindah, alors que chacun était plus ou moins sommé de prendre position sur ce nouveau débat, les références politiques anciennes semblaient toujours prégnantes. Dès lors, il fait peu de doute que l'engagement contre l'indépendance apparaissait clairement aux yeux des membres des clans Nädù et Görötû de Poindah comme l'expression d'une fidélité politique à la parole de leurs « vieux ».

Néanmoins, les conditions concrètes du passage au RPCR ne se réduisaient pas non plus uniquement à une reproduction mécanique de la stratégie d'alliance fondée en 1869. L'apparente similitude entre les comportements politiques endossés lors des troubles de l'époque coloniale et pendant les « événements » ne doit pas masquer les autres logiques sociopolitiques qui se sont superposées à ces clivages anciens. Pour Auguste Poadja en particulier, les enjeux fonciers et pastoraux se sont révélés déterminants dans son basculement du côté de l'activisme pro-français.

Les projets d'élevage d'un grand chef stockman

Dès les années 1970, le mot d'ordre consistant à récupérer les terres spoliées au cours de la période coloniale a constitué l'un des plus importants leviers de la mobilisation indépendantiste, aux côtés des questions de reconnaissance culturelle. Il a débouché au début des années 1980 sur des occupations de terres—virant parfois à l'affrontement—et sur une réforme foncière entreprise à contretemps, au gré des rapports de force politiques du moment, par les pouvoirs publics. Or, Auguste Poadja a toujours défendu la légitimité du modèle colonial de mise en valeur pastorale des terres, qu'il avait personnellement appris au contact des éleveurs puis reproduit à son propre compte, contre le principe des revendications foncières menées par les indépendantistes au nom des droits du peuple kanak colonisé. La confrontation entre ces deux conceptions allait se révéler particulièrement conflictuelle.

L'historiographie australienne et nord-américaine a depuis longtemps souligné la position-clé occupée par les gardiens de bétail indigènes, qu'ils soient *stockmen* aborigènes (McGrath 1987) ou *cowboys* amérindiens (Iverson 1997) dans les médiations coloniales, contrairement aux travaux sur la Nouvelle-Calédonie, longtemps muets sur le sujet (voir cependant Muckle et Trépied 2010). L'élevage bovin extensif occupait pourtant une place centrale dans les relations nouées de part et d'autre de la frontière coloniale calédonienne—au moins dans les grandes plaines de la côte ouest, comme celle de Koné, propices à ce type d'activité. Ainsi, quand Auguste Poadja fut nommé grand chef en 1963, il était déjà depuis plusieurs décennies l'un des meilleurs stockmen kanak de la région de Koné. Né en 1916 à Poindah, il avait commencé à s'occuper du bétail dès la fin des années 1920 sur la « station »[4] voisine de la tribu, que le colon Léopold Devillers racheta en 1929. C'est d'abord à son contact qu'il apprit le métier de stockman et la langue française :

BT : Chez Devillers, vous avez travaillé longtemps?
AP : Ouh ! Depuis le début jusqu'à la fin. Je suis parti de chez lui pour travailler chez Bouillet, et de là chez Videault, et quand je reviens ici à Poindah, je travaille toujours avec lui, avec le vieux Léopold. C'est malheureux, il est mort, mais s'il a quelque chose, il l'a pas volé. Ouh la la, c'est un travailleur.... À partir de 1928, 1930, 31, j'ai travaillé pour Devillers. [Entretien avec Auguste Poadja, tribu de Poindah, 30 mai 2003]

Cette compétence linguistique, ainsi que ses relations quotidiennes avec les éleveurs blancs (de travail mais aussi de camaraderie), constituèrent des atouts

déterminants pour sa « carrière » de représentant. C'était par exemple le cas lorsqu'il se porta volontaire pendant la Deuxième Guerre mondiale : « À l'armée, il y a les vieux qui connaissent pas parler français. Alors ceux qui parlent la même langue que moi, c'est moi qui fait le porte-parole ». À partir de 1963, il assuma ses nouvelles fonctions de grand chef et de membre du comité directeur de l'UC tout en continuant à travailler à plein temps comme stockman.

En parallèle, il fit l'acquisition, à titre personnel, de plusieurs dizaines de têtes de bétail : d'après l'enquête de terrain menée en 1965 par le géographe Alain Saussol (1979:423–425), le grand chef possédait cette année-là une quarantaine de têtes, dont une partie paissait sur la réserve de Poindah et une autre sur la propriété Devillers. Puis en 1969, dans le cadre du programme de « Promotion mélanésienne », le Service de l'Agriculture proposa aux autorités coutumières du district de Poindah de créer une Société civile d'élevage. Une quinzaine d'habitants s'investirent dans l'opération et devinrent sociétaires. Chacun d'eux apporta 10 000 francs CFP (environ 110 dollars canadiens) et trois têtes de bétail pour constituer le capital de départ. De son côté, l'administration octroyait à la Société 1 515 hectares répartis en trois lots discontinus, dont le plus apte à la mise en valeur pastorale, d'une superficie de 550 hectares, avait précédemment appartenu aux Devillers et était situé entre les réserves de Néami et Netchaot et la propriété du colon (Saussol 1979:423–427).

Auguste Poadja fut élu président de la Société civile d'élevage de Poindah dès sa création en 1969. Son investissement dans les affaires du groupement se confondait alors avec ses propres intérêts : à la même époque, en amont des terres affectées de la Société, il avait acquis un terrain mitoyen de 400 hectares, en propriété privée, selon les facilités accordées aux « enfants du pays », en contrepartie d'un engagement de mise en valeur agricole. Le grand chef se trouvait donc dans les années 1970 à la tête d'un vaste domaine d'élevage :

> Quand on a créé la Société civile d'élevage, on fait des réunions. Et les gens, la tribu de Netchaot, Noelly, Bopope, ils ont confié à moi comme gérant. Pourquoi, c'est parce que je travaillais beaucoup le bétail, bien avant les autres. Je sais à peu près comment il faut le faire .... Après, j'ai fait une demande au Service du Domaine, pour moi et pour mon fils. On m'a accepté, et j'ai 400 hectares, privé, personnel. Plus 445 hectares pour la Société civile, j'ai 1200 hectares à peu près.

> [Entretien avec Auguste Poadja, tribu de Poindah, 30 mai 2003][5]

Sa capacité à socialiser et son savoir-faire liés au métier de stockman ont joué un rôle prépondérant dans la définition des projets portés par Auguste Poadja au tournant des années 1970 dans le cadre de son « mandat » de grand chef, voire de responsable local de l'UC. Son imprégnation des pratiques et de l'idéologie de ses employeurs européens autour du modèle de l'éleveur-entrepreneur conditionnait et délimitait le champ des activités économiques qu'il promouvait à l'échelle du district. Celles-ci étaient essentiellement envisagées dans le secteur agricole et pastoral, à travers la mise en place d'une gestion rationalisée des troupeaux et des pâturages. En proposant en somme de concurrencer les colons de la région sur leur propre terrain, à travers une réappropriation du modèle économique occidental et dans la continuité du mythe « assimilationniste » de la colonisation française, il inscrivait ses projets d'élevage dans la haute vallée de la Koné dans une perspective plus large de développement économique au profit des Kanak :

> Je me vante pas, j'ai pas été à l'école comme les autres, mais je crois bien que je suis le premier qui est monté comme ça. Parce que je travaille beaucoup avec les Européens qui font le bétail. Et comme je vois comme ça, je pense : « mais pourquoi qu'on fait pas autant? On est chez nous, mais on reste comme ça, ils vont tout enlever, et nous on va vivre de quoi? »

> [Entretien avec Auguste Poadja, tribu de Poindah, 30 mai 2003]

Plus de 30 ans après les faits, cette évocation des logiques sous-tendant son action dans le domaine de l'élevage, si elle doit être nuancée en raison de son caractère rétrospectif, mérite néanmoins d'être signalée comme témoignant d'une idéologie développementiste qui n'est pas très éloignée du modèle impulsé par les leaders indépendantistes depuis les Accords de Matignon de 1988 autour de la « construction de l'indépendance » (Leblic 1993; Freyss 1995). En pratique néanmoins, la délimitation des parcelles gérées par le grand chef et sa collaboration avec la famille Devillers suscitèrent le mécontentement des habitants des tribus riveraines.

Litiges fonciers (1969–1979)

Au tournant des années 1970, la définition des limites des terrains de la Société civile et du grand chef posa problème. D'une part, la parcelle de 550 hectares affectée à la Société avait été cédée à l'administration par Léopold Devillers en contrepartie d'un terrain domanial jouxtant sa propriété; l'échange des parcelles fit l'objet d'une polémique dès 1969 quant à la définition exacte de la frontière séparant les deux lots. Léopold Devillers obtint alors le soutien d'Auguste Poadja contre les autres sociétaires

kanak (Saussol 1979:426). De ce climat de discorde découla le « relâchement des sociétaires » observé par l'administration dès 1970, ce qui eut pour effet de renforcer la mainmise du grand chef sur le Société. D'autre part, la délimitation des terrains privés d'Auguste Poadja suscita la colère des habitants de Néami : selon eux, sa propriété empiétait sur la réserve de la tribu. En 1982, les dirigeants de cette dernière publièrent un texte retraçant l'origine du problème dans le quotidien local :

– 1969–1970 : le géomètre Mathian et le Grand Chef ont été rejoints sur le terrain par la tribu. Il a été constaté que les limites étaient rentrées de 120 mètres dans la réserve. Pour calmer les gens de la tribu, il a été dit que chacun pourrait y mettre son bétail. Mais lorsque la barrière a été fermée, un cadenas a fermé la porte, empêchant l'accès au terrain et par là même au creek [ruisseau] où buvait ultérieurement le bétail.
– Mars 1972 : avec l'aide du géomètre de Koné, le Grand Chef a avancé la barrière de cinq mètres à l'intérieur de la réserve à l'occasion d'une réfection.
– Septembre 1979 : À l'occasion d'un défrichement de parcelles ... les gens de la tribu s'aperçoivent que de nouvelles bornes ont été mises par le géomètre de Koné, à 30 mètres à l'intérieur de la réserve.
[*Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 18 avril 1982]

La mise en place des deux exploitations gérées par Auguste Poadja suscita donc un clivage croissant tout au long des années 1970 entre, d'un côté, les habitants des tribus, et de l'autre, le tandem Poadja-Devillers. L'ancienne alliance entre le grand chef et les Devillers se traduisait en effet par une étroite collaboration dans la gestion du bétail paissant sur les trois domaines contigus de la haute vallée de la Koné (la station Devillers, les parcelles de la Société civile et les terrains du grand chef). Lorsque les militants des premiers partis indépendantistes abordèrent frontalement le problème des spoliations foncières au milieu des années 1970, ce thème se révéla donc porteur dans les tribus du district de Poindah : il renvoyait non seulement au refoulement foncier des années 1900, mais aussi au contentieux récent de 1969–1970 avec le grand chef et Devillers. Le discours des nationalistes kanak sur les terres et l'indépendance était localement appréhendé à la lumière du conflit opposant les habitants de la Chaîne centrale montagneuse au couple Poadja-Devillers.

Inversement, les bons rapports du grand chef avec la famille Devillers contribuaient à le faire adhérer au point de vue des Européens sur l'illégitimité des revendications foncières kanak. Ayant profondément incorporé l'habitus social de l'éleveur (Bourdieu 2000), du fait qu'il avait adopté le même modèle d'exploitation pastorale que les colons, voire les mêmes pratiques de « grignotage foncier », Auguste Poadja avait, semble-t-il, de façon identique endossé l'idéologie coloniale dominante. Son opposition résolue au principe des revendications foncières était cohérente vis-à-vis de sa stratégie déployée depuis les années 1960, qui consistait à obtenir des terres dans un cadre juridique et politique donné, avant que celui-ci ne soit bouleversé par la mobilisation indépendantiste kanak. Son refus du mot d'ordre indépendantiste renvoyait avant tout au coût—en temps, en travail et en argent—qu'avaient concrètement exigé l'acquisition et la mise en valeur pastorale de ses terrains privés et de ceux de la Société civile. C'est à l'échelle de la valeur qu'il plaçait dans le travail accompli par lui et par les éleveurs européens, qu'il condamnait le principe des revendications foncières dans une entrevue datée de 1983 :

> Aujourd'hui, on veut chasser les colons, pourquoi? Ils travaillent et ils ont travaillé ! Moi j'ai investi, j'ai une propriété, je paie des impôts.... Quand j'ai voulu acheter ma propriété, j'ai eu des conditions de mise en valeur. Aujourd'hui, parce qu'un ministre a dit que la terre devait revenir aux Mélanésiens, on fait des revendications de terres : et je trouve que ce n'est pas normal qu'on donne certaines propriétés sans condition et qu'elles ne profitent à personne. Je ne veux pas revenir sur ce qui s'est passé avant, mais je ne veux pas chasser les colons. [*Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 7 janvier 1983][6]

Affrontements et radicalisation partisane (1982–1984)

Le 17 juillet 1981, des représentants indépendantistes des tribus de Koné et des communes voisines créèrent un « Comité de revendications des terres de la côte ouest ». Le secrétaire de l'association était René Guiart, fils de l'ethnologue Jean Guiart, vivant depuis décembre 1980 dans les tribus de la région. Son journal publié en 2001 constitue une source de première main essentielle à la compréhension des actions foncières dans la région de Koné.

Le Comité et les militants indépendantistes de la région s'engagèrent rapidement dans la récupération des terres occupées par la famille Devillers et Auguste Poadja dans la haute vallée de la Koné. Un cahier de revendications concernant les terrains du grand chef et des Devillers avait déjà été remis en août 1981 au ministre de l'Outre-mer lors de sa visite à Koné. En avril 1982, *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes* (unique quotidien de l'île) rapportaient qu'un vol de bétail commis sur la propriété du grand chef était revendiqué par l'ensemble

des habitants de la tribu de Néami[7]. Dans un courrier envoyé au journal, les autorités tribales de Néami présentaient les événements d'août 1981 et d'avril 1982 comme la conséquence des litiges fonciers de 1969–1970 :

[Extrait de la lettre du Conseil des anciens de Néami] : Nous revendiquons cette action comme une action politique …. Cette action est symbolique, elle a été réalisée par la tribu. La viande a été partagée entre tous les membres, ils devraient donc tous être arrêtés pour recel selon le code pénal français.

[… Suite de l'article] : Après avoir rappelé que la tribu avait besoin de terre, le Conseil termine sur une double menace en précisant que du bétail supplémentaire serait abattu si la plainte n'était pas retirée, et si les fusils saisis n'étaient pas rendus. [*Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 15 avril 1982]

Le grand chef avait déjà quitté l'UC en 1977–1978 pour devenir membre du RPCR. À partir du moment où les revendications foncières passèrent en phase active et impliquèrent des actes violents de part et d'autre, il s'engagea dans l'Association fraternité calédonienne, un groupuscule radical proche du RPCR. La proximité de ces événements dans le temps semble désigner le conflit foncier comme déclencheur de ce nouvel investissement partisan : alors que les premières actions violentes entreprises contre sa propriété remontaient au 31 mars 1982, c'est le 17 avril 1982 que le bureau directeur de Fraternité Calédonienne désigna Auguste Poadja comme son nouveau président[8].

Le grand chef prit également fait et cause pour Jean-Claude Devillers lorsque sa propriété fut occupée par le Comité les 13 et 14 novembre 1982 (Guiart 2001:120–136). Au matin du 13 novembre, autour du barrage dressé à Poindah par le Comité, selon *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, « un incident (uniquement verbal et heureusement sans heurts) a opposé des Mélanésiens du clan Poadja et des "anti-Poadja" »[9]. À la mi-journée, indique René Guiart (2001:129), « le grand chef est parti établir son QG chez Devillers ». C'est également en référence à l'épisode des tombes qu'il aurait fait creuser et des « tabous » (interdits coutumiers) qu'il aurait posés, que le grand chef est mentionné par René Guiart :

Quelle ne fut leur surprise [aux membres du Comité] d'y trouver deux tombes fraîchement creusées, chacune surmontée d'une croix, avec une espèce de couronne de feuilles les enserrant[10]. Deux tombes, l'une pour moi, l'autre pour le vieux Fessard, d'après les renseignements obtenus. Pendant que les blancs observaient à la jumelle, les fils du grand chef administratif de Poindah creusaient les tombes. [Guiart 2001:123]

Après l'action réussie des indépendantistes sur les terres de Jean-Claude Devillers, ce dernier se résolut à négocier la vente de sa propriété avec l'Office foncier; un accord fut trouvé à la fin de l'année 1983. En raison des lenteurs administratives et des tensions latentes, les militants des tribus décidèrent d'accélérer le mouvement le 24 janvier 1984 en menaçant d'incendier l'habitation de Jean-Claude Devillers s'il ne partait pas dans les trois jours. L'alliance politique entre le colon et Auguste Poadja était de nouveau dénoncée dans un courrier du Comité : « Vous, le Grand Chef et l'Office foncier, vous nous prenez pour des imbéciles. Vous continuez à faire des gestes hostiles à notre égard »[11]. Finalement, dans la nuit du 26 au 27 janvier 1984, Jean-Claude Devillers quitta définitivement la station d'élevage de Poindah. Auguste Poadja jeta lui aussi l'éponge et revendit ses terrains : « le 3 juin 1983, l'acte de vente fut signé entre le grand chef et l'Office foncier. Les tribus de Néami et Netchaot se partagèrent les 394 hectares de collines à niaoulis » (Guiart 2001:154). Il abandonna toutes ses activités d'élevage, ce qui scella la disparition de la Société civile d'élevage de Poindah :

Les occupations des terres, c'est malheureux à dire mais c'est comme ça, c'est vrai, c'est comme ça que je perds mes affaires…. Ils ont commencé les occupations des terres en 1981. En 1984, j'ai abandonné tout. Je peux plus y aller, parce qu'ils sont aux alentours de moi. Moi, je suis ici [à Poindah]. Même si je suis là-haut, les mecs, ils coupent les barrières, ils tuent le bétail, ils brûlent les parcelles. Je pouvais pas être à l'aise, j'ai abandonné tout. [Entretien avec Auguste Poadja, tribu de Poindah, 20 mai 2003]

Incidences « coutumières » du conflit

Tandis que Jean-Claude Devillers s'installait à proximité de Nouméa, Auguste Poadja continua à vivre à Poindah. Pour lui, le conflit de 1982–1984 n'avait pas seulement eu des incidences foncières et économiques, mais s'était aussi répercuté sur sa fonction de grand chef. Ainsi, dans le courrier du Conseil des anciens de Néami publié par les *Nouvelles Calédoniennes* le 15 février 1982, les autorités de la tribu justifiaient la revendication des terrains du grand chef en renvoyant aux « maîtres de la terre », installés selon elles à Néami :

Ce terrain est revendiqué par la tribu de Néami, dont les clans sont maîtres de la terre à cet endroit. Nous revendiquons cette action comme une action politique, fait par la tribu dans le cadre de la récupération de nos terres claniques. [*Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 15 février 1982]

Cette affirmation ne fait pas l'objet d'un consensus. En effet, dans les récits généalogiques et historiques qu'il a délivrés à Alban Bensa (Bensa et Goromido 2005:68–69), Auguste Poadja a toujours pris grand soin de rattacher la famille Poadja et le clan Görötû à cette zone spécifique. Or il n'y a pas de membre du clan Görötû domicilié dans la tribu de Néami. C'est donc à la lumière de cette version particulière de l'histoire locale, divergente de celle portée par les habitants de Néami, qu'Auguste Poadja déniait la légitimité clanique de la revendication de ses terrains privés. *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes* du 2 février 1984 suggéraient à ce sujet une contre-attaque originale du grand chef vis-à-vis des terrains de la haute vallée de la Koné qu'il avait dû rétrocéder :

> Selon certains, la propriété de la Société d'élevage ainsi qu'une partie de celle gérée précédemment par Jean-Claude Devillers appartiendrait au clan Poadja! C'est ainsi que le grand chef va revendiquer les terres que vient de lui reprendre l'Office foncier. [*Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 2 février 1984]

Inversement, c'est parce qu'ils considéraient qu'Auguste Poadja n'était pas habilité à poser des interdits sur des terrains qui ne lui revenaient pas « coutumièrement », que les indépendantistes de la Chaîne passèrent outre les « tabous » placés en novembre 1982 sur la propriété Devillers par le grand chef[12]. Ce point témoigne de l'imbrication des logiques coutumières—renvoyant à l'histoire ancienne des déplacements et des rapports de force entre clans, mais aussi au monde de l'invisible—aux logiques partisanes contemporaines à l'œuvre dans le cadre des revendications foncières. De façon plus générale, le combat politique du moment était articulé aux références sociales spécifiques au monde kanak, notamment dans le rapport à l'espace ou au niveau des relations entre groupes lignagers. Les propos suivants d'Auguste Poadja témoignent de la même façon d'un phénomène d'instrumentalisation politique des relations sociales entre groupes lignagers :

> Moi, j'ai ma religion, mon parti politique. Les gars qui sont pas avec moi pour la religion, mais quand ils ont les coutumes à faire, ils viennent me voir. Je leur ai dit : comment ça se fait, vous venez me voir, mais vous avez pas voté pour moi, pour la politique. Vous avez voté pour les autres. Allez chercher les gars pour qui vous avez voté, et puis comme ça ils vont s'occuper de vos coutumes. [Entretien avec Auguste Poadja, tribu de Poindah, 10 novembre 2002]

Dans l'autre sens, les indépendantistes n'hésitèrent pas non plus à attaquer la famille du grand chef sur le terrain coutumier, comme l'évoque Gérard Poadja, fils d'Auguste :

> Pour moi, les « événements » ça a été une période difficile, parce qu'on a confondu la politique et la coutume au niveau du FLNKS. Moi je suis toujours resté à Poindah, mais j'ai été menacé, parce que j'étais toujours derrière le vieux [son père]. On a subi des dégradations pas seulement sur l'exploitation, pour le bétail, mais aussi dans nos champs d'ignames, alors que c'est très respectable chez les Kanak. Mon champ, il a été détruit au sabre, juste avant la récolte. [Entretien avec Gérard Poadja, Koné, 16 juin 2004]

Ces éléments soulignent assez clairement que les discours kanak contemporains courants qui opposent généralement la « coutume » à la « politique », constituent plus un artifice rhétorique qu'une réalité pratique. Les affrontements évoqués ici entre les indépendantistes et la famille Poadja ne constituent pas une rupture de ce point de vue, mais s'inscrivent au contraire dans la continuité des formes plurielles des logiques politiques kanak déployées à long terme. Aux registres clivés des discours—la politique, la coutume, la religion—s'articulent des pratiques beaucoup plus ambiguës renvoyant à des rapports de force concrets traversant diverses scènes sociales. Les répercussions coutumières de ce conflit partisan furent portées à leur paroxysme lorsque fut frontalement contestée l'autorité d'Auguste Poadja en tant que grand chef. Voici comment René Guiart raconte cet épisode :

> Vendredi 17 juin 1983.... Cette fois-ci, le grand chef Poadja est parti passer le week-end ailleurs. Il ne représente plus rien, toutes les tribus de Koné et les deux de Pouembout lui ont enlevé toutes ses fonctions coutumières. [Guiart 2001:169]

Un démenti formel à cette tentative de destitution fut apporté en février 1984 dans l'article intitulé « Le grand chef Poadja est toujours en place », paru dans le journal local :

> Auguste Poadja est toujours grand chef du district de Poindah à Koné. Le bruit avait couru qu'il était destitué et que le Haut-commissariat était même près à parapher cette décision. En fait il aurait été destitué par le Comité de revendication des terres de la région de Koné qui a à sa tête, comme chacun le sait, un certain Augustin Wabéalo dit Fessard, inséparable de René Guiart. Sur le plan coutumier, un Comité de revendication des terres n'est pas reconnu, d'ailleurs il n'existe pas dans les structures traditionnelles. Il n'est donc pas représentatif et ses décisions n'ont aucune valeur. [*Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 2 février 1984]

Sur la même page, Jeannine Bouteille, la secrétaire de l'association Fraternité Calédonienne présidée par Auguste Poadja, faisait paraître une lettre « signée par les Grandes Chefferies coutumières du territoire » pour défendre le grand chef. Parmi les arguments utilisés, la question des relations entre les clans de la région de Koné était mise en avant pour disqualifier les opposants d'Auguste Poadja : « Nous sommes d'autant plus outrés quand une telle action est menée par des clans ancestralement étrangers à la région, recueillis autrefois coutumièrement et charitablement par la grande chefferie de Poindah » (*Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 2 février 1984).

Finalement, comme pour l'ensemble du conflit entre indépendantistes et loyalistes en Nouvelle-Calédonie, les Accords de Matignon signés en juin 1988 firent cesser les fortes turbulences politiques et coutumières qui avaient agité le district de Poindah dans les années 1980. Auguste Poadja demeura à la tête de la grande chefferie jusqu'en 1996, date à laquelle il décida volontairement de passer la main à son fils aîné en raison de son âge avancé. Il mourut neuf ans plus tard, en 2005.

Conclusion : Kanak et loyaliste

La trajectoire d'Auguste Poadja offre des clés singulières pour comprendre le phénomène du loyalisme politique kanak en Nouvelle-Calédonie. Comme éleveur, mais aussi en tant que grand chef et responsable militant de l'UC à partir de 1963, il promouvait pour le district de Poindah un projet politique et économique symbolisé par la Société civile d'élevage de Poindah—bien avant le RPCR ou Fraternité Calédonienne. En accord avec le réformisme de l'UC des années 1950–1960, ses projets de développement consistaient à reproduire le modèle économique européen dominant de la colonisation pastorale, mais au profit des habitants des tribus. Pour Auguste Poadja, cette idéologie coloniale de « mise en valeur » et de « développement » par le « travail au bétail », longuement incorporée au contact des éleveurs, se trouvait au fondement de son ethos de stockman; dans les années 1970, elle le poussa à condamner le principe même des revendications foncières menées par les indépendantistes, qu'il percevait comme un changement inacceptable des règles du jeu colonial auxquelles il s'était scrupuleusement conformé pour établir son domaine d'élevage.

L'opposition d'Auguste Poadja et de ses soutiens aux partisans de l'indépendance ne renvoyait pas seulement aux questions foncières, mais aussi à des rivalités locales spécifiques entre clans et entre tribus. Sur la scène politique étaient importés et recomposés des soli-darités intra-familiales, des alliances inter-claniques, des arguments « coutumiers » autour des terres et des chefferies, des litiges fonciers et des conflits religieux (Trépied 2010:165–194), suscitant chez les individus concernés des contradictions plus ou moins tenables dans le contexte des « événements ». C'est à la lumière de ces multiples rationalités qu'il est possible de comprendre l'adhésion des Görötû et des Nädù de Poindah à l'orientation loyaliste d'Auguste Poadja.

Il paraît important d'insister, au bout du compte, sur la non-spécificité de ces façons de faire de la politique en milieu kanak. Les formulations des clivages politiques à Poindah, à Koné et en Nouvelle-Calédonie ont bien une particularité directement liée au passé colonial et aux formes spécifiques de l'organisation sociale kanak; en revanche, les mécanismes sociaux d'affiliation partisane eux-mêmes ne paraissent pas typiques, finalement, d'une altérité culturelle incommensurable. Ce n'est pas tant l'objet d'étude que le regard porté sur lui et l'échelle d'analyse qui font apparaître ici des lignes de fractures originales et inattendues : dans ce cas, « le choix d'une échelle particulière d'observation produit des effets de connaissance » (Revel 1996:19). Les stratégies de connaissance produites grâce au « principe de la variation » dans la théorie des « jeux d'échelles » posent néanmoins question : si l'utilisation de différentes échelles d'analyse permet bien de mettre au jour plusieurs logiques du vote loyaliste kanak qui se superposent, en revanche elle ne fournit pas d'outil pour comprendre comment ces logiques sont articulées entre elles. Cette limite souligne tout l'intérêt que revêtirait une analyse centrée à la fois sur les hétérogénéités locales des manifestations kanak de soutien au RPCR, et sur le processus socio-politique de médiation et d'homogénéisation au fondement de la catégorie générique de « Kanak loyaliste ».

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Notes

1 Le terme « vieux » est utilisé localement comme une marque de respect. La Nouvelle-Calédonie est devenue une colonie française en 1853, avant d'accéder au statut de Territoire d'outre-mer (TOM) en 1946. Elle demeure aujourd'hui encore sous souveraineté française.

2 Archives de Nouvelle-Calédonie (désormais ANC) 107 W 1647, résultats électoraux par bureau de vote, commune de Koné.

3 Dans une logique segmentaire, un « clan » kanak se définit comme un rassemblement de plusieurs « lignages » ou « familles » se reconnaissant un ancêtre commun.

4 Anglicisme importé par les éleveurs venus d'Australie au XIXe siècle, utilisé pour désigner les propriétés agricoles et pastorales.

5 Il comptabilisait aussi dans ce total les terrains acquis par son fils aîné.

6 Entrevue avec Auguste Poadja : « Quand des Grands Chefs sont interviewés pour un hebdomadaire métropolitain ».

7 *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 2, 5 et 15 avril 1982.

8 *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 28 avril 1982, « Le grand chef Poadja président de Fraternité Calédonienne ».

9 *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 15 novembre 1982.

10 Selon René Guiart (2001:141), ce dispositif représente un interdit coutumier pour empêcher l'accès à un lieu, sous peine de sanctions surnaturelles.

11 Lettre du Conseil des anciens de Néami, cité dans *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 15 janvier 1984.

12 Selon René Guiart (2001:141), « ce symbole [le tabou placé sur la propriété Devillers] n'a de valeur que posé par le maître traditionnel du sol, ce qui n'était pas le cas ».

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Human Rights Discourse, Gender and HIV and AIDS in Southern Malawi

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Abstract: This article explores how the proliferation of poorly translated human rights discourse has increased the vulnerability of Malawian women and girls to HIV. In southern Malawi, "traditional" gender roles taught during initiations lay the foundation for women's sexual submission to men, while encouraging men to think that they are entitled to sexual gratification. In the wake of the recent democratic transition, young men have begun using imperfectly translated human rights rhetoric to rationalize formerly tabooed sexual behaviour and reinforce initiation gender norms. Women, meanwhile, are prevented from exercising their own rights because it is their responsibility to preserve "culture."

Keywords: human rights, gender roles, initiation, sexuality, HIV and AIDS, Malawi

Résumé : Cet article explore comment la prolifération de propos mal traduits sur les droits humains a augmenté la vulnérabilité au VIH des femmes et des filles malawiennes. Dans le sud du Malawi, les rôles sexuels « traditionnels » enseignés durant l'initiation établissent le terrain de la soumission sexuelle des femmes envers les hommes, tout en encourageant les hommes à croire qu'ils ont droit à la gratification sexuelle. Dans le sillage de la récente transition démocratique, les jeunes hommes ont commencé à utiliser une rhétorique de traduction approximative sur les droits humains pour rationaliser des comportements sexuels autrefois tabous et renforcer les normes d'initiation relatives au genre. Entretemps, on empêche les femmes d'exercer leurs propres droits en soutenant leur responsabilité de préserver « la culture ».

Mots-clés : droits humains, rôles sexuels, initiation, sexualité, VIH et SIDA, Malawi

Introduction

In this article I discuss the collision between "culture," gender roles, human rights discourse and HIV and AIDS in southern Malawi. In Malawi, ideas about "tradition" and human rights intersect with gender roles imparted in male and female initiations. During their initiations, girls learn that it is their role to be submissive and to please men sexually. Conversely, boys learn that sex is their prerogative and that women's displays of disobedience should be met with sexual aggression. Gendered ideas about appropriate sexual behaviour have consequences for both Malawi's high rates of HIV and the empowerment of women and girls. Unfortunately, the widespread dissemination of human rights educational materials in the wake of the democratic transition in 1994 may actually have compounded these problems.

I argue that the haphazard introduction of an impoverished form of human rights discourse has allowed young men to recast sexual intercourse as a right, thus rationalizing sexual behaviour that would once have been forbidden. Women and girls, in contrast, have been prevented from claiming any rights by political discourses that position women as the preservers of "culture" and that declare human rights to be the enemy of "culture." In this paper, I draw attention to two uncomfortable aspects of human rights promotion. First, when carelessly implemented and incorrectly translated, the introduction of human rights rhetoric can actually *undermine* the rights of disadvantaged sectors of society. Second, under certain circumstances men can use human rights discourse to justify the sexual exploitation of women. For these reasons, in southern Malawi, the proliferation of human rights rhetoric has unfortunately reinforced the complex array of cultural factors that leave women and girls particularly vulnerable to HIV.

Orientations

Malawi is a small country in South Central Africa that shares a border with Zambia, Mozambique and Tanzania. My research was confined to Blantyre and Chiradzulu Districts, located at the western edge of the Shire Highlands in the Southern Region, an area noted for population pressure, soil erosion, land degradation and deforestation. It is estimated that over 17 per cent of women and 11 per cent of men are HIV positive in Malawi's Southern Region, with rates particularly high among the Lomwe (17 per cent) and Yao (13 per cent), the two groups among whom I mainly worked (NSO and ICF Macro 2011:198). In addition, despite the matrilineal and matrilocal practices of the region's inhabitants, where descent is traced through women and couples are expected to live in the wife's village upon marriage, women in southern Malawi are less well-off than men according to most indicators. For example, 32 per cent of women in this region are illiterate compared with 18.5 per cent of men (NSO and ICF Macro 2011:28–29). Moreover, 21 per cent of women employed in nonagricultural labour are not paid for their work, while comparable figures for men are substantially lower, at 13 per cent (NSO and ICF Macro 2011:36–37). Finally, the Malawi Demographic and Health Survey 2010, reports that "Malawi's cultural traditions have long condoned most forms of domestic violence" (NSO and ICF Macro 2011:239). This paper is based on eight months of volunteer experience in 2000 and 2001, and ten months of participant observation, focus groups and interviews conducted in 2006 and 2007.[1]

Gender Socialization

Girls' Initiation

Historically, notions of sexuality and the code of conduct surrounding it were imparted separately to boys and girls during initiation rites. These rites continue to be widely practiced in the rural areas. Among the matrilineal peoples of Malawi, girls' initiation is a process that often takes years. There are three distinct phases of female initiation: prepuberty rites, puberty rites, and pregnancy rites, collectively known as *chinamwali* in the Chichewa language. Below I shall focus on the prepuberty rites, called *chiputu* by the Yao, among whom I primarily lived and worked.

During the chiputu rites, the girls, generally between the ages of 9 and 14 years old, are secluded from the rest of the community for a period of five or six days. One of the primary tasks of the *anamkhungwi* (singular, *namkhungwi*), senior women who are in charge of initia-

tion rituals, is to provide sexual instruction (Morris 2000:94). Malawian graduate student Chimwemwe Umboni Kalalo writes that, during initiation a girl is told that sex is an important part of family life and that even if she is "sick or tired, a woman should not refuse her husband sex" (2005:84). In addition, girls are taught that they should try to anticipate their husbands' desires and "help" them in the sex act. This is enforced through a dance that teaches the girls to move their hips rather than to lie passively on their backs. In the initiation rite that I witnessed, the dance was quite graphic as anamkhungwi and the exclusively female spectators stripped down to their underwear to mime sexual intercourse with one another for the benefit of the initiates. Frequently the senior namkhungwi took the role of a man, tying an erect clay phallus to her hips and exaggerating her movements to make the phallus jump up and down.

In the chiputu rites the anamkhungwi frequently induce a state of psychological distress to drive home messages of respect for elders and men. On the second or third night of the initiation, men gather outside the initiation hut making realistic lion and jackal calls while the anamkhungwi admit masked dancers dressed as wild animals. The dancers are armed with thorn claws and attack any girl the anamkhungwi identify as troublesome or ill-behaved (Morris 2000:101–102). A common element of church-sponsored initiations exposes initiates to a scene in which a philandering man who is locked out at night by his angry wife is mauled by wild animals and appears before the girls covered in blood (Fiedler 2005:37; Minton 2008:78). The aim of this frightening scenario is to encourage obedience to husbands. Despite the psychological distress experienced by the initiates during the course of their initiation, they are highly motivated to participate in the ritual. Malawian researcher Rachel Nyagondwe Fiedler (2005:19–21) reports that girls who do not attend initiations are made fun of by their peers and, regardless of their actual age or experience, are seen as sexually incompetent and are not allowed to participate in several valued local customs.

Boys' Initiation

Boys' initiations, called *lupanda* among the Yao, are also widespread. Lupanda lasts several weeks longer than girls' chiputu, generally about one or two months, although in the past it could take up to three months (Stannus and Davey 1913:120). Boys are initiated between 10 and 14 years of age (Bonongwe 2004:8; Stannus and Davey 1913:119). Among the Yao, circumcision happens on the first day of the rite and is followed by a lengthy period

of healing and instruction; whereas, among the Lomwe, instruction happens first and circumcision, where practiced, does not happen until the fourth day (Bonongwe 2004:13–14; Morris 2000:119; Stannus and Davey 1913:120). It should be noted that the neighbouring Chewa, Nyanja and Mang'anja do not practice circumcision and that circumcision is not present in all Lomwe communities (Bonongwe 2004:14).[2]

An important feature of boys' initiations is instruction in the behaviour and customs that are appropriate to a man. In particular, boys are taught the ritually significant times they will need to abstain from sex in their married lives. In addition, they are tutored in male activities such as basket and mat weaving, the construction of animal traps, agriculture, dancing and wrestling. Like girls, they are also subject to corporal punishment for inattention and disobedience. Moral instruction occurs via songs, riddles and chants (Bonongwe 2004:5–22; Morris 2000:120; Stannus and Davey 1913:120). Note that boys do not receive as much practical instruction about sexual intercourse as girls.

When lupanda instruction is deemed complete, the boys are returned to their community with new clothes, demonstrations of new skills and a great deal of singing, dancing and eating. Among the Yao, there is a closing dance involving masked dancers and representations of animals that have been constructed by the boys in the initiation lodge, the same ones that are used to scare the girls in the chiputu ritual (Morris 2000:128).

Women as Pleasure Givers; Men as Sexual Aggressors

Men and women in southern Malawi are socialized to have very different approaches to sex, which appears to be defined purely in terms of vaginal penetration. The cultural ideal is that the man lies on top of the woman. One of the songs recorded by Fiedler in the church-sponsored initiation for girls emphasizes this position:

> Jejemera, your head is falling
> Your breast is the pillow
> Your stomach is the mattress
> Your waist is shaking
> Your genitals should take it in. [2005:34][3]

The girl is taught to think of herself as the mattress upon which her husband lies while he penetrates her, rocking her hips to enhance his pleasure. The purpose of another song which purports through its actions to demonstrate the variety of positions a woman may find her legs in during sexual intercourse is intriguingly interpreted by Fiedler, a Malawian, as "to teach the children that a man does not have oral sex, but that sex is in

the vagina" (2005:69).[4] Girls, therefore, are socialized to recognize appropriate sexual positions and sex acts during initiation.

Recall that girls are also taught not to refuse their husbands' requests for sex even when they are sick or tired. As a result, men feel entitled to demand sex from their wives or partners and when women refuse, there are negative consequences. According to the 2004 Malawi Demographic and Health Survey, over one-third of Malawian women believe that a man has the right to beat his wife when she refuses sex (Saur, Semu and Ndau 2005:12). The words of a traditional song, transcribed by researcher Marion Baumgart dos Santos, illustrate men's sense of sexual entitlement:

> When a wife refuses
> Kweche kweche kho!
> Pull her against a stone
> Kweche kweche kho!
> When you do it with her
> Kweche kweche kho!
> So that she should be made to feel it
> Kweche kweche kho! [2006:61][5]

Because sex is a man's prerogative, he may disregard his partner's refusal. In fact, in this song, sex is used as a reprimand.

The aggressive and punitive dimensions of male sexuality are reinforced by contemporary slang referring to the penis as chida or "weapon" (Moto 2004:344). Culturally, men are compared to daring, powerful and sexually aggressive wild animals: "The all powerful image of chilombo (beast) which ... represents power, authority, dominance and a certain amount of violence and calculated aggression, for all intents and purposes, is the construct of male and expected behavior of males towards females in Malawian society" (Moto 2004:350). The idea of the chilombo (or chirombo), the "beast," derives from the custom of the gule wamkulu (big dance), which is performed by the male secret nyau society among some groups in central and southern Malawi. The dance encodes messages of aggressive sexuality in which the male masked dancers chase women who flee the masks in partially simulated fear (Moto 2004:351). Similar masked dances take place in girls' initiations among the Yao (Morris 2000:101–105). As mentioned above, the animal masks, created during boys' initiations, are also used to frighten and punish girls who have not lived up to the code of conduct demanded of them during initiation. Girls, then, are socialized to understand that deviation from feminine ideals of subordination and respect will be punished with displays of animalistic male sexuality. Presumably boys, who

learn how to create and animate the masks during male initiations, take this message to heart as well.

Breakdown of Sexual Restrictions

According to the early accounts of the region in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, matrilineal groups in the region held life in high esteem and honoured fertility by strictly regulating sexual conduct (Linden 1978; Schoffeleers 2006; Van den Borne 2005). This is not to suggest that sexual transgressions did not occur in the past or that transgressions occurred less in the past than they do now, for that would be impossible to prove given the paucity of pre-colonial data; however, it does mean that there were serious consequences for certain types of sexual misconduct that are not similarly punished today. Among the matrilineal groups living in the region, land, animal and human fertility were considered mutually interdependent and human heterosexual relationships were closely implicated in the creation and maintenance of fertility in all three domains. Fertility could be secured through the strict adherence to a moral system that promoted social harmony and minimized discord (Van den Borne 2005:49).

One of the key tenets of the moral code was appropriately channelled sexuality. Sex, so long as it occurred within marriage, was highly valued and considered necessary for health as well as fertility. However, sex outside marriage was considered a serious offence because it violated principles of social harmony by causing fights between the interested parties. In the scale of criminal acts, Malawians in the early 20th century felt that adultery was on the same moral level as theft, witchcraft, sorcery and murder (Van den Borne 2005:49). When one of the parties to adultery was a married woman, it was considered a *mlandu* (prosecutable offence) for both parties. It was also a mlandu for a married man to engage in sexual intercourse with an unmarried woman of childbearing age. A first-time offender was likely to have to pay damages; a repeat adulterer was liable to be sold into slavery or sentenced to exile (Lwanda 2005:121).

Like sex outside marriage, sex before marriage was historically forbidden in southern Malawi. In the immediate pre-colonial eras, it was illegal for an uninitiated girl to engage in sexual intercourse among both the Yao and the Chewa. Any man who had sex with such a girl was subject to prosecution on the grounds that he had "ruined" her. A woman who had sex with an uninitiated boy faced a similar fate (Lwanda 2005:122).

The breakdown of sanctions against adultery and premarital sex is widely discussed in contemporary southern Malawi and the pace of change is perceived as particularly rapid. When I asked Gertrude, a young woman working for a church-based NGO in Blantyre, whether she thought sexual behaviour had changed in the past 100 years, she dismissed my question with mild outrage: "Don't even talk of 100 years! Or even 15! It has tremendously changed." She went on to explain that in the past people abstained from sex until marriage, but "these days" sex is a prerequisite for any "relationship." Similarly, Benjamin Malota, a 64-year-old farmer and village headman, laughed and explained to me that, in the past, when a young couple was interested in one another, the two might engage in a few shy conversations in an attempt to "*kudziwana mtima*," or get to know one another's hearts. These days when a couple says they want to "get to know one another's hearts," it means they are having sex.

My Malawian informants identify the recent democratic transition as a catalyst of this seeming sea change. The advent of multiparty democracy in the mid-1990s was viewed by most Malawians with whom I spoke, as the single most significant event to occur in Malawi in recent history. Malawi was under the oppressive rule of Hastings Kamuzu Banda from independence in 1964 until the onset of multiparty democracy in 1994. Dixon, a student at the Catholic University of Malawi, characterized the transition to multiparty democracy in 1994 as a turning point because "everybody felt liberated." Prior to this, Malawi was "disciplined, totally disciplined, because of fear." Once democracy arrived things that were previously restricted were suddenly available. For instance, in the past people did not go out at night for fear of the Malawi Young Pioneers, the paramilitary arm of Banda's Malawi Congress Party (MCP). Dixon noted that, once this threat dissolved, women began to go out and people began buying cars and going places. Businesses opened and bars, locally referred to as "bottle stores," sprang up around the country. Dixon's recollections were echoed by others who had lived through the Banda years.

Mphatso, a Blantyre-based NGO employee, cited the onset of democracy as one reason for changing "behaviour patterns." He said that the "democratization process opened our eyes" to the rest of the world, an oblique reference to the heavy censorship that existed during Banda's government. Malawians under Banda were subject to the strict Decency in Dress Act, which banned Western fashion trends deemed likely to "corrupt" youth, such as miniskirts, long hair on men, and trousers on women. According to Malawian physician and historian John Lwanda, Banda's 1968 Censorship Act was "draconian" in its restriction of "intellectual, cultural and curricular fields" through wide-ranging censorship of films, books, videos and journals (2005:103).

Things are different now. Kevin, Dixon's classmate at Catholic University, declared: "We are living in a situation" wherein "there are a lot of things coming from the West"—which was not the case when all forms of media were heavily censored. Moreover, in Malawi these days, "you copy the things that your friends are doing," including becoming sexually active at a young age. Amayi Chimala, a rural woman in her seventies from Chiradzulu District, told me that contemporary youth scorned the advice of their elders because they felt it was outdated. She said that children no longer want to be like their elders but prefer to copy the behaviour of people from other places who are deemed more modern. Again and again when I spoke to village elders, they told me that if they remonstrated with youth over "promiscuous" behaviour they were dismissed out of hand: "What can you tell me? I will do whatever I want!" In the late 1990s, anthropologist Amy Kaler also noted tension between elders and juniors in Malawian villages over "conflicting moral claims focused on sexuality" (2001:533). Elders claimed that in their youth, sex was conceived of as a kind of social contract inextricably linked to social norms, values and beliefs—as described above. They contrasted this with contemporary society, wherein, according to one man, " 'Sex among the young folks is like buying a bottle of Coke and drinking it' " (Kaler 2001:534).

The danger of accepting elders' panegyrics on the halcyon days of yore is that the golden age of sexual fidelity and family stability is a moving target. As Kaler notes, while the elders of the 1990s lamented the moral laxity of contemporary youth, elders of the 1940s felt the same way about youth in their time. In the 1940s, elders complained that youth were failing in their responsibility to support elderly relatives and furthermore were disrespecting them by using the newfound financial independence associated with then widespread labour migration to make frivolous (and independent) decisions about marriage and divorce. The intergenerational tensions of the 1990s and 2000s focused on the sexual irresponsibility of contemporary youth, which elders blamed on the effects of modernization and globalization in the wake of the democratic transition. It should be noted that the elders of the 1940s and 1950s had legitimate grounds for their complaints, as they were largely shut out of income earning opportunities in the new wage economy of the day. Similarly, it seems to me that the elders of today are accorded little respect in the modern sexual economy. Contemporary elders, however, cannot hold themselves entirely blameless. After all, the elders of today are the very same people whose "irresponsible" behaviour was lamented by *their* elders in the 1940s and 1950s.

Lest it seem that I am relying too heavily on the assessments of elders, note that in addition to the young men and women quoted above discussing the changes brought about by democracy, many youth actually agreed with elders' evaluations of contemporary sexual behaviour. Hoping to spark discussion, I typically asked young informants what they thought of elders' beliefs that the spread of HIV and AIDS was primarily due to the "promiscuous" behaviour of youth. Somewhat to my surprise, about half of them agreed with this sentiment. Those who disagreed did not dispute elders' negative portrayal of their behaviour; they simply noted that contemporary elders are also engaged in "misbehaviour." Specifically, they reported the sexual irresponsibility of older men in seeking sugar daddy relationships with girls and young women (Hayes 2011).

In the rural areas, changing sexual norms are explicitly connected with the introduction of human rights discourse in the wake of the democratic transition. Nora Shaibu, a rural, 37-year-old widow living openly with HIV/AIDS, explained to me that, "since democracy" men say it is their right to have as many women as they choose. Albert, a young man in his mid-twenties who works for a Community Based Organization (CBO) in a peri-urban area near Blantyre, concurs. He believes that "freedom" is a contributing factor to the spread of HIV in Malawi because young men in particular abuse their rights, declaring, "It's my right to have a girlfriend. It's my right to have five women."

This is a sharp break from the recent past when people were subject to arbitrary arrest and torture. People who lived through the Banda years told me in casual conversation that the level of paranoia was extreme, as one never knew who was listening. In fact, one not only needed to take care that one was not overheard making seditious remarks, one needed also to ensure that one did not inspire any personal grudges. For instance, any woman who was angry with her husband for suspected infidelity could retaliate by telling the authorities he had refused to let her dance at a Banda rally and the man would quickly find himself in jail. According to a female informant quoted by researchers Maria Saur, Linda Semu and Stella Hauya Ndau in their study of gender-based violence in Malawi, people felt the influence of Banda's spies even in their most intimate acts: " 'The problem with men nowadays is drunkenness and taking on wives anyhow. This is compounded by the current freedoms unlike when we were under Kamuzu's rule, men were scared and thus did not behave irresponsibly' " (2005:29).[6]

When I first came to Malawi as a young volunteer in 2000, democracy was only six years old and Banda was a

widely reviled figure. When I returned in 2006, I found a disturbing number of people looking back on the Banda days with nostalgia. Some middle-aged and older Malawians fretfully opined that at least in Banda's day there was not so much "misbehaviour." Social anthropologist Harri Englund (2006) has also noted a tendency among older Malawians to complain, frequently unrealistically, about the so-called "freedoms" of democracy. That these perceived behavioural changes are cloaked in human rights discourse is no accident. Since the end of the Cold War, Malawi's status as a potential recipient of foreign aid has waned because its support of the West is no longer a source of strategic significance in the region. One of the few ways the transitional government was able to attract donor attention was "by projecting an image of movement toward democratic consolidation" through the promotion of human rights rhetoric (Englund 2006:5). In Malawi, *human rights* came to be defined as *ufulu wachibadwidwe* (freedom that a person is born with) despite the availability of other constructions that better express the English term *rights* (Englund 2006:49). This poor translation was facilitated by the narrow focus of politicians and activists on individual civil and political freedoms at the expense of social or economic rights. The privileging of civil liberties over other rights is not unique to Malawi, as Paul Farmer (2005) has so cogently argued in *Pathologies of Power: Health, Human Rights, and the New War on the Poor*; yet, Malawi's case illustrates how this emphasis can have unintended effects in the midst of an HIV pandemic, as I discuss below.

Since the advent of democracy in Malawi in the 1990s, various organizations have been engaged in translating human rights documents into Chichewa. However, because this has not been a donor priority, translation has often been linked to larger civic education programs, leading to "haphazard" top-down translations (Englund 2006:54). The poor translations that are available to Malawians restrict local understanding of human rights and limit the types of claims they can make about human rights abuses (2006:60). Moreover, the translation of *rights* as *freedoms* has led to a favouring of individual freedoms over collective rights and responsibilities. While some human rights activists have retroactively attempted to insert the concept of *udindo* (responsibility) into the discourse of ufulu, the fact that the two concepts were not introduced simultaneously means that, for the time being, there is little recognition of the fact that rights and responsibilities are interdependent (2006:68).

While widespread premarital sex, adultery and sexual relationships with multiple partners are not entirely new phenomena in Malawi, the introduction of human rights

discourse has had the unintended effect of providing a socially appropriate set of justifications for sexual transgressions (see Chirwa 1997, 1999; Kaler 2001). As is often the case with the many guises of global capitalism, the democratization process, including the introduction of human rights rhetoric, has delivered more benefits to men than women. In fact in some cases democratization has been linked to a demonstrable increase in sexual violence against women (Moffett 2006:142). Note that only men are quoted above as stating that it is their right to have multiple sex partners. This is not to say that women are not also engaged in multiple sex partnership behaviour, just that they are prevented by "tradition" and "culture" from using human rights discourse to justify it.

While Banda often used "culture" as a rationalization for political decisions, including human rights violations, his democratic successors distanced themselves from Banda by casting "culture" as a barrier to modernity and human rights (Ribohn 2002:169). Interestingly, both Banda and his successors viewed "culture" and human rights as opposed to one another; however, Banda privileged "culture" while the transitional government that followed him focused on human rights. Both the democratic government and those who oppose them in this regard define culture "as a static, reified entity" that can be used interchangeably with the term "tradition" (Ribohn 2002:170). While ordinary citizens appear to have accepted longstanding assumptions about the opposition between human rights and "tradition," they do not entirely support the new government's way of looking at things. The transitional government's human rights discourse was perceived by many Malawians, particularly men, as introducing a new "culture" that was at odds with the old one, a culture in which "criminals can do what they want, where individualistic values are preferred to community values, where women do not show respect to men and where young people do not listen but rather use drugs, have sex and lack respect for elders" (2002:171).

As women are seen as the keepers of "tradition," many people object to any change in women's status as a loss of "culture" (2002:171). Thus, while most Malawians accept the civil and political freedoms that come along with democracy, they reject the notion of gender equality. As Malawian historian Elias Mandala (1990) makes clear throughout his *Work and Control in a Peasant Economy*, the cultural construction of women as inferior to men in southern Malawi is actually a recent historical development that has more to do with colonialism, capitalism and Christianity than with "tradition." Nevertheless, most Malawians *believe* that women's

junior status is traditional and many men and some women use this as grounds for denying rights to women. Women collude in their exclusion from equal rights because there are benefits to be obtained by doing so: "In Malawi the majority of the people who argue that women are the keepers of tradition are men. However, women's positions are reinforced by the respect and status they receive from other women if they behave according to local value standards" (Ribohn 2002:174). This was borne out for me when, somewhat to my surprise, an elderly woman who acted as the traditional head of a group of several adjoining villages publicly opined that gender education was one of the problems with contemporary Malawian society. She went on to explain that gender focused human rights education was teaching girls to be disobedient and that boys were using it as a lever to encourage girls in bad behaviour. The result is a gendered double standard:

> By arguing that human rights and "culture" are in opposition, and at the same time that women are the keepers of 'traditions,' they [men and some women] exclude women from human rights and gender equality. In other words, men feel they should get human rights while women should maintain 'culture' and only get those rights that do not interfere with the existing gender structure. [Ribohn 2002:176]

As I discovered in 2000 when, as a newly minted young volunteer in Malawi, I was sent out to conduct focus groups on gender-based human rights abuses, it is not only elderly or rural men and women in positions of power who oppose women's rights. In one memorable focus group I was angrily confronted by a group of urban high school boys before I could even open my mouth. They wanted to know why I was destroying their culture by giving women ideas about gender equality. Culture, then, is highly valued by most Malawians, but it is generally seen as something that women rather than men are responsible for preserving.

Popular belief in the opposition between human rights and culture explains why, even after the transitional government's enthusiastic adoption of human rights rhetoric, very little was actually accomplished in terms of establishing conditions of gender parity in Malawi. In fact, for all that the protection of human rights was guaranteed by the new constitution of 1994, the status of women in Malawi actually *declined* in the years following the democratic transition. The Southern African Development Community (SADC) Regional Human Development Report of 2000 shows that, to a greater extent than in any other SADC nation, Malawi

changed for the worse in its performance on gender-related indicators such as life expectancy, education and income (Kanyongolo 2004:73).

The emerging view of sex among young men is that it is a right to be demanded and a statement of their openness to modern influences. Nevertheless, young men do not expect women to exercise their own rights by refusing men's advances. Former values of social order and fertility expressed through appropriately channelled sex have given way to a focus on sex as one among many individual freedoms available to men that can no longer be dictated by one's family or the larger community. New ideas about the clash between human rights and "culture" have combined to put women in the untenable position of having to choose between culturally prescribed gender roles and gender equality. Men are not placed in the same position because contemporary masculine gender roles dovetail with the exercise of democratic freedoms.

Some Consequences

The perpetuation of sexual norms, in which women are constructed as subservient pleasure givers and men as powerful sexual aggressors, has set the stage for alarming levels of HIV prevalence in southern Malawi. As mentioned above, in the Southern Region of Malawi, over 17 per cent of women and 13 per cent of men are HIV positive (NSO and ICF Macro 2011:198). Malawi is not unique in this regard as these figures are comparable to rates of HIV prevalence elsewhere in the region. For instance, HIV infection in neighbouring Zambia and Mozambique are both approximately 15 per cent (Republic of Mozambique National AIDS Council 2010:14; Republic of Zambia Ministry of Health and National AIDS Council 2010:23). All three countries introduced free antiretroviral (ARV) therapy for AIDS patients within a year of each other: 2003 in Mozambique and 2004 in Zambia and Malawi, and while all three countries have shown a levelling off in HIV prevalence rates since that time, none have shown statistically significant decreases. Moreover, throughout the region growth curves of the epidemic had actually begun to level off before the widespread introduction of ARVs, suggesting that in this region the epidemic has simply matured rather than responded to ARV therapy. These figures are discouraging in light of the UN's claims that HIV infections have dropped by 21 per cent globally due to increased access to ARV treatment, as reported by Mabvuto Phiri in *Africa News* on 22 November 2011. What I focus on below is how human rights rhetoric interacts with gender roles taught during initiations

to form part of the landscape of the HIV epidemic in one small part of this territory, the Southern Region of Malawi.

In southern Malawi, opportunities for HIV transmission are magnified by cultural constructions that limit sex to vaginal penetration and characterize male sexuality as aggressive and punitive. Women are unable to protest men's treatment of their bodies or suggest alternative sexual practices because they have been told they must neither refuse their partners' sexual demands nor openly express their own desires. One of the women interviewed by Kalalo explains:

> My husband just behaves as if it were a fight. But it is especially problematic when a person is married and finds that the husband is not the real thing ... Also, you cannot say anything; it is disrespectful. Besides, he will ask, 'Where did you learn these things? And where did you watch these styles? You are sleeping with other men, eh?' [2005:86][7]

Women who protest a partner's painful approach to sex therefore risk either being accused of infidelity or, as mentioned earlier, being reprimanded through correctional beating or forced sex.[8]

In addition, sexual roles imparted during initiation have intersected with contemporary human rights rhetoric in unexpectedly dangerous ways. Young men conceive of themselves as sexual aggressors who are able to castigate women who transgress gender roles. They have also been taught an impoverished form of human rights discourse that defines *rights* solely as *freedoms*. The result is that men say sex is their right, and no one can stop them from having as many sexual partners as they choose. On the other hand, the association made between "tradition" and women's sexual submission has ensured that human rights, sexual or otherwise, are not fully extended to women. Because women are perceived to be the keepers of "culture," which entails that they are subordinate to men, any attempt by women to attain gender equality is interpreted as a loss of "culture."

Men are therefore in a position wherein they can demand as much sex as they want from whomever they want as many times as they want, while women find it difficult to refuse. For example, according to a household-based survey of 4,031 Malawian youth aged 12 to 19, 40 per cent of sexually experienced girls reported that they were not willing the first time they had sex (Guttmacher Institute 2006). Anne Conroy and Alan Whiteside, noting that initiations have a profound influence on sexual behaviour among youth, explain that men initiate sex in most of sexual relationships in Malawi

and that "girls often feel powerless to refuse sex or to negotiate for safer sex" (2006:59). The collision between "tradition," gender roles and human rights rhetoric has allowed men to abdicate their responsibility to observe sexual taboos for the safety of the larger community, while simultaneously requiring that women remain sexually available. This situation has reinforced patterns of premarital sex, marital infidelity and multiple partner sex that have already had such a devastating impact on southern Malawi's rates of HIV infection.[9]

Conclusion

In southern Malawi, the overlap of recently introduced human rights rhetoric with "traditional" gender roles taught during initiation rites has had the unintended effect of buttressing women's and girls' already substantial vulnerability to HIV. Initiation ceremonies instruct women that they must please and entertain their partners in bed even when they are not willing. Conversely, initiation teaches boys that they are entitled to sex at all times and that a partner who refuses them deserves to be punished, often through forced sex. Meanwhile, the definition of *human rights* accepted in Malawi in the wake of the democratic transition of the 1990s, is one that emphasizes individual civil and political freedoms over collective, social and economic rights. The relationship between rights and responsibilities has been obscured by the translation of *rights* as *freedoms*. Young men have responded by claiming formerly taboo sexual relationships and sexual behaviours, such as premarital sex, adultery and multiple partner sex, as their right. This construction of sex dovetails with masculine discourses of sexual aggression. Women, however, are denied rights because they are seen as the keepers of "culture," and contemporary political discourse casts "culture" as the enemy of human rights. To preserve "culture," then, women must show deference to men and acquiesce to their sexual demands even when these violate their human rights. In southern Malawi, human rights education has allowed men to justify abandoning their former responsibility to protect the community from unchecked sexual impulses. At the same time, it has failed to empower women to protect themselves from exposure to HIV.

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Acknowledgments

Notes

1 Prior to each interview or focus group I asked all participants whether they wanted to be identified by name in any writing that might result from my research. In this article I have therefore adopted a mixed policy toward divulging the identities of my research participants. A number of individuals with whom I spoke asked me to use their real names and where this is the case I give their names in full. Where I do not have a person's permission to use his or her name I have assigned a pseudonym and do not offer a surname.

2 Interestingly, although recent studies associating male circumcision with lower rates of HIV, in Malawi the trend is actually in the opposite direction. The Malawi Demographic and Health Survey 2011 reports that men who are circumcised actually have a higher prevalence rate than those who are not. Nationally, 10 per cent of circumcised men are HIV positive versus 8 per cent of uncircumcised men (NSO and ICF Macro 2011:206).

3 Translation mine.

4 The only time I ever heard of oral sex in Malawi was when I was asked by a group of educated young men whether it were true that Westerners engaged in oral sex. They were surprised and revolted when I said that I thought it was a pretty common practice. All forms of oral sex seemed repugnant to these particular young men, but they were especially disgusted with the idea of cunnilingus and stated firmly that no Malawian man or woman would ever consider it trying it.

5 Translation mine.

6 Kamuzu is Banda's Malawian given name.

7 Translation mine.

8 While I focus on the Malawian case here, it should be understood that culturally condoned domestic violence and forced sex are characteristic of Central and Southern Africa (Bennett 2001; Green 1999; Juma and Klot 2011).

9 This is not to suggest that the interaction between human rights discourse and traditional gender roles is exclusively responsible for patterns of premarital sex, sexual infidelity and multiple partner sex in Malawi. The issue is a complex one, and I have written elsewhere about the multiple inducements to risky sexual behaviour that both men and women experience, including discourses of masculinity that valorize sexual insatiability, and conditions of poverty and income inequality that compel women to use sex as a source of livelihood (Hayes 2011). Additionally, Malawi's history of slavery, colonial plantations and labour migration mean that some of these patterns have been in the making for a very long time (Hayes 2011; Van den Borne 2005). An interesting parallel case is provided by Mark Hunter's (2002) research of the *isoka* phenomenon in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.

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A Beautiful Thing: Mariachi and Femininity in Jalisco, Mexico

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Abstract: In Mexico, the western state of Jalisco is popularly represented as the birthplace of mariachi. An excessively circulated national symbol, performances and performers of mariachi embody two important tenets of Mexican nationalism: machismo and *mestizaje*. In addition, Jalisco is also famous for its beautiful women, known for their light skin and piety. In this article I examine the increasing popular performance of women in all-female mariachis. Specifically, I am interested in how these *mariacheras* embody, mimic and contest their femininities in a highly gendered and racialized context in Jalisco.

Keywords: mariachi, embodiment, femininity, performance, popular culture, Mexico

Résumé : Au Mexique, la perception populaire situe dans l'État occidental du Jalisco l'origine du mariachi. Symbole national surexploité, les représentations et les performeurs de la tradition mariachi incarnent deux dimensions importantes du nationalisme mexicain : le machisme et le métissage (*machismo* et *mestizaje*). De plus, Jalisco est aussi réputée pour la beauté de ses femmes, reconnues pour la pâleur de leur peau et leur piété. Dans cet article, je m'intéresse à la popularité croissante des performances de groupes mariachi exclusivement composés de femmes. Je m'intéresse particulièrement à comment ces *mariacheras* incarnent, imitent, et contestent leurs féminités dans le contexte hautement genré et racialisé de Jalisco.

Mots-clés : mariachi, incarnation, féminité, performance, culture populaire, Mexique

Introduction[1]

In Mexico, the western state of Jalisco is popularly represented as the birthplace of well-known Mexican traditions and important national symbols including tequila, *charrería* (horsemanship, similar to rodeo) and mariachi.[2] As a result, Jalisco is famous for being home of the authentic Mexican macho. In addition, Jalisco is also famous for its beautiful women as venerated in numerous mariachi songs and films from Mexico's golden age of popular culture. The legendary beauty of women of this region emerges from a post-colonial context wherein narratives of religion and race work together to produce an idealized femininity characterized by piety and a racial constitution heavily influenced by European (as opposed to indigenous) heritage. In Jalisco, colonial religious and racial hierarchies linger to shape idealized images of masculinity and femininity wherein women are praised for their piety and their beauty. In this context of idealized masculinities (macho mariachis) and femininities (light-skinned, pious women), the performance of women in mariachi, a genre heavily dominated by men and packed with national ideals of race, gender, sexuality and region, is both complex and compelling.

In my other work, I conceptualize state-sanctioned performances of mariachi as cultural performances wherein notions of race, ethnicity, history, gender and nationhood are fashioned and redefined on a terrain of unequal power relations (Mulholland 2007). Here, I argue that *mariacheras* (female mariachis)[3] mimic and reproduce notions of beauty, piety and dependability that are entangled in general performances of *mexicanidad*, including race (*mestizaje*),[4] gender, region and religion. I understand gender as performative (Butler 1990), in that it's naturalized and inevitable aura is produced through a series of reiterative performances. I further argue, drawing on Taussig (1993), that these performances are mimetic in that they mime other performances of masculinity, femininity and race that mariacheras experience in their daily lives. Central to

Taussig's concept of mimesis is alterity: through a continual process of copy and contact, specifically in the colonial context, the distinction between self and other is blurred in a struggle for representation.

In this article, I examine the ways in which the participation of women in mariachi ensembles is neither a subversive nor a stabilizing force in the construction of an idealized Mexican femininity in the state of Jalisco.[5] Specifically, I am interested in how these mariacheras embody, perform, mimic and contest their own femininities in the everyday. Initially, I was curious if they were perceived by themselves and by others as subversive or, more subtly, as courageous skirt-wearing women who invaded a supposedly masculine genre. In short, would these women be considered by themselves or by others as cross-dressing, genre-crossing bodies out of place that subverted normative discourse of gender and sexuality in Jalisco? Would these women be considered controversial; criticized as loose, butch or un-Mexican? In the end, none and all of these seem to be true. Indeed, the performance and embodiment of female mariachis is much more contested, complex, hybrid and ambivalent. However, these women also slip into the in-between spaces of normative identity constructs, sometimes overtly but most often subtly, to challenge and undermine the reproduction of stable mutable categories of gender and sexuality. These in-between spaces exist between and outside of the extensively circulated and copied images of the mestizo macho mariachi and the mestiza pious folkloric beauty.

Femininity and Mexican Nationalism

In Mexico, early essays and analyzes of Mexican nationalism and the Mexican character, such as those by Samuel Ramos (1962) and Octavio Paz (1961), were always formulated as descriptions of a Mexican male identity. As literary critic, Jean Franco, has argued, "national identity was essentially masculine," and women were the obstacles or foils of the development of such a character (1989:xxi). In particular, it was the role of woman-as-mother that had the largest influence on the development of the Mexican (male) character. The adoring, caring and indulgent mother creates and condones her son, the macho, whose sense of inferiority stems from the emasculating presence of foreign domination, colonial authority and superiority.

At the centre of the construction of the Mexican woman as mother of the nation are two of Mexico's most controversial and salient mythic figures and archetypes: the Virgin of Guadalupe and La Malinche. Symbol of motherhood, nation, morality, righteousness, tradition,

virtue, purity and indigenismo, the Virgin of Guadalupe is patron saint of Mexico and in many ways the idealized Mexican woman. Conversely, Malinche (also know by her Spanish/Christian name of Doña Marina, or Malintzin, her given name, as well as La Chingada, which literally translates into "the fucked one") was the Indigenous mistress to Cortés who is believed to have been instrumental in the eventual defeat of the Aztecs by the Spanish. Octavio Paz describes the distinction between these two female images:

> In contrast to Guadalupe, who is the Virgin Mother, the Chingada is the violated mother.... Both of them are passive figures. Guadalupe is pure, receptive, and the benefits she bestows are of the same order: she consoles, quiets, dries tears, calms passions. The Chingada is even more passive. Her passivity is abject: she does not resist violence, but is an inert heap of bones, blood, and dust. Her taint is constitutional and resides ... in her sex. [Paz 1961:85]

In Mexico, *malinchismo* is the term used to refer to a perceived inferiority complex in Mexico that leads to some Mexicans privileging or preferring foreign things (as did Malinche apparently). In the studies of Mexican gender roles, the concept of *marianismo*, the cult of the Virgin Mary and the counterpart to machismo, became a popular method to capture the manner in which the adoration of the Virgin determines the parameters of acceptable femininity in Mexico and much of Latin America (Stevens 1973). In this construct of ideal femininity, women are passive, stoic, spiritual, moral, loyal and devoid of sexual desires. Moreover, particularly in Mexico, idealized women's roles are not only understood to reside solely in the realm of the private and domestic but also in the spiritual and religious.

Despite the pervasiveness of the virgin/whore binary, the representations and the lived experiences of women in Mexico are far more complex and nuanced. The notion that Mexican women are regulated and categorized as either virgins or whores is as misleading and illusory as Mexican men existing exclusively in the mutually exclusive categories of macho and *maricón* (pejorative for gay). In his detailed history, *The Secret History of Gender: Women, Men, and Power in Late Colonial Mexico* (1997), Steve Stern demonstrates that gender roles and relations in Mexico were far more complex and context contingent, influenced by a multifaceted matrix of power including race, class, community, state and region. In particular, he argues that the division between women's space as private and men's space as public simplifies and misrepresents the way in which a

multitude of actors were involved in the production and regulation of gender roles, including family, community elders, the church and the state.

In addition, Jean Franco (1989), Anne Rubenstein (1998), Johnson and Lipsett-Rivera (1998), Tuñón-Pablos (1999), Rebecca Lester (2005) and the contributors to Olcott, Vaughn and Cano (2006) have argued that women do not fall into categories of either conformity (pious) or deviant/resistance (treacherous), but rather there are multiple ways that women are both abstractions and agents in the imaginings of Mexican identity. Moreover, the concept of marianismo as formulated by Stevens (1973) has been extensively criticized (Ehlers 1991; Melhuus and Stolen 1996; Navarro 2002). Undeniably, the construction of the virgin/whore complex is a dominant narrative in Mexican nationalism. Although the virgin/whore complex is overly simplistic, certain characteristics emerging from that complex do influence the parameters of an idealized femininity in Mexico—in particular, notions of piety, dependability, hygiene and beauty.

Jalisco is Mexico: Mariachis, Machos and Beautiful Women

Jalisco, and the capital city Guadalajara, are recognized within Mexico for their political and religious conservatism and strong economy and as the birthplace of tequila and mariachi. Not only are these traditions purported to be authentically *jaliscience* (Jaliscan), but they are also understood as being quintessentially Mexican and representative of mexicanidad (Mexicanness). As a result, Jalisco is known for and promotes itself as the cultural hub and birthplace of the authentic Mexican macho.[6] Jalisco is also famous for its beautiful women. My broader research project examines mariachi as a performative site (culturally, historically, socially and discursively) where racial, regional, classed, sexual and gendered identities are produced and contested in the state of Jalisco. The significance of mariachi as an important site of inquiry is largely due to its entanglement with national and nationalist discourses (Mulholland 2007, 2012).

The emergence of mariachi as a symbol of Mexican identity and machismo is linked to the wildly popular singing cowboy films of the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s that featured cowboys singing *ranchera* music (country music) backed by famous mariachis of that era.[7] Often referred to as the "golden age" of Mexican culture and nationalism, this era produced several important cultural icons, most importantly the *comedia ranchera* (country comedy) genre of film and its star, the *charro cantor* (or singing cowboy).[8] Combining the music of mariachi and

the cowboy tradition of charros, these films produced an image of the idealized Mexican man: a rural, mestizo cowboy who possesses a loyal, brave and stubborn character. In these films, such as *Allá en el Rancho Grande* (*Over on Big Ranch*, 1936) and *Así se quiere en Jalisco* (*That is How They Love in Jalisco*, 1942), Jalisco became the mythic home to charros and mariachis who lived rugged and honourable lives tied to working the land (predominantly in the state of Jalisco), drinking tequila and longing for the love of a good woman (Gradante 1982; Jáuregui 1990; Mulholland 2007; Nájera-Ramírez 1994; Rubenstein 2001; Serna 1995). It was also during the golden age that many mariachis adopted the now standard *traje de charro*; a stylized cowboy outfit that includes a short jacket, bowtie, tight-fitting pants that are decorated down the leg with silver or gold buckles (*botandura*), cowboy boots and matching sombrero.[9]

Partnering with the macho charros and mariachis are the famous "lindas mujeres," or beautiful women, of Jalisco. The beauty of Jalisican women refers to both a physical embodiment—they are known to be tall—with lighter skin and striking eyes, and a temperamental one; they are known for their piety and goodness. In regard to the latter, women of Jalisco, in fact all Jaliscans, are known to be some of the most devout Catholics in Mexico.[10] The Catholicism of many Jaliscans is demonstrated by the popularity of three locally venerated Virgins (Virgen de Zapopan, Nuestra Señora del Rosario in Talpa and the Virgen de la Asunción San Juan de los Lagos) and the ongoing memory of the *Cristeros*, Christian rebels who fought the anticlerical revolutionary government of the 1920s.[11]

In addition to piety, there is also a racialized component to the beauty of the women in Jalisco: the people of Jalisco are generally considered to have lighter skin than Mexicans from other regions, such as the south. Whereas some states in Mexico are considered indigenous, such as the southern states of Chiapas, Oaxaca and the Yucatan, Jalisco is considered to be a state that has more European racial influences than indigenous ones.[12] For example, the state and, in particular, the region known as Los Altos (the highlands), is famous for having a population that is taller, with light-coloured skin and light-coloured eyes (Orozco 1998). Some attribute the strong European presence in this area to the thousands of French troops stationed in this region during the French Occupation in the mid-1860s (Tuck 1982). Women of the state are famed for their legendary beauty and "ojos tapatíos" (eyes from Jalisco), which are immortalized in the song and film of the same name, *Ojos Tapatios* (1936).[13] José Vasconcelos, the influential writer and public intellectual who formulated the notion

of mestizos as the "cosmic race" in the 1920s, commented on the racial composition of Jalisco's population in his later work *El desastre* (*The Disaster*, 1938):

> Jalisco, in reality, is the most successful of the Mexican provinces. The race over there is purer than, for example, in Puebla. The men are tall and striking and from Andalusian origin; the women have black eyes, flexible waist, clear complexion, full of softness, they seduce by the refinement of their characteristics and their fluent and graceful walk. [Doñán 2000]

The cultural memory of Jalisco as Catholic and mestiza/o speaks to the colonial legacy of religion and race that works to erase the historical and contemporary presence of indigenous and African people in the state (Chamorro 2000; Ochoa Serrano 1997).

Although rooted in nostalgia and imaginings, this image of Jalisco as home to beautiful women and rugged macho men is still popular today. While the films of the golden age introduced and solidified this image in the national imagination, it continues to be reproduced and circulated today by festivals, tourism campaigns and the ongoing popularity of ranchera songs from this era. These songs are performative (Butler 1990). They evoke and reify this mythic image of Jalisco as home to the almost European, but not quite, mestizo, the macho and the pretty and pious woman. For example, the ranchera song "Ay, Jalisco no te rajes," popularized by Jorge Negrete, boasts the virtues of Jalisco, including its beautiful women, macho men, mariachi, tequila and charros. Performed in the movie of the same name (1941), the song typifies the nostalgic imaginings of Jalisco by partnering horse-riding charros who "are macho and true to their word" with "lovely women with beautiful faces."

Traje de Charro and the *China Poblana*: The Idealized Mexican Couple

In September 2003, I was sitting in the Sanborns restaurant in downtown Guadalajara about to interview three mariacheras, still dressed in their trajes de charros from an earlier show, as the waitress, dressed in the standard issue mock china poblana (colourful folkloric dress for women) held together by Velcro, brought us our drinks. Sanborns is a slightly upscale restaurant chain found throughout Mexico's larger cities that prides itself for its high regard for Mexican culture, cuisine and a place in Mexican history and nationalism. The waitresses dress in the colourful mock china poblana outfits, the menu offers "typical" Mexican food, such as *moles* and tacos, and most restaurants are typically located in historical buildings near the city core. Amidst this montage

of Mexican national symbolism, the promotion and reproduction of the china poblana is particularly interesting, not only as an important Mexican symbol but also as a representation of an idealized Mexican femininity. In state-sponsored and popular representations of Mexican culture, the china poblana is, for women, what the traje de charro is for men: the national folkloric dress. The heteronormative image of a woman dressed in a china poblana, her long dark hair braided with red, green and white ribbons, grasping her skirt, swaying it from side to side while dancing the *jarabe tapatío* (the Mexican hat dance) with a man dressed in a traje de charro, is a prominent Mexican image. Just by looking at the picture one can hear the mariachi playing in the background.

Sitting in Sanborns, being served by a waitress in a china poblana while I interviewed female mariachis dressed in trajes de charros, many of the archetypes that circulate in Mexican national mythology about idealized femininity, masculinity, heteronormativity, race and class were set in an unruly juxtaposition. The imagined feminine folkloric partner to the traje de charro, the china poblana, embodies important feminine characteristics such as religiousity and mestiza beauty (Gillespie 1998). The image of the Mexican couple, the woman in a china poblana and the man in a traje de charro dancing the jarabe tapatío was suddenly interrupted by the three young women dressed in trajes de charro with their mariachi instruments resting under the table. This unruly juxtaposition exposed the heterogeneous, fluid and mimetic nature of gender performances (Butler 1990; Taussig 1993). The traje de charro and the china poblana are important Mexican symbols that have been extensively mimed, mined, copied and circulated in Mexican popular culture. Key to my argument is the manner in which women wearing trajes de charro playing in such an overtly masculine genre are understood by themselves and by others. Is this performance of mariacheras in trajes de charros a form of drag? Are these women mimicking men in an attempt to access and critique the privileges and power of patriarchy through a process described by Michael Taussig (1993) as similar to sympathetic magic?

Mariachis Femeniles: A Beautiful Thing

When I tell Mexicans that I have interviewed all-female mariachis, particularly Mexicans not from Jalisco, they often respond with surprise. Not that there are women in mariachi per se, as women have always been involved in ranchera as vocalists, but very few mariachis in Mexico have female musicians. Occasionally, a mariachi

will have one or two female violinists who also perform as vocalists, but it is not that common. This is a marked difference from the participation of women in mariachi in the United States, where there are several mariachis, particularly those associated with public school or university programs, which are mariachi *mixtas*—meaning a mixture of women and men. In fact, many of the leading pioneers in the world of women in mariachi are in the United States, including Laura Garciacano Sobrino, founder of two mariachis femeniles, and Rebecca Gonzáles, who was the first and one of the few females to play with a major mariachi show band (in her case she played with Los Camperos de Nati Cano). As a result, the majority of the academic and journalistic coverage of women in mariachi has been in the United States context. For example, anthropologist Cándida Frances Jáquez (2000) undertook research with female mariachis in the United States, Leono Xóchitl Pérez (2002) has written about her own experiences playing in mariachis, and Laura Sobrino has written and lectured extensively on the history of women in mariachi in Mexico and the United States. However, the coverage of women in mariachi in the Mexican context, including Jalisco, is scarce.

Partly due to the association of mariachi with "un ambiente bajo" (a seedy environment), including drinking and overtly male spaces, such as plazas, cantinas and fiestas, the inclusion of women musicians into mixed mariachis is not very common in Mexico. However, in the past 20 years there has been an increase in the number of mariachis femeniles. In Guadalajara, the number of mariachis femeniles fluctuates between eight and 12 as groups have a tendency to form and reform. There are also mariachis femeniles located throughout the state in small towns with a particularly strong mariachi presence, such as Tequila and Tlajomulco. The most established mariachi femenil in Guadalajara is Mariachi Femenil Las Perlitas Tapatías, which formed in 1989 under the leadership of Alma Rocío Corona Ortíz.[14] Las Perlitas claims to be the first mariachi femenil in the world, although in reality the first mariachi femenil was Las Coronelas in Mexico City, directed by Carlota Noriega in the 1940s. Other early mariachis femeniles in Mexico City included the Mariachi Las Adelitas, Mariachi Michoacano in the 1950s and Mariachi Las Estrellas de Mexico in the 1960s (Sobrino and Pérez 1997).

Although there was some reference to the idea that being a mariachi was not an appropriate occupation for a "lady," these mariachis femeniles are strikingly uncontroversial. When I asked fans, male mariachis and local

experts how they felt about women playing in mariachis, most replied with the same approving response: mariachis femeniles are "una cosa bonita" (a beautiful thing). In fact, this acceptance of mariachis femeniles is further demonstrated by their busy schedules. These groups do well economically and are hired to play for a variety of occasions, including public events, parties and serenades, and some have fixed weekly gigs at hotels or restaurants.[15] While doing my fieldwork in Jalisco with both male and female mariachis, the most striking difference I observed was the manner in which the performance of each mariachi was judged and assessed. Whereas the performance of male mariachis is judged first and foremost for their ability to capture the gritty sentimentality of the music, female mariachis are assessed by their presentation, which is based on the perception that mariachis femeniles are comprised of beautiful women who are responsible and dependable performers. This not only plays into Jalisco's claim to be the land of beautiful women but also reproduces and represents traditional and conservative notions of Mexican femininity such as piety, stability, sacrifice and reliability. Therefore, female mariachis were not viewed by themselves, male mariachis, fans or local lay folklorists as butchy or women of ill repute but rather as "lindas mujeres" (beautiful/nice women). For example, the Web site for Las Perlitas captures this notion:

> Full of beauty, sensibility and affection, these women win applause wherever they perform. To listen and see Las Perlitas Tapatías is always a great spectacle. From the attractive trajes de charro, the respect for Mexican music, and the performance of various genres we create an emotional and sensible environment that is totally different. [Las Perlitas 2004]

In fact, it is this combination of the "beauty" and "sensibility" of mariachis femeniles that these women assert as the reason behind their success in finding work. Specifically, the presentation of mariachis femeniles as clean, pretty, sober and dependable distinguishes them from the male mariachis who have an unflattering reputation of being associated with an ambiente bajo, which includes drunkenness leading to unpredictable behaviour.[16] Male mariachis and their female *comadres*, mariacheras, are understood as being very distinct by performers and audiences alike. The differences embodied by mariacheras are the beauty of musicians (the traje de charro, hair and makeup), the style of play (without flavour), manner of becoming a musician (education versus family) and comportment (sober and dependable).

Becoming Mariachera

Sitting at Sanborns with the three mariacheras from Mariachi Mujeres de Guadalajara, I was curious to see how these different representations of femininity would influence their everyday life, their performances, their identities as mariacheras and their reception by Jaliscans. Dressed neatly in their black trajes de charro including floor length skirts and short jackets with gold embroidery, white blouses and bowties, gold belt buckles, boots and sombreros with their hair pulled back tightly in ponytails and matching bows, the women explained the history, successes and obstacles of mariachis femeniles. Listening to Christina, Marta and Julia talk about mariachi, I notice the absence of the passionate discourse of "blood, sweat and tears" expressed by male mariachis I interviewed as central to the authentic and high-quality performance of mariachi music (Mulholland 2012). Rather, these women were more reserved in their emotions, discussing instead the practicalities of learning an instrument, respecting the tradition and being professional in their appearance and behaviour.

Cristina, Marta and Julia told me that the first obstacle female mariachis must overcome is learning an instrument and realizing that women *can* play in a mariachi. Unlike their male counterparts, female mariachis generally do not start playing mariachi music until they are in their teens, learning how to play instruments and mariachi music at school and from music teachers. Conversely, male mariachis generally learn to play an instrument as children, five or six years old, from a male relative. In many families, being a mariachi is a family tradition and is passed down from generation to generation. Even if a woman comes from a mariachi family, she does not learn from her father, uncles or brothers as part of the family tradition but chooses to become musicians when she is older. This was the case with all members of Mariachi Mujeres de Guadalajara. While a few of the women came from families where the father, uncles and brothers played in mariachis, none of them learned the craft from a relative. Rather, most of them were music students who decided to join a mariachi because of their love of music, mariachi and the ability to make good money while playing music.

This was the same for the members of two other female mariachi groups I interviewed: Mariachi Femenil Real Jalisco (discussed further below) and Las Flores. Of Mariachi Femenil Real Jalisco, only two musicians came from families of mariachis, and none from Las Flores reported having mariachis in their family. Most were music students who heard about the opportunity to join a female mariachi through friends or advertisements at school, and a few decided to join the groups because of a friend or sister and picked up an instrument at that point. One member of Mariachi Femenil Real Jalisco, 17-year-old Ana, did come from a family of mariachis. While growing up it never occurred to Ana that she could play in a mariachi like her brothers. However, because she grew up in a musical family, she was inspired to study music in school where she met women who were playing in a mariachi femenil. When she told her father that she wanted to join a mariachi, he was pleased that she was part of the family tradition but was also concerned about her playing in "un ambiente muy abajo." Although this environment was appropriate for her brothers and male cousins, Ana's father (like many of the mariacheras' parents) was concerned that alcohol-induced mariachis and the parties they played might lead to men treating his daughter in a disrespectful way. Thus, her participation in an all-female mariachi alleviated most of her father's concerns.

In fact, many of the women report that the biggest concern their parents, particularly the fathers, have with them performing in a mariachi is the association of mariachi with un ambiente bajo. Most of the work for mariachis is at night and is associated with fiestas and tequila. In particular, at private parties and plazas, there is usually a great deal of drinking associated with mariachis and, in the case of the plaza, drug-dealing and prostitution. Generally, working mariachis have a bad reputation as drunks who are active participants in the ambiente bajo. Needless to say, many parents are concerned for the safety of their daughters working in such situations. The leader of the mariachi Las Flores, Alejandra, told me that,

> it is very difficult being a woman in a mariachi because other mariachis do not take us seriously and the association with tequila. Mariachi and tequila always go together and sometimes playing at fiestas it is possible that people will fail to show proper respect. The parents of the girls trust me to take care of their daughters and that I will not accept work in inappropriate places.

Likewise, Lina, a mariachera from Mariachi Femenil Real Jalisco, stated, "The plaza has 'un ambiente muy abajo.' We want nothing to do with this part of mariachi. We prefer to play at weddings, baptisms, graduations and private parties."

Many of the mariacheras with whom I spoke had parents who supported their participation in a mariachi group *because* it was all women. Their participation in a male mariachi, or worse, a mariachi working in the plaza, would be out of the question for most young women.[17] Although all-female mariachis generally did

not perform in the more conventional sites for maria-chis, such as plazas, they did very well. They had steady work performing in sites more acceptable to parents and young women, such as restaurants, weddings, civic engagements and promotional events for small businesses.

Dependability: Sobriety and the Traje De Charro

According to mariacheras and their clientele, one of the leading factors in their success is the reputation of female mariachis for abstaining from drinking (in opposition to the stereotype of male mariachis as drunks). This sobriety is linked to their other two main attributes: their tidy appearance and timely arrivals for gigs. In short, female mariachis do not indulge in drinking and partying, and, as a result, they are far more dependable and professional than their male counterparts. The discussion on dependability came up time and time again in discussions with and about mariacheras—in particular, when I asked if they were they were able to make a living as mariachis and if there was much demand for their business. All three groups I interviewed indicated that, in fact, they do very well and work up to 40 hours a week.

Cristina from Mariachi Mujeres explained to me that mariachis femeniles do better than many male mariachis because of their reputation. "People like all-female mariachi because they are more attractive, their trajes are clean and matching, they are sober, dependable, and clean." Marta admitted that many of the female mariachis do not play as well as some of the men because of lack of experience; yet, female mariachis get more work because they are dependable, leading to the jealousy on the part of some of their male compadres. When I asked Marta how they were received by male mariachis, she comments, "Other male mariachis are unhappy with female mariachis mostly because we get more work than they do. They think that we get more work because we are a novelty and we don't drink." Similarly, Pati, another young mariachera stated, "Men mariachis are jealous because we get lots of work, even though we may not play as well. It is because we are more dependable."

As much of the success of the female mariachis is situated in their presentation of dependability, there is a focus on maintaining a sober, reliable and clean professional image. As part of this professional image, the mariachera's physical performances of being tidy and beautiful are important. On this subject, there are two reoccurring themes regarding the mariachera's presentation: their trajes de charro and their hair and makeup. Their costume, particularly the selection of colour and

style of the traje de charro, has become a means of articulating beauty, respectability and authenticity among mariachis femeniles. The adoption of the traje de charro by predominantly male mariachis in the 1930s was controversial, and there is still much debate surrounding the adoption of an upper-class landowning outfit by musicians who play rural workingman's music.[18] The adoption of the traje de charro by women mariachi has been no less contentious, creating a contested and unstable quality to the image. The early female ranchera singers, such as Lucha Reyes and Lola Beltran, and the early mariachis femeniles began performing in various versions of folkloric dress associated with femininity, including the china poblana. However, as the traje de charro became increasingly standard for male mariachis and ranchera singers, female ranchera singers and eventually the mariachis femeniles followed suit.

Although there are photographs of mariacheras wearing the traje de charro in the 1950s, it did not become standardized until the 1990s. Laura Sobrino and Leonor Xóchitl Pérez (1997) attribute the adoption of a female version of the traje de charro with a floor-length skirt to Rebecca González. While playing with the Mariachi Los Camperos, the director, mariachi legend Nati Cano, encouraged Rebecca González to wear a floor-length skirt as part of the traje de charro that matched the trajes de charro of his mariachi. This look was preferred over the various experimentations with the women's traje de charro in the 1970s, which included hot pants, three-quarter length skirts, miniskirts and folkloric dress. The brief incorporation of miniskirts as part of the outfit had been particularly controversial. For example, at one of the earlier international mariachi festivals held in Guadalajara in the early 1990s, one international mariachi mixta from Latin America caused quite a scandal when the female member of the mariachi wore a miniskirt to the inaugural parade. Many female mariachis and local folklorists commented on this incident, and all believed that her behaviour demonstrated a lack of respect for the institution of the traje de charro. In an interview with María, a female employee of a local mariachi museum and member of a local traditional mariachi, she echoed the concerns expressed by the others stating, "Women can play in modern mariachis or traditional mariachis as long as they don't wear miniskirts or show disrespect for the tradition."

By the 1990s, the traje de charro with a floor-length skirt was standardized in Mexico and the United States for mariacheras. However, the choice of colour is more of a contentious issue. Traditionally, the traje de charro is made of dark material, most often black; however, other dark colours, such as brown and dark blue are also

acceptable. Some mariachis—male, mixta or femenil—choose to wear pastel or bright colours to distinguish themselves from other mariachis. This is particularly true (but not limited) to mariachis femeniles, who often perform in brighter colours. For example, Las Perlitas are famous for high-energy performances in white, bright blue, and pink trajes de charro, while performing *sones*, *jarabes* and tropical music, such as *cumbia* and salsa. In an article on women mariachis in the United States, "Mariachi Muchachas: Pink Trajes and all!" reporters Laramie Trevino and Alejandro Betancourt (1996:92–93) report:

> One show-stopping highlight of Las Perlitas' show is a variety number where the lights dim and the members whip off their snug traje skirts to perform in tight leggings. Scandalized audience members have often failed to see a link between leggings and mariachi. But founder Corona claims their style of entertainment is done *en una forma correcto*, adding: "El traje de charro se debe de respetar" (The traje de charro must be respected).

Other mariachis, such as Mariachi Mujeres de Guadalajara, pride themselves on their choice of dark, more traditional and "authentic" colours for their trajes de charro. In fact, this was one of the reasons Cristina left Las Perlitas in the first place. She felt that the pink trajes and leggings had little to do with an authentic performance of mariachi.

Beauty and Piety: Hair and Makeup

During my fieldwork, the notion that a mariachera's merit as a performer was completely entangled with her appearance was a constant theme. This was a double-edged sword for working mariacheras because they were both appreciated for the clean and feminine presentations of self but were also excluded from "authentic" performances of mariachi based on this same point. That is, male mariachis were judged based on their ability to play gritty sentimental music with guts (induced by tequila, heartache and struggle), something descent women could not embody. Thus, beauty (read as clean and dependable) is their entry into the working world of mariachis but the site of their exclusion from authentic performances. In addition to the trajes de charro, mariacheras were also expected to embody a femininity characterized by decency, morality and beauty. This was most articulated through the importance of hair and makeup.

Women in mariachis almost always wear their hair slicked back with gel in a ponytail secured together with matching bows. In her personal reflections on playing in a mariachi in the United States, Leono Xóchitl

Pérez (2002) comments on the increasing pressure for mariacheras to tie their hair back in bows, a style that emerged in the late 1990s. Upon returning to the world of mariachi after a ten-year break, she was surprised by the new emphasis on the presentation of women's hair. She was reprimanded several times by female and male colleagues about keeping her hair tied back in a bow. She remarked, "I was approached by a female performer who said it wasn't 'mariachi' to wear my hair loose. I was speechless. I wondered how she got the notion that female mariachi identity includes such a hairstyle" (2002:157). In part, this idea comes from a broader discourse on hair and a performance of decency and femininity in Mexico.

In Mexico, the phrase "pelo suelto" (loose hair) immediately and unquestionably conjures up images of one of Mexico's most popular and controversial popular music figures, Gloria Trevi. Often called the "Mexican Madonna," Gloria Trevi was a wildly successful pop icon in the 1990s who deliberately challenged dominant Mexican ideals of gender, sexuality, piety, family and "buenas costumbres" (good values) (Correa 1995:78). Her most famous song, "Pelo Suelto" became a symbol of liberation and freedom for many young women. In the song Trevi vows to be true to herself, whether that be "sleepy as a lion" or "aggressive as a cat in heat" and indifferent to those who may call her "indecent."[19] For mariacheras, loose hair is associated with another performance of femininity; that of the sexualized pop star. For these young girls, this type of performance would undermine their claims of dependable and descent presentations and performances that they see as the main reason for their ability to get gigs as musicians.

One example that stands out from my fieldwork, comes from when I met Mariachi Femenil Real Jalisco. This group was recommended to me by a local folklorist as a talented group of musicians who honoured the tradition of mariachi. I called the mariachi and was invited to the group during one of its rehearsals held in backyard of the group's leader and business manager. When I arrived, there were eight women between the ages of 17 and 25 who were excited to talk to me about their experiences but slightly disappointed that I did not have a video recorder and only carried with me a pen, notebook and tape recorder. These mariacheras told me that their "every moment" was dedicated to playing music and performing mariachi. They practiced 15 to 20 hours a week in addition to all their gigs at private parties, serenades and businesses. Predominantly music students, these women were committed to their craft and were critical of the complaint that "women only play mariachi until they get married."

Figures 1 and 2. The Mariachi Makeover. Copyright Mulholland 2003.

After the rehearsal, the manager, Teresa, and her best friend and trumpet player, Rosa, asked me if I had ever worn a traje de charro. When I replied that I had not, they invited me to the house the following day to try on a traje de charro and to take some pictures. My expectation was that I would simply try on the outfit; what happened instead was a complete mariachi make-over. When I arrived, Rosa and Teresa began to assemble all the necessary tools to facilitate my transformation. First, the two mariacheras had to do my hair. This involved slicking my hair back with gel into a ponytail. During this rather sticky process, Teresa apologized joking that I must prefer to wear my hair "suelto" (loose) or "Canadian style."

The next step of my mariachi makeover was makeup. Although I was wearing makeup at the time, both maria-cheras commented that I must like a "natural style" and that I must not be accustomed to wearing makeup. Teresa applied my makeup, including blush, eye shadow and mascara with a particular focus on lip-liner and lipstick. While I was in the field, the look of an exag-gerated, heavy, dark lip-liner filled in by a lighter coloured lipstick (usually red) was quite popular among young

Mexican women. Finally, after lending me a pair of silver hoops and a blue bow for my hair, Rosa lent me one of her trajes de charro, including a floor-length blue skirt with silver botanadura (buttons down the side of the skirt), a white blouse and blue bowtie, a blue bolero jacket, boots and sombrero. The mariacheras took several pictures of me posing with the jacket and sombrero alternatively on and off, with different instru-ments (Figs. 1 and 2), joking that I looked just like Lola Beltran.

The day following my makeover, I travelled with this same mariachi to a gig for the opening of a furniture expo. I met Rosa and Teresa at Rosa's house, and then we travelled in the mariachi's official van picking up the various musicians throughout the city. In the van, the women fixed their hair, makeup and trajes de charro, sharing gel, lipstick and hairbrushes in preparation for the event. They were talking about one of the maria-cheras (who had not been picked up yet) who had appeared on a popular TV variety show as a ranchera vocalist the night before. Meanwhile, two young musi-cians, both in their mid-teens, yelled out the window at a young good-looking man walking down the street,

"Aye, papi, que guapo!" (Hey baby, you are good-looking!). One of the final musicians we picked up was Ana, a 17-year-old violin player and member of a well-known family of mariachis. The leader of the mariachi told Ana to fix her hair, saying it looked like she had slept in it. Ana pulled her hair back in a ponytail without gel. The leader and the other women started to tease her, telling her to at least put some gel in her hair. She begrudgingly took some gel and said, with a smile, "I prefer my hair Canadian style." Seemingly "pelo suelto" is more likely foreign than Mexican.

Sin Sabor: Without Flavour

Despite the fact that mariachis femeniles have achieved a great deal of success, this does not mean the increase of women in a traditionally male occupation has gone unnoticed and without criticism. For example, although many remark that female mariachis are a "beautiful thing," this is also the basis for excluding women from an authentic performance of a Mexican national symbol of machismo. Moreover, the idea of women mariachis as sober and dependable prevents them from performing that tequila induced, gritty sentimentality that is key to the authenticity of male mariachis. To a lesser extent, women are also criticized for choosing such an un-feminine vocation; the sentiment being that "good girls" should not be involved in this profession. At the heart of the critique, that women are merely "pretty things" who "just carry their instruments," is that they play "without flavour."

The focus on presentation in the mariachis femeniles has also become the central critique of the mariacheras. For example, much of the criticism regarding mariachis femeniles is that they are too "soft," that they do not have the grit or strength to play the music, that they are more concerned with lipstick and having children, and that they play without "flavour" or sentiment. An example of this sentiment can be found in the following newspaper article commenting on the different changes to the mariachi:

> They celebrated the advent of female mariachi groups ... although, in light of the mysterious phenomenon that there is more demand for their pictures than their discs, there is a theory that they are appreciated more for libidinous criteria than folkloric ones, in other words, more for the visible than the audible attributes of these revolutionary mariacheras. [Rumayor 2003]

The criticism that women have few "audible attributes" as mariachis is partially attributed to the fact the women play too "soft" and that they do not have the force or the strength to play the instruments as they are meant to be played, particularly the *guitarrón*, harp and trumpet. Cornelio García, a well-known local folklorist, exemplifies this perspective when he claims that women are not capable of playing mariachi with the same sentiment or force as men and that it should remain a "cosa de los hombres" (a man thing). Speaking during the *9th Annual Encuentro del Mariachi y la Charrería*, he stated,

> Female mariachis are something very modern. Yes, there were some groups of women in the forties and fifties. But, look, in order to pull the cords of a guitarrón, one needs the composure, muscles and temperament of, well, a macho. [González Vega 2002][20]

This perspective is not only reserved for the mariachis in Jalisco but is also found in the United States, as American mariachi musician and historian Jonathan Clark similarly comments,

> Right now most can't compete seriously with males. A lot of male groups are concerned about the competition, but in all honesty the female groups sound weak.... Just when the group starts sounding good the women get married and quit. [Trevino and Betancourt 1996:92–93]

Cristina from Las Mujeres also mentioned this critique:

> It used to be, well, people still say this, that female mariachi is all about image; makeup and pretty girls. That they play too soft, they just get married and have kids. Pretty things and makeup. They play just to play, without flavour.

Commenting on some of the feelings of male mariachis, Marta states, "Some male mariachis don't accept women, they say we don't play the instruments that we only carry them. We are just pretty things." In short, the critique is that women cannot play mariachi with the same guts, sentiment or flavour as male mariachis. This feeling, not surprisingly, is linked to the highly charged drinking atmosphere, mariachi's perceived history and the themes of many of the songs. Thus, the idea of women mariachis as beautiful is both a means of excluding them from the masculine spaces of mariachis and reifying an ideal Mexican femininity and, by extension, Mexican masculinity.

The opinion that only men can capture the essential feeling of mariachi is not uncommon, particularly when mariachi is associated with drinking, the land (that presumably the men worked) and matters of the heart (caused by the actions of women). In other words, hiring a female mariachi for a municipal celebration is fine, but

when your lover has left you, you are lonely and you want to go the local plaza or cantina to console yourself with tequila and a mariachi, a male mariachi is best. Thus, the dependability and sobriety of the mariachi femenil is both the reason for their success and the reason that excludes them from the categorization of "authentic mariachis."

Women are keenly aware of this double standard: criticized for being either too feminine or not feminine enough. Marta, the lead singer from Las Mujeres, suggested that this double standard may lead to the early end of their careers: "I don't think that we will play mariachi forever. Women can't play into their 40s and 50s because they are no longer pretty and it loses its appeal. Men can get fat and old and still play in a mariachi."

Similarly, Teresa, the trumpet player from Mariachi Femenil Real Jalisco, noted the contradiction in the critique. "Some say women who play are not real women because they don't want children and a house, others say they are no good because once they get married they stop playing." The inability of women to perform an "authentic" version of mariachi is their lack of flavour and sentiment that comes from the blood, sweat and tears of being a land-working man. Some of the women I spoke with were very critical and insightful of this assumption. For example, Cristina remarked that many of the mariachis argue that you have to be "from the land" to truly feel the music, but she felt it was hypocritical since most mariachis today live in the city. "The men don't work the land anymore either. They live in the city where they work as mariachis. In fact, the only calluses male mariachis have now are from their instruments—not from working the land."

It is important to note that some of these mariacheras who were excluded from authentic performances of mariachi due to their inability to embody the blood, sweat and tears of a Jalisican macho use that same discourse to mark other bodies as outside an "authentic" performance. For example, while these women are quick to point out that male mariachis are no longer land-working men anymore, they also argued that foreigners, and even Mexicans from outside of Jalisco, are unable to perform authentic mariachi. Specifically, they commented on the Japanese mariachi, whose female performers dressed in the china poblana, and a Latin American mariachi from a few years ago, whose female member wore a miniskirt. As Rosa remarked, "mariachis internacionales pronounce the words—they do not feel them." Another, Ana, noted, "A mariachi from Jalisco has a certain style, the way they pronounce things. A mariachi from Mexico City is not the same."

In turn, that same logic is applied to legitimize the exclusions of Others in what amounts to a complex and contested performative terrain concerning what it is to be male, female, Jaliscan and Mexican. Yet, the boundaries of mariachi were not always seen to be bound by time or place, and in fact, many of these women embraced the idea of social change, process and fluidity. As Cristina astutely observed,

> Women don't play as well as men, because they have not they same history or practice. Some mariachis have been playing 60 years or more, we have only been playing a few years. We need time and history to create our place and sound. Women do not have to play the same, we need their own sound, style and character—but with *sabor mexicano* [Mexican flavour].

Into the Plaza

This is not to say that all of the performances of mariachis femeniles fall into safe and traditional notions of femininity in Mexico. By their participation in a performance that is often essentialized as quintessentially macho and Mexican, these women are transgressing the boundaries and representations of normative feminine constructs. These women are also making an income, granting them both freedom (through money) and status as real musicians and artists able to make a living through their art. They are also subverting and reversing some gender expectations, as we saw with the two young women in the van yelling *piropos* (cat calls) to the young man walking down the street. Female mariachis are also getting more requests to play at private parties and serenades, jobs that generally happen at night or in the early mornings. The serenades that mariachis femeniles are hired for are particularly interesting because, in a role reversal, they are being hired by women who want to take serenades to their boyfriends. The mariacheras told me stories of some of their more humorous serenades, including one where the mother of the young man did not approve of the girlfriend and refused to let him leave the house to acknowledge the serenade.[21] Another time, one of the mariachis was hired by an angry girlfriend who wanted to break up with her boyfriend by having the mariachi play only those songs popularized by Paquita la del Barrio, full of bitterness toward men.

Lastly, since many of the mariacheras (and their parents) have no desire to associate themselves with an *ambiente bajo*, none of the mariachis femeniles work in the Plaza de los Mariachis. However, there are a few mariacheras who choose to work in the plaza with mariachi mixtas. I met two such mariacheras, a pair of sisters: Susana, the 21-year-old *vihuela* player from

Las Mujeres, and her 18-year-old sister, Alicia, who played violin. During the day, Susana plays with Las Mujeres, and then at night she and her sister work with their family's mariachi led by their father in the plaza. The two sisters told me that, while their father taught their brothers to play at a young age, there was no expectation that the women would also play in a mariachi and were not taught the craft by their father. However, once they began to play music and show an interest, the father was very pleased and the women joined the family mariachi. Susana told me that while the plaza definitely has an "ambiente feo" (ugly environment), she enjoys the sense of camaraderie she shares with other mariachis.

The fact that Susana and Alicia played in the plaza with their father's mariachi was raised by several mariacheras whom I interviewed. Many commented on the bravery and gutsiness of the two to accomplish such a feat. However, none were particularly envious expressing a desire to join them there.

Conclusion

While mariachi is a performative site for the production of both conservative notions of Mexican masculinity and femininity, it also becomes a site where those notions of gender and sexuality are disrupted. Mariacheras are, at once, a safe embodiment of Mexican and, in particular, Jaliscience identities because they are "dependable," "moral" and "beautiful," thus reproducing Jalisco's claim to be the home of piety, European lightness and beauty. The women are reflexive of this stereotype and are happy to use it to gain entry into a masculine space. In Mexico, dominant identity narratives of nationalism and, by extension, mariachi have always been imagined as masculine. Female mariachis situate themselves in the national landscape by way of entering the most national of spaces, the performance of mariachi. To accomplish this, they have not entered as threatening female bodies marked by aggression or as butchy but rather as feminine. Thus, their performance becomes an unruly juxtaposition of beautiful and dependable women with the masculine macho mestizo image of mariachi. Here, I reminded of Michael Taussig's notion of mimetic excess: "Stable identity formations auto-destruct into silence, gasps of unaccountable pleasure, or cartwheeling confusion gathered in a crescendo of what I call 'mimetic excess' spending itself in a riot of dialectical energy" (1993:246). Their femininity affords a space to slip into the performance and disrupt it in subtle ways, revealing its duplicity and dialectal nature. So, while women in mariachi are, to be sure, located in relations of power concerning gender, they are neither complacent nor

rebellious. Rather, they are beautiful women enjoying new freedoms as artists while challenging, appropriating and invading a macho space.

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Notes

1 This article is based on 15 months of fieldwork in Jalisco from 2002 to 2003 funded in part by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Any translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

2 In Spanish, the word *mariachi* generally refers to a musician or an ensemble, not a genre or a song type (rather, it is an adjective for songs and music). However, in English it can refer to the music, musician or ensemble. Throughout this article, I will use mariachi to refer to the music, a musician, or an ensemble. Mariachi as a musical ensemble consists of eight to 12 performers dressed in traditional cowboy outfits, called *trajes de charros* in Spanish, who play a range of string instruments (guitars, violins, harps, *guitarrón* and *vihuela*) and one or two trumpets. Mariachis are most commonly comprised of men and are heavily associated with drinking, overt emotionality, fiestas and cowboys; they are virtually interchangeable with the stereotype of the Mexican macho. Although there are variations of mariachis, including traditional mariachis (sometimes referred to as *mariachis antiguos* or indigenous mariachis), *mariachis femeniles* (all-female mariachis) and *mariachis mixtas* (mariachis comprised of men and women), the overwhelming majority of mariachis in Mexico are all male.

3 *Mariacheras* are female mariachi musicians. The masculine version of the term, *mariachero*, is used infrequently compared to mariachi.

4 *Mestizaje* is the racial and cultural mixing of Spanish, indigenous and African peoples said to create the Mexican people and culture.

5 The work of María Teresa Fernández-Aceves (2006) on women's labour movements and other secular organizations in the 1920s to1940s and Valentina Napolitano's (2002) work on religion, urbanization and gender in Guadalajara are also significant interruptions of the representation of women of Jalisco as uniformly conservative and Catholic.

6 Guadalajara is also known as the "gayest" city in Mexico. In Mulholland (2012), I examine the seemingly competing masculine landscapes of machismo and homosexuality in mariachi performances in Guadalajara.

7 The style of music most associated with mariachis is ranchera (country music). Solo vocalists who sing in this genre backed by mariachi ensembles are often referred to as ranchera stars, not mariachis.

8 For a detailed analysis of popular culture in the golden age, see Joseph, Rubenstein and Zolov (2001).

9 The adoption of the traje de charro was somewhat controversial. Originally, the outfit was worn by elite ranchers and still today, many charro associations object to the use

of the *traje* by mariachis. Moreover, mariachi aficionados object to working-class peasant musicians adopting the outfit of their likely oppressors (see Jáuregui 1990 for further discussion).

10 Jalisco is one of the most Catholic states in Mexico with 95.4 per cent identifying as Catholics in 2000, compared to the national average of 88 per cent and ranking third only behind the neighbouring states of Guanajuato and Aguascalientes as the most Catholic states in the country.

11 Jalisco and, in particular, the region known as Los Altos (the highlands), were considered the heart of the Cristero Rebellion, an uprising of Catholics against the revolutionary government's enforcement of several anticlerical articles of the Constitution. The clashes between the federal troops and Cristeros were bitter and marked by atrocities on both sides.

12 According to the 2004 Mexican Census (INEGI), Oaxaca (35.3 per cent), the Yucatán (33.5 per cent) and Chiapas (26.1 per cent) have the largest numbers of people who speak an indigenous language, in comparison Jalisco, with only 0.7 per cent. The national average was 6.7 per cent.

13 *Tapatía/o* is a word used to describe someone from the state of Jalisco.

14 *Las Perlitas Tapatías* can be translated as the Little Pearls from Guadalajara. Guadalajara is often referred to as the "Pearl of the West" or the "City of Roses." Members of this mariachi were not interviewed as part of this project.

15 Most of the mariacheras are between the ages of 16 and 25, unmarried and are also students. As a result, they do not work full-time but, between work and practice, they are playing music an estimated 40 to 50 hours a week.

16 The stereotype of male mariachis as drunks is also deeply gendered, racialized and classed.

17 An exception, however, was Susana, the vihuela player for Mariachi Mujeres de Guadalajara, who also played with her father's mariachi in the plaza along with her brothers, cousins and sister, Alicia. I will return to discuss these two women later.

18 See Jesús Jáuregui (1990, 1995) and Arturo Chamorro (2000).

19 Measuring and judging a woman's morality, virtue and patriotism based on the manner she styles her hair, although not unique to Mexico, does have a particular history. In her article, The War on Las Pelonas: Modern Women and Their Enemies, Mexico City, 1924, Anne Rubenstein (2006) tells the story of public anxiety and censure of the "pelonas," women who cut their hair short in bobs and wore flapper clothing that accentuated athletic, rather than curvy, feminine bodies.

20 The *guitarrón* is a large bass guitar unique to the mariachi. It is not unusual to see women playing violins in mariachi mixtas (both men and women) or, to a lesser extent, guitars. However, the idea of women playing the *guitarrón*, harps and trumpets is less normalized (although only Cornelio García stated this explicitly).

21 In Mexico, part of the tradition of the serenade is that the mariachi will keep on playing, annoying the neighbours, until the intended acknowledges the serenade by coming to the window. At the same time, the intended does not want to look too anxious to respond to the serenade too quickly.

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Contact Crisis: Shamanic Explorations of Virtual and Possible Worlds

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Abstract: This article seeks to understand why something I had presumed to be problematic—the crisis that contact with the West must have inevitably provoked in shamanic practice—has not been so for the Shipibo-Conibo shamans. To account for the shamans' different experience of contact, we will explore their radically different ontology, which is based on another enactment of living "worlds" and temporality. Taking the shamans' ontology seriously into account will allows us to illustrate other ways of actualizing reality and to problematize the common distinction between the illusory and imaginary aspects of religion versus the reality of history and contact.

Keywords: shamanism, contact, worlds-making, temporality, Amazonia, Shipibo-Conibo.

Résumé : Cet article a comme point de départ la question suivante: pourquoi un évènement qui me semblait problématique— la crise que le contact avec l'Occident devait nécessairement provoquer pour la pratique chamanique—ne l'était pas pour les chamanes shipibo-conibo? Il s'agira de répondre à cette question en explorant l'ontologie radicalement différente des chamanes shipibo-conibo, notamment leur actualisation de 'multivers' et leur temporalité circulaire. Prendre sérieusement en compte l'ontologie des chamanes permettra d'illustrer une autre manière d'appréhender la réalité et de problématiser la distinction courante entre les aspects illusoires et imaginaires de la religion versus la réalité de l'histoire et du contact.

Mots-clés : Chamanisme, Contact, Multivers, Temporalité, Amazonie, Shipibo-Conibo

Introduction

As a young anthropologist undertaking my first ethnographic fieldwork among the Shipibo-Conibo of the Western Amazon in the 1990s, I naively expected to observe a pronounced disintegration of their shamanic practice, a consequence of their increased relations with national and international agents such as missionaries, healthcare and education professionals, government representatives and tourists. It was a surprise for me to discover that the Western presence seemed, on the contrary, to have revitalized their shamanic practice. Rather than collapsing under the pressure of the missionaries, teachers and doctors, Shipibo-Conibo shamanism had incorporated these heterogeneous influences and undergone an explosion of creativity: hence, the emergence of unusual formulae such as "protestant-shamans," whose shamanic songs referred to hi-tech machines. In contrast to my initial assumption, more intense contact with the Western world has only increased the number of Shipibo-Conibo shamans and expanded their shamanic practice.

My starting point here is this initial misunderstanding: why had something I had presumed to be problematic—the crisis that contact with the West must have inevitably provoked in shamanic practice—not been so for the Shipibo-Conibo shamans? How do we explain the openness and plasticity of their shamanism, which had no difficulty in manipulating different knowledge and absorbing changes? My aim is not so much to observe the transformations imposed on Shipibo-Conibo shamanic practice by contact but rather to consider, to borrow Peter Gow's (2009) formulation, "the audacious innovations" Shipibo-Conibo shamans have extracted from contact. Such a distinction is important to make, since, contrary to what I had first assumed, contact did not mean the same thing for the Shipibo-Conibo shamans and for myself; contact was indeed lived out very differently.

My own idea of contact is based on my Western conception of a linear time, the history of the past insofar as it reflects real and concrete facts, which results from a cosmology that considers the world unitary and regulated by uniform laws. For the Shipibo-Conibo shamans though, reality does not entail a pre-given objective universe; it does not suppose a single, shared world but rather a multiplicity of worlds and potential subjectivities, a "multiverse" (Viveiros de Castro 2009:29). Therefore, the shamans' temporality does not concern "the real facts of history" but the circular time of myths. The purpose of this article is to explore the shamans' experience of contact acknowledging this radically different ontology, which is based on another enactment of living worlds and temporality.

Taking another ontology seriously into account implies rendering perceptible our own naturalistic perspective (Descola 1996). A long anthropological tradition—since Tylor's conceptualization of "animism" and Frazer's ideas of "magic"—has led many to consider the shamans' explanations as superstition or folklore, something interesting to study but "obviously" not real; a cultural construction that is good to think about but false. Throughout the 20th century, many attempts have been made to free shamanism from its "irrational" or "illogical" stigma; we can, notably, think of Lévi-Strauss's (1974) theory of the "effectiveness of symbols." Nevertheless, conceiving shamanism as a "system of belief" or as a way of "representing the world"—in others words, as a religious "cultural view" on the unquestioned "real nature"—only reproduces our own ontology and fails to consider the shamans' "multiverse."

The comparative framework of "religion as a cultural system" (Geertz 1973) and shamanism as a "cosmovision" or "worldview," remains enclosed in our naturalistic grounds, reasserting our own ontology (different cultural ideas on one and the same world) without acknowledging the shamans' "worlds-making." Furthermore, dismissing the shamans' experience as belief "implicitly claims to have an epistemological superior understanding of 'the world' not clouded by culture" (Blaser 2009:17). Such an approach involuntarily reproduces the predominant colonial attitude of "they believe," but "we know" (Stengers 2008). Trying to avoid this colonial attitude by "respecting culture," following a "tolerant multiculturalism" (De La Cadena 2010; Stengers 2008) only conceals the problem, since we are still trapped in our ontology—different perspectives on a unitary world—blinding ourselves to the enactment of different worlds. The opportunity of really learning from difference is then paradoxically missed. To appeal to the shamans' different ontology

and "worlds-making" forces us to rethink our theoretical naturalistic certainties and to further the practice of "the permanent decolonization of thought" (Viveiros de Castro 2011:128).[1]

At a time when shamanism gains in popularity in the Westerners' imaginary—considering, for example, the increasing production of literature and documentaries on the *ayahuasca*[2] illuminating path or the boom of Amazonian "spiritual quest" tourism—it seems important to emphasize that the question here is neither a matter of "belief" nor of considering the shamans' lived worlds as the "original truth." The mystical attitude "they know" appears very seducing, since it calls for immersion and desire to be affected by the shamanic experience, but it is nevertheless problematic. The danger lies in forgetting that the "reality" of an experience is always dependent on a specific ontology.[3] Assuming a common shamanic experience autonomous from a particular enactment of reality brings us back to "the true facts of a unitary world"—again, our Western ontology. Consequently, shamanism is appropriated and lived out in Western terms of truth and belief, thus undermining any possible dialogue with a different indigenous standpoint.

Rather than approaching the shamans' experiences in terms of "beliefs," as "the fantasies of others" or "fantasizing about them as leading to the true reality" (Viveiros de Castro 2011:137), this article seeks to illustrate how shamans enact very different lived worlds. Turning our backs on the shamans' explanations, judging them as erroneous and illusory, would be asserting that reality is given independently of human experience (Ingold 2000; Overing 1990). Praising them as the ultimate truth leads us to the same dead-end, a simple inversion of the equation. Another avenue, taking the shamans' ontology seriously into account, allows us to explore other ways of enacting reality and to problematize some classic anthropological ideas—in this case, the distinction often made between the illusory and immaterial aspect of religion versus the reality of history and contact. (A dichotomy that has been importantly challenged by some anthropologists, notably Gow [2001] and Sahlins [1981]).

I shall stress that acknowledging difference does not stem from an anthropologist chimera and desire to exoticize but is explicitly asserted by the shamans themselves. A notable example, the superb cosmopolitical manifesto of the Yanomami shaman Davi Kopenawa (2010:49), written in collaboration with the anthropologist Bruce Albert, makes a loud claim for ontological self-determination:

The speech of the people of the forest is other; The Whites think that we have to imitate them in everything. This is not what we want ... we will be able to become Whites only the day they will themselves transform into Yanomami.

Similarly, the Shipibo-Conibo shamans display their difference by their very resilient shamanic practices. Out of respect for difference and in awareness of the perpetual misunderstanding implied in attempting to echo a different ontology, this article does not pretend to describe the "real realities" of the shamans. Rather, I seek to render an encounter between the Shipibo-Conibo shamans and myself that has intellectually affected my anthropological approach.

Some Context

The Shipibo-Conibo inhabit the central forest of Peru within a vast territory bordering the Ucayali river and its tributaries. In contrast to other indigenous Amazonian people, the Shipibo-Conibo have not been recently contacted; rather the opposite is the case. Since their lands are accessible via navigable river, they have known a strong missionary presence since the 17th century, followed by heightened commercial and labour exploitation since the 19th century (Morin 1998). In other words, the Shipibo-Conibo have been through a long history of social disturbance—epidemics, missionary action, war raids, slavery and ethnic fusions—which have given rise to the composite name Shipibo-Conibo.

Today the Shipibo-Conibo are in permanent contact with Western agents, largely due to the following: the enormous city of Pucallpa, located in the heart of their territory; the numerous immigrants from urban areas who have colonized their lands in search of opportunities; the demands of itinerant traders or logging firms; the development programs and primary schools dispersed throughout Shipibo-Conibo communities; the always highly active missionaries; and the increase in the number of tourists who seek the exoticism and ayahuasca quest experiences. The intensity of these contacts varies by community, depending to a large extent on their distance from Pucallpa city.

This brief contextualization tells us that the Shipibo-Conibo have been exposed to Western contact since the 17th century, a fact with important repercussions for their social practices as a whole, especially shamanism. Contrary to what might be expected in Westerners' imaginary, Shipibo-Conibo shamanism is not an archaic and immutable phenomenon exposed to contact for just a few decades[4] but a phenomenon that persists despite centuries of relations with the West, including centuries of missionary action (a history that incidentally surfaces in contemporary shamanism when shamans evoke the "flu spirits" in the form of missionaries in cassocks[5]).

It seems important to underline, however, that the Shipibo-Conibo were already exposed to exogenous influences before the arrival of the Westerners. They participated in vast networks of exchanges connecting the Amazon forest to the Andes and the Pacific Coast, involving both the trade in goods and the circulation of knowledge linked to shamanism (Chaumeil 1995:65; Renard-Casevitz et al. 1989). The complexity of these influences is illustrated, among other ways, by the mythological importance ascribed to the Inca, one of the shamans' most powerful helpers.[6] Consequently, although today Shipibo-Conibo shamans refer to Christianity, Western technologies and other modern concerns, they merely continue to do what they have always done—namely, incorporate difference and feed on alterity (Erikson 1996). This encompassing dynamic inherent to Shipibo-Conibo shamanism accounts for its resilience and vitality.[7]

Shipibo-Conibo Shamans and Their Multiverse

This initial contextualization is addressed, of course, to a Western audience seeking the concrete facts of the history of contact. Although it may seem obvious to us that the shamanic loans—references to the Inca, Christianity or modern technologies—result from Shipibo-Conibo interaction with outside agents, the shamans have an entirely different interpretation. They consider these events not through our kind of linear historical time but through the circular temporality of their myths. Hence the technological artefacts, to which the shamans refer in their mediations (airplanes, tape recorders, X-rays) are said to come not from the towns or recent contact with the West but from the forest and their own mythic ancestors.

Shipibo-Conibo myths recount how wealth and sophisticated goods were stolen by cannibal ancestors who were subsequently transformed into either Incas or Whites, successive figures of power relations. According to these myths, the Whites and their technologies first originated from the Shipibo-Conibo's own ancestors.[8] These acquisitions, which for us are wholly Western and modern, are deemed by shamans to have belonged to themselves from time immemorial. Consequently, rather than perceiving the encounter with the West as a crisis, a radical break with the past, Shipibo-Conibo shamans interpret it through their mythic accounts. Any attempt to approximate their own experience of contact thus

depends on exploring their ontology and comprehending how it differs from our own.

The Shipibo-Conibo do not invoke a unitary concept of a natural world with fixed ontological attributes. The word used for *world* in Shipibo-Conibo, *nete*, also designates *day* and *life*. Rather than reflecting a concrete and definitive reality, this concept appears to be linked to temporality, movement and experience. Just like the alternation between day and night, or life and death, Shipibo-Conibo experience the alternation between wakefulness and dreams as different worlds following in succession. Dreaming enables access to other temporalities, where everything is movement and, as in mythic times, where "transformation is anterior to form" (Viveiros de Castro 2009:33).

As Westerners, we tend to think of myths as imaginary stories or legends and of dreams as hallucinations or images that exist only in the unconscious mind; thus, the very opposite of the solid, physical world. For the Shipibo-Conibo though, these are not illusions but other lived realities, other enactments of peoples and temporalities. Dreaming entails many dangers, since the dreamer can become immersed in other lived experiences to the point of no return, a relocation elsewhere that inevitably entails death. What distinguishes the Shipibo-Conibo shamans—named *onanya*, a term meaning "the one who knows"—is precisely knowing how to shift between these diverse experiences, embodying different lives, becoming movement and transforming without having to choose between life and death, wakefulness or dreaming. It is this intermediary position, an in-between state, which allows the shamans to actualize the virtualities of the dream or myth (Viveiros de Castro 2009).

This midway position also explains the shamans' role as mediator, since they must always use their abilities to the benefit of their own kin group; if not, they will become marginalized as dangerous sorcerers (*yobe*). The Shipibo-Conibo shamans actualize other potential worlds in response to the demands of their own people, to promote success in hunting, influence the weather or restore someone's health; in short, to defend the well-being of their own group, ensuring that it does not tip in favour of another. To this end, shamans shift between the domains of animals, trees, watercourses, meteorological phenomena, stars and even objects, all of which, as we shall see, are apprehended as virtual universes. The shaman thus embodies a kind of "cosmopolitical diplomat" (Viveiros de Castro 2009:121) who negotiates between different worlds.

Illustrations

As stated in the introduction, a description of shamanism in terms of the supernatural or the imaginary—a religious phenomenon implicating the spiritual realm or a "cosmovision" representing the world—still remains overly bound to an opposition, to a palpable reality— the natural, the real, the concrete—far too close to our own cosmological depiction. To exemplify how this binarism fails to translate the shamans' multiplicity of worlds, I shall here refer to some drawings made by Shipibo-Conibo shamans in which they portray their ayahuasca experience. The interpretation of these drawings will allow me to illustrate how the shamans consider each phenomenon, entity or object as a potential universe; how for them everything can become the subject of a social relation.

The first drawing (Figure 1), made by the shaman Cesar, depicts himself on an ayahuasca journey accompanied by his wife, who is also a shaman. Travelling on the back of a boa-canoe, the shamans are entering different trees worlds, each one distinguished by the use of a specific colour: light green, purple, dark green. Cesar and his wife managed to experience these worlds—to apprehend them from the inside, as different villages, with their own people, chiefs and shamans— by observing a lengthy process of initiation in which, through extreme forms of commensality, they sought to become symbiotically linked to these new allies.

An important feature of the drawing is the positioning of the "worlds" within a relational field. Cesar and his wife are tied to the trees' worlds by the crowns of their heads (*máiti*); the boas bridge the worlds of the trees and of the sun; the bird is bound to the tree, and so on. Even if I refer here, for the sake of the explanation, to trees, sun and bird, these cannot be considered as types or species, since there are not fixed essences of a constant invariable nature. On the contrary, they only exist in relation to the shamans' experience. This explains the crucial interconnected aspect of the drawing: worlds are not permanent entities; they do not, per se, stand autonomously but rather depend on the shamans' engagement and relationship to them. The shamans reveal these worlds by experiencing them, actualizing them throughout their lived interaction. In doing so, they appropriate a positioning among the many existing ones, literally incarnating these worlds (Stolze de Lima 2002).

Consider, as an example, the sun in the drawing, which is inhabited: Cesar explains that this person, the
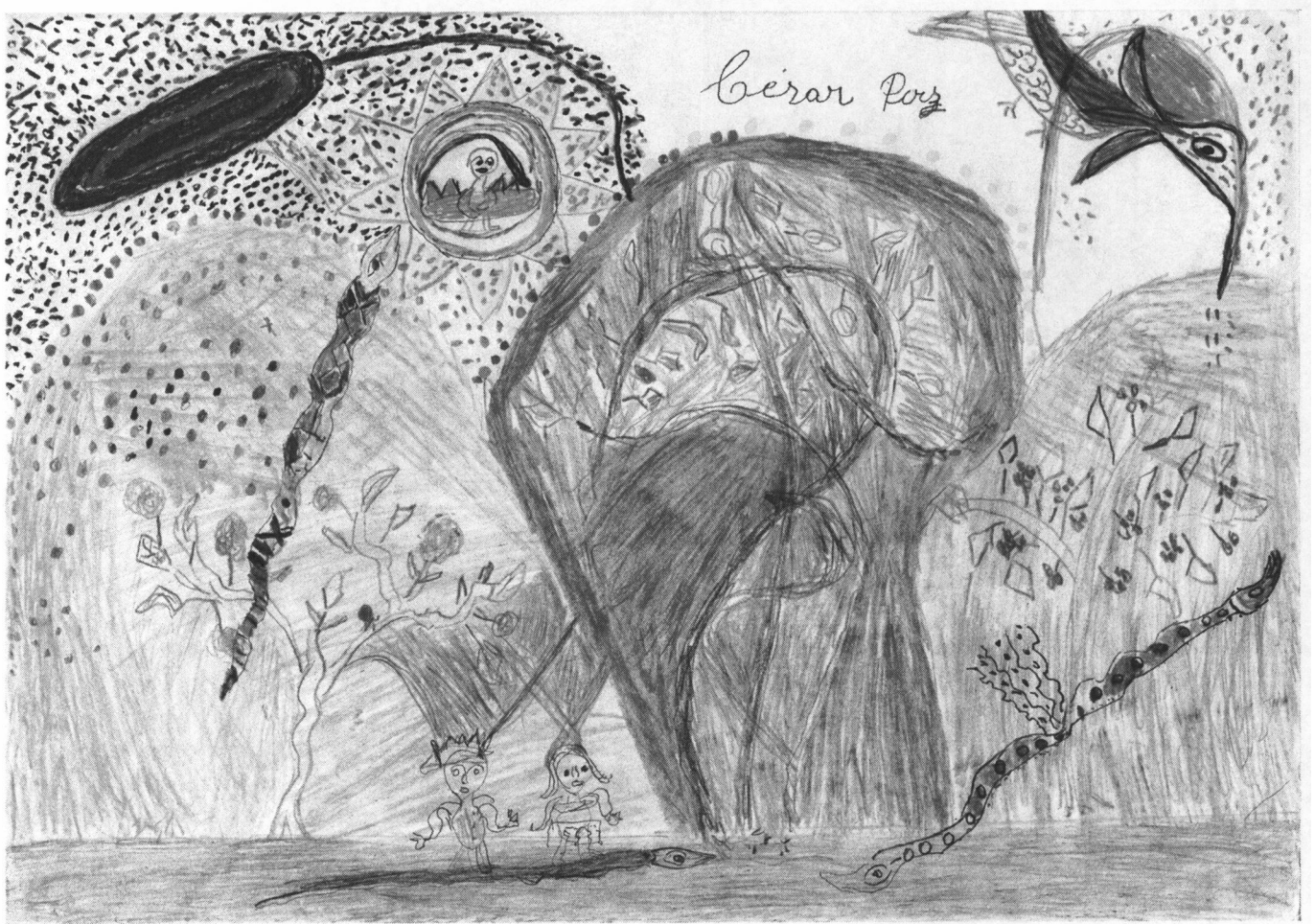
Figure 1: Shaman Cesar's drawing of an *ayahuasca* journey depicting different tree worlds. Copyright A-M Colpron, 2000.

sun's person, is equally himself. We can understand this statement if we take into account that Cesar is living the sun's experience through the sun's own standpoint; in other words, Cesar is personifying the sun. Cesar also incarnates the trees, boas and bird, which are likewise peopled or, said otherwise, people in themselves, commonly named *ibo*, a term more or less translatable as *masters*. This concept does not refer so much to the idea of *spirits*, in the common usage of the term, since the masters are not characterized by immateriality. We can take the example of the boas, considered as the masters of lakes and rivers. Boas often appear to those uninitiated into shamanism in their animal form or in the shape of packet boats or large whirlpools. If the shaman succeeds in *subjectivizing* these masters—that is to say, seeing them as people, decorated in sumptuous clothes whose beautiful designs recall the skin of the boa—this is not because they have the gift to render visible any kind of spiritual, invisible and hidden manifestation.

Rather, it is because they have learned to embody the particular standpoint of the boas.

Encountering the masters of lakes and rivers in the form of subjects—that is to say, as adorned people rather than in their *objectivized* form, as a simple whirlpool or boat—does not depend, therefore, on any intrinsic attributes of these entities such as material/immaterial, natural/spiritual, object/subject. It depends, rather, on the shaman's capacity to incorporate the masters' experience. As Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (2009:25) suggests, Amazonian shamanism comprises the polar opposite of the objectivist epistemology encouraged by Western modernity. For us, knowing is objectivizing: what cannot be objectivized remains unreal or abstract. The shamans, for they part, are moved by the opposite ideal: for them, knowing is personifying, adopting the standpoint of what has to be known, living the experience of the knowing subjects (2009:25).

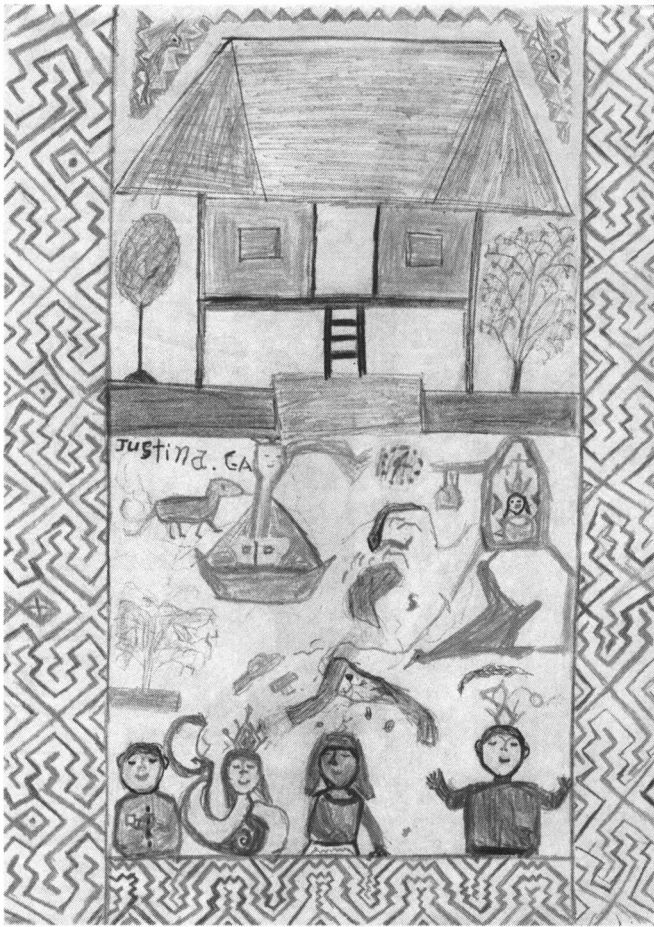This ability is difficult to acquire and implies a long process of initiation in which the shamans must, above

Figure 2: Shaman Justina's drawing of an ayahuasca session depicting the water-loving *bobinsana* tree world. Copyright A-M Colpron, 2000.

all, radically transform their everyday life. The initiates no longer socialize with their own group, no longer eat the typical diet and no longer pursue their usual quotidian activities. Instead, they immerse themselves in the way of being, the habitus of the entity with which they wish to be familiarized. We can take the example of a large, thorny tree. The shamans would isolate themselves in the forest, the tree's domain, impregnate themselves with its bark, leaves, scent and taste through baths and infusions; they would remain immobile as long as possible and consume mainly large amounts of tobacco, gradually riding themselves of their human customs and odours to acquire the tree's ethos.

The more this symbiotic relation is stimulated, the more the shamans incorporate the experience of the tree. This process is facilitated through the use of hallucinogens, such as ayahuasca, which can be considered "the basic instrument of shamanic technology, being used as a kind of visual prosthesis" (Viveiros de Castro 2007:62). By repeatedly ingesting the drug, the shamans

see the inhabitants of the tree, insects or birds as people; the thorns are no longer simply thorns but defensive weapons, and the flowers are now jewellery. Since they are impregnated with the tree, the shamans also see themselves adorned with these weapons and ornaments: these are their shamanic powers that will allow them to access the tree's world. However, this potential is never fully acquired, since the odour and taste of the tree fade over time, and the items become worn out. The shamans then have to renew the practice of commensality and share the tree's habitus to be able, once again, to access this tree-becoming.

The drawing made by the shaman Justina (Figure 2) depicts a shamanic session in which Justina visits the universe of the water-loving *bobinsana* tree.[9] We see the tree in question, tied to an animal, a water horse, in turn tied to a boat, a clock and a chapel. All these shamanic helpers have been contacted, thanks to the tree, and all are different manifestations of it. We shall not be surprised that these manifestations are not restricted to a "natural" order, since the reference here is not to nature but to society: the world of the tree is, just like that of the Shipibo-Conibo, populated by Indians, Incas and Whites with the forests, modern towns and machines. But, since the shaman experiences this society via the habitus of the tree in question, everything that seems familiar becomes infinitely different.

A series of transmutations of standpoints take place between the shaman and the tree, allowing her to actualize the tree's world to become, herself, a manifestation of the tree. Justina has drawn herself as an anaconda—one of the tree's incarnations, as well as, we can recall, the master of lakes and rivers—but this transformation is not total, since Justina remains simultaneously human. The process is akin to a play of mirrors in which the shaman partially transforms into an anaconda to be able, in turn, to transform other entities into people. If we observe the drawing closely, we can see that the boat has eyes and a mouth; hence the boat is personified, and likewise the chapel is inhabited. Explaining her drawing to me, Justina said that all these helpers are equally herself. She thus embodies the masters of the tree just as the masters of the tree embody her. This is not merely a form of imitation, nor merely a metaphor, since, with the help of ayahuasca, the shaman actualizes something else entirely: neither simply human, nor tree, nor anaconda but something among all of them. The shaman embodies interspecificity, allowing her to perform her shamanic mediations.

Things become further complicated since all these manifestations of the tree embodied by the shaman are equally worlds in themselves: the water horse is a world,

A

just like the boat, the chapel and the clock. Thanks to the processes of commensality with a single riverside tree, the shaman can shift between multiple dimensions and successively become a water horse, a boat, a chapel, and so on. Moreover, each of these worlds refers in turn to other worlds, which refer to other worlds in an endless series of entanglements. This fractal ontology does not imply a part/whole relationship because, when apprehended from the inside, these worlds are—just like the tree world—populated with Indians, Whites, forests and towns. However, although each world may seem a replica of the other, that is not so, since each one is actualized differently, experienced through the alterity of the horse, the boat or the clock. It is because the shaman lives each of these universes that she knows it differs from the others.

The drawing by this shaman therefore takes us much further than a simple split between a natural and unitary world, the same for everyone, versus an imaginary and supernatural world peopled by invisible entities. The problem in assuming a unified nonhuman domain is that it only reproduces an inverted mirror of a unitary natural world. Rather than alluding to a fictive or transcendent universe, an invisible and absolute reality lurking behind a natural and concrete façade, the multiplicity of worlds is immanent and revealed when experienced by shamans (Viveiros de Castro 2007). Therefore, instead of talking in terms of the "imaginary," the complexity of this ontology seems to be echoed more effectively by the "virtual," in the sense of a potentiality that may become actualized.[10] Since every phenomenon is a potential world that is disclosed only when lived as such, the shaman's "experiential knowledge" (Gow 2006:222) proves more decisive than any cosmological dogma (Viveiros de Castro 2009:22).

Subjectivations

The previous examples involved trees, sun and boas, but since the shamans can choose to incorporate the experience of any phenomenon, they are interested even in those elements we conceive as simple objects. Everything for shamans can be a virtual world; every relation can potentially become social—the most powerful shamans being precisely those capable of subjectivizing any encounter (Vilaça 2005). That is why some illiterate Shipibo-Conibo shamans include written texts in their shamanic initiations: the shaman Lucio wraps the pot he uses to prepare ayahuasca with old illustrated newspapers, thereby impregnating himself with their knowledge and accessing their urban universe, populated with buildings and cars; the shaman Artemio makes similar use of the Bible and includes some saints among his shamanic helpers (who, rather than adhering to a Judeo-Christian morality of good and evil, respond to the shaman's combative aims).

Motors, batteries and transformers are also very popular among the Shipibo-Conibo shamans since they allow the experimentation of motive and electric forces, highly valued in shamanic mediations. For example, the shaman Justina explains that when she takes ayahuasca, her body transforms into a machine, a powerful force that allows her to extract the sickness. She describes her body being literally connected via cables to the world of the battery and then to the body of the patient, thereby becoming a kind of transformer allowing the force from one to circulate to the other. As I was recording Justina's shamanic songs, she also told me that she knew the world of the tape recorder, which enables her to retain an impressive repertoire of shamanic songs and prevents her of any memory loss.

From these examples we can see that shamans are interested as much in trees as in texts or manufactured goods, since all allow them to incorporate—as long as they follow the norms of commensality—specific potentialities, such as the attractive force of magnets, the knowledge of books or the resistance of iron. In another drawing made by the shaman Justina (Figure 3), we can also see how saint, angel and machines are combined, all of them being simultaneously included in shamanic mediations. Following an entirely shamanic logic, Western technologies and religious influences are thus appropriated in the same way—as subjects of knowledge (Colpron 2012).

To facilitate my explanation, I have compartmentalized forest knowledge, such as trees, anacondas and lakes, and Western knowledge, newspapers, Bible and modern objects. It is essential to remember, though, that this opposition does not correspond to the standpoint of shamans, for whom the forest encompasses all forms of knowledge. A shaman can choose to be initiated directly through a machine, which is a universe in itself, but he or she can also access the world of the machine by resorting to a tree, since forest knowledge is extremely hi-tech.[11] Several shamans described the masters of the ayahuasca vine, like Western doctors, kitted out with smocks, stethoscopes and cutting-edge medical equipment. These medical experts assist the shamans during their ayahuasca sessions and allow them to provide treatment worthy of a hospital with a surgical theatre, X-rays and all.

But while the forest enables access to knowledge we consider Western, the opposite does not occur: the objects derived from towns (machines, Bibles, newspapers) do not transmit forest knowledge. Shamans
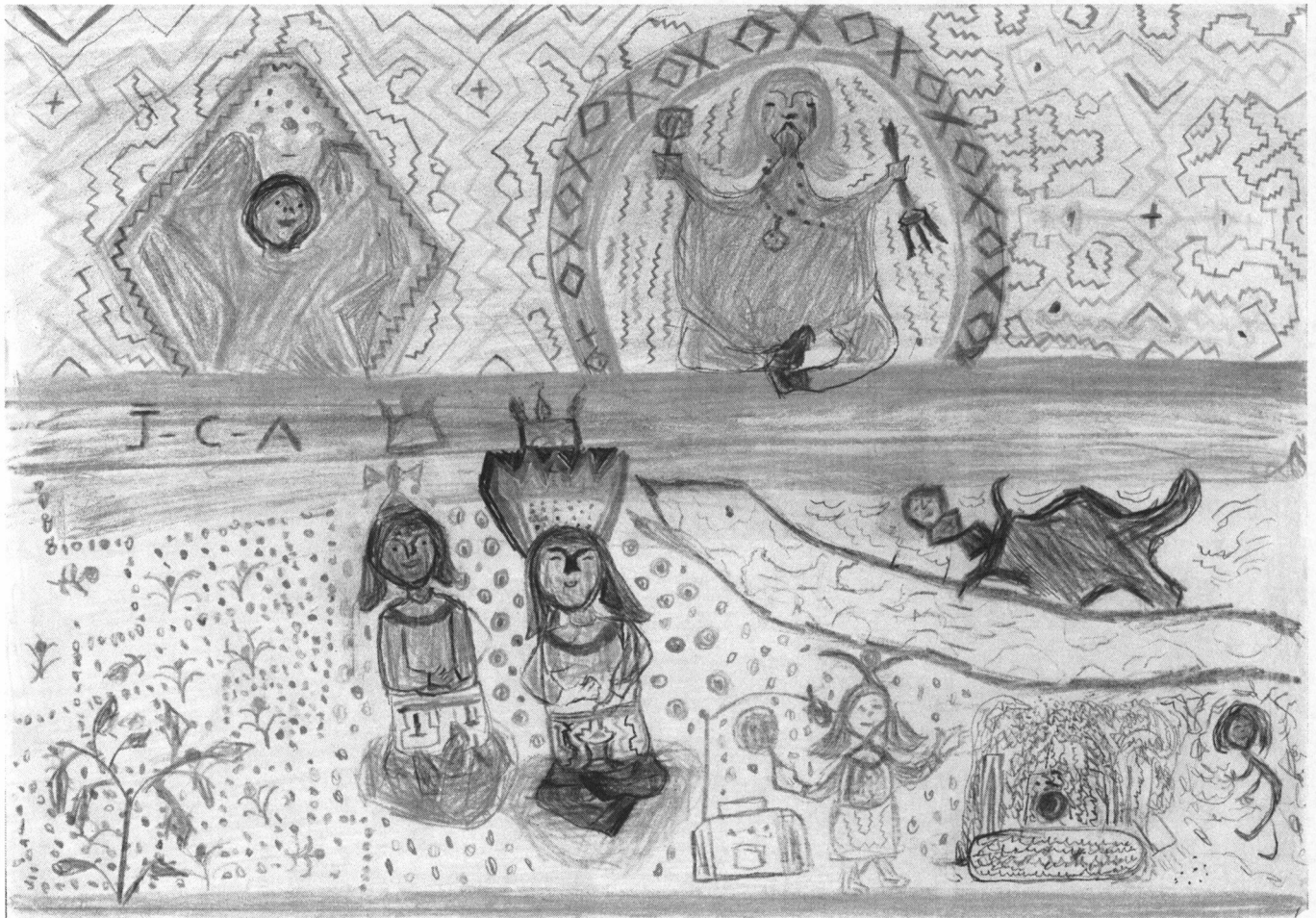
Figure 3: Shaman Justina's drawing of an ayahuasca session, depicting a saint, an angel and machines. Copyright A-M Colpron, 2000.

may sometimes choose to be initiated directly through these objects but only because, in these cases, initiation is judged to be less restrictive and dangerous than forest initiation. The asymmetry posed by myths—where the forest encompasses all forms of knowledge—means that the Shipibo-Conibo shamans, in this sense, have nothing to envy to the West.

Conclusion

We return then to my initial question: why had something I had presumed to be problematic—the crisis that contact with the West must have inevitably provoked in shamanic practice—not been so for the Shipibo-Conibo shamans? I have deliberately approached the question by exploring Shipibo-Conibo ontology as a legitimate research object and not as a simple set of supernatural beliefs. This latter approach, I defended, would have only reduced the shamans' experience of contact to my own Western idea of it. The purpose of this article was, on the contrary, to illustrate how Shipibo-Conibo shamans

experience contact differently, since they enact very different lived worlds. I have therefore suggested that, while we, as Westerners, tend to refer to (1) a linear temporality, the history of the past insofar as it reflects real and concrete facts, which results (2) from a cosmology where the world is considered unitary, all of it regulated by the same laws, the Shipibo-Conibo shamans pose the question of contact in other terms; for them (1) temporality seems to be experienced through the circular time of their myths, and (2) the multiplicity of worlds and potential subjectivities render possible different enactments or realities. What are the implications of these differences?

From our Western perspective, the persistence and expansion of Shipibo-Conibo shamanism after contact can be attributed to its timeless capacity to feed on difference and absorb alterity (Erikson 1996). Since the shamans specialize in mediating among different worlds, shamanism becomes the prism through which contact is experienced (Vilaça 2000). This seems to explain the

shamanism's vitality in the context of increased relations with Western representatives: shamans become crucial mediators in the interactions with the worlds of Whites. It then becomes understandable why more intense contact with the Western world has only multiplied the number of Shipibo-Conibo shamans and expanded their shamanic practice.

However, following the Shipibo-Conibo shamans' standpoint, contact is not a novelty and Whites are not entirely alien, their knowledge having been encompassed by the forest since mythical times. Consequently, if the shamans are interested in the worlds of Whites, this is not to acquire just any kind of unfamiliar knowledge, but rather—just as they do with trees—to immerse themselves in another subject position to incorporate a specific understanding or potentiality. Shamans seek to encompass multiple subjectivities to actualize their role as "cosmopolitical diplomats." I stress, it is not merely an appropriation of representations and, thus, not simply a mimetic relation but the experiencing of another way of being or, better said, of a way of *becoming*, since shamans embody another ontological experience. This is why shamanic initiations require symbiotic behavioural practices that affect everyday life: it is only through these lived experiences that shamans acquire the multiple positioning indispensable to their shamanic mediations. Therefore shamanism does not imply the idea of "believing" but rather the practice of getting immersed—shamans incarnating and personifying different subjects of inquiry (Stolze de Lima 2002; Viveiros de Castro 2007).

That the shamans refer to the worlds of the Whites in the same way as the forest worlds may seem fairly odd from a Western point of view. However, this makes sense if we take into account that, for the shamans, the multiplicity of worlds is not imaginary and transcendent—these concepts being meaningless when a fixed unitary world is not the scale of measure—but rather immanent to every phenomenon. Since everything can allow a different positioning and world enactment, becoming White in the same way as becoming a tree comprises different manners of embodying subjectivities. Potential worlds are disclosed only when experienced by shamans and, as a consequence, any cosmological doctrine loses its pertinence vis-à-vis the shamans' lived experiences. In light of this experiential knowledge where worlds are revealed only when lived out, our abstract Western theories of the "illusory representations" cast upon an "unchanging nature" appear, in turn, very strange.

The lived multiverse of the shamans forces us to problematize our common way of depicting shamanism in terms of "belief" or "worldview." Shamanism cannot be apprehended as "a cosmovision" or as "a cultural representation" of the world, since these conceptualizations implicitly refer to a shared *nature*, while shamans' do not. The alternative proposed here, that shamanism acknowledges the idea of multiple worlds, implies much more than a question of rhetoric. Since it challenges our familiar naturalistic theories, this approach involves a kind of effectiveness just as shamanism does. If the shamans' multiverse really permeates our thoughts— instigating a kind of anthropological becoming in which we seek to mediate different ontological experiences— this would allow us to envision a different anthropological collaboration where shamans would not simply be adjusted to our theories but would effectively affect our anthropological writings. Rather than simple objects of inquiry "good to think about," shamans would then become real subjects of a dialogue "good to think with" (Stengers 2008). Taken as serious interlocutors, shamans can only lead us to learn from difference and to think differently, thus intellectually stimulating our own attempts in mediating virtual and possible worlds.

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Notes

1 The purpose of this article is not to review the literature on the topic of shamanism and contact, nor to partake in the anthropological debates about myth and history or reality and fiction. It is rather to engage in a specific and focused manner with the literature on "cosmopolitics." The guiding question informing this research can be read as follows: what are the implications of seriously taking into account the shamans' idea of "worlds-making"? The challenge is to provide an ethnographic account of shamanism without falling into Western conceptualizations of "cosmovision," "belief system," "cultural representation," "symbolism" and so forth. Ultimately, these categories only lead us back to our own ontology of a shared natural world. The authors mainly referenced are the ones who introduced the ideas of "multiverse" and ontological difference and thus who inspired the following account of Shipibo-Conibo shamanism.

2 Hallucinogenic vine (*banisteriopsiscaapi*) used by shamans of the Western Amazon.

3 On this matter, Poirier (2005:59) exemplifies eloquently how her Western ontology makes her experience of the wind very different than the one of her Kukatja aboriginal friend: they lived and felt the strength of the wind at the same time but for Poirier it was an unpleasant and intrusive experience, while for her friend it was protecting and nourishing.

4 This is the predominant view outside the field of specialized anthropologists.

5 Kohn (2007:121) mentions a similar phenomenon among the Runa of the Upper Amazon: "although demons … are described as wearing priestly habits, modern missionaries in the region no longer wear this."

6 The periodic messianic movements that arose in the region since colonial times can also explain the Inca's persistence as an influential shamanic helper (Morin 1976).

7 For more information about this Western history of contact, I refer the reader to Colpron (2012), the purpose of the present article being to explore the Shipibo-Conibo shamans' experience of contact. Similar ethnographic data is further developed in the previous article but is here considered into a new light.

8 The Yanomami shaman Davi Kopenawa (1998) conveys a similar idea: "The Whites were created by Omama in our forest, but he expelled them because he was afraid of their lack of wisdom and because they were dangerous to us!"

9 *Calliandraangustifolia.*

10 For further information on the concept "virtual," see Viveiros de Castro (2009) and Deleuze and Guattari (1980).

11 For other Amazonian examples of this phenomenon, see Townsley (1993); Chaumeil (2000); Kohn (2007); and Cesarino (2008).

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Meeting the Generals: A Political Ontology Analysis of the Paraguayan Maskoy Struggle for Land

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Abstract: The defence of indigenous rights in Latin America has often benefited from an alliance between indigenous and nonindigenous sectors of the population. However, the narratives of these struggles have often been shaped by the assumptions of nonindigenous commentators. In this article I confront different public transcripts of the Paraguayan Maskoy struggle for land in the 1980s. Drawing on the emergent framework of "political ontology," I argue that the ontological categories sustaining modern political narratives inhibited the inclusion of the Maskoy political practices in the public transcripts of the land claim process, and that the acknowledgement of these practices could encourage more inclusive forms of collaboration.

Keywords: indigenous peoples, land struggles, ontology, political praxis, Paraguay

Résumé : La défense des droits des Autochtones en Amérique latine a souvent profité d'une alliance entre les secteurs autochtones et non autochtones de la population. Les récits de ces luttes ont toutefois souvent été colorés par les postulats de commentateurs non autochtones. Dans cet article, je compare différents discours (ou texte) publics de la lutte pour les terres de la nation paraguayenne Maskoy dans les années 1980. M'appuyant sur le cadre émergent de « l'ontologie politique », j'avance l'argument que les catégories ontologiques soutenant les récits politiques modernes ont empêché l'inclusion d'aspects spécifiques des praxises politiques des Maskoy dans les discours (ou texte) publics du processus de revendication territoriale. La reconnaissance de ces praxises politiques de la part des groupes de soutien, d'autre part, pourrait encourager des formes de collaboration plus inclusives.

Mots-clés : peuples autochtones; luttes territoriales; ontologie; praxis politique; Paraguay

Introduction

When the Maskoy indigenous people of Paraguay created an organization to initiate a land claim at the beginning of the 1980s, they were part of a wider movement of indigenous organizing throughout Latin America. This momentous process has been the subject of a vast anthropological literature (see Assies et al. 2000; De la Peña 2005; Gledhill 2000; Postero and Zamosc 2004; Ramos 1992, 2001; Sieder 2002; Warren and Jackson 2002, 2005), which has raised several highly relevant questions. With regard to the wider political context, Warren and Jackson (2005) argued, for example, that the emphasis on collective rights put forward by indigenous organizations has deeply challenged the liberal focus on the individual rights of undifferentiated citizens or that ethnic mobilization has fostered grassroots democratization in Latin America. Others, like Hale (2004), have argued that while states responded to indigenous mobilization by creating the figure of a "tolerated Indian"—one allowed to perform cultural differences inside the framework of a "multicultural" nation but denied more radical political demands—in some cases, the movements used the limited spaces created for their own purposes. All these analyses have demonstrated an extreme capability, on the part of indigenous people, to strategically and creatively adapt their identity practices to the context where demands take place and to translate local concepts into (trans)national discourses that resonate with those brought forward by NGOs and sometimes by nation states. Moreover, the mediatory role of legislative tools has grown in importance over time, often becoming the focus of both indigenous meetings and global campaigning for indigenous rights. These tools, such as the ILO (International Labor Organization)—Convention 169,[1] have proved to be valuable instruments in mediating the confrontation with the modern state by officially adopting its own procedures and forms. The legislative sphere, we could say, has become one of the main official battlegrounds for contemporary struggles on indigenous rights.

The Maskoy political history resonates with many of these points. In 1981, for instance, under the Stroessner dictatorship, the Paraguayan government approved the Law 904/81-Estatuto de las Comunidades Indígenas, which stated the right to land of indigenous people (and in particular to 100 ha per family in the Chaco region). This law arose from both the influence of the NGOs sector (Prieto 1994) and from a strategic alliance between important members of the army on the one hand (i.e., General Bejarano) and the missionary and academic sectors of the country on the other (Chase-Sardi 1987). However, even if Law 904/81 represented a fundamental battleground in the Maskoy struggle, two aspects of the land claim process need to be further developed, as they raise important issues at both political and ontological level: the Maskoy's focus on the individual encounters with politicians as crucial moments of the fight and the central role of shamans in these encounters. To further develop my argument and to emphasize the crucial implications that emerge when taking into consideration these two aspects, I build on what has been recently referred to as political ontology.

Political ontology, in the anthropological literature I refer to, is a perspective that frames the tensions between indigenous peoples and nonindigenous institutions in terms of conflicting or multiple ontologies (see Blaser 2009, 2010; Brigg 2007; Clammer et al. 2004; De la Cadena 2010; Descola 2005; Viveiros de Castro 1998). In Blaser's words, political ontology aims at highlighting "the power-laden negotiations involved in bringing into being the entities that make up a particular world or ontology" and the "conflicts that ensue as different worlds or ontologies strive to sustain their own existence as they interact and mingle with each other" (2009:11). In this article I show how different narratives of the Maskoy struggle for land are related to different ontological systems leading to different political practices. In particular, following Blaser's suggestion (2009), I define as "modern" the nonindigenous narratives of the fight to highlight their connection with what Latour (1991) has termed "the modern constitution."

According to Latour, the modern constitution establishes a separation between nature—the domain of nonhumans and facts, of "objects" to be represented by scientists—and society, the domain of humans and their symbols, of subjects to be represented by politicians (Latour 1991:21; see also De la Cadena 2010). The consequence of this division of labour is a delimitation of two spheres of knowledge: the political sphere as concerning humans and their representations, and the scientific sphere as concerning the analysis of "facts." The empiri-

cal style that we currently use to establish truth in science was founded by Boyle in the 17th century. It was based, in its origins, on the realization of an experiment in a laboratory, under the presence of witnesses who could testify to the "existence of something, the matter of fact, even though they do not know its real ontological nature" (Latour 1990:48). Therefore, to be considered true (in the sense of really being out there), things had to be visible and reproducible in a given set of conditions. A spiritual, invisible world clearly escapes these premises. Thus, within a modern narrative of political events, entities such as "earth-beings" (such as mountain spirits) do not exist because their status as "nature" automatically expels them from the realm of politics. These entities can only enter the political sphere as "culture."

Taking into consideration Scott's (1990) distinction between hidden and public transcripts, my aim is to compare two different public transcripts of the Maskoy struggle for land of the 1980s: that of "modern" history on the one side and that of the Maskoy on the other. In particular, I will show how only certain entities—those authorized by the modern constitution—have become part of the nonindigenous public transcript, while others only appear in the Maskoy narrative of the events. By doing so, I hope to contribute to the debate on what is considered a legitimate political praxis and what is not and the debate on how to collaborate with indigenous people in that space of encounter that a certain political engagement can generate.

The Emergence of Maskoy People's Fight for Land in the 1980s

When Carlos Casado's tannin factory was built on the western edge of the Paraguay River at the end of the 19th century, the Paraguayan Chaco was still considered a wild territory yet to be colonized. Far from being an empty land, however, it was a territory characterized by hunter-gatherer nomadic settlements, some of which had been at war with one another at various points in time. Because of the huge financial crisis that followed the War of the Triple Alliance against Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay (1864–1870), the Paraguayan state began selling state-owned lands. Between 1886 and 1889 Carlos Casado del Alisal, an Argentinean banker, took advantage of the situation and, acting through dummy intermediaries, he finally managed to buy 5,625,000 hectares of land in the Chaco, about one-third of the whole Chaco territory (Dalla Corte 2007). The core of this "empire" was located in the town of Puerto Casado, 550 kilometres away from Paraguay's capital city, which in

1893 became the administrative and industrial centre of Carlos Casado's territory. The tannin factory was built there in 1887 and, from the very beginning, the workforce had an important indigenous component. An investigation by the Catholic Church (CEP 1983) states that in 1906 there were 1,000 employees working in Casado's factory, of which 400 were indigenous; thus, indigenous people represented 40 per cent of the factory workers. Moreover, apart from working in the factory, they represented the majority of the workforce on the cattle ranches that Carlos Casado established all over his territory.

Carlos Casado is mentioned in several testimonies and biographies as the man who finally developed the Chaco region. Don Heugenio Hermosa, historian of Puerto Casado and cattle ranch manager of the Casado Corporation, spoke about the "civilising mission of Casado's company, which possessed by the pioneer and conquering spirit of its founder unravelled richness from a green hell [the Chaco]" (Aguero 1985:3). After exploiting the territory's natural resources for about 100 years, the "civilising mission" came to an end. In the 1970s, with the international decline in tannin prices, the company started reducing its activity, and in 1997, the factory in Puerto Casado was definitively closed (Dalla Corte 2007:491). In 2000, bankrupt and with a huge economic debt, Casado's company sold 600,000 hectares of land, including the factory and Puerto Casado itself, to Atenil, a company associated with the Unification Church, also known as the Moonies.

With the company already in crisis, in 1975 the Episcopal Paraguayan Congress (CEP by its Spanish acronym) started negotiating with Casado S.A. to buy land for the company's indigenous workers and ex-workers. Over the years indigenous people coming from different regions of the Chaco had begun working together in the factory and on the cattle ranches, and they had settled in Puerto Casado together with their families (Figure 1). The company offered 5,000 hectares of flood-zone land in the form of a donation and 5,000 hectares of land to be sold at an advantageous rate. Due to difficulties with a parallel case, the negotiations became paralyzed until 1981. In the 1980s the negotiations reopened but this time with the official involvement of indigenous people themselves.

When the struggle began, five different ethnic groups (Guana, Sanapana, Enxet, Toba and Angaite) coexisted in the indigenous district of Puerto Casado (Pueblito Indio Livio Farina) and in the surrounding cattle ranches. Their economy was based on work in the factory and the cattle ranches (the latter being specially valorized

Figure 1: Map of Paraguay.

by the indigenous workers), even if hunting-gathering was still an option. Prior to the 1980s, the term *Maskoy* had been used in the anthropological literature to define a variety of ethnic groups from the Chaco region that shared a common linguistic root. This was a purely academic denomination. In Pueblito, for instance, despite the long-lasting efforts of the Catholic missionaries to form a "compact group of Christian Indians" (Susnik 1954), in the 1980s families were still located according to their ethnic origins (Regher 1980). On the cattle ranches, however, the different ethnic groups were settled in the territory in a more dispersed and temporary way (Delporte 1992). The adoption of a common Maskoy identity does not appear to be a spontaneous outcome of the cohabitation of different linguistic groups. On the contrary, it is the result of a strategic decision that was taken by indigenous people at the beginning of the land claim process to strengthen their political identity, and it continued to be endorsed later when people settled down in their new territory. Moreover, an additional linguistic justification for choosing that particular denomination was the presence in the term *Maskoy* of the word *mas*, which is Spanish means "more." In fact,

"more people" (i.e., people of different origins) were gathered under a unique denomination (Angel Martinez, Maskoy leader, personal communication, September 2004). In the National Census of 2002, they appear as "Toba Maskoy," and they are included in the "Lengua Maskoy" linguistic group together with the Lengua (or Enxet, as they are otherwise called), Sanapana, Guana, Toba and Angaite ethnic groups (DGEEC 2003). The total number of individuals is given at 756; however, I believe that, because of the confusion created by the word "Toba" in the denomination "Toba Maksoy," many of the people decided not to define themselves as such.

The 1980s Struggle for Land: Modern Narratives

In this section, I narrate the history of the land claim process using different kinds of documents, including Horst's (2007) important book on the history of resistance in Paraguay and several documents produced by representatives of the Catholic Church. They include a book published by the CEP (Conferencia Episcopal Paraguaya) in 1986, an article published in the local anthropological review and several letters and reports currently held in a small archive in the Puerto Casado parish.

The importance of the Catholic Church is clear if we consider that it was the main ally of Maskoy people in the conflict. In 1975, members of the Marandu Project sponsored by the Catholic University of Asuncion— probably influenced by the mandate of the Barbados Declaration of 1971 to overcome "colonial relationships"—visited the indigenous neighbourhood of Puerto Casado for 15 days to provide them with information about their legal rights (Renshaw 1996), and immediately afterward the indigenous workers were incorporated into the factory trade union. It was precisely because of this episode that, in 1975, Parguay's dictator General Stroessner imprisoned and tortured some of the leading members of Marandu Project—Miguel Chase-Sardi, one of the signatories of the Barbados Declaration, among them (Susnik and Chase-Sardi 1995:329).

In a 1981 article published in the anthropological review of the Catholic University in Paraguay, Bishop (1981) stated that, to save Maskoy people from their "poor, defenceless and hopeless" condition, the only solution was to obtain land: to help the Indians recover their ethnic identity; to help them develop as people; to help them overcome their vices and recover their physical strength; to help them be Christians and human, they need land[9] (Obelar 1981:14).

Sheltered by the new Law 904/81, which, by way of compensation, granted 100 hectares of land per indigenous family in the Chaco, the CEP decided to reformulate the fight in terms of expropriation and hired a lawyer, Mirna Vasquez, and a sociologist, Gladys Casaccia, to support the Maskoy people in the process. The legal dimension of the struggle was very important from the beginning; it involved the presence of the state as the mediator between the Maskoy and Casado S.A. It may be worth noting that the power of the company had already declined because of the collapse in the international demand of tannin, and there was an ongoing tension between Casado S.A. and the state. Despite this, the government seemed to support the Casado company much more than the Maskoy. The main reason behind this posture has to be found in the 100 years worth of favours exchanged between the company and state members (CEP 1983). Moreover, the Catholic Church accused the state of defending private property and foreign investments: in 1981, the Apostolic Vicariate again negotiated with the company, indicating that,

> since the beginning the case of indigenous people in Puerto Casado hasn't been a commercial but rather a humanitarian case ... taking into account the indisposition of the Company to donate 3% of its land as a compensation for the harm inflicted to the indigenous population, we can only think about Carlos Casado S.A. as a "capitalist" company in the worst sense of the word. [CEP 1983:25]

And also, "What is more violent, an expropriation of land or 300 indigenous families dying, without a piece of land to cultivate?" (Archbishop Press Office 1987).

In 1986, when the outcome of the struggle was still uncertain, CEP published a book that summarized the situation up to that moment. In the introduction to the book (CEP 1986), both indigenous people and the church are described as external to the logic of the "economy of money," which is seen as corrupting contemporary society. Two discourses, that of a nationalist resistance against an Argentinean company and that of a moral resistance against the alienation of capitalism, along with the defeat of communism, are the axes around which justification of the fight is built. Indigenous people are described essentially as victims—of the liberal system of economic exploitation, of a secular discrimination, of the despoliation of their traditional territories.

The legal battle against the company and the state was accompanied by periodical trips of the Maskoy leaders to the capital city. Both the North American historian Harder Horst, author of one of the most relevant books

about the recent history of Paraguay, and the CEP describe these trips as crucial moments in the process. According to Horst, for instance, the leaders' travels were aimed at "pressing" political authorities (Horst 2007:113), while the CEP underlined how the visits contributed visibility to the struggle in the national and international press. As will become clearer later on, both interpretations miss aspects that were crucial from the point of view of the Maskoy.

Another strategy deployed by the Catholic Church, together with local organizations, was to send signatures to the Senate requesting the immediate expropriation of land for the Maskoy. Indeed, on 16 July 1987, while Stroessner's dictatorship was already endangered by popular protests and the lack of international support, the Catholic Church, a labour union and the AIP (Paraguayan Indigenist Association) sent 3,000 signatures to the Senate. According to Horst, this act "proved too much for the regime to bear" (2007:131), and on 30 July, the Senate finally decided for the expropriation of land.

If the pressure exercised by the press and the civil society has played a crucial role in the struggle, another detail worth mentioning is a letter by the CEP to the Senate dated the 9 June 1987. The letter made reference to the imminent visit of Pope John Paul II to Paraguay in 1988, already announced by the Vatican. Taking advantage of the event, the Catholic Church threatened to publicly denounce the bad treatment that the dictatorship had imposed on indigenous people if the Parliament refused to expropriate the Maskoy territory quickly enough:

> Let's not forget to mention the imminent visit of our Holy Father to our country. It would be extremely inconvenient if this issue [the expropriation of land in favour of the Maskoy people] was still unresolved and provoked words of reproach to our human and Christian conscience. The solution to this problem depends on you and the Senators. A solution that will give the necessary tranquillity to a suffering community and to the whole Paraguayan nation that is sharing that suffering. [CEP 1987]

On 30 July, the Senate finally expropriated 30,103 hectares of land from Casado S.A., and on 20 August, Stroessner signed the final document[2]. Horst writes, "Although securing land for the Maskoy was another attempt [on the part of the dictatorship] to dampen rising opposition, the campaign [read: struggle of the Maskoy people] still stands as a monument to indigenous organisation" (2007:131).

The protagonists of these narratives of struggle are thus the Paraguayan Episcopal Congress (CEP), the civil society, the Maskoy leaders and communities, the Pope and the dictator and his congressmen. To summarize, we could say that, according to Horst (2007), the role of the Maskoy leaders was that of giving visibility to the whole process so they could put pressure on the government and conquer public opinion on both a national and an international level. On the other hand, a further strategy adopted by the CEP was to take advantage of the Pope's visit to Paraguay, thus putting pressure on the government through his undisputed visibility. According to both, the success of the struggle was due to a combination of these factors, together with a coincidental loss of support for Stroessner's regime.[3] It is important to highlight that all the protagonists of this version of history, even if characterized by different values and political strategies, are considered legitimate political actors from the point of view of a modern narrative of the events, as they are all deemed to really exist. In the following section I will retell the same history from the point of view of the Maskoy, revealing new and unthought-of presences that cast a different light on the events.

The 1980s Fight for Land: The Maskoy Narrative

> There are powerful doctors[4] [shamans]. There still are.
> There are doctors, but they keep their silence.
> They look inoffensive.
> But if you bother them, they will rise again.
> Ojeda, personal communication, Castilla, 2007

In September 2004, I travelled to Puerto Casado to realize an independent documentary about the Maskoy struggle for land and to write an article about the same topic for an underground local newspaper (*El Yacare*). The documentary, titled *La Lucha del Pueblo Maskoy. 1983–1987*, was screened one year later inside the communities, marking the beginning of a last-longing relationship. Three years later, I was back in Territory Riacho Mosquito to conduct my Ph.D. fieldwork in the Maskoy communities, for about two years (Figure 2). The interviews mentioned below were all undertaken as part of a new documentary about the Territory Riacho Mosquito and can be considered part of a "public transcript" of the Maskoy about what happened in those troubled years.[5]

At the beginning of the 1980s, there were about 500 people living in Pueblito. But it was only in the beginning of the struggle that they decided—for logistical
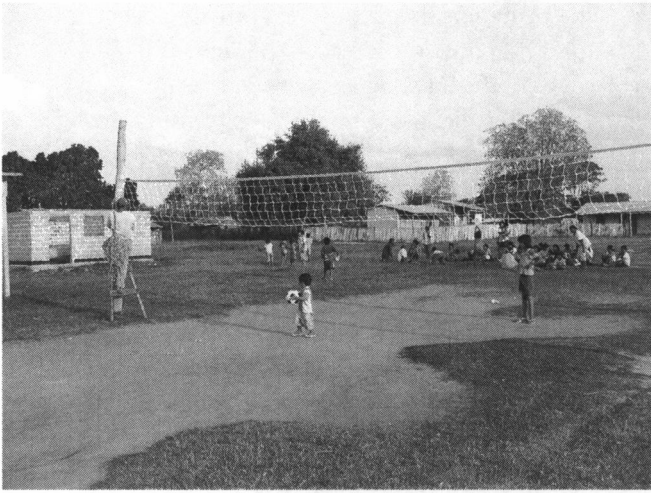
Figure 2: Maskoy community of Castilla, volleyball ground. 2008. Photo Credit: Valentina Bonifacio.

Figure 3: Rene Ramirez—ex general leader in the Maskoy fight for land of the 1980s—inside Carlos Casado's ex-house, now owned by a local cooperative. Photo credit: Valentina Bonifacio, 2008.

reasons—to elect a land-commission and a common leader for all five ethnic groups. Up to that moment, according to a report of the Catholic Church, there was a lack of leadership in Pueblito. Regher (1980:10) mentions the testimony of a Maskoy settler who said, "All our chiefs have died. We need an intelligent man to gather all the people together." Regher also points out, "Indigenous people learnt in the mission to cooperate as individuals with these institutions [the Company and the Church], and above all to obey their orders. This process of individualization debilitated their traditional sense of group cooperation and their traditional leaders" (1980:9). Despite this, the election happened quickly when the inhabitants of Pueblito decided that they needed an indigenous leader other than the missionaries. Accordingly, in 1983, Rene Ramirez (Figure 3), already a representative of the indigenous workers in the factory trade union, was elected *cacique principal* ("main leader") in the struggle for land.

As other Maskoy leaders describe him, Rene Ramirez acted, from that moment, as a lawyer for his people (personal communication with Luciano Violante, leader of Km 40, 10 September 2004). His power relied on defending, in front of the whites, the decisions taken by the common assembly. Together with Ramirez, a committee of seven to ten leaders was also elected to lead the expropriation. Their trips to the capital city were financed by a Youth Committee, composed essentially of women, who collected money by organizing bingo games and by selling homemade food.

Juan Gonzales, the youngest member of the Maskoy commission that visited the authorities in the capital city
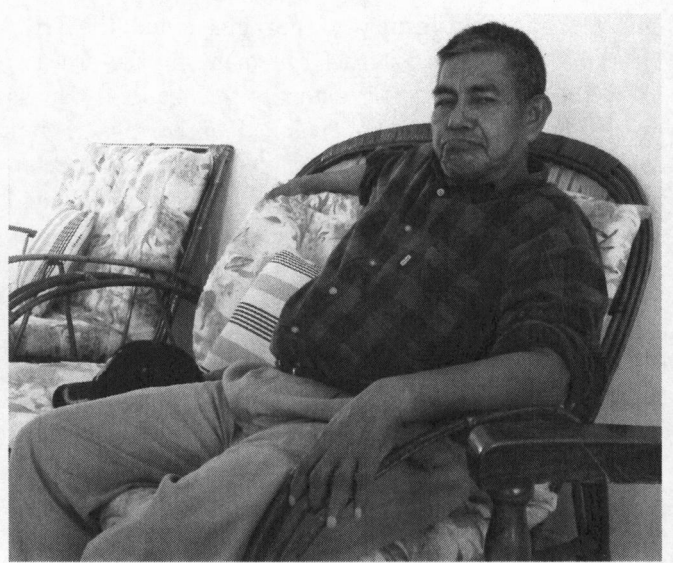
between 1983 and 1987, was pointed to me by the other leaders as one of the official narrators of the struggle. This is how Gonzales described the beginning of the process to me:

> One Thursday afternoon, Father Ballin began his catechism, in which 40 people participated. And 40 people sent a notice to Rene Ramirez, catechist and President of the Don Bosco commission, that he urgently had to travel to the capital city with five representatives of the Maskoy people in order to present a document that reclaimed the historical site called Riacho Mosquito. The following Saturday we travelled to Asuncion on a motor boat called "Panchita He." There were five of us, all of us representatives of the Maskoy people. In Asuncion we left our document in the offices of INDI (National Institute of the Indian) and IBR (Institute of Rural Welfare) and we went back to Puerto Casado. [Interview, Juan Gonzales, Km 39-Maria Auxiliadora, September 2008]

The first trip of the land commission to Asuncion, according to Gonzales, marks the beginning of the struggle. The Maskoy experienced with great enthusiasm the fact of having been received by the authorities, and they felt optimistic about the future. But the missionaries observed this enthusiasm with a critical eye:

> The Maskoy delegation was finally received by General Martinez, president of INDI, who made them the

dangerous promise that he will try to get land for them, but less land than what they requested and in a place other than Riacho Mosquito. The indigenous representatives looked happy, but our missionary team foresees several dangers. [Father Robin 1983]

The content of the meeting does not seem to have been as important to the Maskoy delegation as the fact of having been received by the authorities. This perception of things began to change after the first meeting, however. In fact, Juan Gonzales says,

In the beginning we didn't encounter any difficulty but, rather, received congratulations. But after a while the same representatives travelled again to the capital city, and that's when the difficulties began to appear. Casado, in fact, presented an offer [of land] that did not coincide with the wishes of the Maskoy people and the Maskoy people didn't want to accept it. In 1984, the representatives of the Maskoy people travelled once again to Asuncion. And that's when the battle started, the fight started. [*Ya empezó como si fuera una batalla. Empezó la lucha.*] ... At that time, there were 180 families in Pueblito. Twelve [Paraguayan] people arrived in Pueblito from Asuncion, in order to meet with the Maskoy: representatives of the INDI, the IBR and Casado's company. They wanted us to accept Casado's offer. "You have to accept it," they said to the people. But the people said no. As a consequence, each representative of each community raised their hand in front of the Paraguayan representatives to say that they didn't accept Casado's offer.... In 1985, Casado presented his fourth offer, but it was rejected. [Interview with Juan Gonzales, Km 39-Maria Auxiliadora, 2008]

The fight for land is described by Gonzales as a battle between enemies. The personal will of politicians, from the Maskoy perspective, seemed to count more than any approved law. And it quickly became evident that the state was not taking the side of the Maskoy, nor was the Institute of the Indian (INDI). Just when the fight appeared to have come to an end, Juan Gonzales tells how the president of INDI himself once more betrayed the Maskoy. Gonzales, on this occasion, was the youngest member of the commission, but—according to him—the only one capable of facing the military authorities without wavering:

In 1986 Casado presented an offer with only half of the land we had requested: 15,000 hectares. And, in October 1986, ten of us travelled to Asuncion, including: René Ramírez, Carlos López, Joaquín Cabrera, Román Villalba, Remigio, Carlos Álvarez and me. The president of INDI—although we didn't know it—had already negotiated with the company and he

was convinced that we were going to accept the 15,000 hectares. The president of INDI, General Martinez, summoned us to the capital city. At four o'clock in the afternoon we got there. At the door, Coronel Carrillo was waiting for us. This Coronel Carrillo received the Indians and made them pass through the door. Mirna Vázquez and Gladys Casaccia were there with us, also a few journalists. But Carrillo let the Indians in and then closed the door. The Whites were left outside.... General Gaspar Martinez, who had five stars, held the document with the offer of 15,000 hectares in his hands. He told us that we had no choice but to sign. Rene Ramirez remained silent. And all the rest of the people remained silent because they were scared. No one knew what was going to happen. The president of INDI had lied to us.... He gave us the document and said, "This is your document. You have to sign." He gave Rene Ramirez the pen, but he refused to sign. "No!" he said, and didn't care. The president gave it to the next person. "No!" he also said. One by one they said no. And then it was my turn. I hit the table. In that moment, Rene Ramirez was startled. I hit the table in front of the General. "No, sir! We haven't come to sign this. We are not going to sign. And we'll leave. I'm going to leave. If only one of us is going to sign, his signature doesn't count." And General Martinez said, "Why don't you sign this, and in five months we will give you more?" But I said, "No!" Some of the authorities said, "They have told you to behave like this." But I said, "No, sir. Indigenous people know how they want to live. For their grandchildren they want this land." [Interview with Juan Gonzales, Km 39-Maria Auxiliadora, 2008]

And, to emphasize that it was the final battle, Gonzales concludes, "In 1987, the President of Paraguay quickly signed our request." I have included these fragments of interview in detail to show how important it is for Juan Gonzales to recall each small detail of the encounter. His storytelling of the process, in fact, consists of a list of trips marked by finely described encounters between indigenous people and state authorities, which he also describes as "battles."

Not all politicians, however, were enemies. According to Juan Gonzales the Maskoy had their allies even inside the Colorado Party, the party of the dictatorship. These allies turned out to be strategic in the last phase of the struggle:

Fortunately, the Maskoy people had their own friend, a member of the Parliament, who fought for us a lot: Julio César Frutos of the ANR,[6] an important member of the Parliament. And also the president of the Government, Juan Ramón Chávez, supported us. At some point, we told Juan Ramón Chávez, "We

want to become members of the Colorado Party (ANR)." But he replied, "You, indigenous people, have got nothing to do with any political membership. You don't have to become members of any political party: you are free. And I like this. Ask for the land! The land is yours. You deserve it (hay que darles nomás). You have to recover your land. You've got more rights than us over the land." In 1987, on several occasions the Maskoy met Julio Cesar Frutos and Juan Ramón Chávez. That's because in 1987, political authorities were in charge of the documents. It was their task. [Interview with Juan Gonzales, Km 39-Maria Auxiliadora, 2008]

Once again, the moments of direct confrontation with state authorities are emphasized as crucial moments of the process. The fight against Casado S.A. was, first of all, a fight against particular individuals, and it is in the context of this peculiar conceptualization of the struggle that the role of the shamans became essential. I would argue that even the term *batalla* is used by Juan Gonzales in reference to the shamanic battles that are the subject of frequent conversations in the Chaco region (see Regher 1993). As Angel Martinez, one of the Maskoy leaders once said: "The Whites have their lawyers, but we also have our lawyers: the shamans." Below, I clarify why Gonzales emphasized the encounters so much and what, exactly, was the role of shamans.

The Role of Shamans

Angel Martinez, a contemporary Maskoy leader, explained to me that the reason why the Maskoy got their land back, unlike Paraguayan peasants,[7] was due to the role of shamans. According to him, two shamans followed the Maskoy delegation to the capital city, where they prevented political authorities from getting too nervous (*que les dieran los nervios*). Martinez remembered, for example, how Rene Ramirez was thrown out of a general's office because of a nervous attack of the latter. In his opinion, without shamans the interaction would have been impossible. To support his declaration about the presence of shamans, I point out that, in a 1984 newspaper article (CEP 1986:133), two new names appear in the Maskoy commission that was visiting the capital. Both of them are powerful shamans: one was considered to be one of the most powerful shamans in the area; the second is still a renowned shaman.

Nevertheless, the shamans didn't participate in the struggle only by travelling to the capital city. According to Rene Ramirez, one of their roles was to keep the people in Pueblito informed about what was happening in the capital, even while the shamans remained in

Pueblito. Through their visions, in fact, they were able to "see at a distance" what the indigenous leaders were doing in Asuncion. Yet another, even more important role, was that of *aflojar* (literally, loosening) the military authorities during their meetings with the Maskoy representatives:

> Shamans are our lawyers. There were two old women in particular who took care of us spiritually [*siempre nos cuidaban espiritualmente*]. People used to visit them and ask for information when the leaders travelled to Asunción. Because they could see, people asked them for information. They saw [what happened in the capital city] as if they were watching a movie. "People are speaking, you have to stay silent," they said. Without them, we couldn't have won. They also said, "We are going to loosen [*aflojar*] the authorities, so that they are going to say, yes, we'll give the land." They were called Marciana and Ramona. They wanted to be buried in San Juan. It had been their valley when they were children. When the land was expropriated, they cried a lot. They were happy … Shamans also used to travel to Asunción. They remained outside the door, to help the leaders spiritually [*espiritualmente*]; to confront the authorities, so that the clash with them wasn't too strong. [Interview with Rene Ramirez, Pueblito, 2008]

To understand what Ramirez means by "loosening," we have to look at the shamanic practice. Shamans in the Chaco learn the ability to travel in the spirit world through fasting and through the ingestion of rotten plants (Arenas 1981; Kidd 1999). They also learn, in the same way, to get in contact with the different types of spirits that are the owners (*dueños*) of different kinds of nonhuman beings: plants, animals, natural elements and objects. Each of these spirits has a particular ability, and it is "used" by the shaman in case of necessity. A shaman can learn, for example, to see at a distance thanks to the ingestion of soil. Another ability that is acquired by shamans through the ingestion of plants is to act on people's "stomach/entrails" (*wáxok; py'a*), which is a way of making them more or less generous toward other people. According to Kidd (1999), among the Enxet, the wáxok is the organ of the body that represents the affective and cognitive centre of the person and is the place that can be most easily invaded by malevolent spirits sent by shamans. An essential distinction is that between soft/unlocked wáxok—a precondition that allows people to behave in a loving and generous manner—and locked/hard wáxok—typical of people who behave in an egoistic manner, an attitude that is publicly condemned (1999:49). Thus, when Ramirez says that the shamans

are loosening the authorities, he implies that they are mobilizing the power of their nonhuman spirit-aids to loosen/unlock their "stomach/entrails" so that the authorities will have a helpful attitude toward the Maskoy people. The Maskoy conceptualization of the event is revealed in the Guarani/Spanish translation through the use of the verb *aflojar* (to make soft) in an unusual context. Ramirez also describes the shamanic practice by saying that they "work on" (*trabajan*) politicians. I would argue that this expression has to be understood as related to the already mentioned action of "loosening." Below, Ramirez recounts, in 2007, the last encounter with President Stroessner, when the dictator's signature was the only missing thing from the document that declared the expropriation of the Maskoy's land:

> It was the first expropriation in the history of Latin America. The first in history. It is even more amazing if you consider that Stroessner was in power. I talked to him twice. He usually kept people waiting for eight days before receiving them, but he received me on the spot. Not even twenty-four hours did I have to wait. Thanks to the shamans, because they worked on him [*trabajaron por él*]. They said, "We're going to work on him [*Vamos a trabajar por él*]." ... "Don't worry," said Stroessner, "the 30,000 hectares are yours [*Ne mba'e umia cacique, ne mba'e*]." That's why I got calm [*me tranquilicé*]. And so I told him, "I'm calm [*tranquilo*]." "If the document gets here, I'm going to sign." said Stroessner. I think that the document was there for three days only, and then he signed. And then he immediately authorised the expropriation. [Interview with Rene Ramirez, Pueblito, 2008]

It is thus possible to recognize, in Ramirez's account of the struggle, idioms that belong to a particular world, a world where other-than-human beings are granted an agency in the political sphere. Such a world is the one that the Paraguayan Episcopal Congress, as well as historians and anthropologists, tend to leave aside in their "modern" narratives of resistance and confrontations. Other-than-human beings are the invisible presence that is mobilized in the meetings through the mediatory role of shamans. By opening the authorities' py'a, shamans contribute to reestablishing a balance between the persons and the network of relationship they are made up of.

Discussions about the role of shamans in politics or the political role of shamans are not particularly new in the anthropological literature (see Salomon 1983; Taussig 1986; Thomas and Humphrey 1994; Whitehead and Vidal 2004; for the Chaco region, Gordillo 2003;

Kidd 1995). However, the way in which shamanism is often treated runs parallel to the modernist accounts of the struggle that I discussed above; namely, shamanism may be, at best, considered a "fact" with symbolic power in the political realm, but shamanic explanations of the "facts" that happen in the political realm are hardly taken at face value. Taking up the suggestions of the political ontology framework, my aim is to restore the shamans' political role as part of a socionatural world or ontology where earth-beings do have an influence on human political action. The presence of shamans in the political sphere not only suggests the presence of a "unique cultural idiom" to talk about power (Whitehead and Vidal 2004), nor does it only add symbolic power to the Maskoy political actions, but it also opens up connections with an unthought-of spiritual world. Despite their invisibility during the fight, I would not agree that Maskoy shamans' "non-visibility to white observers deprived this strategy of the possibility of having a political impact on those in position of power" (Gordillo 2003:113). The effectiveness of the shamans' actions on Stressner's decision to sign the expropriation of land can be downplayed only by denying reality to the indigenous narrative of the events.[8] Likewise, if we confine the role of shamans to a "process whereby history is being reinvented and transformed into myth" (Kidd 1995:59), not only do we risk reducing it to "folklore," we also presuppose the existence of a "real" history happening outside indigenous ontological categories. As my purpose in this article is to emphasize the existence of alternative political practices, I will not question the veracity of the Maskoy narratives nor I will discuss the relationship between myth (and structure) and history (and event) (Sahlins 1985). By relating the Maskoy struggle for land, I focus the discussion on the political praxis and on how it is performed and theorized in relation to different political ontologies.

Of course, the Maskoy representatives were also deploying specific discourses in the confrontation with politicians. For example, they frequently emphasized their participation in the Chaco war to gain allies inside the government. But whatever the content of the communication might have been, it is important to understand that according to some of the protagonists of the struggle, shamans—and the spiritual beings with whom they were collaborating—had a crucial role in creating the correct conditions for a balanced dialogue with governmental authorities. In other words, they had a crucial role in creating the right context for the communication to happen.

Conclusion: (Dis)Locating Truth and Political Action

General Alfredo Stroessner finally signed the expropriation of land in favour of the Maskoy people on 20 August 1987. It is my contention in this article that the different political strategies displayed in the struggle were strictly linked to the ontological assumptions of their promoters and that some of these strategies openly collide with a "modern" narrative of the fight, thereby inhibiting their immediate inclusion in the nonindigenous public transcripts of the land claim process. In particular, the moments of face-to-face encounters between Maskoy representatives and Paraguayan authorities need to be rethought, as they constitute nodes where different worlds and actors mingle. These encounters raise serious questions of what is considered a legitimate political praxis by the different actors and how to facilitate the collaboration between indigenous and nonindigenous sectors of the population in specific contexts.

In her inspiring article, Marisol De la Cadena (2010) points out that contemporary Andean indigenous movements are challenging our usual way of conceiving the political sphere by exceeding it. This excess consists of the unexpected appearance of earth-beings in highly visible political contexts such as the coming forth of the *pachamama* (mother earth) in the Ecuadorian constitution, the libations to the earth before a political conversation in Bolivia or the calling into presence of sacred mountains during a public demonstration in Peru. Such appearances are regarded by politicians and activists with suspicion or are domesticated by translating them through familiar categories such as "beliefs" or "organised ethnic politics" (2010:337). Both reactions demonstrate that, while operating within the modern constitution, it is impossible to take into account the presence of sentient earth-beings in the political arena. As De la Cadena suggests, indigenous representatives do of course endorse partial translations of their practices in specific situations, but they have also shown their willingness to maintain (and take care of) the links with some earth-beings by continuing to conceive of them as political actors able to make decisions on their own and to exert an influence on the circulation of power inside the political context. In her words, we could describe the endorsement of a multiplicity of political practices on the part of the same subjects "as a complex formation, a historic-political articulation of more than one, but less than two, socionatural worlds" (2010:347).

The encounters between Maskoy leaders and Paraguayan politicians can also be thought of as situated at a crossroads between different socionatural worlds. As nonindigenous commentators and analysts point out, the encounters were crucial because they enhanced the public visibility and bargaining power of the Maskoy leaders in a context where the announced visit of John Paul II to the Paraguayan Chaco coincided with the Stroessner regime's increasing need for international support. But the encounters also represented the only occasion for indigenous leaders to negotiate with politicians from a position of power thanks to the action of the shamans who "loosened" the authorities through the aid of their auxiliary spirits. In fact, the names of two powerful Maskoy shamans appear in the list of committee members who travelled to Asuncion in 1984. While actually "working on" politicians from Puerto Casado, they were finally incorporated in the Maskoy committee that travelled to Asuncion to deal directly with the authorities. Nevertheless, while their names did appear in the newspapers, they were not acknowledged there as shamans. This invisibility may be considered a strategic decision allowing them greater freedom of action. However, if invisibility had been a strategy in the past it is not so anymore: the role of shamans in the struggle is officially mentioned in the Maskoy public transcript of the land claim process. Through the work of shamans, meetings become crucial moments of their political praxis. Nevertheless, because their work relies on the collaboration of the other-than-human beings with whom they learn to communicate, the role of shamans can hardly be recognized as fully part of the political praxis in a "modern" narrative of the events. In the same way, even if members of the Catholic Church might have believed in God's intervention in the struggle and even if prayers might have been part of their political praxis, neither of the two is officially mentioned in their public transcript of the Maskoy land claim process.

Far from being confined to history, the role of shamans is still a valuable option in the Maskoy political praxis. In fact, while living in Riacho Mosquito in 2007 and 2008, I saw that they still had a role in negotiating with politicians inside the communities, even if politicians were completely unaware of their silent presence during the meetings. For there is a major difference here with the Andean situation: in the Paraguayan Chaco, any open reference to earth-beings is still absent from the public political sphere. What differentiates the two contexts might be of a numeric order: indigenous people in Paraguay only represent 1.7 per cent of the population (DGEEC 2003). Furthermore, even if some local nonindigenous organizations operating in the Chaco region have rethought the role of shamanism in the

political praxis (i.e., by introducing them in the parliament or by organizing interethnic ceremonies), they have not done it publicly, as this would probably harm their reputation. Instead, we could imagine a local NGO openly promoting encounters between the indigenous and the local political authorities as key moments of their political actions. Indeed, what is at stake here is not only the recognition of a different point of view on what is the political, but it is the capability of imagining alternative forms of collaboration between indigenous and nonindigenous sectors of the population through the use of a variety of political tools: from international laws to other-than-human sentient beings.

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Notes

1 The ILO (International Labour Organization) Convention-169, adopted in 1989, "is a legally binding international instrument open to ratification, which deals specifically with the rights of indigenous and tribal peoples. Today, it has been ratified by 20 countries" (see http://www.ilo.org/indigenous/Conventions/no169/lang–en/index.htm).
2 Nowadays, the Maskoy people celebrate the recuperation of their land on 2 September, the day on which the news was made public in Puerto Casado.
3 In 1989, Stroessner's regime was finally overthrown by a coup planned by his own political party, the ANR (Alianza Nacional Republicana, also called the Colorado Party).
4 The word *doctor* is rarely used with reference to the local mediators between human and other-than-human beings. More frequently, the Maskoy refer to this category of specialists with the word *chamàn* (from Spanish) or *paye* (from Guarani). It might be useful to emphasize that the Maskoy have long since collectively adopted the Guarani Yopara (a mix of Guarani and Spanish), which is the language spoken by the majority of the Paraguayan population. For a discussion on the use of the word *shaman* to identify a specific category of religious specialists, see Humphrey (1994).
5 Fragments of these interviews have been incorporated in a documentary called *Casado's Legacy* (2009), which is currently distributed by the Royal Anthropological Institute and the Granada Centre for Visual Anthropology (UK). Translations from "Interview with Juan Gonzales, Km 39-Maria Auxiliadora, 2008" and "Interview with Rene Ramirez, Pueblito, 2008" are my own.
6 Asociación Nacional Republicana, better known as the Colorado Party. This party was in power for more than 60 years, including the period of Stroessner's dictatorship.
7 While I was doing my fieldwork in 2007 and 2008, the non-indigenous inhabitants of Puerto Casado (partially supported by the Maskoy) were reclaiming a portion of land from the Moonies.
8 According to Descola (2005:323), human beings can make sense of the world through four different "modalities of identification": animism, totemism, naturalism and analogism. In particular, while animism implies a continuity of interiorities and a discontinuity of physicality (sometimes the different beings perceive the world in heterogeneous ways), naturalism implies a discontinuity of interiorities (and especially a rupture between humans and non-humans) and a continuity of matter (physicality). Despite recognizing my way of reasoning as belonging to a "naturalist" ontological framework, I do not assume I am thinking from the point of view of a universal truth but rather from the point of view of a specific "modality of identification."
9 All translations of documents coming from the archive of the Puerto Casado parish are my own. I have also translated the quote from Alejo Obelar (1981) and the interview with Ojeda.

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Relating Divergent Worlds: Mines, Aquifers and Sacred Mountains in Peru

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Abstract: This article examines a conflict over the expansion, into Cerro Quilish (Mount Quilish), of the Yanacocha gold mine, in Northern Peru. In campaigns against the mine, Cerro Quilish was an aquifer (a store of life-sustaining water) and an Apu (usually translated from Quechua as "sacred mountain"). Neither the product of ancestral tradition nor the invention of antimining activists, Cerro Quilish came into being through knowledge encounters that brought together actors with diverse interests, although at times a single entity—water—became the central focus of debate, obscuring other realities. Drawing on science and technology studies literature, I examine the practices that bring entities into being and argue that contemporary conflicts involve an ongoing process of contestation over socionatural worlds.

Keywords: mining, water, social movements, environmental conflict, Peru

Résumé : Cet article s'intéresse à un conflit portant sur l'expansion de la mine d'or Yanacocha dans le Cerro Quilish (mont Quilish), au nord du Pérou. Dans les campagnes contre la mine, le Cerro Quilish était à la fois un aquifère (une réserve d'eau porteuse de vie) et un Apu (qu'on traduit habituellement du quechua comme « montagne sacrée »). Alors qu'il n'est ni le produit d'une tradition ancestrale ni l'invention des militants anti-mines, le Cerro Quilish a vu le jour par des rencontres de savoir réunissant des acteurs aux intérêts divers, bien qu'avec le temps une entité unique—l'eau—est devenue l'enjeu central des débats, cachant à la vue les autres réalités. Puisant dans la littérature des études des sciences et technologies, j'examine les pratiques qui amènent les entités à l'existence et soutiens que les conflits contemporains impliquent un processus continu de contestation des univers socionaturels.

Mots-clés : industrie minière, eau, mouvements sociaux, conflit environnemental, Pérou

Introduction

On the morning of 2 September 2004, protestors marched to Cerro Quilish (Mount Quilish), in the Northern highlands of Peru, to demand an end to mining exploration activity. At the peak of the 15 days of protesting, more than 10,000 people filled the town square in the city of Cajamarca, 18 kilometres from Cerro Quilish. As many would later remark, the defence of Cerro Quilish united the city and countryside, bringing together a diverse mix of people: urban professionals, irrigation canal users' associations, *Rondas Campesinas* (peasant "patrol" groups, one of the backbones of peasant political organizing in Peru), unions, students, religious organizations and other groups. The massive protests put a halt to the extraction of an estimated 3.7 million ounces of gold from Cerro Quilish. The proposed project was to be an extension of the Yanacocha mine, which was opened in 1993 and was already the largest gold mine in Latin America.[1] The mine is operated by Minera Yanacocha, a joint venture of the US-based Newmont Mining Company (with 51.35 per cent of shares), the Peruvian company Buenaventura (43.65 per cent shareholder), and the financial branch of the World Bank (with a remaining 5 per cent of the shares).

On the surface, the Quilish protests shared many characteristics with other mobilizations that emerged in the late 1990s and would intensify in the 2000s in response to mining expansion in Peru and elsewhere in Latin America (see Bebbington 2009). In this context of increased mining-related activism, the Quilish protests stand out not only because they effectively stopped the project but also due to their long-lasting impact on the popular imagination and political debates around mining activity in Peru. Like other mining-related conflicts, the controversy over the Quilish project centred on the costs and benefits involved in converting mountains into open-pit mines. But what made this case different was that Cerro Quilish emerged in the conflict as a particular kind of mountain: one that holds water and has special

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significance for the local population. In antimining campaign materials and news reports, Cerro Quilish was presented as an aquifer—the source of the main rivers and tributaries that supply water to the city and rural communities. Activists argued that mining activity would compromise the quality of that water (due to increased sedimentation and the potential leaching of heavy metals and toxic substances into rivers and streams) and reduce the quantity of water available in what is already a drought-prone region. Protestors also argued that the mine should not be built because *campesinos* (peasant farmers) living in the area considered Cerro Quilish to be an *Apu*, a Quechua term that is commonly translated as "mountain spirit" or "sacred mountain."

Framed around the protection of an aquifer and an Apu, the aims and strategies of the antimining protests did not always fit within the discourses of existing political movements focused on economic justice or the nationalization of resources (e.g., local unions or left-leaning political parties). While arguments calling for nationalizing the mines or better pay and working conditions did surface in conflicts emerging throughout the country, activism against mining at once incorporated and exceeded established political discourses and practices. The Quilish protests became part of a movement "in defence of life" that encompassed water and livelihood, landscapes and cultural identity—but it was also more than this. The mountain was not just an economic resource to be defended but the embodiment of life itself. By calling Cerro Quilish an Apu, the protestors suggested that it was a living entity and, furthermore, that other lives (both human and nonhuman) depended on its existence. Arguments against mining in Cerro Quilish were entangled with discussions about water as a life-sustaining substance—life in a general biological sense but also with relation to the particular (and by some accounts, disappearing) ways of life in the *campo* (countryside). In addition, the mining industry's new ventures in Cajamarca and other parts of the country were coming up against unexpected forms of life: not only the animal and plant species deemed valuable by local people and environmentalists but also entities like Apus and other earth-beings that animate the Andean landscape. The invasive technologies of open-pit mining were disrupting landscapes and, along with them, the conditions necessary to sustain ways of living and interacting with those landscapes.

This article examines how Cerro Quilish emerged as an Apu and an aquifer in campaigns against the mine. As Blaser (2009) and de la Cadena (2010) have noted, many contemporary environmental conflicts are conflicts over different realities or worlds. The conflicts do not simply concern competing interpretations of Nature (which assumes the existence of many cultures but a single reality) but should be understood as struggles over the enactment, stabilization and protection of multiple socionatural worlds. In the conflict I examine here, Cerro Quilish was not only a mountain or a resource, nor was it simply *perceived* in different ways by the various constituencies involved in the controversy. Rather, it emerged as radically different entities—a valuable mineral deposit, a mountain that holds water, a sacred mountain and sentient being—through the practices of the actors involved.

I argue that recognizing Cerro Quilish's multiplicity can help us understand the dynamics of conflicts over mining. First, examining the controversies that brought Cerro Quilish into being—a perspective inspired by what Blaser (2009) and others call *political ontology*—can contribute to discussions about how natures and knowledges are made. I draw here on the work of scholars of science who have shown that entities in the world are not fixed or constant but are the effect of practices and require continuous enactment and stabilization (Law 2004; Mol 2002).[2] If a particular entity "hangs together," it is not because its coherence "precedes the knowledge generated about it, but because the various coordination strategies involved succeed in reassembling multiple versions of reality" (Law and Mol 2002). In the conflict I focus on here, we cannot simply take Cerro Quilish for granted as an element of a preexisting "reality-out-there" (Law 2004) or take as given its recognition as Apu or aquifer. Cerro Quilish's complex forms *came to matter* through knowledge encounters that brought together campesinos' experiences of a sentient landscape, Catholic sermons, hydrological studies, radio campaigns, geological explorations and antimining activism.

My use of the term *matter* refers to how elements of the landscape acquire political significance and become the focus of public concern. It also refers to the ways in which things take form and come to be known and experienced, as well as ongoing efforts required to solidify them into "facts." As scholars of science have noted, political theory has tended to focus on human agency while casting nonhumans out of the political sphere (see for example, Latour 1993). Thus, we tend to think of anything nonhuman (including the things of nature, such as mountains, minerals or water) as a resource or tool that enters political theory "only to the extent that it has *instrumental* value, but not in terms of its *constitutive* power" (Braun and Whatmore 2010:xv). Recognizing the ability of things to condition political life, I do not treat Cerro Quilish simply as a contested resource;

rather, I examine the kinds of politics that it enabled (and at times precluded) as it came into being as an aquifer and an Apu.

The Quilish conflict illustrates that political responses to mining activity in recent years do not simply cohere as "antimining" social movements. Mobilizations are loosely organized around multiple demands and involve a diverse group of actors. Significantly, demonstrations have been held in support of mining companies and not just against them. Participants involved in various kinds of mobilizations do not necessarily share common interests or an ideological stance that defines their position vis-à-vis extractive activity. My analysis of the Quilish conflict seeks to show how various actors came together in ways that strengthened the movement, in spite of their different interests and positions. At other times, different interests can lead to unpredictable effects. For example, the importance of Quilish as an aquifer helped make water into a focal point of debates over mining—not only in this conflict but in subsequent ones as well. While these arguments helped draw supporters to the movement against the mine, they also led the mining company to focus its public relations campaigns on technical arguments and water management programs. What I argue is that focusing on a single aspect of Cerro Quilish (water) reduced the complexity of the mountain and the challenge that it posed for the company. The shift from multiplicity to singularity helped neutralize opposition to the project. But, as I have already noted, the stabilization of facts requires constant effort. Thus, the potential for multiplicity remains, and conflicts that might seem to have been resolved are likely to reemerge.

The research presented in this article is based on two years of ethnographic research in Peru in 2005 and 2006. Although the article focuses on the Quilish controversy, the material I draw on is part of a larger project on conflicts over mining activity that intensified as a result of neoliberal reforms in the 1990s. As conflicts proliferated in Cajamarca and various other parts of the country, the significance of Cerro Quilish and continued tensions in Cajamarca led me to focus my fieldwork on the Yanacocha mine. Although I was based in the city of Cajamarca, I also conducted fieldwork in campesino communities in Porcón, the area where people responded most strongly against the Quilish mining project. Material for this article comes from participant observation, the analysis of documents related to the Quilish project and interviews with key leaders, activists and others who participated in the Quilish protests.[3]

The article is organized as follows. In the first part, I examine how a Catholic priest emerged as a key figure in the conflict and played a crucial role of translation that merged religious and scientific knowledges with the lived experiences of campesinos in the region. By emphasizing Cerro Quilish's multiplicity, the Quilish campaigns shifted the focus of debates on mining and enabled new forms of political activism. In the second part of the article, I describe how Cerro Quilish, as Apu and aquifer, enabled the antimining campaigns to travel from the local through regional, national and transnational networks. The campaigns tapped into, connected with and modified existing campesino knowledge practices that recognized the qualities of Cerro Quilish as an animate being and a source of water.

In the final part of the paper, I examine the company's attempts to narrow the scope of the Quilish debate by focusing it on water and its technical management. Protestors challenged this definition of Cerro Quilish as a resource to be managed; yet, the issues around water quality and quantity were ones that they helped introduce into the debate. I suggest that the ongoing conflicts around mining in Cajamarca attest to the unstable nature of objects as they emerge and change form through environmental controversies.

How Quilish Became an Apu and Aquifer

The protests over Cerro Quilish brought *mining conflicts* (a now-ubiquitous term) into the popular consciousness in Peru at a time when mineral extraction was being subjected to increasing public scrutiny. In 2003, the Tambogrande mining project in the department of Piura was brought to a halt after significant opposition and a concerted local and international campaign that included a popular referendum. In addition, conflicts in the smelter town of La Oroya and other mining centres began to receive more attention in the news media. In Cajamarca, complaints against Minera Yanacocha—from lands usurped from campesinos, to fish deaths and diminished water flows in irrigation canals—had been accumulating since the mine began operating. However, it was in 2000 that the company faced its biggest setback, with a mercury spill in the town of Choropampa, which was considered to be the largest mercury spill in the world. These events put in doubt the image of modern mining that the industry and government tried to promote: an image of safety, environmental responsibility and local development.

In this climate of increasing tensions between communities and Minera Yanacocha, the Cerro Quilish project proposal came to the fore. Educational materials distributed as part of the campaign to stop the project pointed out that Cerro Quilish and the city of Cajamarca are separated by a distance of a mere 14.5 kilometres as the crow flies. People also argued that Cerro Quilish was

only eight kilometres away from the city's water treatment plant, "El Milagro," and was the source of the Porcón and Grande Rivers, which together provided 70 per cent of the water consumed in the city. At least four campesino communities were considered to be within the area of the proposed Quilish project, but many more relied on irrigation canals and water springs that originate at Cerro Quilish. The protests against the mining project emphasized these various connections between people and bodies of water emerging from Cerro Quilish, thus securing the support and participation of a large segment of the rural and urban population.

Political activism against mining at Cerro Quilish did not erupt spontaneously but was the result of tenacious education and advocacy campaigns that spanned almost a decade. Spearheading these efforts was the NGO Grufides—and, in particular, Father Marco Arana, one of its founding members. Grufides is a small development organization that was formed in 2001 by recent graduates of the Universidad Nacional de Cajamarca (Cajamarca National University) under the guidance of Father Arana, who directed the University Parish. As in much of Latin America, liberation theology has been a significant influence for NGOs and individuals whose work merges Christian teachings with issues of economic justice, human rights and (more recently) environmental concerns.[4]

Father Arana, as well as other professionals from the city of Cajamarca, wrote extensively against Minera Yanacocha's continued expansion, pointing out the risks of cyanide leaching (Deza 2002) and evidence of water contamination from mining operations already underway (Seifert 2003). But it was Father Arana who, in numerous newspaper editorials, email missives and published reports, imbued the technical arguments against mining with what he saw as a cultural and moral dimension to the struggle against the mine. He based his arguments on the defence of a way of life rooted in a place called Porcón, an area made up of campesino communities that begins just beyond the city of Cajamarca and extends into the property of the mine. His experiences as a rural priest made him attuned to the hardships of campesinos and their particular ways of expressing their identity as "porconeros" (as the area's locals are called).

Undoubtedly, the effectiveness of narratives that centred on Cerro Quilish's role as aquifer and Apu rested on its seemingly timeless qualities. Since the mineral deposit was located in Porcón, a place that had become emblematic of a pre-colonial past, these narratives presumed that locals had always considered Cerro Quilish to be the primary source of water for the city

and surrounding region and implied that it was an Apu according to "Andean tradition." On the other hand, counter-claims to disprove the validity of these arguments dismissed them as "inventions" with the intent to manipulate. Yet, both of these views ignore the dynamic and creative connections among people, technologies and landscapes that brought Cerro Quilish to the centre of a complex controversy.

This is the irony of Cerro Quilish: that its protagonism as an Apu took shape in a region where many people have turned to evangelism and where a Catholic priest became one of its most important spokespersons. It took a proposed mining project—with the threat of open pits, toxic chemicals and altered water courses— to make the latent "indigeneity" of Porcón and people's relationships to a sentient landscape politically visible and significant in the present. I use the term *indigeneity* recognizing the complex politics of class, language, ethnicity and race in Peru. First of all, the term *indigenous* is not used by people in rural Cajamarca (who tend to refer to themselves as campesinos). Also, I do not mean to suggest that people are more or less indigenous based on a set of prescribed characteristics (e.g., language or dress). As scholars have pointed out, we need to "move beyond thinking of indigeneity in the all-or-nothing terms of authenticity and invention, cultural survival and extinction" (see Garcia 2005:6). Recognizing the complex ways in which identities are made and negotiated, I want to explore how indigeneity came to be articulated through the engagement of various actors.

"Quilish is more than Quilish"

Three years after the 2004 protests, Father Arana wrote an article reflecting on the significance of the campaigns against mining at Cerro Quilish and asserting his unwavering commitment to protect it:

> If the ecological matter put forth by the avarice of gold that has laid eyes on Cerro Quilish is to be understood as merely a technical-scientific problem, then I'll always say no. And I'll do the same if these questions are reduced to problems of a cultural, social or religious-symbolic character. It is not with these half-truths that life will be protected and defended, but rather with the understanding and practice of ecology as an integral matter: scientific, cultural, social, political, historical, and ethical. [Arana 2007]

For Farther Arana, the Quilish conflict could not simply be addressed with technical solutions. If the controversy were to be considered from an *ecological* point of view, in his definition of the term, it would be necessary to take a holistic approach that incorporated the scientific,

socio-cultural, political, historical and ethical issues at stake. Considering one of these dimensions separately, without seeing the larger whole, would only produce "half-truths." Rejecting the perils of reductionist thinking, Father Arana wrote that "Quilish is more than Quilish." What was at stake in the protests, he explained, was not only the protection of this mountain; the defence of Quilish was also linked to the protection of local people's right to water, their cultural identity and the democratic right to prior consultation (Arana 2007). Evoking Cerro Quilish's multiplicity was fundamental for making the struggle known nationally and internationally.

Although he tried to play down his leadership role, no other individual has had as much of an impact on mining debates in Cajamarca or incited as much controversy as Father Arana. Father Arana was born in the city of Cajamarca, and his understanding of Cerro Quilish and its meaning for local people was shaped by a long relationship with rural communities that began with his appointment as parish priest in Lower Porcón in 1991. During his time as a rural priest, Father Arana made contact with people and established a reputation in the countryside that would last beyond his years in Porcón. His position as a trusted authority figure allowed him to hear firsthand about campesinos' initial altercations with the mining company and to intervene on their behalf. In the process, his day-to-day experiences in rural communities convinced him that Cerro Quilish was more than what could be captured by the utilitarian value of the resources it provided (land, water, pasturelands, etc.) and that might be compromised by mining activity. Campesinos told him they had always known Cerro Quilish contained gold and water and spoke of a "golden fountain" from which water sprung and flowed in two directions (Arana 2007). This, according to Father Arana, was an apt description of Cerro Quilish's location in the area of the continental divide separating the watersheds that drain into the Pacific and Atlantic oceans. They also told of how, if the first clouds of October appear above the crown of Cerro Quilish, it would be a year of heavy rains and bountiful harvests (Arana 2007). For Father Arana, the significance of Quilish was evidenced in the stories passed on from generation to generation and in the little "altars" made of rocks where campesinos would bring holy water, liquor, peppers, salt, candles, strands of lamb's wool or little pieces of leather. "They prayed first to God Almighty, Father of Jesus Christ, and then came the libations and offerings to the earth with trickles of water" (Arana 2007), he wrote, translating the practices of campesinos according to his understanding of religion. In this way, Cerro Quilish became a *sacred mountain*, a term that caught on in the media yet differed from what Cerro Quilish was to campesinos: an agentive being with whom people interacted and established relationships necessary to sustain life.

Like many priests working in the Peruvian countryside since the colonial period, Father Arana accepted the coexistence of Catholic saints and sentient entities, of special offerings left in rocky caves and processions in honour of Christ (like the Cristo Ramos celebrations held annually in Porcón). In his writings and reflections on Cerro Quilish, Father Arana seemed to tap into a consciousness of a world in which such mixtures were still possible, even if they were not always evident in peoples' everyday lives. In Porcón, Apus did not have the prominence that they do in the southern department of Cuzco, for example, where some mountains are the focus of yearly pilgrimages or recognized as important protectors.

In the Cajamarca region, by contrast, the influence of Spanish colonialism prevailed over many pre-colonial practices. The indigenous Quechua language is spoken only in a few communities, and a significant number of rural people attend the evangelical churches that now predominate in the region. As in other parts of Peru and Latin America, evangelical Protestantism has grown rapidly since the 1960s. According to the 2007 departmental census, 14 per cent of the population professes an evangelical religion (compared to 80 per cent who identify as Catholic). While this is a relatively small percentage, the rapid inroads made by evangelical religions in Porcón is evidenced by the proliferation of non-Catholic Christian churches. Also, since many Catholics are nonpracticing and regular church services are not available in each community, the majority of active churchgoers are evangelicals. Evangelism has had a significant influence on most aspects of everyday life, from politics and community leadership to personal habits, including the avoidance of alcohol. Evangelism also discouraged any practice that could be seen as violating its monotheistic teachings (e.g., making offerings to the dead or being fearful of places where earth-beings are said to hide).

It was in this setting that Father Arana argued Cerro Quilish was not only a mountain and not just a source of water. It was an Apu and a source of life. This message became part of his writings, interviews and sermons delivered during events organized in the defence of Cerro Quilish. The following are fragments of a homily given on Cerro Quilish during a march in August 2001:

Quilish, for campesinos here, is still the APU, the mountain that is protector of all earthly and heavenly life. Pantheist paganism, might say those who do not understand that the campesino's relationship with nature, is the delicate thread that sustains all life.... Quilish is about to be seized from us, the destiny that the miners want to give Quilish is to transform it into some millions of dollars that will fill their pockets, without regard for the many people for whom Quilish is a source of water and, therefore, a source of life. Today we are here to tell ourselves, in the presence of God, that we renounce the avarice of gold; and that we will not allow others to transform our source of water into a handful of gold to satisfy their greed; that we will not permit that their idolatrous way of life, in which everything is sacrificed to a gold idol, continues without regard for how many lives depend on this, our source of water. (Arana 2002)

According to Father Arana, for "the miners" (meaning those involved with the mining company and more generally, its supporters), Cerro Quilish was a source of minerals and profits. That it could also be an Apu and an aquifer allowed for the moral condemnation of the materialism and greed that went along with the "idolatry of gold."

In addition Quilish's identity as an Apu challenged any arguments that justified mining activity based on economic calculations about the utilitarian value of resources. The fact that Quilish was an Apu made it incommensurable, in the sense that it was irreducible to gold or other forms of material benefits. The question ceased to be, How can Cerro Quilish be mined responsibly? (as the problem is often framed by corporations promoting an image of "Corporate Social Responsibility"); nor could the dispute be described simply as a disagreement over how communities would "benefit" from the project. The multiplicity of Cerro Quilish disrupted the equivalences at the root of proposals to "manage" the impacts of mining activity with technological solutions and compensation agreements with affected communities.

Father Arana's interpretations of Catholicism and of campesinos' relationships with Cerro Quilish were certainly controversial, and many accused him of being a "false prophet" and of introducing the idea of the Apu where it had never previously existed. Yet, the binary opposition between "authentic" indigenous tradition, on the one hand, and invented (and thus "fraudulent") interpretation, on the other, does not capture the way Cerro Quilish came to matter as both an Apu and a source of water. Father Arana's arguments were controversial precisely because they disrupted a "modern" understanding of politics, which stems from the separation of society and nature (Descola and Palsson 1996) and

relegates politics to the representation of humans (society) and science to the representation of nonhumans (nature). This distinction rests on what Latour (1993:13) calls the "crossed-out God, relegated to the sidelines." Through the process of purification (the ever-increasing separation of society and nature), God was separated from the realm of the profane and relegated to the sphere of "spirituality," where it could not intervene in worldly affairs. God was made transcendent and also irrelevant and, thus, did not pose a threat to the rationality of science.

In protests against mining expansion and subsequent media coverage of these events, activists and journalists sometimes defined Cerro Quilish according to a Catholic conception of the "sacred" or a romantic vision of ancestral knowledge and relegated it to a "spiritual" dimension detached from its material properties. It could be said that Father Arana did this also and simply incorporated the idea of the Apu into his own (modern) understandings about Catholicism and environmentalism. In Father Arana's translation, an Apu is a "sacred mountain" according to "local beliefs"; this maintains the dualisms that keep earth-beings (and the worlds to which they belong) in the sphere of spirituality. Treated as *belief,* Cerro Quilish does not pose "an epistemic alternative to scientific paradigms (ecological or economic)" (de la Cadena 2010:349), making it easier to dismiss from politics.

However, it could also be said that Father Arana tried to reject reductionist analyses that interpreted the defence of Cerro Quilish in terms of two incompatible spheres: that of the mythical, spiritual, romantic and ideological or that of the technical and scientific (Arana 2007). By refusing this ontological separation, Father Arana connected the plane of the secular with that of sentient entities like Apus and infused his critique of capitalist mining with both religious teachings on morality and hydrological studies of aquifers. Thus, it could be said that Father Arana brought the "crossed-out God" back into the world of the secular (and, hence, into the realm of politics), making it impossible to settle the controversy solely through economic, technical and scientific arguments.

The campaigns in defence of Cerro Quilish evoked an animate landscape that was part of campesinos' experiences of the Cajamarca countryside. People's relationship to the beings that populated that landscape was not always expressed in everyday practice; nevertheless, it inspired the campaigns against mining at Cerro Quilish and contributed to its success. I went to Porcón with the hope of understanding people's relationships with the neighbouring mine, the resources that enabled their

subsistence and the mountain that had become so emblematic in debates over mining. I describe these experiences in the next section of the article to show that knowledge is not anchored in timeless, ancestral traditions but is constantly made through encounters and collaborative practices.

Knowledge Encounters in Porcón

In Porcón—a group of communities located along the main highway leading up to the Yanacocha gold mine—people's relationships with the mining company oscillated between dependence and rejection, resistance and cooperation. On the one hand, being part of Minera Yanacocha's "area of influence" made these communities eligible to receive various forms of support, from donations of classroom supplies to the primary school, to potable water projects, improved irrigations canals and electrification projects. On the other hand, the company's promise of employment and development went along with the recognition that mining could radically alter the landscape and ways of life, including the availability of water resources. The water used in many of these communities (for domestic and agricultural activities) originates in Cerro Quilish, and it is for this reason that many people from the area participated in the 2004 protests against the mine's expansion.

Porcón's distinctive characteristics—particularly its festivals, communal agricultural practices and artistic traditions, such as weaving and stonework—captured the imagination of urban intellectuals, NGOs, artists and activists, especially those critical of the mine. My initial contacts in Porcón were made through one such individual, Ernesto, whose fascination with what he termed the "Andean world view" (la cosmovisión andina) inspired his involvement in the Quilish campaigns. In one of our conversations, Ernesto explained to me that in spite of high rates of conversion to Adventism, this cosmovisión was something that people in Porcón carried with them and expressed in subtle ways, even if they had to outwardly behave according to evangelical teachings (which included strict codes for dress, diet and behaviour). Just as evangelical Christians could no longer participate in the Catholic festival of Cristo Ramos but still watched from a distance, he told me, the fact that people could not talk about the sun and water being "sacred" did not mean that people did not treat them as such. His enthusiasm for my plan to carry out fieldwork to learn more about life in the campo led me to Cochapampa, a small caserío or hamlet consisting of some 80 families that is part of Upper Porcón.

Scientists and Mountain Spirits

In Cochapampa, children and adults told me many stories about good and evil mountains, creatures that emerge from water springs at night, places one should not venture for fear of losing his or her spirit (ánimo), the dangers of rainbows, and the plants that cure susto (literally "fright," which afflicts young children in particular, when travelling in dangerous areas). Sometimes, I would ask about Cerro Quilish, thinking that people's stories could help me understand why so many had joined forces in its defence. Most of the stories I heard were not about a benevolent protector that might correspond to an environmentalist narrative or to the image of a "sacred mountain" that tended to surface in campaigns against mining. Instead, they were about harmful spirits lurking in caves and water springs, especially in mountains that, like Cerro Quilish, concealed precious minerals and other treasures to entice humans into the underworld where evil spirits reside.

These stories coincide with those in a monograph by anthropologist Ana de la Torre (1986) titled Los dos lados del mundo y del tiempo, which is based on research conducted in communities around Cerro Quilish between 1979 and 1980. Her informants described a Shapi, a being that emerges from the underworld through tunnels that end at water springs. From these water springs, the Shapi waits for its victims to steal their ánimo, tempting them with the promise of sweets, gold coins, livestock and other offerings. "Bad" mountains are those associated with the source of rivers and water springs, since water is considered the property of the Shapi. The danger of the Shapi lies in its evil intentions as well as its ability to fascinate and entice humans with promised gifts; this contradictory nature, the tension between danger and desirability, destruction and fecundity, is what produces the natural order.

When I asked about Cerro Quilish and the community's sources of water, people explained to me that the water used in Cochapampa came from the Kunguna, a small mountain with a distinctive rock façade, and the water from the Kunguna came from Cerro Quilish. Mount Kunguna was considered one of those places that one ought to approach with care, since the presence of water springs and the entities that could emerge through them could bring danger to those who ventured near them. People described the beings that emerged from the water springs as demons or evil bird-like creatures. One day I walked to the Kunguna with a group of school kids, up to the top where a wooden cross was decorated with flowers and offerings from the few practicing Catholics who have not converted to evangelism.

As we climbed on the rocks and explored Kunguna's caves, a teenage boy in the group told us, "At midnight, the mountains talk to each other."

During my time in Porcón, people's stories and accounts made evident their detailed knowledge about the location of water springs, the flow of rivers, the routes of irrigation canals and other details pertinent to their agricultural livelihoods. But my conversations with people also reminded me that the intimate, lived experience of everyday life that is often conceived as "local" knowledge, is always born from encounters (Lowe 2006; Raffles 2002; Tsing 2005). Anthropologist Julie Cruikshank explores three different types of knowledge encounters in her account of the socionatural history of glaciers in Alaska: encounters take the form of actual meetings between strangers; they are interactions between humans and a rapidly changing landscape; and they concern ongoing exchanges between stories and their subsequent readers and listeners (2005:16). Similarly, some of the knowledge encounters that shaped the socionatural history of Porcón include interactions among *porconeros* and state agents, Catholic priests, evangelical missionaries, NGOs and mining engineers. But knowledge encounters also involve elements of the surrounding landscape (both before and after mining's transformative effects) and the animate entities that make that landscape. Furthermore, encounters take place as stories about Cerro Quilish travel outside Porcón and when these stories become translated, reinterpreted and perhaps reincorporated into different knowledge practices. I learned about these multiple encounters during a conversation with Margarita, a 29-year-old mother whose husband worked at the mine. As we chatted in her house, we were joined by her 12-year-old son, Jaime. Jaime liked telling me stories about devils inhabiting the Yanacocha mine, which he had heard from his father and uncle who worked there. I asked Margarita what she knew about Cerro Quilish.

Margarita: The water that we drink comes from Quilish, they say. They say that, in Quilish, there's a lagoon inside, which rises every which way.

F: Who says this, the elders?

M: The scientists. They study it, that's why they say this. This is what they tell us.

Jaime: It's also on the radio.

M, J: They talk to each other. The devils talk to the gringos.

J: [Mount] Kunguna also talks to [Mount] Aliso.

M: And Aliso talks to Quilish.

J: They recorded this, when they talked and they play it on the radio. They speak in Quechua, in English.

F: What else do the scientists say?

M: Quilish has a lagoon inside, they say. It springs every which way.

F: That's where the water comes from?

J: Yes, it springs from the foot of the mountain. There they made a reservoir and then it comes through the pipes. That's where they take the potable water and it reaches our house.

F: So this water from the tap comes from Cerro Quilish?

M: That's what they say. A lagoon, they say.

F: Before you heard it on the radio, did people tell stories about Cerro Quilish?

M: No, we hear them on the radio. "Quilish is life." If it's mined the water will be contaminated and we'll die, like chickens [laughs].

J: There used to be frogs, but these are dead now.

M: There are no frogs now; before there were, green ones.

J: Now the mine has contaminated them.

M: On the path, you'd find them … it's been seven, eight years that there aren't any. I used to be afraid to walk there; we'd find the little frogs, around the rocks, green ones.

Margarita went on to recount some stories her grandfather had told her, about mountains that contained gold. I asked if her grandfather had also told her stories about Cerro Quilish, and she replied:

> They used to say Cerro Quilish was evil. It would eat you. Yanacocha couldn't get there, the water springs would suck you in. Quilish was such an evil one! Little boys would die, dried up. But not anymore. It's become tame. I don't know how. Now we can get there, we're not afraid at all. Before they used to believe, our grandparents… And because of their beliefs, the children would die. But now we know the word of God and we don't believe anymore [in evil spirits]. We're not even afraid.

Margarita's account combines her grandfather's stories and NGO campaigns against mining with her own observations of water springs at the foot of Cerro Quilish and the experience of walking on paths full of frogs to the nearby community of Chilimpampa (named after the *chilin*, one of the types of frogs commonly found in the area). Many campesinos commented on the absence of frogs as a consequence of mining activity, and this concern was picked up by environmentalist campaigns and the mine's own counter-campaigns. The "scientists" she mentions could refer to members of local NGOs or to international consultants who went to Cajamarca to lend support to the Quilish campaigns. For example, a public event held in March 2004 to

present observations to Yanacocha's Environmental Evaluation Study included the participation of members of the NGO Grufides, a lawyer from Lima and an environmental scientist from Belgium. Radio spots, printed materials and educational workshops run by NGOs usually made reference to studies carried out by local and international organizations, even though the information was translated into nontechnical language. Thus, the "lagoon" refers to scientific descriptions of Quilish as an aquifer that holds water, but this idea merged with stories told in Andean communities about large subterranean lakes that exist beneath mountains. While rivers, lakes and water springs are obvious sources of water, mountains themselves can also be considered sources of water, even if they show no evidence of being so (Sherbondy 1998:229).

Jaime and Margarita attributed their knowledge about Cerro Quilish to what they heard on the radio, but in their accounts, the radio spots (produced by NGOs to raise awareness about mining) became entangled with their own conceptions about mountain beings. Mountains have human qualities and "talk to each other." They referred as well to versions of stories about gold-bearing mountains and greedy individuals who meet a tragic fate when they are confronted by evil spirits. In recent versions of this oft-told story, the "gringo" perpetrators are North Americans and Peruvians from the capital city working for Minera Yanacocha. The NGO campaigns drew from these stories to reach a rural audience, even though, as Margarita claims, people who converted to evangelism "don't believe" in them anymore. At the same time, she continued to attribute agency to Cerro Quilish when she explained that the reason Cerro Quilish no longer harms people is that "it's become tame."

The stories told by Margarita and Jaime mesh "scientific" narratives about the importance of Quilish with a world of spirits and agentive mountains. Both were necessary in order for stories about Cerro Quilish to travel outside the boundaries of Porcón and the Cajamarca region. While hydrological arguments appeal to universalizing ideals of science and environmentalism, testimonials of Cerro Quilish as an animate being appeal to the particularities of local knowledge. However, as I was constantly reminded in the field, what are usually thought of as "scientific" and "traditional" knowledge are both the result of global/local encounters that are unequal, unstable and have unpredictable effects.

Neither science nor local stories are fixed and unchanging. As they become part of new transnational contexts of global mining, environmentalism and cultural rights, they are transformed and, in turn, help transform those contexts with which they merge. Sometimes these different types of knowledge connect and sometimes they slide apart (Cruikshank 2005) but, as the Quilish case makes clear, these knowledges do not have to be based on shared interests or a common understanding of the world. Divergent knowledges can also communicate and come together in unexpected ways. One of the ways in which noncongruent knowledges came together in the Quilish controversy was in discussions around water. As I will show, arguments about the importance of Cerro Quilish as a water source were important for the campaigns against the mine, but they also helped further the interests of those in favour of the project.

Stabilizing Multiple Worlds

If the image of Cerro Quilish as an Apu held romantic appeal and added a new dimension to the antimining struggle, it was the language of aquifers that gave it scientific validity. One of the principal arguments made by activists who opposed the mining project was that the local population, both urban and rural, depended on this mountain for its water needs. Looking through papers he had collected over many years campaigning against Minera Yanacocha, Reinhart Seifert, then-president of the Cajamarca Defence Front, pulled out an old article from a local paper. He said this was where the first reference to Cerro Quilish as a mountain that "holds water" appeared. The 1996 article from a local weekly publication read: "Mayor Guerrero indicated that these mountains are the water 'sponges' or 'cushions' of the city of Cajamarca and showed concern over the possible activities of the mining company" (*Clarín* 1996). Having the city's mayor refer to Cerro Quilish as a water source was a major step in a campaign that gradually gained supporters.

Mr. Seifert had arrived from Germany in the 1980s to work for a development agency and made Cajamarca his permanent home. His radical antimining stance and fiery temperament made him a controversial figure among both critics and supporters of the mine. While recounting his involvement in the campaigns against Minera Yanacocha, he distinguished between the different strategies used to defend Mount Quilish: it was Father Arana, he told me, who embraced and helped disseminate the imagery of the sacred Apu; by contrast, he, as a scientist, was more interested in the technical arguments against mining. Their joint efforts—even if part of a sometimes conflictive relationship—are indicative of a wider network of collaboration that contributed to the effectiveness of the Quilish campaign. Even if

their interests did not always converge, an alliance was nevertheless possible.

Cerro Quilish's multiple forms—mineral deposit, Apu, sacred mountain, aquifer, "mountain that holds water" and so on—overlapped or diverged at various times throughout the conflict, and this flexibility was essential for making the struggle known beyond Cajamarca. National and international news stories that circulated about the Quilish protests consistently described the conflict as one that revolved around the defence of Cajamarca's primary source of water. For example, *La República*, a national daily with a liberal slant, referred to Cerro Quilish as an aquifer that supplies water to the city (*La República* 2004). Some national media reports mentioned the need to conduct hydrological and hydrogeological studies of the watershed before any exploration work could continue, a point that was written into an agreement between the mining company and local leaders that put an end to the protests (*El Comercio* 2004).

In missives from organizations such as Oxfam America and the international press, descriptions of Quilish as a source of water were often accompanied by references to its local significance as a sacred mountain. An article from AFP newswire stated that "campesinos justified their attitude [against exploration activity] alleging that the mountain is sacred and that the gods of Andean mythology (Apus) gave it to them 'in concession' to take care of them" (Cisneros 2004). In another article, titled "Protests Continue against Gold Prospecting on Sacred Peruvian Mountain," a journalist from the Associated Press wrote that Cerro Quilish was "historically considered an 'apu,' or deity, by local Indian communities" (Caso 2004). In the national press, the term *Apu* did not appear with great frequency, but the alleged sacredness of Cerro Quilish was nevertheless present in media coverage (e.g., Sandoval 2004) and influenced public opinion on the issue.

Before the Quilish protests, Apus and other entities were usually relegated to studies of "folklore" (or more recently, to tourism and to "New Age" and environmentalist discussions) but were not taken seriously in political debates. In addition, the idea that Cerro Quilish was an important aquifer set the conflict apart from earlier disputes around mining activity in the country. Certainly, water had previously been a concern in mining regions, particularly when rivers and streams were contaminated by mine runoff. However, the idea that a mountain needed to be protected *because* it was a source of water marked a shift in thinking about mining, water and the environment. Water helped make the Quilish

issue compelling and drew the support of people who did not necessarily identify with an "environmentalist" or "antimining" stance.

In part, the shift to discussions about water related to new technologies of open-pit mining that involve moving massive quantities of earth and using chemicals that could leach into bodies of water, as well as using large quantities of water in the mining process. In modern mines like Yanacocha, the unknown and unpredictable risks associated with mining operations are the most worrisome for neighbouring communities: the lowering of the water table, the reduction of water flows in rivers and irrigation canals and contaminants that are often undetectable to the naked eye. Once Cerro Quilish was identified as a key source of water for the region, these unseen and unforeseen hazards became more tangible. Activists used these arguments to put a stop to the project and made water a key element of future conflicts.

Quilish as Water

The Quilish antimining protests, unprecedented in the country's history, prompted Minera Yanacocha's withdrawal from Cerro Quilish. Bowing to public pressure, Minera Yanacocha asked the Ministry of Energy and Mines to revoke its exploration permit. Following the protests, the mining company emitted a communiqué in which it recognized its mistakes:

> The events that took place in September have made us understand the true dimension of the preoccupations that our insistence to initiate exploration studies and activity in Quilish generated in the population, both in the countryside and the city.
>
> We have listened to the preoccupations expressed by people of the countryside and the city, with regard to the quality and quantity of water. In this respect, we will work jointly with communities with the objective of obtaining an integral and transparent solution that will allow us to protect this precious resource. (Yanacocha 2004)

Activism against the Quilish project, including scientific arguments about the importance of Quilish as an aquifer, helped make water the common language in which mining issues were discussed. During the Quilish controversy and in subsequent mining conflicts, protestors maintained that extractive activity threatened the water supply of local communities. Another recurrent argument was that mining "at the headwaters of the river basin" (*en cabecera de cuenca*) would inevitably affect the water of communities downstream and should

not be permitted. Arguments about the reduction of water in irrigation canals, toxic pollution and the disappearance of lakes and water springs made water a central actor in protest actions against mining expansion.

The focus on water in mining debates emerged alongside a national concern about water issues that were not restricted to the impacts of extractive activity but ranged from potable water and sanitation in urban areas to global water scarcity and privatization. However, "water and mining" became a prominent theme in the many water-related conferences, forums and educational events that were organized in Cajamarca and throughout the country in the years following the Quilish protests. These conferences often saw the participation of international experts and key figures, such as Father Arana and spokespeople from the mining sector. In May 2007 in Cajamarca, for example, the "First Water Forum" (organized by a coalition of actors that included Minera Yanacocha) brought together representatives from corporations, government and civil society to discuss a water management strategy for the province. In several conferences on mining organized by NGOs, water also took precedence in the presentations and discussions.

While arguments about Cerro Quilish's role as a source of water contributed to an antimining discourse, Minera Yanacocha also began to give water more attention in its public relations campaigns. These campaigns transformed Cerro Quilish into an object for technical and scientific management and sought to counter criticisms against the mining company. Much of Minera Yanacocha's public relations work focused on water issues that activists themselves had helped introduce into the debate; for example, the company disputed the claim that mining processes compromise water availability for local communities. Instead, Minera Yanacocha's educational materials and public presentations suggested that the problem was not one of water *scarcity* but of water *management*. In its public relations materials, the company argued that Cajamarca had abundant water, but it was "lost" because it was not captured and used to its full advantage before it flowed into the sea.[5] Thus, the solution lay in capturing more water by constructing water reservoirs, dykes and water tanks. Other company-sponsored projects focused on improving irrigation systems by lining canals to reduce water loss and introducing spray irrigation technologies. The company also invested in various participatory water monitoring programs that involved state institutions and local communities. These strategies reflected the company's efforts to promote an image of environmental responsibility, institutional transparency and public participation, all

legitimized by scientific arguments. This emphasis on the technical dimensions of water issues reduced the complexity of Cerro Quilish and facilitated the company's efforts to refocus the debate to emphasize the management of resources.

Although not everyone accepted Minera Yanacocha's claims of environmental responsibility, its focus on water management provided the company's supporters with arguments to delegitimize the opposition and posed an additional challenge for activists. After the events of 2004, the social movement "in defence of life" that Cerro Quilish had inspired became promptly fragmented. Those who continued to protest against the mine's effects on water quality and quantity or who mobilized to oppose other expansion projects, grew frustrated by the lack of popular support at marches and other organized events. Many of them felt that Minera Yanacocha had co-opted local leaders and that the promise of jobs and development projects had effectively neutralized any opposition in communities surrounding the mine—including those in Porcón.

Conclusion

In her classic study, June Nash (1993) wrote about spirits and other beings that inhabit the mountains and have long been part of mining activity, engaged in complex negotiations with mine workers facing the dangers of the underground mines. Similarly, the Apu is part of a sentient, animate landscape disrupted by recent large-scale mining projects. However, Cerro Quilish did not already exist as an Apu according to a traditional "Andean cosmology"; rather, it came into public view through multiple interactions and knowledge practices that revolved around the antimining protests.

Father Arana's evocations of Cerro Quilish's "sacredness" resonated with urban residents, including those who shared his Catholic background. The protection of the environment from mining contamination, and the defence of Cerro Quilish in particular, came to be seen by some within this group as an intrinsic part of their Catholic duty. The idea of the "sacred" helped to translate the relationship between campesinos and Cerro Quilish into the language of Catholicism. At the same time, Cerro Quilish's identity as an Apu travelled beyond a religious audience, enrolling journalists, environmentalists and other supporters including campesinos themselves, who embraced Cerro Quilish's multiple forms in ways that helped to strengthen their claims.

The struggles over Cerro Quilish involved a large number of participants whose interests both overlapped and diverged in productive ways, contributing to the strength of the campaign against the mine. As I have

tried to show in this article, Cerro Quilish's multiple forms made it possible for the campaign to draw a diverse base of supporters and travel through international activist and media networks. I am not suggesting that Quilish's multiplicity was planned or intentionally fabricated; rather, the various actors and events I have described helped shape and bring to the forefront the particular forms that Cerro Quilish was to take at various stages in the controversy.

When the movement was at its strongest, the multiplicity of Cerro Quilish posed a challenge for Minera Yanacocha. Yet, as I have sought to show, "making matter" requires continuous effort, and the precariousness of those multiple worlds became evident at times when the movements against mining expansion became fragmented and activism weakened. Arguments about water quality and quantity that antimining activists introduced into the debates, along with the mining industry's technocratic solutions centred on environmental management, had the effect of destabilizing Cerro Quilish's multiplicity and enabling a singular reality (water) to take hold. This singularity seemed to obscure (at least temporarily) other realities from view. Yet the potential for ongoing conflict remains, for those other realities do not cease to exist. An attention to multiple worlds reveals the collaborative processes of enactment that brings entities into being. Contemporary conflicts over mining can thus be understood as an ongoing process of contestation over socionatural worlds. This is always an unfinished process and will continue as Cerro Quilish's multiple forms are enacted and reenacted in an evolving context of mining expansion in Peru.

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Acknowledgments

Notes

1 At the time, the property of the mine covered more than 535 square miles (1,386 sq km) (Newmont Mining Corporation 2005). The mine is located within four major watersheds spanning the continental divide.

2 For an overview of anthropological engagements with the materiality of resources, see Richardson and Weszkalnys (2014).

3 All interview excerpts and quotes from print sources are my own translation from Spanish, the language that is primarily spoken in Cajamarca.

4 Liberation theology had a particularly strong influence in Cajamarca, in part as the legacy of José Dammert, Bishop of Cajamarca between 1962 and 1992. His work with the *Rondas Campesinas* and Cajamarca's rural poor inspired many people involved in social justice activism. Bishop Dammert was a mentor to Father Arana and created the Cristo Ramos Parish in Porcón in 1990, where Father Arana served as parish priest.

5 A 2007 advertisement by Minera Yanacocha reads: "We are collecting some of the water that Cajamarca looses at sea. There is [enough] water. Let's all think about how we can collect more of it." (*Ya estamos juntando algo del agua que Cajamarca pierde en el mar. Agua hay. Pensemos todos en cómo juntamos más*).

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Traditional Medicine and Biomedicine among Mapuche Communities in Temuco, Chile: New Forms of Medical Pluralism in Health Care Delivery

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Abstract: Within Mapuche indigenous communities in Temuco, Araucanía Region, Chile, traditional healers (*machi*) and their healing practices are part of everyday life for many people. This article shows that there is a clear tendency for Mapuche people to combine different therapeutic approaches to solve their health problems. We argue, however, that this behaviour is not explained by a crisis of identity among the urban Mapuche community in which the person has lost his or her own indigenous cultural scheme but has not fully assimilated the Westernized model. This article shows that this form of therapeutic pluralism by urban Mapuche is motivated by the adoption of a holistic perception of health and of plural medicinal practices among these indigenous communities.

Keywords: traditional medicine, urban areas, Mapuche, Chile

Résumé : Dans les communautés autochtones Mapuche de Temuco, région d'Araucania, au Chili, les guérisseurs traditionnels (*machi*) et leurs pratiques de guérison font partie du paysage quotidien de nombreuses personnes. Cet article montre qu'il existe une tendance claire chez les Mapuches à combiner différentes approches thérapeutiques pour résoudre leurs problèmes de santé. Nous suggérons toutefois que ce comportement ne s'explique pas par une crise d'identité parmi la communauté mapuche urbaine qui amènerait une personne à perdre les repères de ses propres schèmes culturels autochtones alors qu'elle n'a pas entièrement assimilé ceux du monde occidentalisé. Cet article montre que cette forme de pluralisme thérapeutique chez les Mapuches urbains découle de l'adoption d'une perception holistique de la santé et de pratiques médicinales diversifiées chez ces communautés autochtones.

Mots-clés : médecine traditionnelle, régions urbaines, Mapuche, Chili

Introduction

Traditional medicinal practices are recognized as part of the primary health care delivery "system" in much of the developing world (Cantor-Graae et al. 2003; Cheung-Blunden and Juang 2008; Colvard et al. 2006), supposing such an umbrella system exists, since we will not claim here such necessary preexistent unity or coherence. According to the World Health Organization (WHO 2002), an estimated 3.5 billion people in the developing world depend on traditional medicine for their primary health care. Nonbiomedical healing systems vary across cultures, but the ontologies they bring into being have in common to maintain mind and body in relation to each other (Pieroni and Vandebroek 2007; Sandhu and Heinrich 2005). In the end, only biomedical approaches maintain this division, a paradigm separating nature and culture (Descola 2010), which appeared between the 15th and 18th century. Biomedicine distinguishes itself in this matter as it still maintains Cartesian dualism or a separation between body and mind, which for the most part are dealt with through distinct sets of practices. While this sets biomedicine apart from other ways of healing, it does not make it the sole solution to health issues. In line with its still current hegemonic positioning, tenets of biomedical practices tend to view any other ways of healing as remnants of the past or otherwise as alternative or complementary to biomedicine. Further, revivalism of indigenous medicine can be perceived as an identity crisis rather than as a practice that is simply useful in healing. To palliate such ways of marginalizing the legitimacy of indigenous medicine, anthropologists have long been attempting in different ways to treat it less as exotica and more as ways of healing within others, such as through the notion of medical pluralism.

What medical anthropologists refer to as medical pluralism is not a new concept (Kaptchuk and Eisenberg 2001). It appeared in the late 1970s as a useful way to understand the varying number of healing practices,

not as a process of elimination of variety or funnelling into a dominant practice but as being the *norm* rather than the exception. Charles Leslie's now classic *Asian Medical Systems: A Comparative Study* (1976) and his parallel in francophone anthropology as taken up by Jean Benoist, among others, in his anthology *Soigner au pluriel* (1996) may have initiated the idea. The wide literature that has emerged since requires some specifications as to how we will think about medical pluralism as complex open systems of medical practices that maintain themselves in relation to each other. Murray Last (1981) brought to our attention the importance of "knowing about not knowing" with regard to medical knowledge, by which he meant how little either patient or doctor needs (or wants) to know, hence bringing some doubts to the notion of all people having a "medical system." Last proposes to think in terms of "medical culture" rather than "medical system," essentially to grasp a particular hierarchy of both systematized and less systematized forms of knowledge in relation to medicine. Littlewood's (2007) edited volume uses a revised version of Last's seminal 1981 article, pushing further the idea of all medical cultures being more or less unsystematized due to generalized "not knowing" or "wanting to know." This acknowledgement warns of the use of "medical system" as convenient shorthand that implies a nonexistent unity and coherence. This is the route we will follow here, referring to medical culture as always being made, unfinished and, in this way, indeterminate and in constant negotiation to find the best ways to keep people healthy.

Throughout the history of medicine, there has been more than one medical paradigm competing for hegemony. In the larger historical context, the dominance of the Western global health model is relatively recent. However, the hegemony of the biomedical system has not eliminated other health practices, which although relegated to the *alternative* category in some instances, have not only remained viable but have increased in popularity (Kaptchuk and Eisenberg 2001).

In urban settings, immigrant indigenous communities often use traditional health care practices exclusively or in addition to conventional biomedical treatment (Corlett et al. 2003; Doel and Segrott 2003). Interest in receiving such traditional care may be in response to concepts of disease that are not recognized by biomedically trained physicians. Traditional medicinal treatments often provide culturally familiar techniques that treat both the physical and spiritual condition of an individual (Balick et al. 2000; Waldstein 2006). As people leave their native surroundings and migrate to urban centres, they bring their medical traditions and knowledge with them. In Temuco, Araucanía Region, immigrant peoples continue to import, buy, sell and utilize herbs and other traditional remedies to serve their own ethnic communities (Bacigalupo 1998; Balick and Lee 2001).

The present article aims to contribute to the understanding of the phenomenon of medical pluralism among indigenous people in urban areas by illustrating the process of cross-cultural adaptation among traditional healers (*machi*), biomedical doctors, and Mapuche people who consult both of them for their health issues in Temuco. Attention will be paid to the meaning and relevance of therapeutical practices and itineraries and their associated knowledge and beliefs as revealed by 40 Mapuche residents of Temuco.

Practices in Medical Pluralism

The contemporary world contains impressive variations of images of health, modes of health maintenance, efforts of prevention, and illness experiences (Green et al. 2006; Han 2000; Kirmayer 2004; Nguyen 2003). By virtue of its disciplinary orientation—namely, to study cultures other than Western—anthropological classification of medical systems and knowledge systems in general has often been dualistic. The binaries of "biomedical" and "ethno-medical" systems (Fabrega 1972); "illness" as defined by the people, therefore cultural, and "disease" as defined by biomedicine or allopathy, therefore a physiologic reality (Kleinman 1980); "episteme" and "techne" (Marglin 1990), and Western "epistemic knowing" and Eastern "gnostic knowing" (Bates 1995), are some notable examples of dualistic classification.

In this dualistic approach and notion of culture as forming closed "systems," health typologies are all described primarily as "Western" and "non-Western" forms of knowledge; thus, they are defined only in relation to the West (McMahan 2002; Roof 1998; Van der Veer 2001). Such reductionism seeks to contain the diverse genres of the so-called "non-Western" knowledges or, for that matter, even the diverse genres of Western knowledge, in one undifferentiated category (MacPhee 2003). In the resultant typology, instrumental action, experimentation, logical thinking, individualism and causality are all attributes of one form of knowledge, namely "Western science," as against the attributes of expressive action, meaningful performance, holistic thinking, sociocentricism and participation, on the side of the unidentified "other" (Greenhalgh and Wessely 2004; Hernández 2003; Kaptchuk and Eisenberg 2001).

Nowadays, this dualistic perspective of health and health "systems" as coherent unified entities is beginning to fade and different ways of interpreting the relations between "Western" and "traditional" health practices have started to become more popular among health practitioners and scholars (Greenhalgh and Wessely 2004; Hernández 2003; Kaptchuk and Eisenberg 2001)—in particular, the emergence of the pluralistic understanding of ways of healing since the 1980s in the field of medical anthropology.

Approaches that see the "other" only in terms of, or opposed to the West, ignore the internal logic and nuances of the open-endedness of "cultures" and of medical "systems." There is, therefore, an urgent need to examine the multiplicity and dynamics within the so-called "other" (Hahn and Inhorn 2010; McFarland et al. 2002), within biomedicine as well as at the interstices of varying healing practices.

In an apparent attempt at transcending the distance that had marked anthropological engagements with non-Western ways of knowing, Good's (1994) phenomenological approach tries to avoid dualistic categories by accommodating multiple voices or "heteroglossia" in the study of the disease experience. This approach makes an effort to be culturally relativist or, more precisely, to explore relations between ways of knowing and not knowing as opposed to comparing "medical or cultural systems," and to acknowledge the plurality of medical knowledge. Yet, like other anthropological excursions into non-Western societies, it too, is ultimately limited by being chiefly an instrument for defining the West's own identity or deciding the attitude the West should take toward the "other" (Torry 2005). The point of reference should not remain the West, as it is only part of the plurality that is to be understood or at least partly understood, as it remains knowledge in the making in all cases.

The permutation and combination of different levels of textual and professionalized knowledge produce configurations of medical knowledge which are far more complex than what is conveyed by the dichotomous classification, "biomedicine" and "traditional" medicine (Chen et al. 1994; Good and DelVecchio 1995). Medical anthropologists have been attending to this issue for the past decades, proposing various solutions to grasp knowledge as they travel through space and time, such as proposing such notions as "body multiple" (Mol 2002) or "local biologies" (Lock and Nguyen 2010), thus transcending mind/body and them/us dichotomies. As we shall see below, these fields of knowledge in healing may be better understood as nodes in networks rather than as dichotomous entities. The term *medical pluralism* will be used here to refer to these combined uses of the different medical practices that emerge from the multifarious cognitive positions of the expert (the doctor) and the traditional healer, yet also of the people who move through these experts' healing services. Local knowledge and social environments, such as family and social contexts in which the individuals are situated, are part of the ways people seek health, and it is through these contexts that certain experts are consulted (or not). From this perspective, health is seen as not simply originating in individuals themselves or deriving strictly from social forces but as being engendered in complex interactions between individuals and their social contexts (Kirmayer 2003, 2004; Trevathan et al. 2007)—hence, a co-production of knowledge through looping effects between the inhabited world and lived experiences of (dis)ease and healing.

We will provide an understanding of two main medical cultures coexisting in the Araucanía Region in Chile supported by a field analysis carried out in the city of Temuco. Traditional medicine in the area under study is practiced not only by Mapuche traditional practitioners, epitomized by the machi, or Mapuche shaman, but also other forms of traditional healers called *yerbateros* or *materos* ("herbalist"), who are specialized in treating several complaints mainly using plants or herbal infusions. These traditional healers are experts in using medicinal plants, but, contrary to the machi, they do not use spiritual powers to heal people who consult them and are unable to treat diseases produced by supernatural or magical entities or influences.

This article argues that use of both Western and Mapuche medical practices by indigenous people in Temuco is not obligatorily motivated by a situation of conflict and disorientation in which the patient and his family turn to different medical resources. We argue that this behaviour does not necessarily suggest the presence of a crisis of identity among the Mapuche living in urban areas, in which the patient has lost his or her own indigenous cultural scheme but has not fully assimilated the new one yet. On the contrary, we aim to show that this movement between different sets of practices is constantly negotiated in terms of what procedure seems to fit best with the health problem in question, how a treatment seems to work, what its related costs are, and with regard to what is known and preferred not to be known or left to the care of the preferred expert. Medical culture is in this way negotiated and made in the everyday with what seems to best fit the (dis)ease.

Methodology

This study is based on three months of field research undertaken in Chile, Temuco (IX Region) in 2009. Temuco is a city with a population of some 300,000 inhabitants, located in the Araucanía Region, 670 kilometres south of Santiago. Temuco presents the highest percentage of people of Mapuche ancestry. During this study, we interviewed a sample of 12 traditional healers and 40 patients who visited them. To complement the collected data, five in-depth interviews were also carried out with medical doctors at the Makewe hospital. Key informants were selected following the method of a reference chain through some local informants and acquaintances in Temuco. Almost all the patients interviewed belonged to the Mapuche community and lived in Temuco or in its periurban areas. To reduce the bias possibly introduced to the data because interviewees were patients who visited machi, this sample has been completed with 20 Mapuche patients of the Makewe Hospital, in proximity of Temuco.

While carrying out investigations of medicine and healing practices, a recurrent difficulty is to understand diagnoses and treatments in medical practices that differ in their assumptions and principles from those of Western medicine. An important aspect of this study has been the development of a methodology that takes the differing ontologies brought into being into consideration. The traditional practitioners who participated in this study were recognized as experts in their healing tradition, and they were frequently consulted with questions regarding concepts such as the etiology of certain diseases and the specific terminology used to identify some health conditions in Mapuche culture. On the other hand, biomedical doctors were consulted for the explanation of disease and terms that were unclear. In both cases, this helped reveal what each expert aimed to know and what he or she would rather leave to others to deal with in his or her practice, and what legitimized as useful health-related knowledge. Our intention with this approach was to ascertain the relevant diagnostic criteria as defined by the healers and to avoid imposing biomedical perspectives as a frame of reference, as well as the other way around.

Most people who are recognized in the community as traditional healers and who prescribe herbal remedies do not hold official qualifications or licenses; referrals are by word of mouth, and their "credentials" are based on community consensus. The selection of traditional healers was, therefore, based on referrals from the community. We met with the referred traditional healers, and an initial informal interview took place. This exploratory interview had the objective of gathering some initial data about the traditional healer and assessing if he or she met the critieria the first author set for including these traditional healers in the final sample. The criterion used in the final selection was professional experience, measured in terms of the number of people treated and years of experience in treating (dis)ease. The neighbourhoods of Pueblo Nuevo and Santa Rosa were selected for investigation because of their high concentration of Mapuche communities. We asked people working in community organizations and staff in health food stores and *botánicas* to help us identify healers who were active in the area. Botánicas are shops that sell several types of merchandise such as fresh and dried medicinal plants, tonics, books and religious and spiritual items such as candles and incense.

The study involved two stages of data collection: first open-ended, in-depth interviews with practitioners to obtain information about their background, training and methods of practice, and, second, semi-structured interviews with practitioners; these took place immediately following a consultation, to elicit the diagnostic approach and rationale for treatment. Tape-recorded interviews and consultations were conducted in Spanish, transcribed and then translated into English. Content analysis was used to examine the interview transcripts, and the themes that emerged from the data were grouped into categories such as healing processes, uses and perceptions of allopathic and traditional medicine, advantages and disadvantages of using both medicinal practices, and possible therapeutic overlapping of both traditional and allopathic treatment. All patients and all but one practitioner agreed to be audiotaped; the information from the untaped interviews was entered onto questionnaires and supplemented with extensive notes. To preserve the privacy of the interviewees, the names were omitted or changed.

Traditional Healing Practices among the Mapuche

Traditional Mapuche healers, machi, are mostly female practitioners. The interviews with the traditional Mapuche healers highlighted that a machi is chosen by "Chaw Ngenechen" (a spirit guide) and called by dreams or visions when she is relatively young. A new machi inherits the spirit of an ancestor through her matrilineage, commonly a grandmother. After having experienced the dream or vision, there is an acknowledgement of the invocation that occurs through an illness of the future healer, which must be cured by a machi. If this invocation is not acknowledged, this individual will remain sick her entire life.

When the future machi accepts the call, she must then find an elder machi who will help train her. This training is a long and expensive process. Healing involves a basic logic of transformation from sickness to wellness that is enacted through culturally salient metaphorical actions, such as the use of plants and of musical instruments and enchantments. Agreeing with Albretch and colleagues (2000) and Brown (2008), we argue that the transformations of healing involves a symbolic mapping of bodily experience onto a metaphoric space represented in the ritual. At the heart of any healing practice are metaphorical transformations of the quality of experience (from feeling ill to wellness) and the identity of the person (from afflicted to healed). Once established, a machi treats patients at a small health centre usually built by the community beside her home. Machi are usually paid by their patients in cash or goods according to their ability and depending on the seriousness of the illness and the effectiveness of the cure (Barnes et al. 2007). This compensation agreement is consistent with traditional Mapuche norms of economic reciprocity in social relationships.

The machi I interviewed generally use empirical and natural methods (herbs and occasionally natural pharmaceuticals), together with other magic and spiritual methods that are part of their rituals: prayers, singing and playing the *kultrun*, a traditional instrument. The traditional healers emphasized how using these methods can simultaneously strengthen their healing powers and, thus, increase the effectiveness of these healing rituals.

Therapeutic Itineraries

The Mapuche people interviewed were asked how they have been healed by the machi and if they consider the machi to be the right person to visit in case of an illness; if so, they were asked for which illnesses would they go to see a traditional healer. The analysis of the patient interviews indicated that 65 per cent of the 40 patients visited both machi and doctors. Indeed, the Mapuche and Western practices were often consulted simultaneously or alternately; 9 per cent used only Mapuche medicine, and the remaining 26 per cent used only Western medicine.

The importance of combining the two medical practices was emphasized by a Mapuche woman in her sixties who affirmed that the two treatments were necessary. First, the Western treatment was used to heal the physical pain or the wound. The second treatment was the Mapuche healing practice, which purifies the mind and helps heal the soul. According to this interviewee, every illness has a spiritual and physical side and therefore must be treated by a machi and a doctor.

This woman, to emphasize her point of view, told how Vanessa, her two-year-old grandchild, injured herself when she went outside the house to play. Her father was using a tool to cut the grass and Vanessa hit her head on the tool and cut herself. The child was treated at the hospital but soon the sutured wound became infected and Vanessa became feverish and was taken to the hospital in Temuco. Nevertheless, the child could not sleep properly; she was hearing noises in the rook and said she was still in pain. The grandmother suggested bringing the child to see a machi, who said that there was a spirit (*xafentun*) in the form of a dog outside the house that wanted to take away the baby. The machi gave a remedy to the child and performed a ritual. The interviewee stressed that subsequently the noise in the house stopped overnight and the child began to sleep.

When asked whether a doctor or a machi was most effective in curing a patient, 17 interviewees out of 40 answered that a Western doctor can cure every disease, while 26 interviewees (more than 50 per cent) said Western doctors can cure some but not all disease. These results indicate that Mapuche patients believe both medical practices to be crucial to resolve their illness. Interviews emphasized how, in many cases, patients take a pragmatic approach vis-à-vis health and illness and that the medicinal system to which they address themselves (i.e., Western medicine or traditional Mapuche medicine) is the one that they consider to be more effective for their particular health complaint. The following interview response reflects this point of view:

> The machi are effective in healing a patient. Seeing both doctors and machi seems very good to me. Because sometimes people get better with Western medicine but sometimes people also get better with machi's medicine. Or, if a machi can not cure people, they send them to the hospital. I think this is really good.

In reference to the simultaneous recurrence pattern of different therapeutic practices, some individual patients adopted a rather pragmatic strategy: he or she used all the resources at his or her disposal to solve his or her health problems by combining various strategies, technologies and therapeutic agents belonging both to Western and Mapuche medicine. This attitude is evident in the behaviour of Alfonso, a 55-year-old Mapuche man who had a serious infection in his knee. At first Alfonso was treated at home, but seeing no improvement, he decided to go to a hospital. There the doctor treated him and advised him to stay at the hospital for a few days for further treatment. Despite this, the man's infection kept recurring, a situation for which he consulted a

machi who lived near his community. The machi diagnosed a "spiritual disease" or "supernatural disease" (*Wekufu* disease) and made a *machitun*, which is a therapeutic ceremony consisting of reciting prayers and using traditional musical instruments.

An exclusive therapeutic demand (intervention of a single medical practice) from a machi occurs in pathological situations in which several circumstances and evidence show unequivocally that the (dis)ease has a supernatural origin, and thus treatment operates only at that level. For instance, use of non-Western medicine is particularly frequent in cases of illness such as mental problems, depression, or the "evil eye," as it is believed that physicians fail to recognize these types of illnesses and therefore cannot effectively cure them. As one interviewee put it, "Doctors do not know anything about witchcraft and spiritual and Mapuche diseases. They also do not know how to make a diagnosis by looking at urine." For instance, there is knowledge among Mapuche communities that *kalkutun* (presence of an evil spirit) cannot be diagnosed or resolved by Western doctors. José, a 60-year-old Mapuche man from Lumaco village who lives most of the year in the city of Temuco, realted:

> About two years ago I was about to leave for Lafken [the world of the dead] ... a woman put something wrong in my drink ... I became very thin, weak, I went to the machi and she treated me, she made me machitun (a special ritual), but it took more than a year of herbal treatment ... now I have finally recovered, but it was pretty hard to overcome my illness.

The case of David is quite illustrative of machi healing abilities in certain instances. A young Mapuche in his late teens, David states that he was taken to a hospital when he was one year old because he could hardly breathe. The doctor who attended diagnosed that David was born with a very soft larynx. They explained that with time, this may resolve itself spontaneously, but if it persisted, the baby should be visited by an otolaryngologist. A neighbour of the family suggested going to see a machi, who explained that this complaint was because the mother of the child killed chickens while she was pregnant and now the child produced a sound that resembled the sound of a chicken when it is being strangled. According to the machi, an evil force (*nentu-konünchefe*) must have entered the fetus during the fourth month of gestation, as before that the child is not sufficiently developed. The machi told the parents that the baby would feel better within four days. In the interview, David's mother confirmed that healing occurred as predicted.

The machi attend many sick people, both Mapuche and non-Mapuche, who are not completely satisfied with the diagnosis and treatment available at the hospital. The patients interviewed also emphasized that they go to see a machi when the doctors cannot diagnose an illness but they keep on feeling sick (e.g. when the doctors diagnose an illness as psychosomatic) or if the hospital treatment and pharmaceutical drugs do not relieve their ailments. Many patients we interviewed affirmed that the machi knows how to cure their illness with medicinal herbs, and they hold the machi in high esteem for their ability to make a diagnosis of an illness without complex and sometimes costly and painful medical checkups. The patients interviewed, often emphasized the machi's capacity to give some indication of the future evolution of the illness through their alleged capacity for divination. This way of tackling the illness and its diagnosis is culturally significant for many members of the Mapuche community. Indeed, knowing the etiology of the illness right away allows the patients and their families to become aware of the situation affecting the patients. In Mapuche traditional medicine, afflictions are understood to involve a wider social network; thus, healing practices should therefore address that larger system (Conrad 2007; Summerfield 2002).

When seeing a traditional healer, the Mapuche patient and his or her family maintain cultural control over the process of health and disease, following a familiar cultural pattern, perhaps more so then when seeing a doctor, although some familiarity exists there as well. The deep connection between patient and healer is rarely present between patient and doctor in the case of Western medicine. Although many Mapuche choose to go to a doctor for treatment, two-thirds of the interviewees emphasized how indigenous people are often discriminated against by Western doctors. These patients highlighted how, on many occasions, the doctors did not spend time explaining their clinical situation and quickly dismissed them. As a result, these patients felt uncomfortable as they were not fully aware of the disease they suffered and felt themselves to be the object of discrimination.

One of the most common criticisms from the machi interviewees was that doctors are sometimes too rigid with their patients and do not allow them to relax and be cured in a "positive" environment surrounded by friends and relatives. One machi commented, "Many times hospitals make patients feel worse. Patients are in an 'artificial' environment and physicians do not measure the side effects that the remedies prescribed for them can cause." According to the point of view of the majority of patients interviewed, the machi gives

personalized service and offers a holistic treatment that, according to the interviewees, is not commonly found when consulting Western doctors.

It should be noted that the type of choices Mapuche patients make regarding the different medical systems does not depend solely on cultural considerations. Certain material factors profoundly affect the behaviour and the strategy with which one copes with the illness. The interviews emphasized that a crucial condition affecting the choice of different options is economic. In some cases, the medical treatment provided by Western practices, being free of charge (in hospitals, clinics and rural health posts), attracts members of the community, not because there is high identification with the therapeutic strategy but because of availability and accessibility to the treatment. Conversely, in other cases, the high cost of surgery, trips to the hospitals or the possibility of dying away from the family may deter families from using the official medical resources. In this regard, it should be noted that one of the current effects of the disintegration of the solidarity mechanisms in the Mapuche community has been the rise of costs for many services by traditional healers, consequently restricting access to this recourse by the members of the Mapuche community. In the face of existing barriers that restrict access to health care, one response from immigrants has been to fall back on folk and popular health resources that are accessible and familiar to them (Greenhalgh and Wessely 2004; Kirmayer 2004).

Yoon and colleagues (2004) explain there are push and pull factors that influence the choice of health care sought. According to the push-pull model, a lack of health insurance or attitudes of professional health care providers act as a pushing force toward the use of traditional healing modalities. The pull factors that draw people toward traditional health systems include cultural fit, familiarity and belief in the effectiveness of traditional methods. Greater understanding of push and pull factors is needed to close the gap between professional and traditional health sectors.

This point is clearly illustrated by the experience of Carlos, a 50-year-old man who suffered headaches for years. According to the family, he was very sick and could barely work like the rest of the farmers in their community. On several occasions he went to see a machi, who diagnosed the impossibility of his recovery, a situation which seemed likely as all his sisters had died from a similar cause. One day Carlos went, with a urine sample, to see a machi in Cuidad Imperial, a city two hours from Temuco. The machi prescribed herbal remedies and homeopathic medications to cure the pain. As Carlos got worse, he decided to see two doctors whom he had previously contacted. One doctor diagnosed him with depression. Both of them recommended transferring Carlos to the hospital to do more analysis and more accurate diagnosis. The family opposed this transfer as it implied expenses they were not in a position to pay. Once they knew that the local medical services would cover the costs and risks of the transfer of the patient, the family agreed to send Carlos to the hospital.

Mapuche Community and the Healing Role of the Machi

The current difficult economic situation of the Mapuche, who have historically been deprived of their land in Araucanía by the government, has progressively transformed their traditional lifestyle. In the last few years, land shortages and economic problems have forced a growing number of Mapuche to seek work in the city or to become labourers in the farms owned by white Chileans. In some cases, having lost control over large extensions of their territories, their economy forced them to adopt the forms of exploitation of small rural landowners where each nuclear family is a relatively autonomous productive unit (Ray 2007).

It needs to be remembered that the Mapuche in Araucanía have progressively been impoverished in the aftermath of the Chile's military occupation of the area and the consequent territorial division of it into indigenous reservations. The reservation economy progressively condemned the Mapuche to a life of destitution, hence favouring urban migration (Ray 2007). As José, a Mapuche man in his early fifties affirmed, "The problem is that we have no land to work. Because I couldn't find work in the village, I migrated to Temuco."

Currently, 80 per cent of the Mapuche population lives in the city, where they are often the object of social discrimination (Hernández 2003). Many Mapuche feel uprooted and alienated in the city. The interviews emphasized how a sentiment of anxiety is particularly present among the younger generations of Mapuche. One of the machi interviewed was surprised about the number of children and young people who come to visit her. Most of them suffer from "depression"; at least that is how they have been diagnosed by psychologists.

Being a machi is still highly regarded within the Mapuche community; their advice and intervention is considered by Mapuche patients to be both culturally acceptable and appropriate to the new demands of the modern Chilean society. The capacity of the Mapuche traditional healers to sooth the feeling of alienation that numerous members of Mapuche community experience in the urban areas is emphasized by a middle-age patient.

She affirms that "the machi thoroughly knows Mapuche culture.... When I visit a machi I feel at ease as I know they can understand my cultural background, the values with which I have been brought up."

Challenges Ahead Influencing Therapeutic Pluralism

The situation of medical pluralism in Temuco still has some challenges ahead. One of the main challenges is the strong link between biomedical practices and Christianity; more precisely, from the evangelists who forbid consultation with machi and their healing ceremonies. As highlighted in the interviews, the Christian faith undermines traditional medical practices in Temuco, thus maintaining the opposition of the two sets of practices. Although this may enhance the maintenance of plural medical practices, the growing influence of Christianity may overshadow machi practices since machi are highly condemned. Thus, if a Mapuche participant is evangelical or belongs to any Protestant church, she or he tends not to see machi due to religious beliefs. In the last decades, the rise of Protestant churches has become a common phenomena in most Latin American countries, Chile included (Barrett et al. 2001; Patterson 2004).

There were several evangelic or Protestant nurses and workers in the hospital. Such workers did not have anything against the study of herbal medicine or the use of herbal medicine in the hospital but expressed uneasy feelings toward machi, whom they often associate with evil forces and witchcraft. Pablo, a 37-year-old Mapuche man who belonging to an evangelic church, believes all that a machi can do is to ask for the help of their gods. They say, "'God-Father, you who lives in the plants, help me.' But how can God possibly live in the plants? He is in heaven.... The machi work with the evil forces."

A member of the Mapuche community expressed her deep scepticism and mistrust toward the machi and traditional practices:

> My dad was ruined by going to see a machi. He always went to see machi when he was sick. We paid them and with it we went bankrupt. So I think it is better to see a doctor for any disease. The machi was working with the devil. My brother once did not pay a machi after a visit and she cursed him: he works hard in his fields but his harvest is never abundant and many of the animals that he breeds have died. One has to be very cautious with the machi.

Another aspect that influences the choice of one or another medical practice is related to the social prestige and power relations associated with a therapeutic practice and its cultural tradition. Using Mapuche medicine is still, in some ways, perceived as a sign of backwardness and superstition. Meanwhile, as the interviews with some members of the Mapuche community emphasized, to use Western health services is seen as socially acceptable and prestigious (i.e., modern) within the community. In some cases, the machi have lost their appeal among younger Mapuche who have grown up in urban areas and have begun to doubt the existence of spiritual diseases. They prefer to turn to modern medicine to solve their health problems. According to Ramiro, a young Mapuche in his early twenties, "If the hospital is closeby, young people go to be treated there. Young people feel that doctors ... are smarter, do not believe the Mapuche traditions and go to the hospital."

This scepticism and occasional denial of traditional Mapuche practices, sometimes present among the younger generation, is confirmed by machi Rosa:

> Young people do not believe in machi. They view them with contempt because they believe they are related to witchcraft. I did not believe in the machi, not until I became one myself. Now, many young people who have gone to the city have been mistreated. They have suffered disappointments and illnesses and are now returning to the traditional practices of the machi.

Mapuche and Western Health Medicine: Practices in Parallel

The interviews show that almost no doctors referred their patients to Mapuche healers for consultation. In contrast, about 20 per cent of patients were referred to the Western system as a way of supplementing their treatment with specific health problems. This supplementary approach usually occurs with advanced forms of cancer, infections, severe trauma, heart disease and other serious illnesses. Western medicine offers quantitatively fewer referrals to other medical practices, a strategy which is consistent with its position of prestige and social prominence. An exception is the field of psychiatry, where there are some Mapuche patients being referred for consultation to the machi (Bhui et al. 2003). In some cases, as confirmed by some biomedical doctors working at the Temuco hospital, the psychiatrist has also sought the collaboration of these machi for the care and treatment of patients.

Although there have been some attempts to institutionalize indigenous medicinal practices in Temuco and the Araucanía Region (Alegría et al. 2008; Belliard and Ramírez-Johnson 2005; O'Neil et al. 2006), a problem is posed by the fact that most biomedical health professionals do not receive appropriate initial or ongoing training in cultural sensitivity and often lack under-

standing of the indigenous population. This was noted by three out of five of the doctors interviewed, who emphasized their initial difficulty understanding beliefs and practices that are radically different from those of the Western world.

The overall idea from the current dominant health institutions is that a machi cannot help a patient, since she did not complete a university education to become an official doctor. This lack of consideration toward the medical practices of the Mapuche is widespread among Western medical staff (Kim 2001; Vicente et al. 2005). Conversely, this attitude is rarely present among traditional healers, who have learned to appreciate the effectiveness of official health services and to integrate the resources of modern medicine into their therapeutic strategy. This can be explained by their openness to treating both mind and body, while the medical profession largely dismisses the first or separates the two. Also, because their code of ethics forbids them to do so, physicians are not comfortable referring patients to Mapuche healers because of their concern that the governing body of the College of Physicians might censure them. Despite increased acceptance of indigenous medicine practices by physicians, particularly in the last several years, a concerted effort is still required to develop medical curricula that engage students in medicine and other health professions, to increase their understanding of the traditional Mapuche medicine system and cosmovision.

Conclusion

The phenomenon of medical pluralism is not a marginal phenomenon in urban areas in Chile. In urban areas there is a constant flux and change of cultures and the ways in which historical and cultural ruptures present important contexts for healing (Fauconnier and Turner 2002). In these accounts as well, new and ancient healing practices address core values and concerns in which both individuals and communities have a profound stake. In multicultural urban settings, tradition and healing practices often undergo creative change and hybridization (Kirmayer 2003). This trend might, in future, create a process of growing hybridization and syncretism in terms of ideology, practices and treatments among the various healing practices.

As this article has shown, such a process has lead Mapuche medicine to work with various tools and ideas coming from biomedical practices. The reasons why Mapuche patients in Temuco use both Western and traditional medicines are numerous, having to do with cultural and socio-economic considerations, the availability of local health services, and, of course, efficacy

of treatment in one or the other set of practices. This referral to plural medical practices and experts is consistent with the state of the identity of the population, which is today subject to rapid change and contact processes that affect various aspects of the Mapuche community. In this fluid context, the practices of the machi are maintained and differentiate themselves from Western medicine. However, new elements are borrowed through interactions with biomedical practices as people use both types of practices alternatively. This process can be considered a form of creativity and innovation in indigenous medical culture and it shapes biomedical practices as well. The borders between the medicinal practices in Temuco seem sometimes to clearly define themselves, while the passage from one to the other by the same individuals surely creates a plural understanding of health and healing.

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Sufi Muslims in Montréal: Tensions between Cosmopolitanism and the Cultural Economy of Difference

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Abstract: In this article, I describe how expressions of Western modernity—secularism, tolerance and cosmopolitanism—are articulated in post-9/11 Quebec. I explore the socio-political relevance of the appeal to cosmopolitanism in a neoliberal post–Cold War context where modern ideals of secularism have been deeply unsettled and the idea of post-secularism is taking hold. I consider how some Muslims, members of a Sufi circle, initiate forms of civic participation that position Islam as a site for intercultural negotiation and for the articulation of cosmopolitan religious identities. A discourse on spirituality brings together Sufi mysticism and a local Québécois version of openness to sociocultural diversity.

Keywords: Muslim, cosmopolitanism, Montréal, identity, Naqshbandi

Résumé : Dans cet article, je décris et j'analyse comment les idiomes culturels associés à la modernité occidentale—la laïcité, la tolérance, et le cosmopolitisme—s'articulent dans le contexte post-9/11 au Québec. J'explore la pertinence sociopolitique de la revendication de valeurs cosmopolites dans un contexte néo-libéral post-guerre froide où les idéaux de sécularisme moderne ont été remis en question et l'idée de post-sécularisme se répand. Je considère comment certains Musulmans, membres d'un cercle soufi, initient des formes de participation citoyenne qui placent l'Islam au cœur de la négociation interculturelle et de l'articulation d'identités religieuses cosmopolites. Leurs discours sur la spiritualité arriment le mysticisme soufi à une version locale québécoise de l'ouverture à la diversité socio-culturelle.

Mots-clés : Musulman, cosmopolitisme, Montréal, identité, Naqshbandi

Introduction

Over the past ten years or so, when examining social contexts where multiple ethnic, religious and cultural groups coexist, the concept of cosmopolitanism has gained considerable grounds in anthropological research and theory. In the study of social and cultural dynamics in the city of Montréal, anthropologists have turned their attention to privileged sites for intercultural tolerance and for the production of cosmopolitan identities. While such interests certainly lies with the *air du temps*, called out by the renewed concern for *vivre ensemble* in a neoliberal post-colonial moment, notions of tolerance and cosmopolitanism seem to have permeated a certain anthropological reading of contemporary, post–Bill 101 Québécois society. Such a rendition is also the product of certain local institutions, both educational and governmental.

In this article, I discuss the case of a Montréal Sufi group to draw out some of the distinctive dynamics through which some inhabitants of the city appropriate logics of tolerance and cosmopolitanism. While various international circumstances tied to 9/11, particularly the "War on Terror" and the overt, often violent, resistance to Western domination by Muslims, have helped to push Muslims into a fraught position in Canadian society (for a similar analysis, see McDonough and Hoodfar 2005), one in which they often need to justify their religious and political loyalties in relation to Islamism and secularism (see Helly 2000, 2004; Renaud et al. 2002), the appeal to idioms of openness and cosmopolitanism by Montréal's Naqshbandi-Haqqani Muslims also fits with the growing presence in Quebec, and more specifically in Montréal, of modes of identity and expression that are related to conceptual categories such as tolerance and cultural openness. I would also emphasize that the budding interest for sites of cultural openness (*ouverture*) and cosmopolitan identities, as its theoretical anchoring, certainly also stems from of a concerted effort

by anthropologists in and of Quebec to move away from a folklorizing interpretation of Quebec culture.[1]

I consider how members of a Naqshbandi-Haqqani circle have initiated forms of civic involvement that position a Sufi tradition of Islam as a privileged site for intercultural tolerance and for the articulation of cosmopolitan identities. The claim that the Naqshbandi-Haqqani tradition of Sufism is a source of cosmopolitanism must be read alongside Quebec's ambiguous position on ethnic and religious diversity, especially the recent debates on the place of religion in society. I will show that, among Montréal's Naqshbandi-Haqqani Sufi devotees, the appeal to cosmopolitanism follows Hannerz's appeals to a "willingness to engage with the Other" (1992:252). However, it is more than the willingness of "globetrotting travel, sophisticated cultural knowledge and moral world-view of deracinated intellectuals" (Werbner 2006:496); cosmopolitanism is framed in terms of openness to cultural and religious differences while promoting a sense of moral responsibility to both the *umma*—the global community of Muslims—and Quebec society (see also Appiah 1998). Nonetheless, the casting of religious openness from a "Muslim" standpoint opposes Naqshbandi-Haqqani's cosmopolitan claims to the modern idea of a secular public sphere that is usually based on the notion of doctrinal neutrality regarding the assertion of religious truths. In other words, Naqshbandi-Haqqani's cosmopolitan claims are endowed with a moral content, which is embodied by what followers describe as the specificity of the Naqshbandi-Haqqani mystical experience.

Both notions, secularism and cosmopolitanism, can be related conceptually and historically to the emergence of European modern societies (Anderson 2006). To a large extent, their relationship lies within the modern emphasis on reflexivity and self-recognition, and both rest on the human ability to distance oneself from one's own primary frame of reference—whether religion, ethnicity, professional affiliation, kinship or nation—and to think critically about it (Beck 2000). As such, the form of cosmopolitanism claimed by Naqshbandi-Haqqani followers in Montréal can be read as an effort to encourage Muslims to understand themselves as "citizens of the world," an expression that Montréal Naqshbandi-Haqqani followers regularly use to describe themselves, and to open themselves up to different socio-political contexts. However, Naqshbandi-Haqqani's cosmopolitan claims extend access to cosmopolitan experiences from "deracinated intellectuals" to the locally situated condition of transnational migrants, who are often politically and socially marginalized (Cheah and Robbins 1998).

As I will show, Montréal Naqshbandi-Haqqani devotees assert a form of cosmopolitanism that is endowed with Islamic moral principles but is also opposed to so-called political Islam or Islamism. As such, the claim of religious tolerance on the basis of Sufi mysticism must be read in light of the post-9/11 North American readings of religious tolerance as a conspiracy to Islamize Western society (Starrett 2009). To a certain extent, the form of cosmopolitanism that Naqshbandi-Haqqani devotees assert echoes the wider political discourse in which several states, including the governments of Quebec and Canada, are trying to seek partnerships with presumably "tolerant" and "liberal" Muslims; that is, Muslims who are not perceived as a threat to the social norms and the moral principles claimed by Quebec and Canadian societies, opposing "good Muslims" to "bad Islamists."[2]

My reading of the type of civic participation encouraged by devotees at the Montréal Centre Soufi Naqshbandi—Masjid Al-Iman relates to my previous and ongoing ethnographic research among West African Muslims in Montréal, as well as a specific research interest in sites of intercultural negotiation and religious diversity more generally in the city of Montréal. The discussion presented here stems out of periods of ethnographic research that extends from 2004 to 2010, with a more focused episode in 2005 and 2006, when I conducted an ethnographic case study with two research assistants in the context of a research project on the everyday life of Muslims in Montréal.[3] The case study included audio-recorded interviews with leaders and members, informal conversations with members and participant observation research at the centre and in the surrounding neighbourhood. In what follows, I will first situate the socio-political implications of contemporary debates on the place of religion in Quebec's public sphere in view of the history of secularization in the province and the specificity of Montréal's cultural and religious landscape. Second, I present a brief history and overview of the Naqshbanditariqa and its contemporary expressions in Montréal. Next, I consider notions of Sufi tolerance and openness as they are articulated by devotees at the centre and explore their implications for the civic participation of Muslims in Quebec. Finally, I turn to the ways in which Naqshbandi-Haqqani disciples in Montréal see the roots of their order's cosmopolitan posture in their leader's *da'wa* or proselytizing efforts.

Religion, Secularization and the Public Sphere in Quebec

In Montréal, the public presence of Muslim groups must be understood, on the one hand, in relation to the

Canadian state ideology of multiculturalism. In 1971, the federal government implemented its policy of multiculturalism. In an attempt to reverse the earlier institutionalized efforts to assimilate immigrants culturally, the policy acknowledged the reality of cultural pluralism in Canada. In the context of growing English–French conflicts in the 1960s, the policy offered a blueprint for a Canadian identity based on the public acceptance of cultural difference and the equal participation of all in Canadian public institutions. Unlike the so-called "melting pot" model associated with the United States, Canadian multiculturalism has often been defined in terms of a "cultural mosaic"—implying that individual parts fit together into a unified whole. In support of the ideology of multiculturalism, the Canadian Human Rights Act was passed by parliament in 1977 and includes the protection of religious difference (Canadian Human Rights Act, RSC 1985, c. H-6, s. 3.1). While the act and the policy of multiculturalism have been extensively criticized in Canada, and their success—especially that of the multiculturalism policy—needs to be questioned, both have created a climate in which religious differences cannot be ignored or suppressed. If necessary, they must be accommodated so as not to limit a person's access to the goods, services, facilities or accommodation available to the general public (Canadian Human Rights Act, RSC 1985, c. H-6, s. 5).

On the other hand, Quebec's strong national identity project has had an impact on both the application of Canadian multiculturalism policy and the position of immigrant communities. In 1970, the first nationalist government led by the Parti Québécois (PQ) was elected. Since then, successive Quebec governments have claimed in various ways the right to self-determination, which encouraged, among other things, the creation of the Quebec Charter of Rights and the emergence of the concept of "interculturalism." In fact, in view of Quebec's claims to national self-determination, the province's political and cultural institutions have always had to wrestle with the paradoxical role of being dominant within Quebec while a minority within Canada (Anctil 1984; Meintel 1998). Given such a contradictory position, successive Quebec governments have emphasized the need to define a common societal project in view of an increasingly ethnically and religiously diverse population (Rousseau 2006). Such contradiction has had a tremendous impact upon recent migrants, bringing about both a model of cultural inclusion through linguistic policies[4] and distinct dynamics of exclusion based on race and religion. Recent studies show that Haitians, Africans, Arabs (both Muslims and Christians), North Africans (mostly Muslims) and South Asians (in large part Muslims) have been the principal victims of discrimination in Quebec; they mainly suffer from lack of employment opportunities, limited access to lodging and stereotyping in public institutions, especially in the health and educational sectors (Labelle 2006; McCall and Léonel 2004; Renaud et al. 2003, 2004).

To some extent, the Québécois political construction of the concept of interculturalism, the equivalent to Canadian multiculturalism, captures this ambiguity. As a philosophy of cultural exchanges, it requires an inherent openness to be exposed to the culture of the "others," an element of cultural dialogue and the recognition of multiple identities. The ideals of interculturalism assume that once a person is exposed to culture difference, a dialogue will develop such that those concerned will look for commonalities between that element of their own culture and the culture of the other. These ideals were largely detailed in the 1990 policy called *Au Québec pour bâtir ensemble* (Building Quebec Together) that aimed at capturing the essence of the Québécois citizenship regime, *Québécois vivre ensemble* (Quebec living together). Nonetheless, in practice, it has often meant, especially recently, that "others" need to find elements within their own cultural practices that fit the dominant French-speaking social institutions and agreed-upon social norms and moral principles.

To fully understand the socio-political context of interreligious dynamics in Quebec, the specific character of the province's history of secularism (Milot 2002) needs to be briefly described. The 1960s marked the end of the central role of the local Catholic Church in the socio-political domain. Quebec changed from a society in which Catholic clergy and their schools were extremely powerful and embarked on a process of secularization. However, unlike in France, secularization has not led to attempts to eliminate religion from the public sphere. Religious symbols are often present in government and public institutions. For example, the Catholic cross hangs in the *chambre des communes* (Chamber of the Commons, the provincial parliament), and individuals can wear religious symbols (such as "Islamic" veils, Sikh turbans or Christian crosses) when working in government offices and in government-managed institutions, such as schools and hospitals. The Quebec government largely finances private religious schools. Moreover, despite the dismantling of religious school boards in 2000, religion was taught as an academic topic in primary and secondary public schools until 2008. Since September 2008, following the educational reforms, a course on ethics and religious culture is now taught in public schools.

Over the past four decades or so, religiosity among the French-speaking majority in Quebec has changed dramatically. Major changes include the increased adoption of non-Catholic ritual, including the significant appeal of various forms of mysticism (Bibby 1990; Larouche and Ménard 2001; Meintel 2003). Such developments support the claim that religious revivalism in Western societies often takes the form of individualized religious practice oriented toward new forms of spirituality (Hervieu-Léger 2000; Hervieu-Léger and Davie 1996), including so-called New Age practices. Although the Catholic Church has suffered some of the greatest declines in religious affiliation and religion has largely flourished in the form of individualized commitment and forms of personal piety, this does not mean that religion plays no public role in Quebec. On the contrary, the intensity of recent debates about religion in the public sphere has highlighted the socio-political character of religion.

The event of 9/11 has encouraged a number of ethnically, racially and religiously plural societies like Quebec to revisit public debates on the place of secularism and religious rights. These included debates over the freedom of the press after the 2005 publication of the caricatures of the Muslim prophet Muhammad by a Danish newspaper, as well the 2003 through 2006 *sharia* (Islamic law) debate in Ontario and the 2006 Canadian Supreme Court ruling allowing Sikh children to wear the *kirpan* (ceremonial dagger) in public schools. More recently, in 2007, the Bouchard-Taylor Commission[5] on "reasonable accommodations"[6] has highlighted Quebec's ambivalence about ethnic and religious pluralism, placing Muslims at the core of discussions on the secular nature of Quebec.[7] While public debates within the commission, as well as in the broader society, have facilitated the proliferation of religious stereotypes, such as the anti-Muslim images reproduced in the media (centred particularly on gender issues and the veil), the attempt to reflect upon Quebec's contemporary dilemma to harmonize its plural character with its assertion of a common identity has helped to re-initiate concerted efforts to counter such religious stereotypes and promote amicable interreligious encounters.

To grasp the role of Muslims in these public debates, it is important to note that, since the second half of the 1990s, Islam has been the fastest growing religion in Quebec, mainly due to the rising rates of immigration of Muslims from North Africa (especially Algeria) and from South Asia.[8] Despite their increasing presence in Quebec, Muslims are still regarded as immigrant outsiders by the political majority of French-speaking Québécois (Antonius 2006; Rousseau and Castel 2006). Nonetheless, the relationship between Muslims and the dominant Quebec society is less tenuous than in the United States or Western Europe (Al Sayyad and Castells 2002; Cesari 2005; Cordell 2008; Haddad and Smith 2002; Joly 1998, 2008). In contrast with some European countries, there is no direct, shared colonial history with Muslim countries. In addition, the Canadian government's[9] initial lack of enthusiasm for the US and British "War on Terror" has to some extent facilitated a better rapport between Muslims and non-Muslims in Quebec (Fortin et al. 2008).

The city of Montréal plays a specific role in these complex dynamics to the extent that, historically, it has been the site of immigration flows in Quebec and where the majority of newer migrants of Muslim origin live. In fact, despite the fact that recent public discussions and debates regarding cultural and religious diversity have been framed at the general level of Quebec society, issues relating to diversity are specifically relevant to the context of everyday life in the city of Montréal and to the distinctive pluri-ethnic and pluri-religious character of Montréal within the province of Quebec. To a large degree, the question of Quebec society's contemporary dilemma to harmonize its plural character with its assertion of a common identity resonates distinctively in the city of Montréal. As the cultural capital of French-speaking Quebec, Montréal represents a particular pluri-ethnic and pluri-linguistic context. The bilingual situation in reference to Canada brings about what has been referred to as a *"double majorité"* in Montréal (Anctil 1984; Meintel 1998). One implication of the double majorité is that the boundaries between majority and minority groups are not so clearly defined. Moreover, recent legal and demographic changes have encouraged the emergence of a pluri-ethnic *francophonie* in the city (Lamarre et al. 2002; Meintel and Fortin 2002;). The appropriation of Québécois idioms of tolerance by Naqshbandi devotees fits with the particularity of Montréal's ethnic and religious dynamics.

The Naqshbandi-Haqqani *Tariqa*

Roots and Contemporary Affiliations

The *Naqshbanditariqa* (way or path in Islamic mysticism or Sufism used to designate different Sufi orders) has its roots in the Ottoman Empire; it was founded in the 14th century in present-day Turkmenistan in Central Asia. From there, it spread to the Balkans, India and Pakistan and gained prominence in Turkey and Persia (Abu-Manneh 2007). Today, the Naqshbandiyya has active centres in North America, the United Kingdom, much of Western Europe, the Middle East and South and Southeast Asia, as well as parts of Africa

(Draper 2004, 2006; Hicks 2008; Nielsen 2003; Werbner 2007). In the 1970s, Sheikh Nazim al-Qubrusi Al-Haqqani, who was born in Larnaca, Cyprus, in 1922, revived a branch of the order. Followers of Sheikh Nazim al-Qubrusi Al-Haqqani are also known as the followers of the Haqqaniyya order. Sheikh Nazim first preached in the Middle East. After considerable activities in Lebanon in the 1970s and 1980s, he opened his first mission in Britain in 1974 and sponsored the creation of the first North American mission in 1992 (Draper 2006).

The Sufi Centre (Masjid Al-Iman) in Montréal

The Naqshbandi-Haqqani tariqa has been in Montréal since the 1980s when it was brought to Montréal by a Jewish English Canadian psychiatrist and a few of his acquaintances. As one of the two prayer leaders at the Naqshbandi centre describes below, at first, the circle was informal and evolved in an unofficially manner:

> As elsewhere in the world, there were students of the Sheikh in North America and in Montréal. At the beginning of the 1980s, these students started to gather together for meditation circles and *suhbat* [association, companionship] circles. At first, we met in people's houses, in apartments. And, finally, it became more regular towards the end of the 1990s. There were ceremonies once a week during which teachings were transmitted. At the beginning of the 1990s, around 1992, we rented the first place on Park Avenue. Officially, it was a full-time Sufi centre. At that time, the place was open all the time, with ceremonies several times each week, Friday prayers … many generations [were] trained, many people who came were initiated into the order, some went back home, others moved to other provinces in Canada, or they came for the teaching and followed their route elsewhere. [interview, November 24, 2005][10]

In 1984, the tariqa was officially registered with the Quebec government and in 2004 the tariqa bought a two-storey building to lodge the existing centre. The centre, which had previously shared a rented space with a local Senegalese Mouride group, bought a building in one of Montréal's pluri-ethnic neighbourhoods, at the centre of the city, where several the members had been active or had resided.

Two sheikhs head the centre in Montréal. Imam Farhat Jouini, originally from Tunisia, is the president of the centre in Montréal and leads the congregation; he also serves as a regional director of the worldwide Haqqani Foundation. Imam Jouini is the *muqaddam* (or official representative of Sheikh Nazim). However, while I conducted field research and debates over the

pluri-ethnic and pluri-religious character of Quebec's population expansion, especially in 2005 and 2006, he was frequently absent due to regular travel to the other Naqshbandi centres in North America and to Sheikh Nazim's Cyprus home. As a consequence, the assistant imam, Omar Koné, led most of the centre's regular activities. Moreover, between 2005 and 2008, Imam Koné was notably present in Quebec's broader public sphere and media, especially for intercultural activities and public debates (see below).

In terms of its membership, the centre attracts multiethnic and multilingual groups.[11] Membership at the Montréal centre is relatively similar to the membership of other Naqshbandi tariqa in North America and Europe, which have had considerable success in attracting non-Muslim converts, as well as young educated professional Muslim migrants (Malik and Hinnells 2006; Westerlund 2004). The membership is mostly composed of first- and second-generation migrants. During fieldwork, I encountered members who had migrated from France, Senegal, Mali, Mauritania, Côte d'Ivoire, Benin, Congo, Rwanda, Morocco, Tunisia, Burundi, Madagascar, Somalia, Syria, Egypt, Turkey and Pakistan. Although there is no dominant ethnic group at the centre, English-speakers are more numerous than French-speakers. During the different periods of fieldwork, English speakers active in the centre were mostly from Somalia, Pakistan, Syria and Turkey. Nonetheless, religious and social activities at the centre are held in English, French and Arabic, often simultaneously during religious rituals and social activities. The number of devotees at the centre fluctuates significantly, and this is largely due to the significant number of international university student memberships. There was, nonetheless, a core group of about 15 participants, comprising West Africans, North Africans, English-speaking migrants from South Asia and several French Canadian and English Canadian converts. In contrast with some other Muslim groups in Montréal, such as the Senegalese Mouride Sufi order or Lebanese Shiites (LeBlanc et al. 2008; LeGall 2003), which tend to attract specific ethnic or national communities, the Naqshbandi-Haqqani circle tends to congregate on the basis of an expressed attraction to mysticism, as well as existing social networks based in educational and professional contacts, friendship and neighbourhood-based everyday interactions around the centre. It must be noted that while the Montréal Sufi centre is embedded in transnational Naqshbandi-Haqqani networks, including the Naqshbandi-Haqqani Sufi Order of America and the Haqqani Foundation, the Montréal branch has developed a significant degree of independence. Read against accounts in the existing literature on other

Naqshbandi tariqas in North America and in Europe, the centre in Montréal seems to have acquired its own distinctive identity and ways of functioning, which are tied both to the public role that its leaders have assumed over the years and to the membership of the circle.

In addition to recent immigrants, a significant number of the devotees are recent converts from both the local French Canadian and English-speaking communities. While the presence of such Canadian converts is significant, recent immigrants make up the majority of the centre's devotees. The membership also includes a sizeable number of mixed couples. The willingness of the two sheikhs to celebrate marriage between Muslims and non-Muslims may account for this. Further, many of the order's members in Montréal have international and transcultural experiences. Indeed, many of the recent migrants had lived in France and the United Kingdom before migrating to Canada. For instance, one of the devotees born in Madagascar lived in France for 15 years before moving to Montréal, where she married a Senegalese man. Another member had studied and married in the United States before settling in Montréal. Others, French Canadian converts in particular, grew up in ethnically, racially or religiously mixed families, travelled extensively abroad or simply developed ethnically diversified social networks through schooling in Montréal. Sheikh Koné is a good example of such a transcultural experience. The son of a French mother and a Malian father, he grew up in both Mali and in France. In the late 1980s, he migrated to Quebec to pursue his university studies.

As is the case with Sheikh Koné, who is trained as an engineer, the membership of the centre is relatively highly educated. Draper (2004) also notes the relative overrepresentation of highly educated migrants among Naqshbandi groups in Britain, while Hicks (2008) describes the New York group as being made up of more diverse economic and social backgrounds. The majority of the followers are in their twenties and early thirties. Unmarried, young adults without children, especially young men, are quite active at the centre. However, it is important to note that young women are also rather active at the centre. This contrasts sharply with many Muslim institutions in Montréal. While in many cases women tend to frequent other Muslim institutions when social activities are organized or Islamic discussion groups and Arabic language courses are available, in this case women frequent the centre for its weekly ceremonies. Some women also attend the weekly teaching sessions organized separately for women and for children. While women's activities are regularly held in spite of the low number of participants, children's classes are not regularly held. In fact, none were held during my more intense period of fieldwork in 2005.

Aside from the weekly *jum'a* (communal) prayers, held on Saturdays rather than Fridays, since the work schedules prevent Muslims from attending Friday afternoon prayers and the biweekly *dhikr* (remembrance) recitations (on Thursdays and Sundays), the centre also holds Arabic poetry recitations (Saturday evenings) and *hadra* night with dhikr and whirling dervishes (Sunday nights). There are usually between 40 to 50 devotees present at the weekly ceremonies, including regular devotees, occasional participants and those who are simply curious. The Sunday night ceremony is followed by a pot luck dinner—a communal meal and one of the distinctive features of the centre to which residents of the neighbourhood are invited.

The centre occasionally organizes activities such as fundraising events, which often incorporate meals, music and readings from the writings of Sufi poets (especially Rumi), and special rituals for holidays such as Ramadan, Eid al-Fitr (marking the end of Ramadan) and Eid al-Adha (the Feast of the Sacrifice). The centre also organizes events for the visits of international leaders of the Sufi order—such as was done in December 2006 for Sheikh Hisham Kabbani, who moved to the United States in 1991 where he established the Naqshbandi-Haqqani Sufi Order of America, or as was done in October 2004 for Sheikh Abdul Haqq Sazonoff, who is a native of the city of Chicago and the current national director of the Naqshbandi-Haqqani Sufi Order of America. The centre organizes special events for the yearly pilgrimages to Cyprus when Sheikh Nazim invites devotees to his home. Besides religious rituals, yearly festivals and the visits from and to other Naqshbandi groups and centres, the centre regularly opens its doors to non-Muslims for interfaith and intercultural gatherings and pedagogical purposes. In fact, the centre in Montréal is very active in various interfaith events and in pedagogical activities.

Idioms of Tolerance and Openness

In 2005, when I started to conduct ethnographic field research at the Montréal Naqshbandi-Haqqani centre, I went to meet Imam Koné, one of the two acting imams at the centre, to introduce my research to him. He graciously invited me to sit on a mat with him and quickly took over the discussion by "introducing me" to the centre. He emphasized numerous times, without any possibility of doubt, that Naqshbandi Muslims are not "fundamentalist" Muslims and that they practice an "open and tolerant type" of Islam: "We respect and fit with the ambient [meaning Quebec society and the city

of Montréal] openness and willingness to promote inter-religious harmony."

In this vignette, Imam Koné situates the Naqsh-bandi order within a construction of Quebec society as an open, multiethnic society, marked by the cohabitation of cultural or religious diversity, in opposition to one that would emphasize racial and religious differences, close-mindedness and discrimination. This constructed sense of self and the surrounding social context in which Muslims can potentially find themselves in marginalized socio-political positions in Montréal attempts to initiate forms of civic involvement that position them and their life-worlds (Sufi Islam) as privileged sites for intercultural tolerance and for the articulation of cosmopolitan identities. The appeal to "Islamic cosmopolitanism" as a space for Muslims in contemporary Western societies is not specific to the case of Montréal's Naqshbandi devotees. Rosemary Hicks (2008), in her study of Sufis in New York City, describes a similar process. However, while in the case of New York Sufis, the appeal to Islamic cosmopolitanism allows the devotees to "resolve what they identified as cultural conflicts between 'immigrants' and 'indigenous' (African American) Muslims, or among Muslims of diverse nationalities" (2008:283), in the case of the Montréal devotees. Besides the issues of authenticity and intra-Muslim tensions, it also relates to the specific of religious tolerance as it has been framed in the post-9/11 Quebec context.

While Imam Koné's discourse may seem to represent a caricature of the performance of traditional Sufism in a cosmopolitan context, which has seemingly been well-rehearsed for both visitors to the centre and to the mediatized public sphere, when asked why they frequent the centre, Naqshbandi followers referred mostly to three things: the specificity of the Sufi experience, the sociability around the rituals and the quest for religious tolerance. It is often with tears in their eyes that members will discuss the "warmth" they experience at the centre and the deep mystical experience through contact with the teachings of Sheikh Nazim. Women and men frequently cry during religious ceremonies and teaching sessions, while reading Sufi texts, or when recounting their experiences of religious enlightenment. Faith and knowledge are often clothed in deeply emotional expressions such as the oft-invoked "warmth to the heart." For other followers, mostly from West Africa and Morocco, the appeal of the centre lies with their familiarity with Sufism due to family-based practices in their place of origin. As a West African woman explained in relation to the weekly collective meals, religious practices and cultural references at the centre are

thought to be "more familiar" and, along with other followers, she expressed this familiarity by saying:

> I started to frequent the centre with my husband and my baby when I was a student. I was drawn to it in great part by the fact that it provided a great place for socializing. After the weekly ceremonies, there is always a communal meal. It brings people together. For some reason, it reminds me of home; it is more convivial than other mosques in the city that are too impersonal. [Fatima, in her mid-thirties, interview, February 17, 2005]

Religious tolerance allows examination of the relationship between Quebec society's claims of interculturalism and the notion of religious openness, which is at the core of the Montréal's Naqshbandi-Haqqani's claim to an Islamic cosmopolitan identity.

The Logic of Tolerance

During my fieldwork, idioms of tolerance and openness were recurrent. It is through a discourse on spirituality that brings together Sufi mysticism and a local Québé-cois version of openness to socio-cultural diversity that devotees at the centre actively sought to situate themselves in view of other Muslims and Quebec society. An extract from an interview with Sheikh Koné illustrates the way in which Sufi philosophy is drawn upon at the centre to ground the interpretation of the tariqa's specific attitude of tolerance and openness:

> Because Sufis have a more advanced form of knowledge, this openness of understanding and especially the openness of the heart to everybody, seeing wisdom in all traditions is special to Sufism. As a consequence, we share many moments, many things with people of all horizons, of all orientations ... of all groupings, of all traditions, all experience, for our own knowledge, to learn. It is this openness of mind that allows us to relate to fundamentalist Muslims, to secular people, to fundamentalist Christians ... people of all traditions that exist, even if it is not a religious tradition. Sufism gives you an understanding of the highest standing on the functioning of men [sic] in general. As a consequence, Sufis are very, very open, very tolerant with all, but very strict with themselves. It is this openness of mind to all traditions that allow us to manage inter-cultural contacts.... An imam is someone who is rather 'fundamentalist.' When we face a mixed marriage, where the non-Muslim family enters in the mosque and starts kissing everyone, while men and women do not touch one another in Islam, it is a bit difficult. Imams, because of their tradition, their function, their origin, their life experience, always have a hard time facing

such situations. Well, here, we take it more lightly, as a good point. We take the time to know people, which happens quite rapidly and we make sure that they feel at ease in any situation. It is part of our training. [interview, November 3, 2005].

Sheikh Koné's discourse about Sufi "openness" ultimately positions the tolerance of Sufis in contradistinction to those he calls "fundamentalists," including Christians. While recent studies have clearly demonstrated that the presumed opposition between Sufism and Islamic reformism is questionable, especially in the context of intensified globalization (Osella and Osella 2008; van Bruinessen and Howell 2007), it is clear that Naqshbandi-Haqqani followers' appropriation of this ideological opposition in Montréal is a political act with important implications. The casting of religious openness from a "Muslim" standpoint is endowed with a moral content, which is, in turn, embodied by what followers describe as the specificity of the Naqshbandi-Haqqani mystical experience. As such, the form of tolerant cosmopolitan identities claimed by Naqshbandi-Haqqani followers in Montréal can be read as an effort to encourage Muslims to understand themselves as "citizens of the world," an expression that Montréal Naqshbandi-Haqqani followers regularly use for themselves, and to open themselves up to different socio-political contexts. Concrete examples of the casting of religious openness are the regular opening of the centre to primary school children and to Concordia University students for the purpose of intercultural popular education or the sheikhs' willingness to celebrate interfaith marriages. In fact, under these circumstances, Imam Koné became a public religious personality in the context of debates on religious, social and cultural diversity that marked Quebec in 2007 through 2008 (The Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences or the Bouchard-Taylor Commission [CCAPRCD]), defending the openness and cosmopolitanism of "moderate" Muslims in Montréal. Imam Farhat Jouini is also very present in the media for preaching tolerance; recently, in December 2011, he joined his voice with other Canadian imams, during a Friday sermon that was presented in the local media in the context of reports on the Shafia lawsuit, to denounce violence against women.[12]

Aside from the reproduction of the ideological boundary between Sufism and Islamism, devotees draw on doctrinal components to assert that Sufism is an open and tolerant form of Islam; they especially evoke the Sufi notions of "Love," 'Unity" and "Truth." According to the Naqshbandi-Haqqani order's official website, Sufism is "the way of purifying the heart from bad manners and characteristics." In relation to Islam, it is "the path of spirituality that exists in Islam." This means that it involves "1. Seeking the pleasure of God; 2. Love and peace with one's self; 3. Harmony with all creations (mankind, animals, and nature); 4. To be dressed with the beautiful attributes of Prophets and Saints" (Naqshbandi-Haqqani Sufi Order of America). It should be noted here that my appeal to the Naqshbandi tariqa official website fits with the devotees' practice of consulting and referring to the information there for purposes of religious devotion. The doctrinal logic of tolerance, as articulated by imams and members at the Montréal centre, can be summarized as follows: Sufis believe that God desires the recognition of beauty. Just as one looks at oneself in the mirror, God looks at Himself in nature. This Sufi concept of love, nonetheless, is not limited to God; it includes human love with the idea that everything is a manifestation of God. This notion of "Love" is articulated with the notion of "Unity" (wahdat), understood through the doctrine of tawhid. Simply put, tawhid states that all phenomena are manifestations of a single reality, al-Haq (Truth/God). The chief aim of all Sufis is, thus, to let go of all notions of separateness, including the individual self, to realize the divine unity, which is considered to be the truth. As a consequence, the realization of divine unity necessitates absolute tolerance and openness toward others; namely, the necessity to look for similitude rather than difference.

It is striking that the mysticism that devotees at the centre associate with Sufism is consonant with the new forms of spirituality in Western post-secular societies, including New Age mysticism and the long Western fascination with Eastern mysticism (Genn 2007; Haenni and Voix 2007; Abu-Manneh 2007). In Quebec, the appeal to mystical Sufism cannot be dissociated from processes of secularization, during which provincial institutions have progressively moved away from the centralising control of the Catholic Church. In this context, religious experience has been privatized, and religion has been reframed as more plural. It is significant here that membership at the centre includes several French Canadian and English Canadian converts. As a female English Canadian convert to Islam explained:

I converted to Islam close to 20 years ago. I was in my early thirties at the time. In my twenties, I had flirted with a number of New Age mystical practices but was never fully satisfied. I "discovered" Islam through a friend at the university, a women from Pakistan who was doing her Ph.D. with me. At first, it was more rigid than I was used to or that I would have expected. Through this friend, I met a man also from Pakistan and we married. A few years ago, we

started to attend the Sufi centre and then I felt comforted in my spiritual choices. Teachings at the centre and the particular works of Sheikh Farath and Koné fit very well with my notions of tolerance, even if for a long time I hesitated to tell people around me that I had converted to Islam. It has such a bad reputation. [interview, May 22, 2007]

Nonetheless, the type of mystical experience that devotees describe as their "closeness to God" must also be read within the framework of a global appeal by urban middle classes to the hybrid mobilization of religious referents (Champion and Hervieu-Léger 1990; Haenni and Voix 2007). As I noted above, the transcultural life experiences and the middle-class background of most devotees at the centre certainly matches this reading of new forms of spirituality. In fact, when talking about their religious trajectory, devotees tend to be concerned mainly with direct personal experience, some even going so far as to compare their awakening to Sufism with other forms of mysticism such as Zen Buddhism and Gnosticism, as well as New Age movements. Moreover, at the centre, faith and religion are often presented as a source of psychological relief by Sheikh Koné, emphasizing the therapeutic dimensions of Sufism, often encountered in similar global religious contexts in which members of urban middle classes amalgamate different religious referents. In Sheikh Koné's own words:

> The world has become a difficult place. We are no longer comfortable in it. We are not at ease. Each one of us finds his own therapy: sport, Zen philosophy, raves.... Today, we spend a lot of time tending to our body, but we neglect our soul. One cannot be without the other.... Psychologists are the new preachers of good faith since the Quiet Revolution.[13] We no longer tend to the soul.... We apparently have come to the top closing stages of civilization. Nonetheless, man has never been so lonely, sad. He has never been so abused.... Educate your soul before your ego, its counterweight, takes over turning you into human robots. [field notes, extract from a sermon, March 2005][14]

The Socio-Political Significance of the Idiom of Tolerance

The discourse of openness to ethnic and religious pluralism used by the devotees and by the two imams has socio-political relevance on two levels: (1) in view of historically constructed distinctions among Muslims and (2) in light of recent debates about the place of religion in Quebec. On the first level, devotees strongly assert

that their practice of Sufism does not follow the various Islamist trends within contemporary Islam. In the contemporary post-9/11 context, the leaders and members of the Centre Soufi Naqshbandi—Masjid Al-Iman have consciously insisted on differentiating themselves from Islamists, in the context of the research that we conducted, in public, and often in the mass media. This was also the case for several other mosques and Islamic centres in Montréal. At the time of our first meeting, Sheikh Koné insisted, "Here, we are not politicized. We are not 'extremists.' We share with people; we help people find their path in life. That is all" (field notes, April 2005). Beyond the geopolitics of the post-9/11 context, it is also worth noting that some of the devotees at the centre come from places in the world where religious identities have historically been articulated to the tension between longstanding local trends of Sufism and recurrent reformist streams. Past experiences of inclusion and exclusion certainly influence tariqa members' interpretation of religious tolerance. Furthermore, the Naqshbandis' portrayal of themselves as the "good" Muslims in contrast to Islamists, should be contextualized within the order's political agenda of playing this role at a more global level, as evidenced, for instance, in the conflict between Sheikh Hisham Kabbani with "Wahhabis," or so-called "fundamentalist Muslims" in the United States (for details, see Hicks 2008).

On the second level of socio-political relevance, I would argue that their positioning within an "open" and "tolerant" form of Islam allows devotees to partake in public debates about the place of religion in Quebec, as exemplified by their leaders' public involvement. This is not necessarily the case with Muslims perceived as "extremists" or "intolerant." While the latter group's viewpoint is often presented in the media as the only perspective of Muslims, so-called "extremist Muslims" are usually excluded from public debate and rarely, if ever, invited to intercultural exchanges; their perspectives tend to be construed as incompatible with Quebec's citizenship regime (i.e., interculturalism). The distinction that the Montréal members of the Sufi centre make between Sufism and "fundamentalists" allows them to appear removed from the "conspiracy to Islamize" in the context of the global "War on Terror" and recent debates about religion and secularism in Quebec.

The positioning of Sufism as a welcoming form of Islam opens up the possibility to participate in Quebec's privileged citizenship regime and, more specifically, in Montréal's plural cultural and religious everyday life; that is, to initiate and to promote interreligious encounters, as is the case with the celebration of interfaith marriages, the participation in interfaith events and the

multiplication of sermons and education regarding religious and social tolerance. In other words, the distinction between Sufism and "fundamentalists" plays a role beyond an instrumental response to the stigmatization of Muslims in Canada and abroad; it opens up the possibility of active and engaged participation in Quebec society. In fact, religious discourse at the centre reflects the readiness of devotees to participate in public discussions regarding the place of religion in Quebec. Themes raised in sermons at the centre illustrate this. Sermons by Sheikhs Farath and Koné tend to deal with everyday life issues in Quebec, such as a critique of materialist worldviews and the virtues of minimal materialism (referred to as *simplicité volontaire* in Quebec and adopted as a lifestyle by a growing number of people) and respect for the environment, as well as the intricacies of urban, ethnic, racial and religious pluralism. Beyond the production of discourses of openness, the centre is also dedicated to organizing social and religious activities that promote tolerance and intercultural exchange. The two imams and some of their followers participate actively in public awareness activities and in the promotion of intercultural and interreligious understanding with groups such as Présence Musulmane,[15] Vox Populi[16] and Journée conscience nouvelle (an interfaith meditation day held in 2006 and 2007). The pot luck dinner held weekly at the centre in 2005 and 2006 is another example of openness to others, where devotees are invited to bring their friends and family members. It is an occasion when French Canadian and English Canadian converts invite their siblings or parents to the centre. Furthermore, Sheikh Koné, more specifically, has consciously carved himself a specific space in Quebec's public sphere as an "open and tolerant imam," using this ideological construct to further his religious actions. Among other things, he regularly appears on television when questions of Islamic radicalism are discussed; this was more often the case between 2005 and 2008, with some more recent recurrences in the context of the Shafia trial. For instance, in October 2007, in the circumstance of the Bouchard-Taylor Commission's hearings that had already placed Muslims at the centre of debates in the media, there was a new scandal when a Montréal-based, radical imam, Jaziri, was expelled from Canada. The same week, Sheikh Koné, dressed in traditional Sufi garb (with a green turban), appeared on *Tout le monde en parle*, a very popular Sunday night Talk Show, and eagerly addressed such issues regarding women's status in Islam, the veil and homosexuality; his discourse contrasted sharply with the highly controversial discourse of Imam Jaziri that had saturated the press during the same week. During an informal discussion at the centre,

one of the female devotees confirmed Sheikh's Koné's public image as the prototypical "good Muslim":

> After my conversion to Islam [at 16 years old], I started to read about Sufism and I looked for a brotherhood in Montréal. After the 9/11 events, I saw Sheikh Omar [Koné] on television, and I was impressed by his discourse. But I did not really try to locate the Naqshbandi centre in Montréal. While studying at McGill University, I heard Pakistani students talk about a Sufi mosque, I asked them about it and they invited me to come along. This is when I realized that it was Sheikh Omar's mosque. I did not look for another mosque and I started to attend the centre because I had been so impressed by the piety of Sheikh Koné. He is such a good Muslim, such a good example. [field notes, July 21 2005]

The idioms of tolerance and openness are framed in relation to Quebec and Canadian society. The discourse of tolerance produced by the devotees draws a parallel with the perception that recent migrants have of Quebec society in terms of openness to cultural differences and is not far from the idea of interculturalism. One female devotee of Tunisian origin compared her experience in Montréal with her experience in Paris:

> Here, as long as you do not disturb people, nobody will tell you to take off your veil or whatever. You can even go to work wearing your veil in a government office. You can teach in a public school wearing your veil. You could not do this in Paris! Here, I do not usually wear the veil, but I could. [field notes, May 2005]

The tolerance for individualized religious expressions is ultimately framed in the context of the Canadian Human Rights Act. As I explained earlier, the act guarantees that individuals and groups cannot be discriminated against on the basis of religious belief and practice, as long as they remain within the boundaries of the ideology of multiculturalism. Officially, multiculturalism[17] is based on the idea that Canada is composed of distinct cultural groups with equal status. It is worth noting that "equal status" does not necessarily lead to beneficial cultural exchanges; it means rather "of equal status" in the face of the two historically dominant groups, namely French Canadians and English Canadians (Helly 2000). In Canada, however, multiculturalism is not generally interpreted as an assault on national identity, sometimes translated into a "conspiracy to Islamize," as is the case in some European countries (Cesari 2005; Koenig 2005). In Quebec, there have always been political leaders, associated with both the political right and the political left, who have raised the

alarm about the "dangers" of intercultural exchanges to the possibility of a strong French-speaking Québécois identity; this has especially been the case in the context of the debates on "reasonable accommodation." The ambiguity of the political class regarding cultural and religious encounters in Quebec society draws attention to the necessity to show how claims of tolerance operate beyond the instrumentalization of popular political discourses.

Da'wa as a Source of Cosmopolitanism

According to devotees at the centre, openness is not only associated with the notion of tolerance and interfaith exchange but also to the idea of cosmopolitanism. In the anthropological literature, cosmopolitanism is often heralded as a cultural orientation ideally suited to the sociocultural and economic complexities emanating from the accelerating pace of globalization. It is also presented in contrast to notions of culture and identity (Kuper 1994), thus opening up the possibility of a more inclusive notion of cultural citizenship (Rapport 2005). In the context of Montréal's multiethnic and religiously plural landscape, the ideals of nomadic mobility and cultural flexibility certainly appeal to the members of the Centre Soufi Naqshbandi—Masjid Al-Iman. These ideals are generally regarded as requirements for contemporary urban life.

Beyond aspects of mobility and flexibility, for Montréal's Naqshbandi-Haqqani followers, the idiom of cosmopolitanism links two separate ideas: first, the notion that all humans belong to a single moral community (the umma in Islam) and, second, the notion that cosmopolitanism is associated with the notion of "citizens of the world," people who have developed extensive consideration for cultures beyond their own culture of origin. As noted above, Naqshbandi devotees frequently use "citizens of the world" to describe their life experience as well as their cultural affiliations. In many cases, the appeal to a worldwide citizenship relates both to their status and life experience as migrants and to their political sensitivities. In relation to the idea of "citizens of the world," the idiom of cosmopolitanism is evoked mostly as an effort by the devotees to open themselves to different socio-political contexts and to encourage tolerance in view of religious and cultural difference.

However, the conceptual association between cosmopolitanism and the sense of belonging to a single moral community situated within the religious framework of Islam is perhaps a less conventional way of claiming a cosmopolitan posture, at least in view of the definition that has historically been tied with the notion

of modern secularism (Calhoun 2003). The "moralization" of the notion of cosmopolitanism is embodied, at the discursive level, within the proselytizing work of Sheikh Nazim. As such, the Sheikh's travels and da'wa efforts are described as the source of the order's multiethnic and cosmopolitan dimension or as the ethical potential for the unification of the umma. One of the tariqa's devotees in Montréal explained:

> The Sheikh is so committed and he is so popular around the world that we can only grow. Everywhere he goes, he gets followers. If you saw him, if you heard him speak, you would follow him. He is like an attracting force. [field notes, May 5, 2005]

In fact, for the devotees, the "attracting force" of the sheikh lies in his moral appeal to uniting the umma. The ethical potential of the umma comes about because the leader of the order is alive and is used to extensive travel, encouraging the integration of the otherwise culturally diverse umma. Sheikh Koné describes the ethical potential of the sheikh's da'wa in the following terms:

> Because it makes teachings more alive, we still have a living master, a true heir. In many Sufi orders, the heirs have not transmitted the secret of the heart to the order. As a consequence, they became orders of blessing rather than real orders of guidance based on in-depth teachings. The secret is still alive because here we talk about spirituality, the esoteric, in other words of spiritual realization and this kind of reality that is carried in the heart. Ah! We have a living example, who guides all day long, all year long, who teaches, who has travelled tremendously, who has travelled the world numerous times in the past 30 years.... And, his followers have always been as diverse as we are here. He has always attracted people of all ages, all ethnic origin, all groupings. He has done so in contrast with other orders that have mainly settled geographical monopolies without really spreading outside of their borders. [interview, November 24, 2005]

The figure of the sheikh as the link between local communities across different regions of the world where followers are located is no different from his contemporaries who are at the core of other national and transnational Sufi networks (Werbner 2007). While travel, especially pilgrimage to the graves of Sufi saints, has longstanding historical roots (Werbner and Basu 1998; Werbner 2003), the deterritorialization of Sufi cults and the translocal character of charisma (Allievi and Nielsen 2003; Grillo 2004; van Bruinessen and Howell 2007) has been extended to include the world travel of leadership

figures, as well as their considerable use of and presence in the media, enhanced by the accessibility of the Internet and other communications media (Bunt 2000; Hoover and Lundby 1997).[18] Nonetheless, beyond the global deterritorialization of Sufi charisma, the discursive process that ties the translocal character of Sheikh Nazim's charisma to the devotees' cosmopolitan claims as the source of the potential ethical unification of the umma relates to the specificity of post-secular debates within Quebec, including the challenges of interculturalism.

At the level of the everyday life practice of devotees, the "moralization" of cosmopolitanism can be tied to the attractiveness of the communitarian character of the centre. While devotees whom we interviewed generally traced their involvement with Sufism in terms of an individual search for mystical experiences, they were also attracted by the sense of belonging to the community that the centre provides. The intensity of the social networks woven around the centre attest to its communitarian character, as do the frequent social activities that take place within the centre and between the tariqa followers. It must be noted that the centre is situated in a downtown neighbourhood, which, until its gentrification in the 1990s, was populated by university students and artists and was home to one of the Montréal Hassidim; containing several community-based projects, this area has always had an intense neighbourhood life.

Besides ritualized religious ceremonies, the centre is also a socializing space for its members and some of their friends. As a significant number of its active members live or work in the centre's neighbourhood, the centre serves as their meeting place, along with a restaurant and two local cafés owned by some of the centre's members, located a few streets from the centre. The following excerpt from field notes gives a sense of the strength of neighbourhood life and the place of the centre in it:

> While getting out of the centre, Aïcha told me that she was going to the garden. I took it as an invitation and I followed her. We talk about the garden, which is a great element of pride for the centre. It was made as a communal effort by the members of the centre at the beginning of the spring. We admire the brick wall that has been painted wine red; Oriental designs have been painted around some of the windows. Aïcha explains that the project is to create a Mauritanian style taken from one of the books in the centre's library. She wants to show it to me but she cannot find it. Some men are working in the basement of the building; we hear them because the door to the basement is open. The restaurant owner from the neighbouring building comes by in the backstreet

and greets us. Ismaël, another member of the centre, walks by and greets us. He will stop at the centre later; he needs to run errands in the neighbourhood. Adiba comes by the backstreet. She carries a cage with a cat in it. She is not wearing her veil. She did not intend to come in the centre. Aïcha calls her. Alassane [another man in the garden] takes the cage and tells her to come in. Adiba comes in for 'just a minute.' Alassane enters the basement. [field notes, June 8, 2005]

In fact, the centre is a space that helps to catalyze existing social networks. To a large degree, the weaving of these different social networks at the centre enhances cosmopolitan claims because, on the one hand, they are highly mobile and flexible, and on the other hand, they ultimately bring together members of the umma or individuals who belong to the same moral community. Moreover, participation in the different social networks that come together at the centre opens up the possibility of interaction with non-Sufis in Quebec, thereby encouraging one's attainment of Sufi love, or tolerance as I described it above.

Yet, this search for a moral community, whether it is embedded within everyday life practice at the centre or within the symbolic appeal of a "cosmopolitan umma," suggests that being a Muslim in Quebec's present context is not necessarily that simple. Beyond the socio-political implications of 9/11 for Muslims in North America, the recent religious transformations within the French-speaking Québécois community, the obvious tension between Quebec's appeal to interculturalism and its strong cultural identity project, and the nature of recent religious public debates place Muslims in a position where they need to justify their moral and political positions with regard to Quebec's society. Naqshbandi devotees have entered the few openings that have been offered to them under the practices of interculturalism. For both Naqshbandi cosmopolitanism and the Québécois version of interculturalism, the tension between the umma and world citizenry is very likely to mark out the limits of possible interfaith and intercultural exchanges. The compatibility between the umma, the world citizen and Quebec's nationalist cultural project is not readily evident. In other words, the balancing act for Naqshbandi devotees between their allegiance to the umma and to Quebec society may turn out to be rather precarious, especially if "proof" of their tolerance relies on their appropriation of the dichotomy between the "good" and the "bad" Muslim. In fact, the post-1970s Canadian context (in reference to the ideology of multiculturalism and the Canadian Human Rights Act) has created a situation where religious rights are recognized

but where the limits of these rights are not easily identifiable; that is, it is very delicate to decide where the rights of one person impinge on the rights of another. This makes the ideologically constructed dichotomy between "good" and "bad" Muslims potentially highly dependent upon the nature of the demands that are made under the right to religious freedom, keeping in mind that Muslims in Quebec are not the ones making most of the demands for religious "accommodation."

Conclusion

It goes without saying that the "willingness to engage with the Other," privileged by Muslim Sufis as a way to situate oneself within Québécois society and Montréal's everyday life, resonates with the local mood of interethnic and interreligious relations. The context of interreligious relations in Quebec may also be less strained than they are south of the border in the context of the long-standing institutionalization of racial distinction or the more recent "War on Terror" or, again, in the French context (another important point of reference for recent migrants to Quebec), where interethnic and interreligious rapport carries a heavily loaded historical trajectory, marked by the history of French colonization and the Algerian war. Nonetheless, the emphasis on sites of cosmopolitanism, in the recent reading of sociocultural dynamics in Quebec, runs the risk of silencing several *rapports de force* that mark contemporary Québécois society or of masking the "dark side" of Quebec's social and cultural context, including instances of discrimination and racism. In fact, in the context of my investigations of Muslims in Montréal, the issue of discrimination rapidly made itself heard, once the veneer of openness and tolerance was scratched.

The allegedly insuperable political conflict between Islam and the West at the beginning of the 21st century has cast a long shadow over the relationships among people whose religious experiences build on efforts to negotiate spaces of intercultural understanding. However, the appeal to cosmopolitan identities and tolerance extends beyond the fact that religious pluralism is part of the diversity to be recognized and accommodated in the context of contemporary transnational mobility and multiethnic societies. As is the case with the Centre Soufi Naqshbandi, there exist several religious endeavours that clash with local constructions of secularism, not because they are defensively set in religious worldviews but because they aspire to inhabit the same public space as secularism by providing a Sufi framework for civic participation. In the context of Quebec, as a Muslim, the necessity to position oneself, in view of recent debates regarding the place of religion in the public

sphere, is clear. Naqshbandi-Haqqani devotees position themselves as compatible with the so-called openness of Quebec and Canadian society, in opposition to perceived radicalism of some other Muslims. Sheikh Farath's and Sheikh Koné's public activities specifically aim at the domain of intercultural understanding and, by extension, at global solidarity in a post-9/11 context. Moreover, devotion to Sheikh Nazim and the devotees' focus on his historical affiliations, or "Golden Chain," and life travels emphasize the fact that cosmopolitanism is not about the capacity to transcend all forms of belonging. Rather, it hints at the possibility of imagining that belonging enhances the likelihood of mutual understanding. Nonetheless, to preserve the distinction of Montréal's sociocultural dynamics, expressed through idioms of openness, tolerance and cosmopolitan identities, while maintaining at the forefront of anthropological analysis an interest for issues of discrimination, I would suggest shifting the nexus of analysis from a strict conceptual focus on privileged sites for intercultural tolerance toward an account of the cultural economy of difference that marks Quebec's contemporary complexity.

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Acknowledgments

Notes

1 The folklorizing reading of Quebec culture is probably best exemplified by some of Quebec's early and well-known sociologists, who tried to capture the cultural specificity of Quebec's character or its Québécitude and whose work became models for community studies in Quebec. The works of Léon Guérin and Fernand Dumont, amongst others, are examples of this perspective.

2 As Osella and Osella (2008) argue, academic literature tends to reproduce the dichotomy between the "good Sufi Muslim" and the "bad reformist/Islamist Muslim."

3 This ethnographic research was funded by the Social Science Research Council of Canada (2004–2007).

4 Most notably, since Bill 101 passed in 1971, children of immigrants who have not been schooled in an English-speaking school in Canada have to attend French-language schools.

5 The commission was named after its two leaders: Serge Bouchard, a well-known Quebec sociologist, and the Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor.

6 The term *reasonable accommodation* is used in Canada and in Quebec to refer to the equality rights in section 15 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the antidiscrimination laws in Quebec's Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms. The origin of the term can be traced to labour law jurisprudence, arguing for the obligation of employers to change some general rules for certain employees, under the condition that this does not cause "undue hardship" to specific minorities.

7 The commission was created by the Liberal government in the context of a "perceived crisis" regarding recent reasonable accommodations that had been highly mediatized and that prompted a series of criticism of this practice by public institutions, especially government agencies, hospitals and schools.

8 According to the *Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés Culturelles du Québec* (2006). As an example, during the 1991 through 2001 decade, the Muslim population more than doubled in Quebec: Muslims in the province of Quebec went from 45,000 to 108,620 and, in the city of Montréal, where most of Quebec's migrants settle, from 41,000 to 100,185 (Statistics Canada 2004).

9 In 2003, Jean Chrétien, then leader of the Liberal Party and prime minister of Canada, refused to send Canadian army troops to the war in Iraq.

10 All interviews were conducted in French and have been translated by the author.

11 In Britain, some Naqshbandi groups are made up almost exclusively of an ethnic minority, whereas in other cases, they have a distinctively multiethnic following (Draper 2004; Werbner 2007).

12 The Shafia lawsuit refers to the murder of three sisters by their parents and brother on 30 June 2009 in Kingston, Ontario. This murder was prominently showcased in the Canadian media because it raised issues of honour crimes, Islam and the protection of vulnerable female populations.

13 This term is used to refer to the transformation of the dominant social and political power of the Catholic Church in Quebec society starting in the 1960s, which was accompanied by a series of political and economic reforms, including a move towards the secularization of the state and the emergence of the feminist movement.

14 This sermon was delivered in the context of an intercultural event organized by the group Vox Populi, where Sufis and non-Sufis met.

15 "Muslim Presence" is a network promoting universal values and active citizenship based on a contextualized reading of Islam, an open identity and a harmonious coexistence within the society (http://presencemusulmane.com/).

16 A local association that organizes conferences on themes linking psychology, philosophy and spirituality.

17 It should be recalled that this policy was created in 1971 in the context of national bilingualism to respond to grievances on the part of French Canadians.

18 Other authors have also highlighted the fact that some of the Naqshbandi order success in North America relates to its extensive use of information technology, especially the Internet (see Nielsen 2003).

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Mon Dieu, Bourdieu: The Magic of the Academy and Its Ancestor Cults

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Books are not made to be believed, but to be subjected to inquiry. William of Baskerville in Umberto Eco, *Name of the Rose*

Abstract: By looking at the vast corpus of texts on Pierre Bourdieu in an unexpected way, this article uses a material culture analysis to study the social relations of academics. We find Bourdieu's name and his dictionary of concepts used not only as signifiers of his theory but also for its *mana*, the efficacy of its social capital. Bourdieu is a ghost summoned by his inner circle that has turned his name and concepts into totems that are reinforced through ritualized writing, hence feeding the development and stewardship of Bourdieu's (and academia's) ancestor cult, its magic.

Keywords: Bourdieu, magic, social capital, material culture, academia, ancestor, knowledge production, legitimacy

Résumé : Examinant le vaste corpus des textes relatifs à Pierre Bourdieu d'une façon inattendue, cet article a recours à une analyse de culture matérielle pour étudier les relations sociales des universitaires. Nous constatons que le nom de Bourdieu et son dictionnaire de concepts sont utilisés non seulement comme signifiants de sa théorie mais aussi son mana, l'efficacité de son capital social. Bourdieu est un esprit convoqué par son cercle rapproché qui a transformé son nom et ses concepts en totems dont la puissance est renforcée par une écriture ritualisée, nourrissant ainsi l'élaboration et l'intendance du culte des ancêtres de Bourdieu (et du milieu universitaire), son pouvoir magique.

Mots-clés : Bourdieu, magie, capital social, culture matérielle, monde universitaire, ancêtres, production du savoir, légitimité

Introduction: Making Bourdieu, Making Magic

This article is about a system of magic based around an ancestor cult, filled with rituals and totems, in the halls of every university, throughout every discipline. Granted, there is a great degree of variation in the magic of biology and, say, the fine arts; however, this variation does not negate the simple but profound fact that, as we argue here, there is magic in the academy and that it has concrete consequences for the scientific method and, above all, the locus of scientific legitimacy. Some anthropologists know this process as contagious magic (Fraser 1959), others as mimesis (Taussig 1993). Magic, in this understanding, is not separate from modernity and most certainly not its binary opposition, but it describes a process that may even be "inherent to the exercise of power in general" (Geschiere 2003:162), as exemplified in Geschiere's (2003) comparison between African witch doctors and American spin doctors and her conclusion that, despite significant differences, both instances constitute a negotiation and manipulation of the imaginary. Magic is, thus, a process wherein "forms of publicity and secrecy complement or supplement each other, that is ... the ways in which the persuasiveness of the symbols we live by thrives on a combination of faith and skepticism, revelation and concealment" (Pels 2003:3).

In this article, we contend that such magic can be found in the academy and set out to argue this case based on an examination of the legacy and academic treatment of Pierre Bourdieu. The practitioners of this magic we call the Ancestor-Cult of Bourdieu—those who use Bourdieu and his terms in contagious and mimical ways. Bourdieu's name and his dictionary of concepts are often used as signifiers of his theory, but

they are also often found being used for its *mana*, the efficacy of its social capital. Importantly, the purpose of this article is not to discredit the work of Bourdieu or the work of those whose research is informed by it but, in fact, to reinforce one of Bourdieu's (2003) core concepts—the notion of participant objectivation—and, therein, the need to more carefully examine anthropological professionalism and its impact on knowledge production.

> It is indeed scientifically attested that [the anthropologist's] most decisive scientific choices (of topic, method, theory etc.) depend very closely on the location she (or he) occupies within her professional universe, what I call the "anthropological field," with its national traditions and peculiarities, its habits of thought, its mandatory problematics, its shared beliefs and commonplaces, its rituals, values, and consecrations, its constraints in matters of publication of findings, its specific censorships, and, by the same token, the biases embedded in the organizational structure of the discipline, that is, in the collective history of the specialism, and all the unconscious presuppositions built into the (national) categories of scholarly understanding. [Bourdieu 2003:283]

We therefore ask, if contagious magic is indeed being deployed in research, to what extent is the research valid? Are these the mechanisms of what Richard Feynman (1985) called "cargo-cult science"? Where lies the legitimacy of academic writing? Where is its authority? These are questions too big for this article to cover in detail; however, what does seem certain and a premise from which we operate is that there is a paradox if academic authority is invoked, above all, through references to an ancestral authority beyond anything else. Specifically, we argue that a recognition of and engagement with this paradox is crucial, however marginal, for moving anthropological knowledge production beyond the boundaries imposed by magicians in the academy and the prevalence of ancestor cults.

The Material Culture of Academia

The production of this text required the identification of a methodological framework in which we would be able to insert and explain our data and which could most comprehensively identify degrees of revelation and concealment in the academic treatment of Pierre Bourdieu. We argue that this is best done through a material culture approach to the study of *homo academicus*, thus following Bourdieu's notion of *object*ivation and Latour's (1986) proposition that any academic knowledge production, indeed, the scientific revolution in itself, could not

have been possible without the possibility of transforming knowledge into inscriptions (objects) and, as a result, into "immutable mobiles" (1986:7). Through inscriptions, a 3D observation is turned into a flat, 2D object that can be easily multiplied and spread (mobile), while remaining the same in its reproductions (immutable). Inscriptions can then also "be reshuffled and *recombined*" (1986:19), producing an ever increasing corpus or "cascade" (1986:20) of new inscriptions that are resistant to dissent.

In this recognition, we divided "the book" in two: the "book" as we would know it in the emic parlance of the university and the "book-object" as what publishers worry about. Here we elevate the book-object to a position equal to that of the text within; in other words, we are judging the book by its cover. This is a simple adaptation of Pellegram's methodology used in *The Message in Paper* (1998), wherein she investigated office rituals surrounding the use of paper: "the latent and incidental message through which an object becomes an artefact of human interaction as a residue of a social relation" (1998:103). The book-object is not without analytic import; indeed, a semiotic analysis of the book-object has much to reveal. What we have found in the analysis are totems (Durkheim 1995) in the book-object and rituals, which are generative of magic (Fraser 1959), in its social life (Kopytoff 1986) including its modern applications (Pels 2003; Taussig 2003).

Consider the following quote from Malinowski (1961:397) in the inverse: "The objective items of culture, into which belief has crystallized in the form of tradition, myth, spell and rite are the most important sources of knowledge." Framing the Bourdieu issue in terms of magic, ritual, totem and the like is by no means tongue in cheek; it is not allegorical but, instead, firmly literal as readily visible in Meyer and Pels's (2003) landmark edited volume *Magic and Modernity*. Eschewing the epoch obsessionism of modernist and postmodernist scholarship, Meyer and Pels and others firmly situate the classic anthropological discourse on magic in contemporary contexts. We take this project one step further by looking at magic practices inside the academy itself.

Importantly, the books reviewed here represent an assemblage of objects tethered to a particular time and particular place: a bookshelf in a university library. It is not a systematic selection of texts based on a desire for comprehensive coverage of a discrete theoretical topic; instead, it constitutes a systematic analysis of the materiality of books as a type of knowledge "container." We are not asking what Bourdieu and scholars of his work have to say about something, as is most commonly

the case but, rather, what these objects, including but not restricted to their texts, say about Bourdieu and scholars of his work. The Bourdieusian corpus merely provides a convenient genre of media for analysis. If this assemblage of objects is taken to represent the entire corpus of Bourdieu's work, then it is, without any doubt, incredibly inadequate; yet, to do so is *not* the purpose of this article. The assemblage discussed and presented here matters insofar as libraries matter: the bookshelf in question is the result of a long line of information management decisions involving policies and budgets, and academics' and librarians' opinions of which books, among the many, matter and should be rewarded with increased, using Latour's (1986) term, "mobility," or using Morville's (2005), "findability." According to Morville, in this age of information overload, the ease of finding information is most important and then, to borrow the subtitle of his (2005) volume, "what we find changes who we become."

Exemplary is our experience with the initial double-blind reviews that we received for this article. One reviewer suggested, rightfully so, that our analysis had major gaps in its treatment of the Bourdieusian corpus. The accounts covered here indeed ignore some literature on Bourdieu that transcends the magic of ancestor cults, perhaps even counteracting this very phenomenon. We were asked to take a closer look at Bruce Knauft's *Genealogies for the Present* (1996). After reading some reviews we agreed that it would, indeed, offer important additional, perhaps even diverging, insights. Yet, when we proceeded to actually find the book, we learned that no university library in our immediate surrounding had purchased a copy and this included the libraries of two research-intensive universities with strong anthropology and social science departments. In other words, the findability of this particular volume was, for the authors of this article, severely restricted, suggesting an instance of academic magic in and of itself. The book's existence was revealed to us, yet access to it remained concealed.

Thus, we ask our readers not to confuse what is written here with a comprehensive examination of Bourdieu and what has been written on him; this is "a medium is the message" study. We suggest that insofar as Stocking's (1992) *The Ethnographer's Magic* constitutes an anthropology of anthropology, our article is the result of, and to be understood as, an anthropological archaeology of academic knowledge production, focusing on the artefacts and technologies of the academic at a particular place and time.

Data Analysis: The Totem, Rituals and Magic

In this section we represent and analyze our data set. We do so by the following indices. First, we consider the book as a book-object: its physical materiality (details regarding the production, the birth of the book, are located in the culturally appropriate Bibliography section and, therefore, they will not be stated here unless otherwise useful) and the direct interlocutors, especially those who, through translating or other editorial practices, write prefaces. Second, we treat the book as *book*, as it is commonly understood. We analyze the print, the text itself.

We argue that, due to the actions of the cult and broad interest in and out of academia, these texts are living in the sense that at the point when we catch and release them for our study, their social biographies (Appadurai 1986:1) are in medias res. There is a birth and maturation; that is to say, the books have been written, edited and published and have yet to die (death in this case is hard to define). Books are commonly not treated as objects that, like dead books or scrolls, are enamoured by museologists. However, we find the line between the living and the dead, in this context, is a matter defined *in writing*. In our readings of these texts, our concern has been to identify the phraseology indicating the socially constructive mechanisms used by members of Bourdieu's cult.

Bourdieu, the Teacher and the Teacher-Object

This artefactual category is, at first sight, the most basic and includes two books intended to provide our most general understanding of Bourdieu and his work: instructions on how to best approach him, which of his concepts are the most integral, and how we can link him to others whom we have read introductory texts about, such as Foucault, Latour or even Marx.

The two artefacts included are Grenfell (2008a) (Artefact 1), and Webb and colleagues (2002) (Artefact 2). An analysis of both artefacts—the books and the book-objects—reveals their simple associations: an attempt to disentangle Bourdieu's colourful and complex writing to make his main concepts and contexts of research approachable for anyone irrespective of one's primary fields of research. The introductory chapters of both artefacts fully acknowledge this purpose, especially Grenfell (2008b:6), whose edited volume is "to offer what amounts to a worldview from a Bourdieusian perspective; as a way of encouraging others to develop and apply it in their own methods and disciplines." The

reason given by Webb and colleagues for writing *Understanding Bourdieu* (2002) is not much different, though perhaps even more telling: they hope to decipher Bourdieu in order to proliferate his name and his concepts, given that "Bourdieu's status is far more peripheral than that of Foucault" (Webb et al. 2002:1) particularly in the context of Anglo-American scholarship. Both books are clear in their intentions: they attempt to teach us about Bourdieu or perhaps, to be more precise, to teach us that and how we should include Bourdieu and his key concepts in our research because "there are few aspects of contemporary cultural theory.... to which Bourdieu has not made a significant contribution" (2002:1).

Constructing Bourdieu and his work in such a manner clearly portrays him as a teacher, someone we can learn from and, given that we cannot always learn from the teacher directly, someone who can and should be taught about—a teacher-object. Bourdieu and his work are so crucial for the social sciences that we *have* to be able to "talk" about him; in other words, to "reference" him in discourses both verbal and textual. The Bourdieusian worldview is indispensable, although so large, protracted and complex that those of us who are not primarily concerned with Bourdieu need the help of others to understand him—to not include him in our work is simply not an option; at least this is the message we find throughout both of these introductory volumes.

At the same time, these volumes do not recognize that the very phenomenon described in the previous paragraph could be considered contradictory, or rather, in its partial recognition and hence revelation, it continues to be concealed. And herein lies the magic. Returning to concrete examples, Grenfell argues that his edited book "can also be read as an epistemological warning to those who might reify the concepts which follow as concrete entities, or metaphorical narratives, rather than approaching them as necessary tools to understanding the practical logic of fields" (2008c:10). Similarly, in the context of epistemic reflexivity, Webb and colleagues (2002:61) note, "Bourdieu has insisted on the close relations between his theories and the specific contexts in which they are employed and out of which they (in a sense) arose." Grenfell as well as Webb and colleagues fully acknowledge that one has to be cautioned about the application of Bourdieu's concepts, that one has to consider them within their given contexts. After all, the sacred Parisian philosopher must be ritualistically isolated from the profane Anglo-American reader.

On the other hand, neither Grenfell nor Webb and colleagues apply this recognition in individual chapters,

the best example being the individual chapters on epistemic reflexivity in both texts. Deer (2008), responsible for Grenfell's chapter on reflexivity, discusses epistemic reflexivity, but, we argue, she does so only superficially. Deer (also Webb et al.) does not, at any point in time, put Bourdieu's epistemic reflexivity within the context of his actual ethnographic practice. They discuss his theory of practice without a recognition of practice itself, thus distorting or perhaps appropriating Bourdieu and his concepts, transforming them into tools "to begin to construct the kind of 'new gaze', or *metanoia*, to which Bourdieu referred. It is to see the world through the eyes of one man" (Grenfell 2008d:218). This reductionist portrayal is an attempt, we feel, to distil Bourdieu into the brevity and impact of Newtonianesque laws, unhinged from ethnographic context.

Here we have seen the magic of education, the hallmark of the academic witchdoctor's trade. The ethnographic record is replete with evidence of magicians wielding important and sacred knowledge about anything and everything, from biology to the stars, but the trick is in the wielding. We have clearly seen in this section that editors, operating under the austere pretences of creating greater access to cryptic texts, have concealed knowledge. The crafty use of Bourdieusian totems, hence, creates magic. Combined with the effect of being "revealers," these editors constructed a magical object and in so doing ritually created their own magical effect. The function and target of this effect, however, is crucial to the poignancy of our critique: drawing out the resilience of anthropology through the dissolution of a subjectified pretence implicated in the objectification of knowledge in book form.

Bourdieu, the Provocateur

The title of this artefactual category and the primary artefact it analyzes is a curious one. An *agent provocateur* refers to a person who, acting on behalf of state interests, poses as a revolutionary to incite violent protest, thus providing the pretext for the state to respond in kind. A bold statement, indeed, when made in reference to Bourdieu. Yet, our concern here is not to judge whether or not Bourdieu was indeed an agent provocateur (or perhaps instead a "demonstration marshall," those revolutionary stewards charged with the task of routing out the imposters), but it is to identify the degree to which Bourdieu is portrayed as (rather than simply is or was) an agent provocateur.

Grenfell (2004) (Artefact 3) and Reed-Danahay (2005) (Artefact 4) fall into this category. Both represent and analyze Bourdieu within the context of the provocateur, Bourdieu's "socio-political engagement" (Grenfell 2004:2)

and Bourdieu as a man "who seemed to enjoy the challenge and riposte of academic discourse as he attacked his opponents and was defensive in responses to critics" (Reed-Danahay 2005:1). Both volumes do not (only) introduce Bourdieu's concepts and attempt to spread a Bourdieusian worldview, but perhaps more troublesome, they let Bourdieu merge as an everyday hero. By so doing, they spread his influence beyond the confined boundaries of the academy. In Grenfell's own words, "This book aims to present Bourdieu's work as a practical example of intervention, and its consequences, in the social world ... to develop a theory of practice and method which link academic thought to the world of Everyman" (Grenfell 2004:3). Reed-Danahay bluntly states, "My own perspective ... will lend Bourdieu a bit more social agency than he admits" (2005:20).

This is, then, reflective of the old "rationality debate" (Luhrmann 1997:298) in the anthropological discourse on magic, which asks, "To what extent can a connection be made between sign and signifier, act and action, thought and agency?" (1997:298). Indeed, these two accounts clearly reveal that Bourdieu is made to be more than just a scholar, a teacher; he is to be understood as someone, a provocateur, who one cannot escape from, not even Bourdieu himself. By so doing, Grenfell (2004) and Reed-Danahay (2005) not only surpass Bourdieu's own claims, but they may also even contradict him and his work. Reed-Danahay admits that the reason why Bourdieu never directly implicated himself in his work is that, "given his theory, he could not write an autobiography in which he was the heroic, unique, individual" (2005:23); yet, she and Grenfell do nothing else, and they do not seem to apprehend the contradiction in so doing. They write heroic stories for, about and of Bourdieu, hence rejecting Bourdieu's very teachings. Grenfell (2004) continuously underlines Bourdieu's commitment to social improvement—in the context of Algeria, education and training, and media and culture, just to mention a few. Likewise, Reed-Danahay (2005) examines, among others, education, habitus and situated subjectivities. Bourdieu, then, does not become a *provocateur* but an *anti-provocateur*, an academic but also an everyday hero outside of the conventional and with an invincible spirit:

> At the time of his death in 2002, one daily newspaper announced that "Bourdieu was dead" but then added the comment that "it was not certain that he had recognized the fact yet!" In this black humour, there is something profound about his fierce independence and determination not to be ruled by social conventions and definitions. [Grenfell 2004:192]

Both of these volumes, seemingly unconsciously, introduce the deepest irony in the cult of Bourdieu: the creation of a new distinction, the Bourdieu distinction, the distinction of being an initiate or an outsider of the ancestor cult through the social capital of his name traded through networks of academics. We find a social stratification, internal to the world of academics but also bolstering the magical appearance of it to those on the outside of the academy.

Bourdieu, the Myth, the Musketeer

Swashbuckling to the next artefactual category, we find ourselves in the elevation of Bourdieu's heroism to the near-mythical, the fictional. Bourdieu is no longer only a contemporary hero for the world of academics as well as the outside world, but he is also intertwined with the French nation's myth, the heroes of the past and their impact on the present.

Such a construction of Bourdieu is most explicit in Yair's portrayal (2009) (Artefact 5) of him as musketeer, fighting for "France": *Pierre Bourdieu: The Last Musketeer of the French Revolution*. In this volume, we find the cult of Bourdieu through a twisting hagiographic lens conflating Bourdieu's place in French history into the mythic cosmology of the ancien regime, d'Artagnan and even Joan of Arc. Here we find the totems of our analysis. We see a construction of Bourdieu's origin myth through constructive connections into the ancestry of the French Revolution.

> Though one was a child of the *ancient regime* and the other its harsh critique, d'Artagnan and Bourdieu share origin and spirit ... both fought for what they conceived as the true spirit of France: unity, justice, freedom. Like d'Artagnan two hundred and fifty years before him, Bourdieu was combating to attain justice too, and he also challenged power in order to attain a good society. They were both idealists, then, and they were both romantic, constantly believing in just causes and in the ability to attain them through struggle and perseverance. [Yair 2009:13]

Yair continues:

> Notwithstanding her [Joan of Arc's] tragic death—or maybe largely because she was willing to risk death to liberate France from the British occupation—the French celebrate her heroic and patriotic actions until today. She traditionally became the representative of 'true France.' In keeping with that tradition, Pierre Bourdieu wanted to liberate France and to unify all the citizens around common fraternal values. [Yair 2009:30]

The text is replete with the obvious allusions to musketeers, Joan of Arc and other heroes of France, and we find even more opaque symbology in ideas, such as Yair's verbose conclusion: "This book has shown that, like Voltaire, Bourdieu was a man of the Revolution. He chose to stand by the ideals of egalitarianism and universalism—showing that the current social order is actually the *ancien regime* reincarnated in a new guise; that it is still arbitrary and unjust, exploitative and dominating" (Yair 2009:155). In this example alone, but also throughout the volume, we find the ritual process at play, the "distinction" of manipulating the social capital of "Bourdieu," the aesthetic signifier of this revolutionary taste.

Lastly, we also find concealment in revelation within Yair's book. While Yair proposes primarily to argue "that sociologists theorize within a delimited conceptual space that is culturally set" (2009:137), this argument seems to get lost as Yair's mystification of Bourdieu stands at centre stage, overshadowing the claimed scientific purpose of Yair's work. Yair reveals a critical stance, though conceals it in his constructions and thematic emphasis. Magic is done.

Hence, we find the magic in Bourdieu's transformation from a hero in the academic witch doctors' pantheon to a mythical hero imbricated in the broader cosmology of France, a France that Bourdieu himself was well-known to be at odds with. The nation of "France" is a conglomerate of culturally and socially distinct regions manufactured for the political and economic purposes of elites at a particular point in history, a fact Bourdieu knew all too well. The multisited nature of his life's work, which some count as groundbreaking, makes this very point: that life in the French colony of Algeria, the "French" peasant life of rural Bearne and the metropolitan core of Paris were all historically contingent social constructs, distinct from each other in many ways. Thus, the image of Bourdieu as a Joan of Arc or d'Artagnan is indeed a puzzling one, where the fictional characters were and are used to create a sense of singular French nationality. It is fair to say that Bourdieu worked in a critically opposing direction.

Bourdieu, the God, the Olympian

To preface the following introduction to this artefactual category, "Bourdieu, the God, the Olympian," it behoves us to once again iterate our wholesale rejection of any notion that modernity or postmodernity has untethered us from the so-called premodern ways of being. In this artefactual category, we examine a particular process seen throughout the ethnographic record. An example of which can be found in our, the authors, own academic

lineage through our doctoral supervisor Christine Jourdan to her doctoral supervisor Roger Keesing. Keesing's life work was with the Kwaio of the Island of Malaita in the Solomon Islands, and such was his involvement with these people that when he passed away, Professor Jourdan was tasked with the ritual role of stewarding Keesing's remains from Canada back to the Kwaio, where he became part of a set of social relations that he himself had watched his friend Elota being embedded into years before, a process that "captures the essence of the status and role he has now been given in death: an ancestor (*adalo*). To the Kwaio of Malaita (Solomon Islands) this is what Roger has become and his elevation to the status of an ancestor talks to the place he occupied in their life" (Jourdan 1997:1).

This, we contend, is a precise example of what has been happening to Bourdieu, and it is important to mark that, in this contention, we do not deride the cult of Bourdieu as being unscientific (Bourdieu 2007a) but rather seek to situate what we do as academics in a richer and more precise context predicated on the very knowledge produced by social scientists. Bourdieu's elevation was not into the world of the Kwaio ancestors but into his own, that of Marx, Nietzsche, Wittgenstein and, most illustriously following Bourdieu's implicit cosmology, Aristotle. From Artefact 6 to Artefact 8, we find evidence of book-objects and their attendant texts acting to transmogrify Bourdieu into the pantheon of academic gods, sharing a pew with others worshipped in kind—Marx, for example, and sitting close to the feet of Sophia.

Swartz and Zolberg (2004a) (Artefact 6), Susen and Turner (2011) (Artefact 7), and Brown and Szeman (2000) (Artefact 8) exemplify this elevation to Olympus: Susen and Turner (2011) by explicitly attempting to align Bourdieu with already enthroned Olympians; Brown and Szeman (2000) and Swartz and Zolberg (2004a) by expanding Bourdieu's reach, transforming him into a true God of academia, whose work is not only applicable for social scientists but also across the humanities.

A mere glimpse at Susen and Turner's edited book-object, focusing on its skeleton or what is emically referred to as its "table of contents," is telling; hardly any of academia's Olympians are ignored; everyone is analyzed in correlation to Bourdieu, his concepts and work. Chapter 2 "Pierre Bourdieu: Unorthodox Marxist?" (Fowler 2011), in its title, somewhat acknowledges that Bourdieu may not be a Marxist in the traditional sense, though within the text itself the argument is made "that Marx had a distinctive impact on Bourdieu and that the significance of this influence is often downplayed when examining Bourdieusian concepts … Bourdieu's

syntheses ... were aimed at strengthening, rather than at undermining, Marx's historical materialism" (Susen 2011:371). In a similar fashion, Wacquant (2011) suggests that Bourdieu's and Durkheim's work are based on the same four pillars, and other chapters (chapter 5) go on to assert Weber's influence (Bourdieu et al. 2011), Nietzsche's significance for Bourdieu's thoughts (chapter 6) (Rahkonen 2011) and so on.

Swartz and Zolberg's edited volume (2004a) is not much different, even though its focus is on the spread of Bourdieu's work across academia beyond his strongholds in sociology, anthropology and philosophy. In their introduction, Swartz and Zolberg propose that individual scholars' disciples

> carry and propagate the faith, transmitting it to new generations.... Defense of conceptual and methodological orthodoxy can stifle further intellectual development and lead to sectarian allegiance.... This collection of papers devoted to the recognition of the importance of Pierre Bourdieu assiduously avoids both extremes: devotion to or profanation of a "sacred" work. [2004b:1]

Through this proposition, the editors implicate their awareness of the very argument of this article; however, the extent to which this awareness is actually translated into practice remains doubtful. The "twelve papers" in the volume are said to "offer but a glimpse of the many ways Bourdieu's oeuvre has inspired new research, critical reflection, and creative elaboration" (2004b:11).

While recognizing Bourdieu's potential to inspire is certainly of some value, it does not account for recognizing an appropriation of Bourdieu for nearly any school of thought, any issue of concern. Within the volume itself, the chapter by Svendsen and Svendsen, "On the Wealth of Nations: Bourdieuconomics and Social Capital," is one of the most telling. Svendsen and Svendsen (2004) exaggerate the potential importance of Bourdieu for the study of socio-economics by defining "Bourdieuconomics" as "the usage of a capital theory that, methodologically, operates with visible, material forms of capital (i.e. the substance) and invisible, non-material forms of capital (i.e. inhered in relations) *at the same level*" (2004:246). The authors emphasize that

> a Bourdieuconomics should not be seen merely as a supplement to traditional economic or social scientific analyses. Rather, it forms a *basis for all human sciences*, because it directs focus to structural forces ... which contribute to form the strategies of the actors in their attempts to gain capital. [2004:247; emphasis added]

Looking now to the dissections of the Brown and Szeman (2000) book-object, we find indicators of the Bourdieuan word *totem* and its aesthetic appeal to academic social capital in even more far flung arenas such as modern jazz (Lopes 2000) and the space-time continuum (Ekelund 2000). Exemplary, in this regard, is the chapter by Caterina Pizanias "Habitus Revisited: Notes and Queries from the Field" (2000). In this chapter, Pizanias attempts to establish a straightforward connection among Bourdieu, particularly his concept of habitus, and issues of gender and contemporary art. She acknowledges that applying Bourdieu within this context is somewhat unorthodox, though she has no concern with recognizing her appropriation of Bourdieu; she "*appropriated* Bourdieu's concept of the field and *habitus* in order both to document and to analyze contemporary artistic phenomena" (Pizanias 2000:146; emphasis added). This is not said to discredit the argument of the author but merely to indicate and underline that such appropriation has occurred, that efforts have been made to ensure that Bourdieu's influence transcends his primary fields of research.

Thus, we find ourselves submerged in a discourse on magic in an explicit attempt to facilitate Bourdieu's transition into the realm of Olympians. Bourdieu is not just any scholar, he is not a mere follower of other gods and ancestors, but he is a god himself. His reach and his connection and comparability with already enthroned gods warrants his ritualistic elevation into the halls of Foucault, Marx, Nietzsche and others who have, through similar practices of magic, already been deified through and in the academy.

A Critique of Bourdieu?

This artefactual category stands out in comparison to the ones previously discussed. It does not concern praises for Bourdieu, his transformation into a master-teacher, hero, mythical figure or god; rather, it concerns the critique of Bourdieu. In other words, it comprises works that outright reject any of his thoughts, concepts and work. The example we found fitting into this category is Verdes-Leroux's *Deconstructing Pierre Bourdieu: Against Sociological Terrorism from the Left* (2001) (Artefact 9).

Verdes-Leroux does not hide her disagreement and discontent with Bourdieu and his legacy as described above. The titles of individual chapters located in the book skeleton are telling in themselves—above all, the title of the introduction: "Pierre Bourdieu, or a Con-Artist's Sociology" and its echo of Tylor's notion of sorcery. "The sorcerer generally learns his time-honored profession in good faith, and retains his belief in it more

or less from first to last; at once dupe and cheat, he combines the energy of a believer with the cunning of a hypocrite" (Tylor 1871:134). The written text serves only as reinforcement to these titles. Quoting Bourdieu to discredit Bourdieu, she notes,

> When I consider that Bourdieu is being taught in high schools and colleges, I am tempted to think of his sociological theory in the same terms that he himself wrote about the Marxist vulgate: it has "clouded and confounded the brains of more than one generation." [Verdes-Leroux 2001:7]

Verdes-Leroux insists that

> Pierre Bourdieu, who has so many titles and so much power, is wrong to want to import and impose his whims, his contempt and his self-complacency, his bellicose accents, into the intellectual field, the field of social sciences ... Bourdieu carries on, with any means possible, a permanent war. [2001:178]

Truly it is here that we find the guile of an insidious agent provocateur or at least an attempt to that point.

There is no doubt, the words are strong and perhaps in their strength they hope to destroy Bourdieu, the master-teacher, the hero, the myth, the god. Yet, we argue that in this very attack Verdes-Leroux strengthens rather than weakens Bourdieu's reputation. Not only does the very existence of her monograph indicate Bourdieu's true fame—why else would it be worth writing a book on him if his concepts are that insignificant; if, as she argues, they are inherently misinformed—but her strong language and, more than anything, to some extent, the superficial nature of her analysis seem more likely to attack her validity as scholar than Bourdieu's; given this, she is indeed attacking a God among academics, which is a Herculean task. Above all, Verdes-Leroux hardly mentions and analyzes Bourdieu's theory of practice, which is integral to his work and, for many, the reason for his magical elevation. Bourdieu's theory of practice follows him throughout his work and perhaps even more so throughout writing on him and his works, the other artefacts discussed here; still, Verdes-Leroux fails to acknowledge this centrality of Bourdieu's theory of practice or, indeed, does so by *not* including it in her critique. Besides, the volume lacks a clear analytical perspective focusing on Bourdieu's person rather than his work, his concepts and ideas. Surely, it is insufficient to constantly reiterate and eventually conclude that

> Bourdieu, in all his demolishing, attacking, denouncing, and in all his supporting, flattering, and alternating bouts of demagoguery and threats, fails to fulfill

that which he says is the function of the 'creative' professions: "public utility and sometimes public salvation." [Verdes-Leroux 2001:265]

We argue that the very revelation of this critique, the animosity in its language and, in the end, its imperfections help strengthen Bourdieu's legacy, raising him above those scholars who are analyzed in a seemingly neutral fashion. Through her passionate attack, Verdes-Leroux allows Bourdieu to transcend mere academic objectivities, a feeling supported by the publisher (which allowed this equation of anger with critical thought not only to be published in French but also to be translated eventually into English). The content of her arguments, when washed of their vitriol, are sound. Indeed, we argue the same thing, but the point we try to make is that establishing this argument is not enough; there needs to be an attempt to explain why and how Bourdieu's work, at least as it is presented in this particular context of a particular university library, has only rarely been looked at critically, beyond concealment in revelation. However, before turning to this point, we have one more artefactual category to consider.

"The Priests"

Last but not least, we find ourselves dealing with the holy of holies, the inner circle of Bourdieu's ancestor cult, the priests who created and maintain the sacred objects we have thus enumerated and evaluated. Here we find an ecclesiastic semisecret society. Not fully secret, the membership list is obvious as is often the case with all manner of secret societies, but their actions, indeed, their recognition of being embroiled in such activity is not so obvious and herein lies the magic. What we have presented thus far as semiotic impressions comes into the concrete in the analysis of the following actors and their actions. Here we look at the life of the text before its published birth, the focus being on how it was conceived and the sometimes adulterous practices embroiled therein—obviously recognizing that the publication process is highly secret, at least for the uninitiated. To be explicit, the "priests" are those who talk for Bourdieu, even before his death but especially so after it. Although our data set has dealt with some texts written (and edited) before his death, it is the bits written after that are, in some ways, the most distorting. In the main, this section deals with the various translators whose prefaces seek to contextualize the knowledge in a given way, but it is no small aspect of our analysis. Our object analysis here ignores the greater part of the text, the

product of the priests, to instead narrow in on the texts generated solely by the translators and editors.

A. The Priests of Book-Objects

Caesar did not crown himself, but he *was* crowned by his friends (countrymen) and fellow Romans after thrice being commanded onto the stage. This is how gods are born. In the work of Richard Nice (little is known about this man but that he is a translator residing in Goettingen, Germany) and Wacquant we find the same thrusting of laurels by those in the periphery who have something to gain and the same rejection by the object being immortalized. "Sketch for a Self Analysis" begins with a declaration by Bourdieu that "this is not an autobiography" (Bourdieu 2007a:1). The part that Nice plays in this text is ambiguous in the extreme. As translator he transforms Bourdieu's words into his own, adapting complex theoretical elaborations to his own understandings thereof. Yet, we do not find acknowledgement of this process in this volume. A preface concerning the translation exists but it is not Nice's but the publisher's note to the French edition—the real author we do not know—and tells us of Bourdieu's attitude toward (auto)biographies. (Why would this note be included? For its unique, indispensable content? The content is simple; it tells us of the origin of the book, first published in German then translated to French and, as not acknowledged in the preface, then translated once again from French into English.)

All these linguistic ambiguities allow the interjection of magic, the revelation and concealment of certain interpretations. Nice is careful to note Bourdieu's notations in the preliminary drafts regarding how this particular one should be, and will be, used. We find great circumspection about the role of biography and resistance toward being mythologized, with scientific zeal taking its place; however, we have not found that the scientific zeal has extinguished the magical effects of the biographical hero-making dynamics contained within the same text. This is a case of scientific magic being born of scientific magic, struggling to transcend into something more scientific in the abstract but never being able to cut the tethers of earthly, particular magic.

We find a similar occurrence, although in its concise nature inherently different, in the translator's note to the English edition of Bourdieu's *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (2007b). Nice is once again the translator, but more than this he seems to have been involved in editing, removing parts of Bourdieu's original work in French. To what extent Nice made such decisions, or the editors, or both, or even Bourdieu, we do not and cannot know based on the text alone, though one thing

we do know for sure: Bourdieu's *Outline of a Theory of Practice* has been changed in the creation of the book-object; the information that is being transmitted to his Anglo-American readership is inherently different from the information transmitted to his French readers.

This fact is revealed, though once again, one may argue that in this revelation it is concealed in the unexplained vagaries of translation. The magic comes into full force: stripped of its ethnographic context, this work, untethered, as it were, from the physical world is open to the greatest degree of conflagration and trickery. "The argument is carried further, particularly as regards the concepts of practical logic and symbolic capital, the order of exposition is recast, and, partly for reasons of space, the ethnographic chapters with which the French edition opens have been curtailed" (2007b:vii).

B. Article-Objects

This last assemblage of artefacts is of a different material nature than those we have dealt with above. Here we consider nine objects, not book-objects but article-objects instead (in their totality, it is a journal-object). We did not find this journal volume on the shelf of the library where we conducted our archaeological research; yet, we find it crucial to include nonetheless, as it served as the cue that led us to the artefacts previously discussed. As part of a graduate course in anthropology, we were asked to read this special journal edition and to submit a short paper on Bourdieu in response. Hence, this journal-object served a purpose similar to the mammoth tooth that encourages archaeologists to keep digging for more extensive finds.

Two years following the biological death of Bourdieu, the journal *Ethnography* published a special memorial edition (2004) composed of nine contributions from seven contributors; the remaining articles were written by Bourdieu, in honour of him. In this cabal, we find exemplars of the priests of Bourdieu: Wacquant, Yacine, Sayed, Mammeri, Silverstein, Bourdieu's wife, Marie-Claire Bourdieu, as well as several translators—that is to say, "adaptors"[1] of Bourdieu's work, including Richard Nice.

First, the collection of articles has to be considered as a whole as the journal-object. The editors of *Ethnography* decided that Bourdieu, as ancestor, is important enough to create a special issue dedicated to him, his research and, remembering the contributors, to his closest followers, his apostles as well. This issue of *Ethnography* is more than a standard journal edition; it is an edited volume, similar to a book, just more readily accessible online and in print (as long as one is aware of

it and finds references to it). It resembles an ultimate homage to Bourdieu's work, original and commentary.

For this reason, it is crucial not to forget the very content of this edition, the articles chosen as representative of his work and work on him: Bourdieu's ethnography in Algeria and Bearn (his transition from philosopher to ethnographer, his experiences in the field, his relationship with Algeria and Kabyle society, and some thoughts on French colonialism) as well as his photography (discussed in one article, though visible across the volume in mostly unexplained photographs). There is, thus, no doubt that these articles inherently link Bourdieu and *Ethnography*, transferring the social capital of his name to the social capital of *Ethnography* itself.

This is not to denounce the value of this volume and the opportunity it offers to read something actually written by Bourdieu rather than something that is written *about* him. Nevertheless, it highlights how even editorial decisions, not only the decisions made by contributors, shape and contribute to the creation and maintenance of the ancestor cult. Besides, let us not forget that Bourdieu, despite his death, is still listed as a member of *Ethnography*'s editorial board.

The Magic of the Academy

Concluding our attempt to identify the academy's magic in the making of Bourdieu, we are certain that totems, rituals and magic exist in the modernity of our universities. The Bourdieusian corpus, the books and book-objects dedicated to him, reveal both the production and consumption of "academic magic" through the development and stewardship of Bourdieu's ancestor cult. We even go as far as to claim that Wacquant, Nice, Reed-Danahay, even Verdes-Leroux and all the others involved in the creation and sustenance of Bourdieu, the teacher, every day and mythical hero, the Olympian, can be considered spirit mediums, reviving and reforming Bourdieu on their own terms and through the academy's magic. Bourdieu is a ghost summoned by his inner circle, his apostles, his spirit mediums—whichever term one prefers—who have turned his name and concepts into totems that are applied and reinforced through ritualized writing (the creation of artefacts, books and book-objects), hence feeding academia's ancestor cult, its magic.

Instead of producing a science, which was Bourdieu's ultimate goal, we have come dangerously close to producing a cargo cult; or within Bourdieu's own conceptualizations, we have found a case of *illusio*, which, to use the definition of a spirit medium, is "the fact of being caught up in and by the game, a believing that the game is worth playing and recognizing its stakes. A politician

for example, will demonstrate *illusio* by believing the political field constitutes 'the' only game in town" (Webb et al. 2002:xiii).

What are the implications of this *illusio*, magic and cargo cult for academia? To borrow from Carl Sagan (1996), can we, as academics, escape from this "demon-haunted world"? We suspect we cannot, at least, not completely. What then should we make of the legitimacy and authority of academic writing? As previously mentioned, Latour (1986) provides a point of entry for this project. Whereas Latour laid the foundation, in broad strokes, of the role of inscriptions for the development of the scientific process at large, we have taken a closer look at the operational mechanics of how authority is constructed by grounding academically inflected auto-ethnography in its materiality by looking at the materials used by academics. Latour (1986:3) argues that "the most powerful explanations ... are both material and mundane, since they are so practical, so modest, so pervasive, so close to the hands and the eyes that they escape attention," and our article has sought out to do exactly that. Importantly, this does not delegitimize the academic process of writing in itself, but it highlights the importance of paying closer attention to Bourdieu's notion of participant objectivation in the anthropological striving for reflexivity.

The academic's field is the field of knowledge production in relation, and response, to the disciplinary and regional ecology (or milieu) particular scholars find themselves in. There is nothing inherently wrong in this, but it is crucial to understand the social life of academic texts and the conditions in which they are produced; because "although *in principle* any interpretation can be opposed to any text and image, *in practice* this is far from being the case; the cost of dissenting increases with each new collection, each new labeling, each new redrawing" (Latour 1986:17). Bourdieu can be understood as an ancestor, with a cult that follows him, because the texts written about and even against Bourdieu continue to elevate his importance for the academic enterprise to such a level that *not* to consider Bourdieu or at least other similarly strong ancestors marks the writer as dissident, with a diminished social capital in face of academic "objectivity" which is "slowly erected inside the laboratory walls by mobilizing more faithful allies" (1986:18); in some ways comparable to the continued discrimination against practicing anthropologists in the context of the American Anthropological Association (Brondo and Bennett 2012).

It is said that ethnography is the sine qua non of anthropological authority. Indeed, such was the case for Bourdieu. However, we have found that this is not

always the case; the sine qua non of anthropological authority in the cases examined above is the mastering of a corpus of work from a socially acceptable ancestor, living or dead. In this case, the ethnographic claim of "being there" is transplanted from a place to a page, and "intensive fieldwork" becomes "intensive reading" (ethnographers have always been required to do both anyway). The distinction that emerges is, on the one hand, ethnography with its ability for falsification and verification as a still emerging science and, on the other hand, social theory that has a falsification and verification not based in scientific comparison but rather in detailed reading of text that is treated like scripture— in other words, a theology. This observation reaffirms the concern voiced by Latour with regard to the social life of inscriptions and the extent to which their predominance has come to result in a prevalence of the 2D in comparison to the 3D world of observations. "Most of what we call 'abstraction' is in practice the belief that a written inscription must be believed more than any contrary indications from the senses" (Latour 1986:23).

On the one hand, there is the faulted authority of a researcher having "been there," and on the other hand, there is the faulted authority of a researcher having faith in his or her reading of a great ancestor. The former is pragmatic and contingent on temporally relevant variables; the latter is dogmatic. The former has impressive and exotic words like "*kula*," whereas the latter wields impressive language like "structures of structuring structures." Ultimately, truth, however contingent and limited it may be, lies in the veracity of the individual scholar; authority is something entirely different. What we have done here is to stress the need for a typology of authorities used by academics followed by an axiology, an evaluation, to lay bare the layer of magic scholars may employ to further an argument. In the current vogue of undisciplining the academy, we argue that, if nothing else, authority needs to be even more disciplined.

> It begins to become clear ... that objectivation of the subject of objectivation is neither a mere narcissistic entertainment, nor a pure effect of some kind of wholly gratuitous epistemological point of honour, in that it exerts very real scientific effects. This is not only because it can lead one to discover all kinds of "perversions" linked to the position occupied in scientific space, such as those spurious theoretical breaks, more-or-less conspicuously proclaimed, in which some young anthropologists eager to make a name for themselves indulge periodically ... or that kind of fossilization of research and even thought that can ensue from enclosure in a scholarly tradition per-

petuated by the logic of academic reproduction. More profoundly, it enables us also to subject to constant critical vigilance all those "first movements" (as the Stoics put it) of thought through which the unthought associated with an epoch, a society, a given state of a (national) anthropological field smuggle themselves into the work of thought, and against which warnings against ethnocentrism hardly give sufficient protection. [Bourdieu 2003:286]

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Notes

1 Most articles were not merely translated into English (an adaptation in itself), but they were "translated and adapted" (among others, see Bourdieu and Bourdieu 2004:601; Bourdieu and Sayad 2004:445).

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Reflections / Réflexions

Intersections: A Journey

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Abstract: This exercise in authoethnography is divided into two parts: first, an impressionistic account of a journey to New Zealand/Aotearoa by the author and his family to scatter the ashes of his partner at Cape Reinga (Te Rerenga Wairua) in a Māori ceremony, and second an analysis of the first part, problematizing the notions of "culture" and "hybridity" and abandoning both in favour of a dialogical approach to difference and the "Other."

Keywords: autoethnography, Māori, culture, hybrids, dialogics, translation

Résumé : Cet exercice en autoethnographie se divise en deux parties : d'abord un compte-rendu impressionniste d'un voyage en Nouvelle-Zélande/Aotearoa de l'auteur avec sa famille pour disperser les cendres de son partenaire au Cap Reinga (Te Rerenga Wairua) dans une cérémonie Maori et, en seconde partie, une analyse de la première partie posant le problème des notions de « culture » et « d'hybridité », puis abandonnant les deux en faveur d'une approche dialogique à la différence et à « l'Autre ».

Mots-clés : autoethnographie, Maori, culture, hybrides, dialogique, traduction

The knowing self is partial in all its guises, never finished, whole, simply there and original; it is always constructed and stitched together imperfectly, and *therefore* able to join with another, to see together without claiming to be another. [Donna Haraway 1988:193]

Introduction: An Autoethnographic Imperative

This article is divided into two parts. The first is a personal account of my journey with my family to New Zealand/Aotearoa, to scatter the ashes of my late partner, Marianne MacKinnon, at a sacred Māori site at the tip of the North Island. The furthest thing from my mind at the time was to produce a narrative, much less a subsequent analysis. I took no field notes; in drafting the account afterwards, I relied entirely upon my very recent memory of events that stood out. The second section is an attempt to theorize various aspects of the narrative. It is the very reverse of John Van Maanen's "confessional tale": it is not an easing of the spirit after suffering from the rigid confines of conventional ethnographic discipline but, rather, an attempt to engage ethnographic concerns after the fact. It is an "impressionist tale" (Van Maanen 1988:73, 101ff), which, with its analysis, is presented as one overall exercise in autoethnography.

Mindful of Donna Haraway's summary demolition of the "god-trick" of objectivity (Haraway 1988:584), I endeavour to make the "I" central to both sections, while at the same time attempting not to make it my theme. This is not, then, what Fine dismissively calls "me-search" (1999:534) but a look through two lenses at issues of "culture," "hybridity" and dialogics, with the latter providing an alternative to the former two and informing the description of a context for individual encounters with Otherness that I call the "dialogic city."

Autoethnography is, in fact, a clear instance of a Geertzian "blurred genre" (Brettell 1997:223; Ellis and

Bochner 2000:742; Geertz 1980). It contains elements of autobiography and literature, as well as social science, and makes use of literary conventions. And through it, a kind of truth, however contingent, is pursued: as Ellis and Bochner put it:

> Narrative truth seeks to keep the past alive in the present. Stories show us that the meanings and significance of the past are incomplete, tentative and revisable according to contingencies of our present life circumstances, the present from which we narrate. [2000:745]

This implication in a living history, by means of which the present and the past are imbricated, seems to be identical to Hans-Georg Gadamer's notion of a "fusion of horizons" in historiography (1975:306). In autoethnography, the goal is no longer description per se but communication, not to portray facts but meanings attached to the experience. And such ethnography is "not a project you'll ever complete or get entirely right" (Ellis and Bochner 2000:748, 751, 752).

The overall aim of the autoethnographer, according to Ellis and Bochner, is to

> produce narrative, evocative, dialogic texts that show human beings, including ourselves, in the process of creating, negotiating, and performing meaning in a world of others, making our way through a world that poses obstacles, interruptions, contingencies, turning points, epiphanies, and moral choices. [2000:748]

I shall return to this point in the second part of my article. But my own immediate purpose in writing this article can be stated rather more succinctly. I needed to speak, for deeply personal reasons. But then I needed to understand what I spoke.

Preparing for the Journey

At some point during Marianne's dreadful battle with pancreatic cancer during the late summer and fall of 2006, she told me that she would like her ashes to be scattered in Cape Reinga, known in *Te Reo*[1] as *Te Rerenga Wairua*, the jumping-off place of the spirits. Neither of us could bring ourselves to believe that she would actually die, but our thoughts were dark as the ravenous cancer rapidly progressed. I cannot even remember how the matter came up. But I accepted it as a sacred trust, and when she passed away, I began to plan for our trip to the land of her birth.

Marianne was one-half Māori by blood. Her mother, Puti Hooro ("Betsy") Gray, née Wira, was a full-blooded member of the Ngati Hine *iwi* (tribe), and her first language was Te Reo. Her father was a *pakeha*, a European New Zealander. Both parents were Jehovah's Witnesses. Her mother believed that there was no future for Māori lifeways, and Marianne was not encouraged to learn the language or *Māoritanga* (Māori ways). She did get some whispered instruction from her aunt Tangaroa (Hilda) and could remember learning to spin flax. She accompanied her mother on traditional medicinal herb-gathering expeditions. But she grew up in a white person's world, resolutely independent, resourceful and restless and with a strong wish to make a difference.

I met her in 1995, when she lived in Whitehorse, and we fell in love that same year, managing the long distance with frequent trips. I was fascinated by her Māori background and set out to learn the language (I remain at a fairly elementary level), some New Zealand history and Māoritanga and *tikanga* (customs and obligations). I wanted to be able to speak to her mother in Te Reo someday. Marianne, who never took on this task, told me that she was honoured. She and her son, Danny, came to Ottawa to live with me in 1998. A few months later her daughter, Aurora, came to join us, leaving New Zealand/Aotearoa where she had been attending school.

In 2000, Marianne's mother fell ill, and we spent six weeks in New Zealand/Aotearoa. Her mother died within the first few days. The family was divided, Māori and pakeha, Jehovah's Witnesses and, from the Jehovah's Witness perspective, non–Jehovah's Witnesses. Marianne asked me to speak for her at the memorial service, and, indeed, I was seen as a neutral party. I was able to cobble together a little Te Reo and speak to everyone in attendance. Rumours were flying that her family would try to steal the body and take it to her *marae*, Matawaia (near Pokapu in the Bay of Plenty area), but nothing of the sort took place. I recall an awkward head-cracking *hongi* with a nephew of Marianne's. "You're not a Māori yet," he laughed.

Later we toured around the North Island, from Marianne's place of birth at Whangarei through the Waipoua Forest, stayed at a backpacker's hostel in Kaitaia, drove up to Cape Reinga and then headed back, visiting relatives in Shannon and, crossing over, drove through Taihape, past the three volcanoes to Lake Taupo, with its patches of steaming water; then we went to Rotorua (where we discovered the marvellous *titoki* liqueur). After a few more stops, we returned to Ottawa.

Imperceptibly, Marianne began to take possession of her suppressed indigenous background, referring to

herself as a New Zealand Māori. I like to think that I opened a door in that respect, one that had been closed by her mother. For my retirement in 2003, we travelled for several weeks in the South Pacific—Hawai'i, Fiji, Tonga and Sāmoa. Marianne completed her MA in anthropology in 2005 on the subject of Polynesia and the ethics of representation. (On her encouragement I had just begun my second MA, also in anthropology, my eventual thesis addressing the etiology of Nunavut governance.)

The family journey to *Te Rerenga Wairua* had to be put off for a year. We, Marianne included, had planned a visit to Hawai'i for Christmas, 2006, but she passed away on October 29. I felt under an obligation to go ahead with it when our grief was more manageable, so Danny, Aurora and her new husband, Emre, and I vacationed in Hawai'i for a few weeks in April and May of 2007.

All of this time, however, I was making plans for the trip to Cape Reinga. Several months before our departure, I had made arrangements for Marianne's ashes to be transferred to Kaitaia, a short drive from the Cape. When Marianne and I stayed there in 2000, the owner of our budget hostel was a man named Peter K., who was very committed to Māori ways and deeply knowledgeable, from what I could gather. I tracked him down by email, and he agreed to help us with Marianne's farewelling. What follows, then, is an impressionistic account of our journey to New Zealand/Aotearoa, our discoveries, our mission and our connections and disjunctures and, flowing from that, the final dissolution, for me, of any notion of bounded "cultures" or, indeed, of "culture" itself.

Part One: Points of Departure

We are met at the Auckland airport by Marianne's brother, the secular one, and we head back to his mansion-like house on the outskirts of the city. We will be staying there for two or three days to recover from the long flight and get our bearings before we head north. Nothing is said about our mission. D. G. refers to Māori as "they" and tends to be disparaging when the subject of *te tangata whenua* (the people of the land, the Māori) comes up, and I don't press him. He and his pakeha partner—except that he is pakeha, too, in his own mind—are warm and hospitable. We visit the Auckland Museum, with its fine collection of Māori artifacts, and take in a "cultural experience" there. Marianne and I had done the same eight years earlier. There were costumed young Māori: short and long *poi* (cloth balls tied to strings and swung in the hand, for developing

coordination), *taiaha* (a long club), striking with the *mere* (a short, flat club), *waiata* (songs), *tititorea* (Māori stick play)—an ethnic catalogue in the flesh. "What do these people do in real life," I found myself wondering. If I wanted, I could have had my picture taken with them.

On a sunny morning we head off to the Otara market. The atmosphere is Pacific Islands: Sāmoan blaring from a loudspeaker, stalls selling everything from island music to hot food to brightly patterned dresses and Māori Pride T-shirts to ... yes, there's a *tohunga whakairo*, a master carver of greenstone displaying a collection of pendants, large and small. He tells me he's from the Te Ati Hau Nui-A-Paparangi tribe. We chat a bit about our mission, and he wishes us well. Danny shells out a good amount of money for a teardrop-shaped *pounamu* (greenstone) pendant that is supposed to offer protection. He puts it around his neck right away. I watch him, a tall and sturdily built young man, darker than his mother, walking with a confidence I hadn't noticed before, striding in the noon sun among the Islanders of Otara.

We set out on the journey to Kaitaia, pausing for a day in Whangarei to stay with Marianne's father, Ron. He is a man of few words, and we greet awkwardly. That evening several of us go to dinner, including a cousin of Marianne's and some distant relations by marriage who are planning to go north to the ceremony— we shall foregather at a motel in Waipapakauri. Peter lives 100 yards or so down the beach. We drink a toast or two. Ron, a devout Jehovah's Witness, avoids our superstitious practice of clinking glasses. The next day we leave for the North. We drive through the Waipoua Forest and stop to see Tane Mahuta, the largest living *kauri* tree, named after the Māori god of the forest. Marianne and I had seen it together. Somehow it looked different now. Memories.

Onward—taking a ferry at one point and then on to Kaitaia. We find the funeral home, and now I have Marianne's ashes in a box in my hands; we drive on to Waipapakauri, 20 minutes or so, and arrive at the motel. "Oh, you're Peter's friends," says the receptionist. "He's a very wise man"—or words to that effect. We get our rooms, and we stumble down the beach to find him.

Peter lives with his girlfriend on a house fronting Ninety Mile Beach. The house is rambling and unfinished; there's a wild garden outside. We are greeted warmly, and Danny and I hongi with Peter. Danny is a natural; the gesture, his first, is perfectly executed. Women get a kiss on the cheek. Later Peter says that one tribe (Ngāti Raukawa?) does a double hongi, two touches of

the nose, foreheads touching twice. (A memory occurs to me: at the "cultural experience" that Marianne and I attended in 2000, one of the performers joked about doing that in his own tribe, only if married.)

Peter's lineage is both Ngāti Kuri and Te Aupouri—the two northernmost tribes, with Ngāti Kuri on the land that includes Cape Reinga. He is a big man with recent tattoos on his legs; he is salty, even coarse at times—half shaman and half showman. My back is out—he gets behind me and starts vigorously massaging my neck—burping furiously the while. Is it the beer he's been drinking or something to do with spirits and energies? I do not have the courage to ask! Peter is known in the area for his healing powers. He visits people in cancer wards and takes their pain away. My back feels better all evening, although the pain returns the next day. He tells us that a bird settled by the house and stayed around for an unusually long time just before we showed up. The previous Thursday, he had felt something go through his body and, he said, "Must have arrived." That was the day we had landed in Auckland, and I tell him this. No, he says, "Your mate."

Two of our party arrive for the evening. We have a big supper that night in Kaitaia. Peter is well-known in these parts, and the restaurant owner comes over to talk to him. Peter joshes Danny a fair bit. Afterward he tells me that Danny is feeling a lot of pain, that he was trying to reach him. I think he must have. Danny asked me sometime afterward if he could commission Peter, a man of many skills, to carve him a taiaha. (When we return to Canada, Peter tells me by email it would be more *tika* to have a whakairo from Danny's own tribe do it. That was done, a subsequent story in itself, and I presented it to Danny as a 21st-birthday present.)

As we part that evening, we make plans to go up to Te Rerenga Wairua the next day, in the early afternoon. Peter tells us to bring a feather, a stone, some sand and a shell. The new day is bright and hot. Time does not pass quickly. We pick up the objects as Peter instructed us. Eventually Marianne's cousin, Pat, a warm and loving person, her hard life etched in her friendly face, tattoos on her arms—one simply a scrawled "Mom and Dad"—arrives with two young women, each with a baby. One of the women is her daughter. Her baby's name is Mischief. The other woman is her daughter's friend. Pat has qualified as a nurse but has five children in her care and no time to practise. She has separated from her husband, who has a drinking problem.

Peter shows up in his truck. He brings a shell, a rock, sand and a feather in case we had forgotten. He chuckles when he sees we had not. These are all of the elements, he says, earth, sea and air. We set out in a convoy to Cape Reinga, Te Rerenga Wairua, where the spirits of deceased Māori arrive from two paths, one from the South and then up Ninety Mile Beach (Te Oneroa-a-Tōhē) and the other along the east coast through Kapowairua (Spirits Bay) and a few kilometres further, converging on Te Rerenga Wairua. From there the spirits leap into the water, surface after reaching Manawatāwhi (Three Kings Islands) and sing a lament for the loved ones they are leaving behind. Then they begin their journey to Hawaiki, the spiritual home of the Māori.

It is bright, hot and sunny at Cape Reinga, and (a rare occasion) the Three Kings Islands can be seen across a placid sea—two seas, actually; the green water of the Tasman Sea here mixes with the blue water of the Pacific. The actual *wahi tapu* (sacred place)—the rock promontory from which the spirits leap, with its lone *pōhutukawa* tree in a cleft in the stone—is inaccessible. We are across a gully, a few hundred feet from it. We step over a low wall that surrounds a small lighthouse and walk partway into the gully. There we stop.

Peter has braided a piece of flax leaf into a flower. My stepdaughter, Aurora, digs a small hole and buries the rock, sand, shell and feather. She marks the spot with the flax flower. Meanwhile, Danny and I struggle to open the box with Marianne's ashes. I had been sure to ask him to bring a knife, and it proves necessary. I brought water for rinsing, so that all of the ashes would remain here. Peter speaks in Te Reo the entire time, offering up a *karakia* (prayer) and a slightly off-key waiata, for which he gently apologizes later. My knowledge of the language only permits me to pick up a word here and there. He gestures that it is time, and I throw the ashes onto the embankment, testing first for wind. Danny and I rinse the rest of the ashes from the container. I speak and barely remember what I say after I say it. It is a goodbye. I speak in both English and Te Reo. I thank Peter, address him respectfully as *e koro* (old man) and we hongi. Marianne's cousin speaks, remembering the mischief that she and Marianne used to get in to as girls. One of the distant connections—the sister of a woman once married to the brother of Marianne's first spouse—speaks of the honour that has been given her to attend this gathering. She herself is well-versed in Māoritanga. The sun beats down. I had requested no photographs of the ceremony. Afterward, I take some pictures of the promontory itself, pictures that will die later, with the hard drive on which they were inscribed. There is considerable construction work up from the path we had taken. Peter is organizing opposition to a massive development that may see a hotel complex built right above the sacred ground.

We are invited back to Peter's for a feast. I convince Marianne's cousin to stay for a while, even though she has a sitter looking after all the children she cares for, and it is a several hours drive back. She ends up staying for the full meal—green mussels, *riwena* (potato sourdough bread), corned beef, salads from the garden, plenty of beer. Emre avoids the tomatoes: the previous evening, Peter said he urinated on them to help them grow. We break out the bottle of titoki liqueur that I had earlier presented to Peter. The conversation is a blur. At one point Peter says to me, "And now you have to move on." Danny and I are the last to leave.

The next day we make our way back to Whangarei—one cannot avoid it if one wants to go further south. We stay with Ron for another night; he is delighted to see us. He doesn't ask about our mission. We head for Paihia, on the Bay of Islands, and at our hotel we leave the box that once held Marianne. We visit Waitangi, where the famous treaty was signed in 1840. Danny had been looking for a greenstone mere pendant. In a glass case by the ticket counter, I spot a very large one for sale. He is tremendously pleased; soon it is around his neck. It fits his frame. It fits.

In one of the concessions on the treaty grounds, a Māori woman compliments me on the two bone amulets around my neck: a *hei-koru* (spiral pendant) and a *hei-matau* (stylized fishhook pendant). Marianne had tied the hei-koru around my neck; after Marianne's death, Aurora had done likewise with the hei-matau, which she had carved herself. We speak of our mission, and I mention the step-children's Ngati Hine heritage and their marae, which I had half-thought we might visit. The woman tells me to visit the Ngati Hine Health Trust in Kawakawa, a few miles distant. We should speak to a person there who will help us. She gives me a name. The second phase of our adventure begins in this accidental way.

We show up the next day and are warmly greeted. The person whose name we had been given is unavailable. The surname of Marianne's mother, Wira, is not known to them. A "beloved auntie" (a *kaumātua*, or elder) will come to *kōrero* with us about the Trust. She tells us at great length about this project, undertaken by the Ngati Hine themselves, to provide health services to remote areas of the Ngati Hine rohe. A man arrives to tell us that a kaumātua had been found who went to school with Marianne's mother. He would be there shortly. Meanwhile the man introduces himself as T. A., a Ngati Hine Trust official. He believes he is related to the family. He speaks of a "*whakapapa* man" (a local genealogical expert) in the area, but that man is unfortunately unavailable that day. I say to the children, "They can trace you right back to your canoe."[2] T. A. says, "They can trace you right back to Te Kore [the nothingness before creation]!"

We move to another room. The kaumātua, W. W., arrives and speaks of his memories of Puti and tells us of the children's ancestry. I had thought that the name of their *hapu* (subtribe) was Te Kau-i-Mua. As though reading my mind, T. A. says, "It doesn't mean 'cow in front'!" The correct name, he said, is Tekau-i-Mua, or "ten in front," meaning ten generations of direct descent from the first chief of Ngati Hine, a woman, Hine Amaru. Puti's grandfather was Mikaere Wira, a Ngati Hine prophet. The children's marae is called Matawaia, or "water in the eyes," a reference to a Tekau-i-Mua chief who wept as he faced his people. T. A. offers to show us the way. W. W. takes his leave. We hongi: "*Tēnā koe.*" "*Tēnā koe, e koro.*" My forehead touches his, slightly too hard.

T. A. finds us after lunch, and we set out in the pouring rain to find the children's marae, following his van. We wind through a country road, and come to a deserted set of seen-better-days buildings, including the *whare rūnanga* (meetinghouse). It is clearing. There is mist on the hills. Perfect silence. One building is a *kohanga reo*, a "language nest" place where children learn Te Reo. We are taken inside the meetinghouse. It is still and silent in the large room; everywhere there are photographs of stern-looking ancestors. T. A. points out several and explains who they are. Danny decides that no photographs are to be taken. This is his marae and Aurora's. I can feel the connections being made; I can see it in their bodies, hear it in their silence. I clumsily read some words in Te Reo from a board; T. A. smiles and says that the translation is underneath, and so it is: "I am the way, the truth and the life." I was embarrassed. He tells us this was a gift from a young man who had decided to make something of himself. *Ngati Hine pukepukerau*, Ngati Hine of a Hundred Hills—in the land of their ancestors, Danny and Aurora have their *turangawaewae*, their place to stand. The name of their marae would be part of a formal self-introduction, a *pepeha*, which, with many other elements, might include the name of the nearest river and the nearest mountain: "*Ko Hikurangi te māunga, Ko Te Raparapa te awa.*" Outside, we take some pictures. A sign forbids smoking in the whare rūnanga. The name of the house is Rangimarie.

T. A. invites us to visit his own marae, Motatau, a few kilometres away. We stop at one point to look at some land. The children have shares in three parcels. How much land is that? T. A. laughs and gestures with his hands a few inches apart. When we arrive, we must

wait. T. A.'s eldest daughter will *powhiri* (formally invite) us onto the marae. He gestures at a small building a few yards away, but I am uncertain, and we wait in the now pouring rain for a few minutes. When he comes looking for us, he asks why we didn't take shelter—that was what the little building some yards from the whare rūnanga was for.

His daughter chants a welcome, and we are invited forward. *"Haere mai!"* We enter the meetinghouse, a handsome, carved house called Manu-Koroki. T. A. is carrying a *tokotoko*, a ceremonial carved walking stick, and as we sit, he begins a long *whaikōrero* (formal speech), gesturing with the tokotoko, identifying for us every ancestor represented by carved posts in the house, telling us the history that is held here in carvings and mats. One of the posts has a Star of David; a Jewish ancestor had married into the tribe.

After some time, I am asked to respond. I greet T. A. in Te Reo and say that I shall not speak for very long. I thank him for his wisdom and his knowledge and for helping to connect the children to their marae. His daughter then sings a beautiful waiata in our honour. A couple of younger children are acting up and T. A. shoos one of them out the door. We depart and, shortly after this, we leave New Zealand/Aotearoa.

Loose ends, which I begin to worry about on our return. I email Peter. I am looking for a completeness, an integrated set of events. Peter had talked of three paths to Te Rerenga Wairua, but were there not only two? Or was the third path our own connection to the spot, our link between the living and the dead? The burial of the sand, stone, shell and feather is a time capsule, he said in response: when we return, it indicates a direction, to which the entire natural world points. It is our link alone; it is the spiritual path of the living. And what of the *takahia*, the tramping of the house: did this burial of the elements make up for not having done it? Just flick water in all of the rooms of your house, he said, do a karakia and that will complete the tramping of the home. Too much reflection, compounded by ignorance—I am caught up in the myth. I am part of it now. If it is incomplete, then so am I. I ask him anxiously if this means Marianne's spirit will be trapped in the house until I do this; he did not respond. Some things we must work out for ourselves. If there is a realm outside time, then all that happens is one, and so long as the takahia is done, the ceremony at the Cape is ended.

Coda

My stepson left his jacket at a concert, and the next morning nothing had been handed in. The jacket was lost. When he woke up fully, he came running: "My mere was in my jacket," he said, a rising panic in his voice. I felt winded, thunderstruck, physically ill. I told him I was sorry. I had tears in my eyes. Then I suggested we look around the house for the jacket, and I urged him to try to remember—why did you take it off? He asked me for the keys to the car and came back into the house, the mere in his hand. I hugged him with relief. As of this writing, I am still not over the shock: I keep reliving the moment when he told me of his loss, just as terrible memories of Marianne on her deathbed recur without warning and my immediate world disappears. Why is this piece of pounamu a part of our lives? What is condensed in it? In us?

Part Two: The Cultural Quagmire and the "Dialogic City"

How does one best "think with" this narrative of loss and encounter? Traditionally, the journey described might have been seen as the traversing of a series of borders between cultural worlds. Moving back and forth across familial intersections (the family of the author's deceased partner included Māori and non-Māori, even anti-Māori, subject positions) to encounters with the more formal aspects of the farewelling ceremony at Cape Reinga and the powhiri onto the Motatau marae, the narrator moved out of the known into increasingly less familiar space. Yet the cultural frame tends to obfuscate such accounts: it over-sharpens differences that are actually subtle, interpenetrating, ever-shifting and contested, while at the same time blurring the complexities of individual engagements between and among people whose relations transcend physical location and local community in a web of global interconnectedness.

"Culture" lies, perhaps, at the very heart of this story—but in the mode of its absence, in its plural form. People encountered other people; we all had something to learn, much to say or be silent about. Perhaps the bereaved visitors took a kind of refuge in the different and made it their own. Differences there were, certainly, and much that was unfamiliar, and yet for me there was never a sense of stepping into another world, no dramatic "ethnographic entrance." Rather, it was a living, pre-ethnographic "process of creating, negotiating, and performing meaning ... making [my] way through a world that pose[d] obstacles, interruptions, contingencies, turning points, epiphanies, and moral choices" (Ellis and Bochner 2000:748).

The narrative is, in part, one of globalization. The visitors had flown 10,000 miles in less than a day, after using the Internet to make connections and arrangements. One of them was a Turkish national. One was

the narrator, myself, a Canadian, a pakeha immersed, for whatever reason, in Māoritanga, and two were the children of the my deceased partner, who had come to consider herself a Māori woman. In the account, the common language is English. When Te Reo is spoken, it acquires an iconic character, conveying an opaque Otherness. But the people themselves are anything but opaque. We talk. We have differences, and we have things in common. With Unni Wikan (1991: 290), then, I ask: "Culture! ...Where is it?"

"Culture"

The notion of *a* culture, the subject of strong contestation within the field of anthropology for decades, persists, however modified (see Birukou et al. 2013; Fellows and Liu 2013; Lubkemann 2010; Purrington and Hickerson 2013; Snodgrass et al. 2013; Varenne 2008). Birukou and his coauthors, in fact, address what appears to them to be a radical displacement of "culture" from states and geographies to the virtual world, where it is now to be found, they claim, in online communities. The debate over its utility, which reached fever pitch in anthropology in the 1990s and early 2000s, is obviously far from over.

"Culture," said the cultural historian James Clifford a quarter-century ago, "is a deeply compromised idea I cannot yet do without" (1988:10). I find that I *can* do without it. The signifier misleads; it carries its own historical accretions, rings with old, cracked resonances. Cultures, in the plural, indicate differentiable wholes, bounded or porous, outlined in ethnographies or nonoutlineable but, in any case, complex and supposedly distinguishable sets of group dynamics in the widest and deepest sense, which, by being named, are inevitably hypostasized. The word situates, locates, "places" people: hence, to use Arjun Appadurai's apt description, it subjects them to discursive incarceration. "Proper natives," he says, "are somehow assumed to represent their selves and their history, without distortion or residue.... The natives are immobilized by their belonging to a place.... Natives are those who are somehow confined to places by their connection to what the place permits ... the intellectual operations of natives are somehow tied to their niches, to their situations" (Appadurai 1988:37, 38).

In our journey, caught up in the global currents as we were, it was perhaps ironic that it was Danny who found "place" in the Otara market and, too, so did both of my stepchildren in the Matawaia marae: "I can feel the connections being made; I can see it in their bodies, hear it in their silence." Yet, in neither case was this confining: the sense of embodied meaning that I perceived in them was a kind of discovery, one of an enlarged

global "home" of many pieds-à-terre; nor does my description of this awareness discursively root them to the spot. Native and nonnative, they seemed to exemplify Clifford's "dwelling-in-travel," placed and displaced, people of many communities (Clifford 1997:2). "One no longer leaves home confident of finding something radically new, another time or space.... Difference is encountered in the adjoining neighbourhood, the familiar turns up at the ends of the earth" (Clifford 1988:14).

But Clifford also writes of the "currency of culture and identity as performative acts," defined by the conscious "articulation of homelands, safe spaces where the traffic across borders can be controlled" (Clifford 1997:7). The notion of "borders," in terms of our own journey, seems somewhat misleading, as this notion may be, in fact, more generally (Chang 1999). We did observe clear territorial demarcations, the most significant for the purposes of this article being the one we crossed by invitation onto the Motatau marae—an invitation that would be required for visiting Māori as well. But the enclosed, formal "safe space" into which we were invited did not contain the lives of those whose guests we were: the larger part of those lives were being lived some distance away where such lines did not exist. One could consider a marae a kind of ethnic sanctuary, a repository of living memories, but hardly a homeland, at least in the present day.

A self-conscious display of ethnicity, such as what we saw at Motatau and at the Auckland Museum, is deployed for a wide range of reasons, including communication with other groups (MacCannell 1984:380, 382), as an effort to protect threatened lifeways from extinction (Mead 1976:291) or as an expression of resistance (M. Mitchell 1996:23). But the markers of ethnicity that we encountered did not set out physical or even metaphorical borders, so much as they presented directions, guideposts and portals to "sites of worldly travel, difficult encounters and occasions for dialogue" (Clifford 1997:12) in "an increasingly connected but not homogeneous world" (1997:2).

What Don Mitchell (1995:103) calls the "empty, untethered abstraction of 'culture,'" then, can still be a "category of practice" (Brubaker and Cooper 2000:4), a set of stylized real-world performances. And these do not take place on neutral, uncontested ground. As Mitchell puts it, culture makes "others," and "the idea of culture is thus thoroughly implicated in the political economy of the contemporary world" (Mitchell 1995:112).

During my first trip to New Zealand/Aotearoa, I visited a reconstructed Māori marae that was a popular tourist spot. Tamaki Village, just outside Rotorua, is literally the full-meal deal: the highlight of the evening

is a *hangi*, a Māori feast. But the journey there and back, the formal invitation onto the marae and the performances in the meeting house were fraught with uncomfortable ironies. The Māori guides and performers, articulating a frozen-in-time "cultural experience" in which they were the masters of their domain, effectively reversed the everyday power relations in the settler society in which they lived. We pakeha tourists, off to experience an evening of Maori performance from our position of privilege, found ourselves performing for the Māori instead. I was brought up on stage to join in an action dance, for example, having no idea what to do, and I could see the amusement on the faces of the other dancers. On the way back, each person on the bus had to sing a song for the driver, who actually pulled off the road until a Chinese tourist obliged with a rendition of "Happy Birthday."

Marianne reacted fiercely at the time to my suggestion that Tamaki constituted a microexample of successful indigenous resistance. "What good is 'resistance' that won't lead to positive social change?" she asked, and I take her point. Tamaki is a profitable Māori-owned capitalist enterprise in a country where the socioeconomic status of Māori in general remains low. To reify and sell culture in this manner, and to do well at it, may not be subversive but accommodating, with the further irony that the representations sold in a package to tourists, like the Māori "cultural experience" in the museum, *are* part of the "real lives" of living Māori.

"Cultures, we often hear, 'die.' But how many cultures pronounced dead or dying by anthropologists and other authorities have … found new ways to be different?" (Clifford 1988:338). Tamaki Village is indeed a "new way to be different," but one doesn't need the concept of a culture to frame it. In fact, the fluidity ironically underscored by the frozen replica village suggests the ephemerality of any such notion. Unni Wikan sums up the contemporary "anticulture" view:

> "Culture," [is] a hegemonic concept that until recently and even today holds us in a straitjacket. Renato Rosaldo … has set out the salient aspects of this essentialist structure: It was a monolithic formation of logically coherent parts with the observer as the authoritative adjudicator of what does and does not belong.… Order reigned, at the expense of uncertainties, ambiguities, contesting visions, not to speak of the disorder and unpredictability of much of everyday life. Norms, rules and regularities carried the day to coalesce into a harmonious whole of pattern, consistency—in short, a culture. [1991:289]

Christoph Brumann argues on the other hand that, while we might, with Timothy Ingold, "imagine the world in which people dwell as a continuous and unbounded landscape, endlessly varied in its features and contours, yet without seams or breaks," we still require "a vocabulary for describing its mountains, plains, rivers, oceans, and islands" (Brumann 1999:S13). Yet, this highlights the very problems under review. What "people" are these, interacting regularly among themselves in this virtually connected world? What are these "common concepts, emotions and practices" he speaks of? Who manifests them? Ingold's "landscape," furthermore, has no easily defined features with the solidity of mountains or the reassuring daily presence of rivers and islands.

Brumann's article is nuanced and thoughtful: he does not attempt to reclaim the idea of bounded wholes. In fact, he does not reject the notion of a global culture (Brumann 1999:S23), although he introduces the notion of a "layer" of culture, which I find singularly problematic and unhelpful. It is this idea of a global culture, however, that may have finally put paid to the notion of pluralizable culture as a useful concept, even in the highly contingent manner in which Brumann employs it.

"Hybrids" and "Hybridity"

Does the notion of hybridity get us out of the essentialist bind posed by the culture concept? If we accept the idea that a culture is unbounded; that, as Marie Gillespie (1995) puts it, "all cultures are lived, and therefore always in flux … all cultures are 'hybrid,' 'syncretic,' 'creolized,' or 'impure'" (1995:4); that identities, in Scott Olson's words, "are protean, contingent, and temporal, not fixed, deliberate, and permanent as cultural preservationists would have us believe" (2002:3), then what is left of the notion? Many anthropologists, unwilling to abandon the concept, began to talk about hybridization, or hybridity, as Gillespie does above. The notion is inextricably related to globalization and its rapid flows of communication, resources, commodities and people. Hence, Bhabha (1994:2) refers to "cultured hybridities" emerging in moments of historical transformation and observes, in the present day, "a more transnational and translational sense of the hybridity of imagined communities," countering the recent excesses of Balkan nationalism (1994:5). And Ulf Hannerz (1997) writes of "flows, boundaries and hybrids," albeit critically.

Sally Merry (2006:46) refers to hybridity as a form of cultural "vernacularization." Rowe and Schelling define hybridization/hybridity as "the ways in which forms

become separated from existing practices and recombine with new forms in new practices" (1991:231). It is related to, and sometimes synonymous with, "creolization" (Lie 2002:16), a term that had its origins in the colonial experience and bears the hallmarks of dominant/subaltern power relations but has become generalized to mean the mixing of two or more cultures in liminal/liminoid, intercultural spaces situated between the global and the local (2002:39), spaces that have been called "borderlands" (2002:15).

What this all comes down to is an odd metaphorical notion of cultures, discrete or leaky, producing offspring. As Hannerz puts it, referring to the term *creolization* (without fully subscribing to this objection himself):

> One objection occasionally raised against the creolization concept—and other related notions may be confronted with it as well—is that such an identification of creole cultures as a particular category might simply push those features of essentialism a step back, implying that the cultural currents joined through creolization were pure, bounded, and so forth, until they were thus joined. [1997:14]

What we are observing is a multifaceted process of reinscription, which, at the level of language, has been described in this way:

> For [Yuri] Lotman, the arrival of a foreign text into a new culture is seen as a curiosity, but not a danger, because the text seems so strange. Eventually, this new text begins to alter the culture, and the culture of course begins to alter readings of the text. Through this mutual contamination, the new cultural context essentially steals the meaning of the text so that its original cultural context holds no enduring authority over its meaning. The text has mutated from alien to indigenous. [Olson 2002:4]

Once again, however, we are plagued by metaphors of "entrance" and notions of strangeness and the "steal[ing] of meaning." (What stable meaning inheres in a text?) The idea of boundaries—however porous, however unstable, however mobile—remains. The difficulty is how these Othering boundaries are qualitatively different from, say, those between classes in the same village, or subcultures in the same city, or political factions in the same nation, or regions in the same country. In fact, to take the *reductio*, differences within a single family are continually contested and negotiated, and going even further, our own unstable selves are continually reinscribing our personal "tradition," reassembling intertextual fragments, engaging in an ongoing

bricolage. The Other is everywhere. Indeed, we are our own Other—or Others.

On the specific subject of New Zealand/Aotearoa, Paul Meredith (1998) seeks to escape the Maori–pakeha binary by applying Bhabha's ideas of hybridity and the "third space" to the contemporary socio-political scene there. The "third space" is allegedly found at the intersection of dominant and subaltern groups where "difference is neither One nor the Other but something else besides, in-between" (Bhabha 1994:219).

We are rightly instructed that cultural encounters are fraught with issues of power within the colonial context. But all encounters, between groups and individuals, involve power of one kind or another. Face-to-face encounters are inevitably mediated through assumptions, structures of identity (e.g., gender, class) and, of course, by language itself, whose meanings are always contested. And so we might see the dominant–subaltern binary, with its supposed opening up of that contested and destablilizing third space as just a special case, as Bhabha appears to concede: "All forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity" (Rutherford 1990:211). In other words, Culture, with or without an uppercase "C," is always contingent, in constant flux.

But if it is indeed the case—that all forms of culture are ceaselessly hybridizing—then one must challenge the idea of two "spaces" giving rise to a third one. As an alleged attempt to de-essentialize culture, is the third space model, like creolization, not just pushing essentialism back one step? Bhabha talks about the third space as "in-between," as "straddling"—what? Or, alternatively, is all of culture not in fact enacted within that third space, as Bhabha suggests, making the ordinal superfluous? More to the point, perhaps, in the multitudinous personal relations, mediated and unmediated, that mark uppercase-"C" Culture, we, as individuals, do not perceive contested space: we encounter other people. If there is indeed a third space—and obviously I question the usefulness of the term—it exists no less certainly between individuals. Bhabha's in-between-ness exists in all encounters: we try to leap that gap every time we speak or gesture.

Autoethnography is all about personal encounters and meanings, and these do not easily dissolve into generalities and models. Even the realities of power fail to establish rigid categories of encounter, as the Tamaki experience and the Motatau invitation indicate: power fluctuates; it is not located; it "is exercised from innumerable points, in the interplay of nonegalitarian and mobile relations" (Foucault 1998:94). In the subtle complexities of these varied encounters, perhaps we might

find a way out of the culture trap and its confining spaces.

We need to abandon analytically nugatory concepts with all their attendant ailing metaphors of strangeness and separation without suggesting to the contrary that global flows take place on featureless ground: we know that they encounter obstacles, that they are channelled through often difficult terrain, and that they skip over parts of the world population entirely (Ferguson 2006:14). But carried along as we are in these flows, with their rapid and unstable conjunctures, their "friction" and "sticky engagements" (Tsing 2005:6), their encounters with frontiers and borderlands (Hannerz 1997:6; Tsing 2005:43), which, *pace* Hannerz, are not so much boundaries as causes of turbulence and eddies, can we finally dispense with cultures and their teeming hybrids?

Global Conversations: Translation and Dialogics

I suggest that we *can* dispense with culture and that accounts such as the one provided in the first part of this article are better understood without these flawed conceptual overlays. The more concrete, more inclusive notion of dialogics offers us an alternative mode of comprehension.

It would be difficult to improve upon John and Jean Comaroff's (1992) short definition of culture—in the generic and nonpluralizable sense—as "the semantic space, the field of signs and practices, in which human beings construct and represent themselves and others, and hence their societies and histories" (1992:27). And language as such occupies much of the field in which this complex interplay of "signifiers-in-action, signifiers at once material and symbolic, social and aesthetic" takes place (1992:27).

Russian philosopher and literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin (1981) developed the concept of dialogism that I refer to here, in which language is always engaging with itself, in perpetual dialogue with itself. No words are solitary or exist apart but, instead, bring old contexts with them (1981:66, 279, 293) while acquiring new meaning in a "living interaction" with an environment of other words.

> The word, directed toward its object, enters a dialogically agitated and tension-filled environment of alien words, value judgements and accents, weaves in and out of complex interrelationships, merges with some, recoils from others, intersects with yet a third group: and all this may crucially shape discourse. [1981:276]

Bakhtin is well-known for his analyses of the novel, which for him is a reflection of society, refracted through the author's artistic re-creation. It "comes into contact with the spontaneity of the inconclusive present," which "keeps the genre from congealing" (1981:27). It differs from all other genres precisely because of its openendedness: it is "constructed in a zone of contact with the incomplete events of a particular present" (1981:33). And, like society itself, it has "no definite, stable characteristics" (1981:8). The novel for Bakhtin, then, is a re-presentation of that incomplete, ever-developing, ever-unfinished process of culture. And to it, interestingly enough, he contrasts the epic, a genre that is "rigid" and "absolutely completed and finished" (1981:4)—like the traditional view of a culture frozen in time.

Compare the semantic space of culture and its "historically unfolding ensemble" (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992:27) with Bakhtin's (1981) concept of the novel: "the only developing genre ... [reflecting] more deeply, more essentially and rapidly, reality itself—the process of its unfolding" (1981:7). Like society, it has "no definite, stable characteristics" (1981:8). In the novel, "image[s] of a language" (1981:336) are constructed out of a vocabulary of intertextual fragments, different registers and varieties of language that Bakhtin calls "heteroglossia," drawn from the pool of the "already uttered" (1981:279)— the author's linguistic environment. Or as Roland Barthes put it, referring to text in general, "a text is made of multiple writings, drawn from many cultures and entering into mutual relations of dialogue, parody, contestation" (1977:148). Nor is the writer a creator *ab nihilo*: the writer's

> only power is to mix writings, to counter the ones with the others, in such a way as never to rest on any one of them. Did he wish to *express himself*, he ought at least to know that the inner 'thing' he thinks to 'translate' is itself only a ready-formed dictionary, its words only explainable through other words, and so on indefinitely. [Barthes 1977:146]

In the case of speech rather than written text, meaning is conveyed by words supplemented by physical and verbal gestures, affect and so on. The speaker, engaged in conversation, is by turns both "author" and "reader." The "text" is composed of fragments, messages, incomplete narratives and so on from that pre-existing dictionary, deployed in new contexts, refracted through our subject positions, as we encounter each other within the semantic space. Note that these encounters are not between cultures or between a person and a culture but between or among people. We *talk* to each other, these days regardless of physical distance, but we do so at our own risk:

The speech of another, once enclosed in a context, is—no matter how accurately transmitted—always subject to certain semantic changes. The context embracing another's word is responsible for its dialogizing background, whose influence can be very great. Given the appropriate methods for framing, one may bring about fundamental changes even in another's utterance accurately quoted. [Bakhtin 1981:349]

We interpret, even contest, what we hear. We are engaged, therefore, in a continual process of translation, and I use that term in the widest sense: we do it ourselves, or avail ourselves of actual translators, or of experts who can make specialized professional or technical vocabulary intelligible to us. Others may guide us through unfamiliar symbolic terrain. What at first appears opaque and therefore meaningless to us can be rendered meaningful through this mediating process. In the ethnographic account before us, T. A. explained the significance of every single feature in the *whare whakairo* ("carved house," a term for a traditionally crafted main meeting house) on the marae at Motatau. Without that lengthy whaikōrero, we would have seen only a few mats and carved posts. Gesturing for emphasis with his walking stick, he revealed the interior of the building to be heavy with meaning. His performance (for it was performance) was itself an English "translation" of classic Māori oratory. The "cultural experience" at the Auckland Museum was accompanied by a series of explanations for the audience, a running commentary on what was being performed. The "beloved auntie," and the elder, W. W., and T. A. all translated the unfamiliar for us, linking their shared world and that of my stepchildren. Peter K. gently explained the significance of the farewelling ceremony at Cape Reinga.

We take from our common pool of intertextual vocabulary what we need, and we return our own semantic assemblages to the pool for others to respond to in turn. To translate, or to have translated, from the otherwise unintelligible semantic domain of others, supplements and enhances our dialogic engagements. But translation itself, of course, is always open to interpretation—to many interpretations, in fact.

Bhabha (1994) desires

an international culture, based not on the exoticism of multiculturalism or the diversity of cultures, but on the inscription and articulation of culture's hybridity. To that end, we should remember that it is in the "inter"—the cutting edge of translation and negotiation, the in-between space—that carries the burden of the meaning of "culture." [1994:38]

We can at least agree that, on the individual level that Bhabha seems to be including here, the ability to communicate and to converse is key.

But Merry (2006) offers a caution about the subversive potential of translators; translation, as she reminds us, takes place within "fields of unequal power." She writes, "The nature of cultural translation is an old anthropological problem, but the globalization of human rights discourse raises it in a new guise" (2006:40). Translation alters what it translates. Through chains of translation, constructs originating in the "local" are reinscribed, vernacularized along a continuum, from "replication" to "hybridity." (2006:43, 44).

With Merry, I reject the "local–global" binary. "Despite considerable critique of the use of the terms *global* and *local* and numerous studies that show that things we call 'global' are often circulating locals, these terms have a recalcitrant tendency to shape discussions of transnational phenomena" (Merry 2006:40). Indeed they do: everything is at once local and global, implicated in a continual process of translation, and meanings are contingent, always subject to destabilization, never complete. Yet, we open our mouths and speak.

Opacity, Translucency, Transparency: Life in the Dialogic City

The uneven symbolic features of the intercommunicating world are made up of relative transparencies, translucencies and opacities. We can speak directly to each other in transparency, or so it seems, but dialogics, as noted above, take place in a space of shifting contexts and perspectives that can produce great changes in utterances even when accurately transmitted. Various types of translators assist us with translucencies; opacities may be rendered transparent or translucent—or remain impenetrable obstacles. When the latter come to our attention as hidden repositories of meaning, we reify them. From them we fashion a radical Otherness. Where there is little or no exchange of symbolic communication, at best the utterances of such Others take the form of the iconic, the metonymic—that is, when we think we perceive a culture, in all of its essentialized obduracy. Translators, however, can eliminate or appear to eliminate the blockages and get the flow going again, and our dialogic encounters, multimediated as they may be, resume. Life goes on in a global, dialogic city.

Nearly a half-century ago, Marshall McLuhan noted, "Today electronics and automation make mandatory that everybody adjust to the vast global environment as if it were his little home town" (McLuhan and Fiore 1968:11). But, for several reasons, I prefer the

term "dialogic city" to McLuhan's "global village." The notion of a village, first of all, is too small to contain the dark alleys, walls, "ethnic" areas, tony districts, slums, divisions of labour, Internet cafes, madness, dangers, traffic, crowds, palimpsests, workspaces, pollutions and the sheer *noise* that is life in the early 21st century. We are not connected to each other like the residents of a village. Our city is one of fragments, disjunctures, fatal clashes, incomprehension, terror, barriers and ecstatic unions. It is a grid staffed at strategic points by police, CEOs and officials posing as truth-givers. In this contemporary bedlam, we talk to and through and past each other. Sometimes our conversations are facilitated by translators. We use the sound of our own voices; we use wires and letters and email and the airwaves. Sometimes our calls are dropped, sometimes the phone fails to ring and the Internet is down, and in some parts of the city there are no phones or computers at all. There are conversations and side conversations, formal and informal encounters, oratory, the level tones of anchorpersons, screams from dungeons, the wheedling of crazed panhandlers, official announcements. There is far too much to read and to hear. But we go on, talking and listening, trying to understand and to be understood, imagining that we do and are. One might here speak of intersubjectivity and invoke Richard Rorty's search for the "widest possible intersubjective agreement" (Rorty 1998:63). But subjects are unstable, and too many people are speaking at once. And yet ... we find meaning, somehow, through our encounters and conversations.

The global interconnectedness of all of the people we met in New Zealand/Aotearoa has little to do with the ties that characterize a village community. Whether or not a significant proportion of our time was actually spent in rural areas, all of us communicated regularly by telephone and through the Internet, using email and social media. Transport routes linked us and distances shrank. Unbelievably, the taiaha took less than a week to be delivered halfway around the globe. We inhabit a common space, connected in an almost intimate immediacy. We are family, neighbours, friends, living among a large community of strangers: the metaphor of the city seems apt. The encounters here described might have been facilitated by familial ties and trustworthy translators, but they are nevertheless an instance of a multitude of possible encounters in the dialogic city. Many, of course, will be too ephemeral to lend themselves to narrative. Some will have a common language to draw on. Some may take place in tough neighbourhoods where translators, if required, may have their own agendas, or be incompetent, or be actively hostile

to the values or lifestyles of one or other of the interlocutors—or there might be no translators within reach. But whatever the hazards, the inhabitants of the city will continue to talk, to gesticulate, to text, to read and write, as long as the city exists.

In New Zealand/Aotearoa, we spoke with others, and they spoke with us. Our journey was to an unfamiliar neighbourhood of the dialogic city, not to a place out of ken. And through our conversations (and, to a far lesser extent, our written messages), the unfamiliar grew more familiar, and the familiar—perhaps a little less so.

Conclusion: Bringing It Back

In this article, I argue for a means of generating anthropological knowledge that does not flow from notions of culture(s) and hybridity. Accounts such as that given in the first section lend themselves more readily and productively to a dialogical analysis. The semantic space referred to by John and Jean Comaroff (1992:27) is filled with vocabulary: intertexts, "messages, images and actions"—the contents of a grand Barthesian dictionary. Even physical objects (the mere, the taiaha, the carvings and mats in the marae) are palimpsests upon whose surfaces we could read—or impose—countless narratives in which we found ourselves implicated. That would account for the anxiety I experienced at the apparent loss of my stepson's mere. There is no reflection there of cultural fetishism, appropriation, a reification of "culture" (Beck 2003:46) but, rather, the literal loss of a part of the discursive self, inscribed in the object. Global instantaneity has brought together much that was separate, in a jostling mass of Bakhtinian heteroglossia and polyglossia. Individuals do not encounter cultures and their culture-bearers. Instead they have conversations, at different registers and pitches, mediated and to various degrees facilitated. Both authors and readers, speakers and listeners, we draw from a global dictionary now. We encounter the different but seldom the strange. We are not "emplaced" but roam at will.

We all inhabit a converging semantic space that coincides with a world in which borders have, to all intents and purposes, ceased to exist for most except as empty formalities. The shock of 9/11 was not just the loss of life but the realization that there can be no privileged spectators. We are all implicated. Time is foreshortened, and space becomes a shared city. How to read, or "think with," the narratives of encounter that are generated in this space? They are elements of a global process of becoming, never finished, never concluded. They involve journeys at once actual and metaphorical, meetings and exchanges, mutual acts of

finding out that become stories we tell each other because we must.

Perhaps I have left the sense of emotional presence in the account of a family's adventures in New Zealand/Aotearoa too far behind in my analytical dust. But maybe not that far after all. What remains of that journey is not a conclusion but a partial understanding, one generated dialogically by interrogating anthropological assumptions and theoretical positions.

But other questions continue to press: Why was that farewelling ceremony so important to me? Was it more than a deathbed obligation? More than simple closure? (For so it seems.) What did it mean? What, precisely, is the nature of the connection that I wanted the children to make? Why did I want them to make it? What are the "lineage" and "heritage" that I avoid problematizing? Why do I avoid doing so, even in the form of a reflection upon the importance I appeared to give them? Am I shying away in some embarrassment from a suspect metaphysics of blood and soil? Or is this about metaphysics at all? Why did I become obsessed with completeness after my return? Is the absence of Marianne being mirrored/expressed/projected as the fear of an incomplete interpellation into Māori myth, one insufficiently grasped and acted upon?

Within the context of the analysis of culture(s), globalization and dialogics just presented, these questions offer at least the possibility of answers, even if only partial, contradictory, unsatisfactory answers can emerge from such interrogation. As I look at them, however, I am struck by a grave misgiving: Is this, after all, more the province of psychology than anthropology (placing in parentheses for now the socially constructed nature of what we call psychology)? But what if it is? Anthropologist and psychoanalyst Vincent Crapanzano, in his groundbreaking ethnography of a schizophrenic Moroccan toolmaker (an ethnography that so implicated the teller that the boundaries of the two selves seemed to dissolve in the account), cites Paul Ricoeur on the hermeneutics of encounter: "the comprehension of self by the detours of the comprehension of the other" (Crapanzano 1985:139). If in the openended dialogics of being-with-others we discover something about ourselves, then, or are just left with questions for reflection, so much the better. Let the investigations continue.

But perhaps, for now, this is a good place to stop.

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Notes

1 "The tongue," the Māori language.
2 The Māori are said to have arrived in Aotearoa in seven *waka*, or canoes. The Ngati Hine *waka* was called Ngatoki-mata-whaorua.

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In Memoriam

Krystyna Z. Sieciechowicz (1948–2012)

Darrel Manitowabi *Laurentian University*

Kathryn T. Molohon *Laurentian University*

Photo 1: Krystyna Z. Sieciechowicz (1948–2012). Photo by Kai-Lii Veer.

An original thinker, community-based scholar and advocate of the rights of indigenous peoples, Krystyna Sieciechowicz, Ph.D., left us on 22 March 2012 at the age of only 63 after a long battle with cancer. In this memorial, we share insights about her life, academic contributions and collegial influences.[1]

Krystyna, who was known to many as Krys, was born in London, England, in 1948. Her parents, both of whom were Polish, participated in World War II in support of their fractured homeland: her father in the French and British military; her mother in the Polish resistance. After the war, her father's employment with the British government took the family to Singapore for several years. Later, when Krys was 13, the family emigrated to Canada. She grew up in Don Mills, Ontario, where Krys earned all her academic degrees in anthropology from the University of Toronto (B.A. 1971, M.A. 1972 and Ph.D. 1982). Her first teaching appointment in anthropology, one semester during 1979–1980, was with the University of Alberta, teaching at Blue Quills First Nations College. In 1980, Krystyna accepted a position in anthropology at the University of Toronto, where she remained for the duration of her career, becoming the first tenured woman faculty member in social/cultural anthropology in the department.

Krystyna's career is best defined by three phases: land use studies for Treaty Nine in Northwestern Ontario; oral history research for First Nations land claims; and preserving land use maps. Embarking on the first phase of her career, Krystyna accepted an invitation to do research in Northwestern Ontario from her mentor, R. W. Dunning, who had been contacted by the Grand Council of Treaty Nine to conduct research in response to government and corporate interests surrounding natural resource development in negation of hunting and fishing treaty rights (Davidson 1983; Sieciechowicz 1982). This research formed the basis of her doctoral thesis on a land use case study of Wunnumin Lake (1982) and also a submission to the Royal Commission

on the Northern Environment (1983), a comprehensive land occupancy study of seven Treaty Nine First Nations, published by the University of Toronto Press in 1985, as well as other publications (1986, 1988, 2012).

Krystyna's motivations for this research and its methodology spoke to her community-based sensibilities, including her advocacy and her theoretical and applied contributions to the anthropology of Indigenous peoples. In the 1970s, far north First Nations people in Ontario faced increasing pressure to legally prove their treaty rights to hunt, fish and access their land in the face of provincially backed corporate interests (Sieciechowicz 1983). Influenced by R. W. Dunning and British social anthropology (via Meyer Fortes, who supervised Dunning at Cambridge), Krys sought to demonstrate how indigenous people were connected to the land by kinship networks that informed an indigenous economy of hunting, fishing and trapping. Building on the work of Milton Freeman (1976), Krys moved beyond a fur trade–centric model of indigenous land tenure to affirm that "unless we tie land-use to its social framework, the concept of land is incomplete and correspondingly the land title argument is weak" (1982:13). This resulted in the land-use mapping of 14 Treaty Nine First Nations, from 1975 to1981. Her research in this context involved training First Nations research assistants how to map their own communities. In turn, Krys recognized the value of community coauthorship of research findings (Kayahna Tribal Area Council 1985).[2] The significance of this work is a demonstration of an indigenous-centred social model of land tenure based on kinship. During this first part of her career and through her land use research, Krys undertook substantial responsibilities for advocacy for the First Nations people with whom she worked. This translated into the effective teaching and mentoring of students. A recent memorial by former students highlighted her strengths in teaching, graduate mentorship and inspiration (University of Toronto Anthropology Newsletter 2013).

In the second phase of her career, Krys continued her advocacy and applied land claims work with First Nations, including writing reports in support of litigation for the Chippewas of Sarnia (1996), First Nations of the United Anishnaabeg Council (2000–2007), Treaty One (2009) and Slate Falls (2010). In 1998, she testified in court in support of the Chippewa of Sarnia First Nation. The Sarnia First Nation, its lawyers and her oral history research faced opposition by lawyers representing the City of Sarnia, as well as from a railway line, pipeline, four banks and many businesses. In the end, the court did not rule in favour of the Chippewa of Sarnia. Krys planned her sabbaticals to coincide with her court testimonies. During a remission in her illness in late winter 2011, she provided 18 half-days of expert testimony on behalf of the Slate Falls First Nation regarding a pending court case.

In the third phase of her career, Krys again focused on First Nations and came back full circle to the focus of her doctoral research when she began working with First Nations communities in Northern Ontario to preserve maps collected during her earlier research. Krys understood that the far north remains under the ever-watchful eye of industry and government, as evidenced by current DeBeers diamond mining and plans for development of a large chromite deposit in the Northern Ontario "Ring of Fire." Thus, First Nations must continue to assert and demonstrate their connection to their land.

Her life plan was to segue into a fourth career phase, where she could concentrate on intensive writing and publishing, but this next phase was interrupted. Krys's mark on the world of publishing, however, had already been profound. She served as a reviewer for journals and was the principal manuscript review editor for the University of Toronto Press on the subjects of anthropology, First Nations and sociology at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (1997–2008). She devoted a great deal of time and energy to this responsibility, providing comprehensive comments to potential authors.

Krys undertook pioneering work in contemporary anthropology, promoting the inclusion of women and of people from diverse cultural backgrounds in the discipline and the academy. She was an advocate for those people anthropologists formerly "studied" and was convinced that work as equal partners in joint efforts would result in social justice and the betterment of people's lives. She embodied the efforts of all who strive to create a balance among research and academic writing, teaching, mentorship and family.

Krys was a private person who did not share the details of her life with many others. Perhaps her heavy workload and multidimensional responsibilities left little time for talking about herself. Perhaps she found similarities between the Polish experience during World War II and Canadian First Nations people that motivated her scholarship. She was deeply affected by the loss of her husband Jean-Louis de Lannoy, a sociology professor at the University of Toronto Scarborough. Once recovered, she found a new energy and spirit in life upon meeting and marrying Reginald Willoughby, a Toronto lawyer. She is survived by her husband Reginald, her three children and five step-children, her mother and two brothers.

The academy has not yet completely recognized the somewhat different but equally effective career paths that have been followed by women and other "minorities." Slowly, the academy is adjusting to such alternative professional trajectories by building support for the multidimensional responsibilities of minority scholars and academic women. We are certain that, as more scholars study the impacts of relations among First Nations, corporations, and the state in northern Ontario, they will uncover the contributions and celebrate the critical importance of the scholarship of Krystyna Sieciechowicz.

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Note

1 Darrel Manitowabi is a former Ph.D. student of Krystyna Sieciechowicz's and Kathryn Molohon has known Krystyna since the start of Krystyna's career. In writing this memoriam, we have benefited from information shared by Reginald Willoughby and discussions with Gavin Smith, Harvey Feit, Heather Howard, Stella Spak, Michael Asch, Michel Bisaillon and Richard Lee. Any inaccuracies are, however, those of the authors alone.

2 Though the Kayahna Tribal Area Council is listed as the author of this book, Krystyna wrote the entire text and coordinated its entire production (Kayahna Tribal Area Council 1985: Addenda).

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Book Reviews / Comptes rendus

Thompson, Judy, *Women's Work, Women's Art: Nineteenth-Century Northern Athapaskan Clothing*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013, 307 pages.

Reviewer: Megan A. Smetzer
Capilano University

Judy Thompson's *Women's Work, Women's Art* is a meticulously researched and generously illustrated capstone to a 40-year career at the Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC, now Canadian Museum of History). Thompson gracefully incorporates research on over 400 hide and fur garments found in museum collections worldwide, close readings of early European texts and images, historic and contemporary photographs and the judicious use of ethnographic literature, as well as oral histories and interviews with elders and other community members. These diverse sources enable Thompson to trace both the shared qualities and distinctive regional aesthetics of 19th-century Northern Athapaskan clothing just before and through the early years of European contact.

Thompson notes that 19th-century Northern Athapaskan peoples lived within the vast subarctic landscape extending from western interior Alaska to the western shore of Hudson's Bay. Within this immense territory, she focuses on the garments originating from 23 of 26 identified Athapaskan groups, across three regional divisions: South Central Alaska—Alaska Plateau, Cordillera, and Great Slave Lake—Mackenzie River.

Across these loose divisions, Thompson emphasizes women's ability to utilize the natural resources that surrounded them to create garments that were functional, spiritually imbued and aesthetically pleasing. Different hides and furs were used to construct a range of garments perfectly suited for the short, insect ridden summers and long, dark, cold winters. Although she touches on a wide range of clothing, Thompson focuses on two types of standard outfits used across this region. To the west, this outfit included a sleeved tunic with a pointed bottom hem and moccasin-trousers. To the east, the garments included a sleeved tunic with a straight hem, leggings and high moccasins. Other clothing items accompanied these outfits, which included, but was not limited to, mittens, hoods, robes and caps.

Chapter 1 is the most compelling section of the book, as Thompson explores the physical, spiritual and gendered characteristics of these garments. An extensive discussion of body adornment including jewellery, paint and hairstyles, as well as body modifications such as facial piercings and tattoos, contributes to a deeper understanding of the rich cultural and social meanings attributed to all manner of dress. The chapter concludes with a brief examination of the impact of the fur trade and its contribution to four trends in clothing fashion. Thompson notes that to varying degrees across the subarctic, Athapaskan people retained older clothing styles, abandoned some self-adornment, incorporated clothing made from introduced materials and developed a few new indigenous styles (pp. 28–30). While Thompson attributes most of these trends to shifts in Athapaskan tastes, one wonders how pressures from traders, missionaries and other newcomers may have contributed to these changing styles.

In chapter 2, Thompson introduces the flora and fauna found in each region and how aspects of each are incorporated into both summer and winter garments. She includes techniques for the preparation of skins and furs, and diagrams on embellishment using natural materials such as seeds and porcupine quills, as well as a brief discussion of techniques for applying trade beads. In chapter 3, Thompson identifies the major clothing types and provides patterns of various items of clothing drawn by Dorothy Burnham, Thompson's colleague at the CMC through the 1990s. These chapters are materials-oriented, technical and valuable for those interested in learning historic construction techniques and decorative patterns.

The final and longest chapter explores clothing styles within the three regional divisions mentioned earlier. Each section of this chapter introduces the environmental attributes of the region as well as the people who inhabited it, discusses the primary sources used and early descriptions of the people and their clothing, and describes the specific garments with provenance attributing them to that area. It appears that the depth of information available to Thompson for each of these regions has much to do with the impact of settler colonialism. With some exceptions, the amount of documentation and extant examples of clothing almost directly opposes the westward movement of the fur trade; typically, the earlier contact occurred, the less information seems to have survived to the present. Thompson thus begins her discussion with those clothing styles that originated among the Athapaskan speaking groups in Alaska and works her way east.

The principal drawback to this work is its insularity from current discourses in material culture and museum studies. Though Thompson draws extensively from the reports of missionaries, fur traders and various government officials for the first-hand accounts and illustrations of early encounters

with Athapaskan peoples, they are not situated into a critical context. Considerations of the impact of settler colonialism are now standard approaches to these types of materials in the anthropological literature and would have enriched the reader's appreciation for what has survived despite great odds. Though Thompson includes a brief introduction to contemporary revival projects in the epilogue, there is little indication of why these practices need revival, or how communities are using projects of this sort to strengthen specific cultural identities in the face of increasing environmental and corporate threats to traditional lands. At the same time, given the recent change in name and mandate at the museum, it is quite possible that this book will be among the last of its kind from this institution, one that privileges the cultural practices of the original inhabitants of this continent over the history of settlement and conquest advocated by the current government.

The lack of critical engagement aside, Thompson's introductory statement rightly positions Athapaskan clothing as "an aspect of culture so central to a people's sense of who they are, so expressive of cultural values and a life-style that endured over centuries, [that it] merits careful study" (p. 4). In this book, Thompson accomplishes this monumental task in a way that is both accessible to a general audience through historic specificity, clear language and lavish colour illustrations, and also useful as a reference tool to those wishing to understand the physical attributes of these garments. In addition, though it is not explicitly stated, Thompson's focus is an important contribution to the ethnographic literature, as women's work is so often overlooked or marginalized as merely utilitarian rather than having significant cultural, social, economic and aesthetic value.

Susan Vincent, *Dimensions of Development: History, Community, and Change in Allpachico, Peru,* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012, 221 pages.

Reviewer: Christiane Paponnet-Cantat
University of New Brunswick

In *Dimensions of Development*, Susan Vincent presents a historically informed ethnography of a Peruvian Highland community in the Mantaro Valley that she calls Allpachico. Drawing upon political economy and more than two decades of fieldwork experience (1984–2008), the author critically evaluates four distinct people-oriented projects implemented in the village. These development projects and practices are framed within the historical and social contexts of the region in an attempt to trace the structural implications of the uneven but complex infiltration of capitalism in the sierra. Central to her argument is that development projects consolidate capitalist patterns through differential access to external resources, increased consumerism, and greater commodification of local labour. The use of a locally specific approach enables Vincent to explore the role of the *comunidad campesina* and reveal how social differences among Allpachiqueños lead to different viewpoints on demands arising from penetrating capitalism and noncapitalist Andean cultural patterns. People's accumulated experience with intentional development generates contradictions and frustrations but also serves to negotiate and

mitigate the mixed results of external intervention in local livelihood.

Vincent starts her analysis of development by seeking to explicate a pattern of structural change that has shaped the Mantaro Valley and Central Highlands communities over a long period of hegemonic domination—first, Andean with the Huancas and the Incas; then with the Spanish and republicans. She argues that this pattern of change is a hallmark of intentional development based on a conception of Andean people as resources to be profitably exploited. Over time, the process has enabled the penetration of capitalism in the region, strengthening the political reach of the state through the transformation of governance structures. In recent decades, government downsizing and neoliberalism have led to the growth of countless NGOs to provide technical assistance. Intentionally or not, present-day development serves the capitalist economy (p. 166). Both the Peruvian state and transnational helping institutions finance programs and policies that prioritize capitalism, regardless of their local merits. A lack of meaningful consultation on community priorities prevents effective local participation. According to the author, rules and practices dictated by these external initiatives encourage both political clientelism and the infiltration of capitalist rationalities. Meanwhile, outside projects put a great deal of demand on the local population. Communities try to respond to these growing responsibilities by seeking several eclectic strategies to survive and preserve some degree of autonomy and choice. These strategies are what the author intends to explore in all their complexities.

The book has nine chapters. Each is carefully crafted, with an introduction that makes the issues to be dealt with very clear and, at the end of the chapter, a complete synthesis of what has been covered. Chapter 1, "Development in History in Peru," explains the usefulness of political economy as an approach to trace structural change and the development practices that have marked the history of Allpachico. In the second chapter, "Anthropology, Development, and Capitalism," the author sets out the concepts underpinning her theoretically tied analysis, the main actors involved in development and the relationship between anthropology and development. Chapter 3, "Somos libres? Political Structures of Development in History in the Peruvian Central Highlands," and chapter 4, "Community Development: Definition, Context, and History in Allpachico," link the current development context with pre-Colombian, Spanish and republican hegemonic projects within the region and show how domination has transformed Andean communities, indigenous identities and the sense of *comunidad* that today has become a template for collective endeavours.

In chapter 5, "To Teach a Man to Fish (and a Woman to Sew) ... Integrated Rural Development and Basic Human Needs," Vincent critically discusses three development approaches to illustrate how community-based projects have promoted local integration into capitalist markets but ignored the problems caused by market dependence. These approaches include Integrated Rural Development, Community-Based Integrated Development, and Basic Needs. To illustrate some of their contradictions, the author examines a late 1980s Multi-Need, Integrated Rural Development Project, dedicated to market production for increased local incomes. Given the political and economic instability of Peru at that time, the project was cut short and its results questionable. Project workshops were never fully functioning, and women were pushed away

from agriculture toward domestically related activities. Part of its legacy, however, was to provide accumulated experience on which Allpachiqueños could draw when seeking a future under their own control (p. 92).

In chapter 6, "Developing People: Gender and the Turn to Individuals as Foci of Development," Vincent shifts her focus from projects to individuals. She explores the effects of gendered development on Allpachiqueños women and the subsequent reordering of local relations along gender lines. Using the experience of local recipients such as Tomasa, a woman involved in several local projects, the author argues that projects aimed at women tend to emphasize female domesticity at the expense of other important women's roles, including farming (pp. 99–102). Programs focusing on female leadership and organized through women's collectives may not provide more power to women. The author argues that although these projects help women to acquire political mobilization skills, their managerial bent often ends up being interpreted by women in clientelistic ways (p. 107), which makes Andean women vulnerable to outside manipulation.

Chapter 7, "NGOs, infrastructure Projects, and Commodification," centres on the labour demands large-scale infrastructural projects put on local residents. To illustrate this point, the author uses the cases of an early electrical project and a more recent water project that took place in the 2000s. Both of these initiatives were based on a neoliberal model of development, which promoted self-help through collective mobilization to reduce costs for the state. After presenting diverse local viewpoints, Vincent comes to the conclusion that these projects have generated internal class-like divisions (p. 131) and conflicting understanding on the value of labour power (p. 132). Because the contribution of the residents is usually not acknowledged as cost, infrastructural projects tend to burden residents with heavy demands and lead to increased labour commodification. Such projects also encourage abuse of unpaid forms of collective labour mobilization, such as the Andean communal faenas, a traditional form of labour organization.

In chapter 8, "Participatory Budgeting: Accounting, Accountability, and Politics," the author discusses the role of the state as a major source of development funds through municipal participatory budgeting. Participatory budgeting is a form of top-down decentralization, which outlines the responsibilities of citizens while limiting their role (p. 139). For Vincent, the rigidity of formal dictates subverts public input into resource spending; it generates local frustrations and also promotes uneven and contradictory integration into capitalism (p. 154).

Chapter 9, "Conclusion: Immanent Development in Capitalism," deals with how people's experience of past projects becomes their accumulated knowledge to change their circumstances, seen by the author as the product of historical struggle. The particularities of responses, Vincent argues, are framed by the priorities and limits dictated by the state and outside agencies, and shaped by knowledge people have acquired through past experience of struggles.

Dimensions of Development is both scholarly and stimulating. Tightly organized, very carefully drafted, it is a fine piece of work that provides a lucid analysis of some very complex issues generated by capitalism and international development. Allpachiqueños are portrayed as individuals trying to strategize their efforts within constraining circumstances, and their capacity to navigate through these challenges offers a valuable lesson in perseverance. Its contribution is significant to anthropological study in the Andean region and will prove useful and provocative to those concerned with development anywhere.

Rudnyckyj, Daromir, *Spiritual Economies: Islam, Globalization and the Afterlife of Development.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010, 289 pp.

Reviewer: Janice Newberry
Lethbridge University

The relationship between Islam and globalization, although not a new one, has inspired some excellent ethnographic and theoretical work recently, perhaps especially in Southeast Asia, which is often overlooked in current political debate in North America and Europe. Daromir Rudnyckyj's *Spiritual Economies* adds to this growing canon with a fieldwork-based analysis of a popular human resources program known as Emotional and Spiritual Quotient (ESQ) and its use at Krakatau Steel, a state-owned factory in the province of Banten located at the western tip of the island of Java. Rudnyckyj's focus is how this spiritual training exemplifies the workings of neoliberal rationality in the post-Suharto era. By considering how this popular program is used by Krakatau to deal with the changing market position of the company, he is able to contrast the bright post-independence promise of state-led industrialization with the changed circumstances of a newly democratic and decentralized Indonesia post-1997. He contrasts the Suharto-era faith in development to a more recent post-9/11 desire to develop faith. In this respect, Rudnyckyj considers both the local context of Banten's special role as an industrial zone and as a province with a rather particular Islamic and trading history. His analysis includes the larger context of shifting trading and manufacturing regimes in the current phase of globalization affecting Indonesia. The attention to Banten's role and its pre-colonial, colonial and post-independence roles is fascinating and an important addition to the ethnographic scholarship on Indonesia.

Rudnyckyj firmly situates his analysis in the governmentality literature and the production of particular subjectivities. He draws inspiration from classics such as Weber's Protestant work ethic and Hirschmann's attention to self-interest and its reconciliation with collective interest. Yet, his emphasis is clearly on recent theoretical treatments of regulation, accountability, audit culture and the production of selves through particular global practices as he describes it. His attention to the growth in human resources management in Indonesia is especially good, highlighting the importance of these programs as Indonesia has shifted toward more flexible forms of production and governance. Rudnyckyj's ethnography is notably strong when he takes the reader to an ESQ session where the intensely choreographed performance produces a moment of conversion and collective effervescence. The voices of those transformed in these sessions, where they are asked to confront their own death, provide an excellent window onto current Indonesian tensions and coherencies. He follows this thread through attention to emotion and affect and its governance through these evangelistic seminars aimed at self-improvement.

Rudnyckyj makes an argument that ESQ is an example of spiritual reform undertaken to solve several dilemmas in post-Suharto Indonesia, including the failures of a "blind faith" in development and the corruption of those middle-class workers who benefitted most from Krakatau and New Order state-led industrialization. ESQ provides a way to reconcile an invigorated Muslim identity post-9/11 with Islamic science and with technical progress. As such, Rudnyckyj's work is directly aimed at a middle class whose initial success has stalled and is seeking in some sense to mend its identity in a post-development world. His attention to the developer of ESQ, Ary Ginanjar, is another interesting window on current Indonesia. For many familiar with Indonesia, Ginanjar may appear as a manifestation of a general pattern of Indonesian huckster-ism, but Rudnyckyj uses the felicitous emergence of ESQ to identify the convergence of desires to reinterpret Islam in the current age, the reinvention of industry in a neoliberal era and the appeal of self-help in Indonesia at the present moment. It is this entry point that allows him to explore how affect and neoliberal forms of governmentality produce new subjects.

Rudnyckyj's work also adds to the growing list of scholars who consider the Islamic counter to neoclassical economics in the Western tradition. The dictates of Islamic banking, for example, have been used to consider the banking crisis in the West as well as how an Islamic ecumene is reforming finance in parts of the world (Maurer 2005). Rudnyckyj's work provokes questions not only about how Islam is being constituted in Indonesia among middle-class factory employees but also about what kind of an economy is produced or, more to the point, what we mean by economy.

Beginning with his treatment of Islam in Indonesia, Rudnyckyj's insights into some of the specifics of how it has become a powerfully renewed force for identity in post–New Order Indonesia are significant, not only for illustrating how Islam functions as an anti-Western machine but also for the intricacies of its invocation through class, geography and history. One thread in the book is the idea that individual achievement and responsibility, as promoted by ESQ, can be promoted by conceptualizing labour as appropriate religious practice. The sections devoted to how the ESQ program combines a universalist, humanitarian Islam with science, physics and math are particularly instructive. Calculating selves are produced as ESQ followers identify mathematical equations to demonstrate Allah's perfection and the Qur'an's depiction of the big bang. As Rudnyckyj says, "I argue that in contemporary Indonesia, Islam is invoked to elicit subjects complicit with norms of efficiency, productivity, and transparency. In diagramming this spiritual economy, I show how Islam serves as a medium through which subjects of spiritual reform are made accountable to themselves, their families, their work, and the nation at large" (p. 139).

Even so, Rudnyckyj's treatment of Islam is not especially comprehensive, nor does it explore the varieties of Islam in Indonesia. The lack of attention to other sources of individualism such as Sufi Islam is a bit perplexing given his focus on how individualization of responsibility through religion is commensurate with neoliberalism. Beginning with Weber perhaps has kept him from foregrounding Islamic approaches to the individual. More telling for anthropologists of religion, Rudnyckyj spends little time analyzing the ritual of conversion, which surely is at the core of the ESQ experience when partic-

ipants are put to physical and emotional stress to produce a specific and significant experience of unity and identification. ESQ is immediately reminiscent of Erhard Seminars Training (EST); after all, these California seminars of the 1970s intended to produce the same kind of breakthrough by breakdown. It seems a tendency to focus narrowly keeps Rudnyckyj from looking laterally in ways that might have been productive. For example, in terms of the mediation of scientific progress through religion, Chatterjee's (1989) older work on this issue in India would have been a fruitful addition.

Perhaps Rudnyckyj missed this reference because it has been widely used to consider gender differences in colonial and post-colonial settings. While Rudnyckyj's attention to the middle class and its recalibration in post-Suharto Indonesia adds important ethnographic detail, one wonders at the near exclusive and unremarked focus on males. As someone who has worked on the role of Javanese women's informal sector labour in national development, both before and after Suharto, I was especially interested to read this distaff analysis. Yet, Rudnyckyj does not share this interest in the substantive and relational aspects of Indonesia's economy. In fact, he does not cite one of the key texts on factory labour in Indonesia, Wolf's (1992) *Factory Daughters*, a rather stunning oversight—one that is likely explained as much by his approach to economy as to gender.

Rudnyckyj follows current fashion in approaching the economy as a political rationality, which Foucault called governmentality. That is, the economy is a "technology for eliciting certain types of subjects and practices" (p. 138). Governmentality has proven to be a robust approach to understanding governance and globalization in anthropology. Yet, Rudnyckyj's lack of attention to the literature on community and family in Indonesia has produced more than one blind spot in his ethnography. Other equally robust approaches to economy would have made this neglect more difficult. Considering, for example, how labour is produced as a social formation or the role of reciprocity in exchange would have made it harder to narrow economy to subjectivity alone. Governmentality tends to swallow all other analysis, which can lead us to neglect some of the most powerful and influential work in anthropology.

Even so, Rudnyckyj's ethnography is an important contribution to the work on Indonesia, Southeast Asia and globalization. His attention to ethnographic textures that surround these emergent practices of self-improvement and self-management in post-Suharto Indonesia identifies both continuities and changes in development and faith in the most recent era of globalization. Rudnyckyj's ethnography is accessible and would be useful in upper division undergraduate and graduate courses.

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Linda Scarangella McNenly, *Native Performers in Wild West Shows: From Buffalo Bill to Euro Disney,* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012, 254 pages.

Reviewer: Lynda Mannik
Memorial University

Native Performers in Wild West Shows moves past a litany of excellent histories concerning the global influence of Wild West shows to create a "revisionist history" that begins in the late 19th century and ends in 2005. It also looks at various types of Wild West performances that took place around the world, including contemporary examples in Paris at Euro Disney and mock Wild West shows called Buffalo Bill Days in Sheridan, Wyoming. Anthropologist Linda Scarangella McNenly focuses on Native performer's experiences and perspectives that are suggested in archival materials and articulated in contemporary interviews with the intention of explaining how Canadian and American Native participants interacted with dominant society through this venue to produce subjective social meanings. Her revisionist history is intended to provide an examination and a re-examination of cultural, social and political expressions of Native identity and agency. Considering the span of both time and place, this is a challenging undertaking.

Scarangella McNenly adopts Mary Pratt's well-used concept of "contact zone" as a space that allows for negotiations of power within a colonial context. The idea of the contact zone has been employed by anthropologists and historians frequently in discussions of North American fairs, powwows and rodeo competitions as a way of understanding how indigenous peoples have negotiated social identities and acted as political agents. Most recently, Mary Ellen Kelm (2011) used this concept to weave together a holistic view of rodeo in Canada as a space where new identities and new relationships between indigenous and settler communities were crafted, contested and negotiated. Scarangella McNenly's adds Ortner's emphasis on "practice theory" to allow for an examination of such processes through discourses and representations, and to clarify how free will and intentions are part of webs of power structures and relationships. Multi-sited research is employed as a way to facilitate her "research pathway," which is based on "an experience" that cuts across places, ethnicities, archival records (including print media), oral narratives and personal accounts. This book is organized as a series of case studies and is intended to "examine processes, encounters, and relationships through time and space."

Chapters 1 through 4 focus on Wild West performances and productions in the late 19th century and the early 20th century, ending with a brief overview of the Miller Brothers' 101 Ranch, last produced in 1932. Chapter 1 provides a fleeting introduction into the basics of American Wild West shows as an international sensation, where the performance of imperialism disseminated ideas about race, progress and indigenous peoples alongside world's fairs, museums displays and dime store novels. Chapter 2 and the remaining chapters follow a similar pattern: the first section of each uses archival sources and popular media to explain the context of Native participation, and the closing section brings "forward Native performers' perspectives and experiences to explore how they engaged with and negotiated these encounters." Chapter 2 looks at American Wild West shows as employers and Native performers as employees. Scarangella McNenly realizes her intention of providing Native perspectives on historic experiences through archived letters, show programs and personal memoires to outline the reasons why Native performers wanted to work in Wild West shows, including work for work's sake, monetary advantage and travel. Chapter 3 explores Wild West shows as performances of identity juxtaposing stereotypical representations of exotic cowboys and Indians in various forms of Western print media with "warrior identity" created by Native participants. The bulk of this chapter emphasizes how agency is expressed through dance, song and clothing. Here, Native perspective is evidenced primarily through previous scholarly literature, memoires and a brief photographic analysis. Chapter 4 adds Native voices to this historic record through oral narratives that Scarangella McNenly collected in 2004. This case study features members of three Mohawk families who performed in a variety of venues; most interesting is the Deer Family Wild West show, which performed internationally in the early 20th century. This chapter, in particular, would have benefited from a clearer explanation of visual anthropological methods due to its reliance on the relationship between photography and memory.

The last two chapters, which I would argue are the most thought-provoking, move ahead to fieldwork research that took place in 2005. Chapter 5 highlights the perpetuation of stereotypes at Buffalo Bill's Wild West show at Euro Disney in Paris. After a brief overview of the contemporary Disneyfication of activities—such as buffalo hunting, rodeo and stagecoach racing—that spectacularize noble savage stereotypes, it moves into an interesting conversation about the challenges experienced by Native performers from Canada and the United States in this venue. For them, agency is not defined as "resistance to dominant power, but as the pursuit of one's own goals and intentions." Conflicts between representation and identity are central to this conversation. Chapter 6 considers the construction of contemporary "Nativeness" at one of many Wild West show re-creations that are continually being performed across the United States. Conversations with performers at Buffalo Bill Days in Sheridan, Wyoming, not only spotlight agency but, moreover, control over performances and, consequently, expressions of identity. Dancing, music and regalia provide educational entertainment that does not conform to Western ideals but emphasizes cultural continuity, survival, skills and knowledge.

Scarangella McNenly concludes by providing an overview of the threads that link this series of case studies, such as similarities in the ways Native identity is expressed through dance, song and dress. This book's integrity would have benefited from a more determined stress on these links throughout. Even though Scarangella McNenly clearly explains her views on pan-Indianness—that these expressions are suitable for touristic cultural performances and do not "replace tribal identities"—a clearer differentiation between Canadian and American experiences in chapters 4 and 5 would have added to her investigations into the Canadian Native experience

specifically, which she claims is lacking in scholarly literature to date. Overall, the project to examine Native agency in relationship to stereotypical representations within various types of Wild West performances is commendable, and the attempt to navigate through archival sources that are accompanied by oral narratives to uncover such agency across time is plausible. However, this vision of an international "contact zone" that can be viewed across an approximately 150-year period falls short due to necessarily complex types of evidence that lack in-depth analysis.

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Jacquelyne Luce, *Beyond Expectation: Lesbian/Bi/Queer Women and Assisted Conception,* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010, 270 pages.

Reviewer: Margaret MacDonald
York University

Beyond Expectation is an original, engagingly written ethnography about how lesbian/bi/queer women in Canada are pursuing parenthood with Assisted Reproductive Technologies (ARTs) in a shifting legal and social landscape. Several significant pieces of legislation in British Columbia in the late 1990s that opened the definition of marriage to include same-sex partners and recognized "second parents" in same-sex relationships serve as the staging area for the book and for the "lesbian baby boom" it describes. Though similar legislation has followed in other provinces, the social and legal acceptance of gay parenting in Canada is not a fait accompli. Luce illustrates this amply as she presents the carefully considered—sometimes anguished—reproductive and parenting strategies and experiences of queer women and the varied responses of families, coworkers, neighbours and communities to them. Luce also describes how lesbian/bi/queer women creatively negotiate access to health care and fertility services. In the process, Luce argues, lesbian women experience a second coming out, as parents, would-be parents, co-parents and families. The strength of this book lies in the compelling stories of Luce's interlocutors and the author's analytical reflections on them, drawing from anthropology, women and gender studies and queer studies. That the stories will also be instructive and inspiring to queer women and men in Canada thinking about parenthood is by design of the author.

The book is divided into three parts, each containing a set of ethnographic chapters. In part I, *Re-imagining Relations,* Luce describes how legislative changes in Canada in the 1990s presented new opportunities for lesbian/bi/queer women hoping to become parents, or hoping to have their parenthood legally recognized. The stories she tells in this section are of women struggling against what Kath Weston has called the "exile" of gay parents. Queer women often spend years and a great deal of effort setting the stage for their family life: by seeking up-to-date information on how to get pregnant with donor sperm; by preparing family members and friends; and by reaching out to other "lesbian moms" and couples. The

assumed link between reproduction and heterosexuality makes trouble for lesbian parents who find they are frequently "misread" and even queried directly in public about their parental status. Lesbian parents feel they must walk a fine line between "being out" and "staying in" for the sake of their children. As one woman remarked: "There is nothing like having a child to send you kicking and screaming back into the closet" (p. 71). Much of this planning, however, is on behalf of their (future) children, to help them navigate the curiosity and homophobia they are likely to encounter.

In part II, *Negotiating Relatedness,* Luce covers the social and legal strategies taken by lesbian/bi/queer women to contest the heteronormative family and, at the same time, reenfranchise themselves into the legal entitlements it confers. The stories she presents here vividly demonstrate how painstakingly women strategize about becoming pregnant or having their co-parent status recognized. Biology is variously mobilized and demobilized as a sign for relatedness for different purposes and effects. In these stories, the social realities and emotional bonds of everyday parenthood are often pitted against the cultural value and legal currency of biology (genetic relatedness). In a legal and social system that still cleaves toward biology as the key determinant of relatedness, "second lesbian mothers" are the most likely to be rendered invisible (p. 88).

The spectre of the anonymous donor who somehow reappears to demand custody or access looms large. For example, in chapter 7, Luce describes the various ways lesbian/bi/queer women choose a sperm donor, weighing both social and biological risks. Most couples choose an anonymous donor as the safest option for protecting their legal rights as parents. In one example, a couple chooses between two known sperm donors, one who is unsure what kind of contact he wants in the future and another who is adamantly against any future contact with them or the child. The couple opt for the latter, so that if the child should ask about the donor, they "would be able to say we had no choice" (p. 107). Luce is perhaps too sympathetic to her informants to point out the irony of deliberately closing this door on "recognition" when the parents are struggling to open another for themselves. To withhold—but deny withholding—information and the possibility of contact with a biological parent speaks volumes about the fear and anxiety in which such arrangements are steeped for lesbian women.

Luce ends this section with what she calls "technologies of recognition" (p. 133), the ways and means by which lesbian/bi/queer parents establish their parental status. Second parent adoption did not become legal in BC until 1995, and it was much later in other provinces. For women living in jurisdictions that did not or do not recognize second parents, and where there is no legal mechanism whereby a donor can legally give up his rights, women and men trying to conceive sometimes wrote their own contracts as "legal bridges" to a future in which their choices and relationships would be respected in family law. Others, however, feared that such contracts identifying the donor could be a liability if he ever sought to pursue his parental rights.

In part III, *Reproductive Assistance,* Luce describes the emergence of lesbian women's health as a framework for addressing some of the discrimination and challenges lesbian/bi/queer women face within the health care system as they try to conceive and to receive antenatal care. The fact that ARTs have become "naturalized" in Canadian society is a boon to

lesbian women seeking to become pregnant. It is interesting to note that, while feminists have long decried the medicalization of reproduction, feminist analyses of lesbians overcoming discrimination to access ARTs are lauded as women suffering from "social infertility," harnessing the power of medicine for their own ends.

Though Luce presents many stories of women negotiating safer self-inseminations, the trend has nevertheless been toward physician-assisted artificial insemination at clinics. Both, she argues, are political moves against the exile of gay parenthood. Mainstream health literature related to sexuality and reproduction does not speak to lesbians as potential parents. Yet, the normalization of "risk" in sexual and reproductive health is absorbed by lesbian women; they want to screen donors in terms of health risks and genetic futures. HIV and AIDS have also had a significant impact on lesbian women's approach to finding a sperm donor.

Luce ends the book with a set of reflections on the history of ARTs, reviewing scientific evidence, media coverage and social science analysis over the 35 years since Louise Brown, the first "test tube baby" in the world, was born in England in 1978. Luce uses this closing section to remind the reader that such technologies are developed, regulated and deployed by the most powerful mainstream institutions in society. Queer women may never have been imagined ideal users for ARTs, but thanks to Luce's work, we see these women as determined and creative agents imagining and pursuing parenthood and parental recognition in path breaking ways. This book is essential reading for individuals pursuing parenthood through ARTs and for the clinicians and advocates who work with them. *Beyond Expectation* is an excellent ethnography for inclusion in undergraduate social science courses in queer studies, women's studies, anthropology of gender, sexuality and the body and the anthropology of reproduction. Luce's accessible writing style makes the book suitable for introductory and second year level courses. Paired with works in classic and contemporary kinship or anthropology of the body, or science and technology studies, *Beyond Expectation* will enrich upper year and graduate level courses as well.

Barnett Richling, *In Twilight and In Dawn: A Biography of Diamond Jenness*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 2012, 440 pages.

Reviewer: Julia Harrison
Trent University

Barnett Richling's *In Twilight and In Dawn: A Biography of Diamond Jenness* (2012) was published as part of McGill-Queen's Native and Northern Series. As such, it stands beside the work of many impressive Canadian scholars whose lives and life-long work has centred on Canadian indigenous peoples and the Canadian North. Such company would seem like a small step to move Jenness's story as *one of* the first (some would say *the* first) Canadian anthropologist(s) out of the shadows—or out the dustbin, where some would have him languish—into the daylight. Jenness, a classic four-field anthropologist—working in the fields of ethnography, archaeology, linguistics and physical anthropology—has been critiqued for his colonialist if not racist views and his inability to develop a

school of followers or to offer any substantive contributions to the theoretical and methodological advancement of the field of anthropology in Canada specifically—and internationally, more broadly (Hancock 2006; Kulchyski 1993).

Richling argues Jenness's capacity to contribute in these domains was hampered by the fact that Jenness spent his professional career in the public service, largely in Canada, with the Anthropological Division of the Geological Survey of Canada and, later, the National Museum of Canada. Regardless, to Richling, Jenness offers a significant contribution to anthropology in the texts he produced, drawing on his unflagging commitment to original fieldwork. He conducted research among the Melanesian D'Enstreaux Islanders, the Copper Eskimo (1914–1916),[1] the Alaskan Inupiat (1913–1914), the Carrier (1924), the Sekani (1924), the Katzie (1936), the Wet'suwet'en (1923–1924) in British Columbia, the Sarcee (1921) in Alberta, the Ojibwa (1929) in Ontario and the Newfoundland Beothuk (1927). And in his later life, he conducted fieldwork in Cyprus and other parts of Mediterranean Europe.

The book might be more appropriately listed as a professional biography. It covers Jenness's anthropological fieldwork experiences and his career in the civil service. The debates that shaped Jenness's research such as the historical depth of hunting territories among the Ojibwa, the migration and movement patterns of Eskimo peoples in the High Arctic and Alaska, and the links between Eskimo cultures and Beothuk peoples in Newfoundland are meticulously detailed. His many and varied fieldwork experiences are richly described, outlining the complexities and tensions that shaped these experiences and flagging some of the bureaucratic and political machinations that were the backdrop to them.

However, little is learned about Jenness's character, the texture of personal life, how he felt about the relationships he developed with those he worked closely with in the field, or how his thinking and actions were shaped by all that happened around him. Jenness left few personalized writings and reflections about his life; thus, Richling felt he could say little beyond the most obvious. Jenness's wife appears at various points in the text, but only the tiniest insights are offered as to how she endured his many long absences, leaving her by default to raise their three sons. Jenness and Marius Barbeau started out as close friends but became estranged as their careers and apparent rivalries collided. No reflection is offered on this latter and important turn of events, something which did have an impact on the trajectory of anthropology within the National Museum of Canada. Pivotal events in the 20th century had direct impacts on Jenness's career: he served in the trenches in World War I and worked for intelligence services during World War II; additionally, his career path was rendered precarious at various points during the Great Depression. No engaged discussion is offered about the dynamics of Canadian federal politics and politicians and the impacts these had on Jenness. Some careful reflection by his biographer on these influences could have assisted in understanding Jenness as more than a field anthropologist and a civil servant.

In the latter years of his career, Jenness was vocal about the failings of the government to address the limited future prospects of Canada's indigenous populations. And while his commentary ultimately seemed to be aimed at assimilation, his critiques were public enough that they raised the ire of government officials who saw him as inappropriately stepping beyond the bounds of a "scientist." A radical he was not, but he

did do more than many thought he should have. If his application as Duncan Campbell Scott's replacement at Indian Affairs had been successful, what reforms would he have put in place, and would they have arrested the negative trajectory he outlined in his commentaries?

The reader's grasp of Diamond Jenness's extensive travels and the professional positions he held would have been aided greatly by the inclusion of a timeline of his life, which might also have included details about his personal life. The book's capacity as a reference text would have been greatly facilitated by a less opaque book and chapter title(s). Additional maps of the regions where he did his research would have added considerably to the understanding of Jenness's movements during his fieldwork.

Richling's lengthy prose documents Jenness's work scrupulously. He describes the work that was done in Canada by national agencies during the first half of the 20th century steeped as it was in the paradigms of the day. He offers insight to something depressingly long-standing: the fragility of belief in the importance of and, thus, the need to make a firm financial commitment to what became the National Museum of Canada. He demonstrates that the roots of anthropology in Canada were not as insular as sometimes imagined. Jenness's Oxford education and the encounters he had during his early career with several internationally trained colleagues beyond Edward Sapir, a Boasian-trained anthropologist, who was his superior in Ottawa, gives insight into what swirled around the nascent field in Canada. And finally, the criticisms made by individuals such as Jenness laid the groundwork for what some claim is the hallmark of a Canadian school, what Harry Hawthorn early-on labelled "useful anthropology." Jenness warrants a place in the story of Canadian anthropology. Richling has made an important contribution to carving out that place.

Notes

1 I have used the names Jenness used in his writings, acknowledging that many of these are no longer in use.

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Gérard Bouchard, *L'interculturalisme, un point de vue québécois*, Montréal : Éditions du Boréal, 2012, 286 pages.

Recenseure : Caroline Savard
Université de Montréal

Dans son ouvrage *L'interculturalisme, un point de vue québécois* (2012), le sociologue et historien Gérard Bouchard présente une interprétation de l'interculturalisme comme modèle québécois de gestion de la diversité. Le modèle y est présenté comme un principe, une troisième voie entre le multiculturalisme canadien et le républicanisme français, une voie mitoyenne entre fragmentation et assimilation. En mettant l'accent sur la dimension sociale de l'intégration, l'auteur souhaite se démarquer des définitions antérieures du modèle tout en se positionnant sur l'avenir de l'interculturalisme qu'il souhaite voir ériger en loi, « une sorte de loi 101 de l'intégration et des rapports interculturels » (p. 235).

Le principe de l'interculturalisme présenté par l'auteur est basé sur le paradigme de la dualité majorité-minorités. La majorité est tantôt entendue comme celle de la majorité francophone culturelle dite fondatrice et tantôt prise dans une acception plus large incluant les « parlants français » (p. 59) issus d'une immigration récente ou ancienne. Un des fondements de cette version de l'interculturalisme est la prise en compte du statut minoritaire de la nation québécoise—comprise comme l'appartenance au sol et le partage de la langue française—à l'intérieur d'une nation majoritaire. En cinq chapitres, l'auteur propose une réflexion sur l'importance de la question nationale, du ciment symbolique, de la composante identitaire, des enracinements, de l'appartenance, des valeurs et de la forte conscience historique de la majorité francophone qui, ici et là, semble davantage prise dans son acception plus limitée de majorité d'origine canadienne-française.

La définition de l'interculturalisme qui nous est proposée est construite autour du concept de « pluralisme intégrateur » qui signifie à la fois la prise en compte du patrimoine historique identitaire de la majorité et l'orientation pluraliste incarnée par le respect de la diversité et des droits des minorités. L'auteur souhaite la reconnaissance de la conscience historique de la majorité francophone et affirme que le Québec doit faire de l'intégration une priorité s'il veut éviter de s'affaiblir. Il reprend à son compte la définition d'intégration présentée dans le Rapport de la commission Bouchard-Taylor (2008) « laquelle est fondée sur les notions de participation, de réciprocité, d'interaction, d'égalité, de respects des droits et d'insertion socioéconomique » (p. 64), mais y ajoute l'importance du fondement du lien social et des valeurs de la société d'accueil.

Dans cette version, l'interculturalisme se veut une recherche constante d'équilibres, une prise en compte de l'avenir de la majorité fondatrice et de celui des minorités culturelles, un modèle d'arbitrage entre la majorité culturelle et les minorités culturelles permettant de concilier les droits et l'identité. Il se veut une troisième voie entre le multiculturalisme (qui, selon lui, n'est pas assez sensible à la majorité) et l'assimilation (qui, toujours selon lui, n'est pas assez sensible aux minorités), entre le pluralisme et l'homogénéité, entre la flexibilité et l'enracinement. Dans un rapport de reconnaissance mutuelle majorité-minorités, l'interculturalisme de Gérard Bouchard propose un rapprochement entre les deux composantes de la dualité, mais sans jamais viser sa disparition. L'auteur insiste sur l'idée que le lien social ne doit pas être fondé seulement sur le droit et les valeurs universelles abstraites, mais sur un « ciment symbolique », soit une culture nationale qui doit s'appuyer sur la langue et des valeurs communes. Afin de favoriser la cohésion sociale et de réduire le clivage de la dualité eux/nous, cette définition de l'interculturalisme encourage le développement d'une culture commune, tantôt entendue comme celle d'une culture en devenir, un horizon ou un avenir communs, mais tantôt utilisée de façon plus ambiguë où elle est le fait de la

majorité à travers l'idée d'intégration des trajectoires des minorités à la majorité fondatrice.

Dans un chapitre consacré à la notion de laïcité, on retrouve plusieurs exemples concrets d'application du modèle de l'interculturalisme où il réaffirme les propositions présentées dans le Rapport de la commission Bouchard-Taylor, par exemple le retrait du crucifix à l'Assemblée nationale et l'interdiction du port de signes religieux pour certaines catégories d'employés de l'État tels que les magistrats, les jurés et les agents de sécurité. Se distançant du concept plus courant de « laïcité ouverte », l'auteur propose une « laïcité inclusive ». La particularité de sa position tient à l'importance accordée à la préséance patrimoniale de la majorité culturelle dans les lieux publics, mais au nom de la neutralité de l'État[1]. L'auteur fait aussi la distinction entre symbole visuel (par exemple une statue) et symbole performatif (par exemple une prière collective dite à haute voix) où le premier est acceptable s'il est un symbole désactivé (c'est à dire patrimonial) et le deuxième inacceptable puisqu'il implique les participants et rompt avec la neutralité religieuse. Une proposition originale est d'élargir la notion de religion aux systèmes de croyances, convictions de conscience ou idéaux (religieux ou autres). À l'image de l'interprétation qu'il fait de l'interculturalisme, l'auteur présente la laïcité inclusive comme un mélange de flexibilité et de fermeté.

On s'étonnera en premier lieu que le principe d'interculturalisme présenté par l'auteur ne prenne pas en compte les nations autochtones. L'auteur s'en défend dans l'introduction de son ouvrage en mentionnant que les autochtones ne souhaitent pas être considérés comme une minorité et que le débat leur appartient. Cette idée est d'autant plus étonnante que l'auteur reconnaît lui-même que le Québec est un État plurinational, et ce malgré le fait qu'il base son principe d'interculturalisme sur l'idée qu'il est une nation francophone. On peut se demander si son interprétation du modèle de l'interculturalisme est compatible avec la reconnaissance des réalités autochtones notamment par la prémisse, le fondement non discuté de l'idée d'une majorité fondatrice mise en opposition au « reste » de la société que sont les minorités. En outre, l'auteur insiste sur la fragilité culturelle de la majorité et sur la reconnaissance du passé colonial de la nation francophone sans souffler mot de son passé colonialiste en ce qui concerne ses relations avec les autochtones. Dans la même veine, peu de place est faite à la réalité des immigrants, dont il évoque quelques enjeux socioéconomiques en conclusion, affirmant que le gouvernement doit créer des initiatives pour remédier à ces problèmes, mais sans avoir proposé lui-même de solutions concrètes à ces réalités dans le cadre de l'ouvrage.

L'interculturalisme, un point de vue québécois est une tentative de ménager la chèvre et le chou en rassurant les sentiments identitaires des Québécois d'origine canadienne-française, tout en présentant le pluralisme comme une exigence, un devoir d'obligation de respect du droit des minorités. Il vise à renforcer la culture nationale québécoise, à promouvoir l'expansion de la culture commune, mais ce sans mettre en péril la diversité. C'est un livre difficile à saisir, qui porte ses ambiguïtés et contradictions où, en relevant lui-même les dangers de son approche, l'auteur tente un dialogue entre des positions parfois contradictoires, telles celles de la fragilité identitaire et de l'orientation pluraliste.

Tout au long de l'ouvrage, on sent une confusion dans l'interprétation des termes tels que pluralisme intégrateur,

majorité fondatrice, majorité francophone, intégration ou culture commune et une hésitation de l'auteur à se positionner clairement. L'auteur fait le choix de présenter un chapitre distinct contenant les réponses aux critiques de l'interculturalisme, au lieu d'intégrer ces mêmes critiques aux arguments présentés au fil des chapitres. On s'étonnera de ne trouver qu'en conclusion quelques exemples concrets d'application du modèle de l'interculturalisme qu'il défend ici (sauf ceux du chapitre sur la laïcité), comme la création d'un Office d'harmonisation ou de médiation interculturelle, qui figurait déjà comme recommandation dans le Rapport de la commission Bouchard-Taylor et qui aurait pu être développée davantage ici. D'autant plus qu'il affirme que les accommodements ratés—qu'il dit marginaux—n'étaient pas dus aux instruments juridiques déjà en place, mais plutôt au fait que certains gestionnaires aient pris de mauvaises décisions. Dans la même veine, on pourrait se demander pourquoi l'auteur ne présente pas davantage d'arguments en faveur de la formation des gestionnaires au lieu de proposer de faire de l'interculturalisme une loi.

Cet ouvrage est adressé à la majorité québécoise dont l'auteur « partage les inquiétudes et les rêves » (p. 11), en même temps qu'il se donne comme mandat d'apaiser lesdites inquiétudes en affirmant que le danger n'est pas si réel. En fait, aucun exemple concret de menace identitaire n'est présenté, ce qui donne l'impression d'un discours dont la finalité est davantage de rassurer la majorité en réaffirmant l'importance de protéger les valeurs fondamentales de cette dernière que sont, entre autres, la laïcité, la langue française et l'égalité homme/femme. Mais si le principe de l'égalité homme/femme revient souvent, aucun exemple d'une telle menace n'est présenté; il affirme au contraire que des instruments juridiques supplémentaires ou qu'une nouvelle charte établissant une hiérarchie entre les droits seraient inutiles puisqu'autant la charte québécoise que la charte canadienne des droits et libertés protègent le principe d'égalité et qu'aucun autre droit ne pourrait donc contrevenir à celui-ci (p. 117). En s'adressant au grand public comme aux intellectuels et aux décideurs, l'auteur souhaite influencer le débat public en rendant le discours acceptable et en démontrant que l'interculturalisme n'est pas un multiculturalisme déguisé. L'ouvrage se veut donc une réponse aux critiques adressées à ses écrits antérieurs, dont le Rapport de la Commission Bouchard-Taylor, lesquelles dénonçaient le manque de sensibilité face à la majorité. En comparaison avec ces écrits, l'auteur change le discours dans la présentation du modèle de gestion de la diversité, mais on y trouve bien peu de divergences quant à l'application du principe. L'ouvrage se veut aussi davantage une façon de démarquer le Québec du reste du Canada en affirmant l'importance d'une loi-cadre, un rejet de la Loi sur le multiculturalisme canadien (1985) et du concept de « communautés culturelles » qu'une réelle proposition d'éthique sociale relationnelle qui pense les dynamiques interculturelles entre les citoyens de toutes origines. Malgré l'étymologie du mot interculturalisme, peu de place est faite aux interactions entre les personnes de toutes origines tout au long du processus argumentaire et les propositions d'action allant dans ce sens sont presque inexistantes. L'interculturalisme de Gérard Bouchard est donc un discours qui légitime l'inquiétude de la majorité et tente de faire passer les valeurs du pluralisme en donnant la large part à la majorité où transparaissent parfois, non

dévoilés, quelques relents d'un discours néo nationaliste; à moins qu'il ne soit une stratégie pour mieux faire accepter sa vision du modèle au niveau politique.

Notes

1 L'auteur se positionne d'ailleurs contre la décision de l'Assemblée nationale du Québec d'autoriser le crucifix sur ses murs.

Marie-Christine Bornes Varol, dir., *Chocs de langues et de cultures? Un discours de la méthode,* Saint-Denis, Presses Universitaires de Vincennes, 2011, 522 pages.

Recenseur : Roxane Campeau
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Regroupant une dizaine de chercheurs issus de 4 disciplines (psychanalyse, anthropologie, ethnomusicologie et linguistique), ce collectif aurait tout aussi bien pu s'intituler « Chocs des disciplines ». Présentant 10 études de cas encadrées par une introduction, un chapitre épistémologique et justificatif ainsi qu'un glossaire, le tout se concluant par une discussion méthodologique rigoureuse, cet ouvrage a tout d'une référence didactique sur l'interdisciplinarité, comportant même quelques incartades transdisciplinaires. L'organisation interne du livre semble d'ailleurs suggérer un objectif pédagogique, bien que jamais nommé comme tel. En effet, la table des matières, la présentation des auteurs, les nombreux index (l'ouvrage comporte des index des populations, des lieux, des langues et des notions étudiées) ainsi que le glossaire en font une source polyvalente d'informations pour tout étudiant ou chercheur intéressé par les rapports entre disciplines, particulièrement parce qu'il porte un regard sur la situation de contact. Dans un même esprit, le ton des parties introductives et conclusives ressemble par moment à un cours magistral : par exemple, l'introduction comprend des rappels historiques ainsi que des repères académiques appréciables. De plus, la capacité de synthèse des auteures principales est indéniable. Toutes ces caractéristiques amènent le lecteur à croire qu'il possède entre ses mains un ouvrage important, mais parfois, aussi, un manuel scolaire.

Ce qui unit le collectif d'auteurs, c'est l'inévitabilité de l'occurrence de situations de contact dans leurs terrains respectifs. Que ce soit une étude de cas d'un jeune individu français d'origine tunisienne confronté au renouvellement de ses processus identitaires (Strougo), jusqu'à l'observation de groupes sociaux entiers, telle que l'étude de la transformation identitaire créole au Pérou (Cuche), les étendues disciplinaire, géographique et sociale que traverse cet ouvrage sont en mesure d'attirer un profil large de lecteurs. On y examine la mappemonde à travers la découverte de pratiques et de rituels dansés et chantés en Israël (Gibert) et en Éthiopie Méridionale (Ferran), par l'analyse d'enjeux sociaux en Mauritanie (Leservoisier), au Cameroun (Laburthe-Tolra) et au Mexique (López Izquierdo) et, encore, par l'investigation des processus linguistiques du judéo-espagnol en Turquie (Bornes Varol) ou des processus d'apprentissage d'une langue seconde, soit le français appris par une communauté chinoise (Wenzhou) en France (Bergère).

Au-delà d'avoir su regrouper des terrains divers autour de la problématique des situations de contact, l'accomplissement

de ce livre réside surtout dans sa concrétisation du souhait de lever les obstacles qui surviennent lorsque l'on tente de pratiquer l'interdisciplinarité en groupe. C'est ainsi que nous y apprenons qu'il est nécessaire de débuter par la mise à plat et la déconstruction de l'image des autres disciplines entretenues dans chaque domaine; il faut éviter ce « filtre déformant » qui empêche la convergence méthodologique et théorique souhaitée. En second lieu, l'alimentation de cette convergence passe par la recension des points communs entre les recherches réunies. Un discours homogène ne peut émerger qu'à la condition de reconnaître la complexité de l'objet d'étude, sa dimension dynamique, ses variations et son instabilité. En ce sens, la cohérence du discours entre les études de cas qui constituent le corps de ce travail collectif est en soit une preuve de la réussite de cet ouvrage.

Une autre chose que l'ouvrage souligne, c'est que le travail interdisciplinaire force l'approfondissement disciplinaire par la remise en question des concepts qui causent parfois l'obscurité, elle-même engendrée par l'hyper-fragmentation des savoirs et des connaissances. Ici, il aurait été intéressant que les auteures insistent davantage sur l'aspect transdisciplinaire convoité, prudemment exprimé. Car l'objectif transdisciplinaire sous-jacent à la démarche de ce collectif rappelle que l'interdisciplinarité se situe toujours à l'intérieur du monde disciplinaire, qui limite l'étude d'objets ou de phénomènes complexes. En faisant plier la tangente interdisciplinaire vers un but transdisciplinaire, l'ouvrage aurait pu concrétiser davantage l'annonce de Piaget (1972 : 144): « à l'étape des relations interdisciplinaires, on peut espérer voir succéder une étape supérieure qui serait transdisciplinaire, qui ne se contenterait pas d'atteindre des interactions ou réciprocités entre recherches spécialisées, mais situerait ces liaisons à l'intérieur d'un système total sans frontières stables entre les disciplines ».

Toujours est-il que la lecture de ce collectif d'auteurs représente une intégration aboutie des trois niveaux d'interdisciplinarité : on y constate (1) le transfert de connaissances appliquées, (2) des emprunts méthodologiques et épistémologiques et (3) on suggère même qu'il faudrait créer une discipline qui étudierait les phénomènes dynamiques. En suivant cette proposition, on peut en conclure que la situation de contact est un phénomène dynamique qui mérite un traitement particulier, soit le recours à l'interdisciplinarité, voire carrément la création d'une nouvelle discipline. Cependant, tel que nous l'avons effleuré ci-haut, c'est dans ce dernier degré d'interdisciplinarité que le danger réside; contribuer au foisonnement disciplinaire ne favorise pas la transdisciplinarité où, à l'opposé, les frontières entre disciplines ne sont plus défendues ni même protégées et encore moins créées. Elles fluctuent plutôt selon l'angle ou l'objet d'étude. Dans cette voie, Bornes Varol mentionne d'ailleurs à la fin de la troisième partie du livre que le progrès du groupe a augmenté au fur et à mesure que les frontières entre disciplines ont été repérées, maintenues ou effacées (425).

Si chaque cas n'avait servi qu'à illustrer une situation de contact, l'objectif principal de ce livre n'aurait su être atteint. S'il n'avait servi qu'à juxtaposer une terminologie issue de plusieurs disciplines, le travail du groupe aurait eu comme résultat un genre de dictionnaire. Assurément ce n'est pas ainsi que l'ouvrage se mérite le qualificatif de référence. De façon pertinente, chacun des chercheurs dépasse l'exemplification en nous faisant voir la situation de contact dans toute sa relativité. Cette vision relative, ils cherchent à la compléter. Pour y arriver, ils dépassent l'expertise pointue de leurs

domaines respectifs et acceptent de recourir à d'autres disciplines. Ainsi, dans chacun des dix articles qui occupent la partie centrale du livre, le lecteur est en mesure de comprendre comment la situation de contact nécessite une approche qui dépasse les frontières disciplinaires; que ces situations de contact rapportées sont susceptibles d'être polymorphes. En effet, le besoin de construction identitaire inhérent à toute situation de contact prend des formes variées, dépendantes du niveau de conscience et de la part du groupe et de l'individu dans la situation vécue. Ainsi, on apprend par exemple de l'étude des chants protestants maale (Ferran) que l'attitude consciente des Éthiopiens face au contact détermine les frontières des sous-groupes constituant leur société. En somme, l'ensemble permet d'éviter les jargons disciplinaires et de découvrir une ouverture qui dépasse l'encyclopédisme. De surcroît, il y est souligné à plusieurs reprises que l'adoption de cette nouvelle attitude de recherche a modifié et renforcé les méthodes de chaque chercheur du groupe au sein de sa propre discipline.

D'un autre côté, dans la troisième partie, on sent dans les propos des deux auteurs principales que le travail interdisciplinaire ne s'est pas concrétisé sans affrontements. Le point fort du livre semble justement le dépassement de ces conflits, ce qui permet par la suite aux chercheurs de définir les conditions d'emplois d'une terminologie existante, conjointement à l'élaboration d'un métalangage approprié. Ces gains sont sans nul doute importants et l'on pourrait les qualifier de transdisciplinaires. Dans cette direction, il aurait été intéressant de pousser cette dimension du travail encore plus loin. Par exemple, dans son chapitre, Fürniss parle de « prédispositions favorables à l'emprunt » (306) et des conséquences de l'emprunt dans le « dispositif du rituel » (323) chez les Baka occidentaux du Cameroun, comme des effets sur leur notion d'esthétique musicale. Le lecteur reste alors un peu sur sa faim car ces expressions ne sont pas reprises au niveau général, lors de la révision des points communs et des concepts adoptés par l'équipe. Pourtant, il semble attrayant de connaître ces prédispositions et conséquences de l'emprunt. Dans le même ordre d'idées, certains concepts comme celui de « mini-système » sont bien définis[1]. Par contre, les auteurs se l'approprient moins dans leurs études de cas. Nonobstant cette critique, d'autres concepts mentionnés dans le glossaire sont pertinemment intégrés dans les chapitres. C'est le cas du concept de « noyau dur », qui est utilisé par Ferran (339) de manière à établir que celui-ci constitue l'ancrage autour duquel l'aspect dynamique des phases de contact se développe. En somme, loin des modèles statiques que nous a légués le structuralisme, les niveaux d'explications des situations de contact décrites dans cet ouvrage se démarquent en considérant le dynamisme non plus comme une propriété qui menace l'explication, mais comme une propriété explicative des systèmes étudiés.

Pour conclure, la lucidité que les auteures principales manifestent quant aux rapports de force entre disciplines, aux luttes institutionnelles et aux limites des postures individuelles force l'admiration. Car ces contraintes institutionnelles et individuelles engendrent elles-mêmes des phénomènes identitaires. Les situations de contact ne sont pas que l'apanage des cas étudiés; elles imprègnent toute situation humaine, y compris celle du chercheur confronté aux obstacles du travail interdisciplinaire. Cette toute dernière phrase du livre en témoigne : « [certains] renoncent à ce qu'ils ont construit avec rigueur et endurance. D'autres érigent eux-mêmes leur transdisciplinarité

en marqueur identitaire. C'est, on l'aura compris, cette dernière option qu'ont choisie les signataires de cette synthèse » (492).

Notes

1 Dans une situation de contact, il y a une rencontre systémique. Certains éléments sont alors projetés hors de cette rencontre, mais peuvent être récupérés pour fonder une convergence ou un changement, de manière parallèle à la confrontation intersystémique principale. La notion de mini-système vient rendre compte de ce qui se passe en marge des systèmes.

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Daniel Clément, *Le bestiaire Innu. Les quadrupèdes,* Québec : Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2012, 530 pages.

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Daniel Clément est un spécialiste des Innus de la Côte-Nord du Québec et plus particulièrement de leurs savoirs sur la nature. Dans la continuité de ses ouvrages précédents (1990 ; 1995), il tente ici d'aller un pas plus loin dans son travail de recensement de ces savoirs en proposant de rassembler les connaissances qu'ils ont sur une sélection de vingt quadrupèdes (*aueshîshat* en langue *innu-aimun*).

L'objectif du livre est « ethnozoographique, c'est-à-dire qu'il vise à documenter les connaissances des Innus en matière animale » (7). Son originalité est double. D'une part, l'entrée par l'animal permet de poser d'emblée la question des relations tant aux autres animaux qu'aux êtres humains. D'autre part, la mise en dialogue de savoirs ontologiquement différents (mais aussi de disciplines scientifiques variées) constitue un véritable défi. En outre, bien qu'il repose en majeure partie sur des données ethnographiques qui en font la très grande richesse, l'ouvrage mêle différents types de sources (ethnographies, mythes, récits d'explorateurs, de missionnaires, de naturalistes). L'auteur n'hésite cependant pas à mettre en évidence leurs contradictions ainsi que l'hétérogénéité des points de vue autochtones sur les animaux.

Le livre est un projet de type encyclopédique. Il comprend vingt entrées dont chacune est divisée en quatre rubriques : les connaissances innues des espèces (nomenclature et classification vernaculaires) ; la description physique de l'animal, les modes de déplacement et les sens ; les mœurs ; et la reproduction (9). Seuls les chapitres consacrés à l'ours et au caribou—particulièrement remarquables d'ailleurs—proposent deux catégories supplémentaires (techniques de chasse et utilisation) ainsi que des sous-catégories qui leur sont propres.

Mais il est difficile d'établir des limites et de segmenter en catégories ces animaux qui sont, par ailleurs, particulièrement

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interreliés pour les Innus (et dont les liens sont porteurs de sens, comme cela est montré à travers les extraits de mythes). Chaque animal réfère ainsi aux autres animaux avec lesquels il est en relation. C'est pourquoi un même animal peut se trouver à plusieurs endroits—on peut d'ailleurs regretter l'absence d'un index qui aurait optimisé la manipulation de cet outil. Cette ubiquité soulève une interrogation sur les catégories : l'intention universaliste d'une encyclopédie peut justifier que l'auteur ne crée pas de catégories propres à chaque animal, mais en montrant la complexité des nomenclatures et des classifications innues et leurs difficultés à s'imbriquer dans des catégories prédéfinies, ne laisse-t-il pas apparaître avant tout une impossible universalisation des catégories zoologiques ? En effet, le projet encyclopédique est issu d'une « conception occidentale ». Il ne peut donc que diverger par rapport à une « conception innue » qui, comme l'ouvrage le montre, ne reconnaît pas la même séparation entre la nature et la culture.

Malgré cette ambiguïté, l'ouvrage parvient à dépasser d'autres dichotomies courantes héritées d'une pensée occidentale « moderne »[1]. Ainsi, on ne trouve pas de séparation nette entre les savoirs sur les physicalités et ceux sur les intériorités. Clément ne tombe pas non plus dans le piège d'une ségrégation entre savoirs populaires et savoirs scientifiques. Si l'expérience séculaire des Innus est largement reconnue et valorisée, il montre la complémentarité des savoirs par une mise en dialogue—et non pas pour comparer ou pour vérifier la véracité des connaissances autochtones. Cependant, les types de savoirs sur la nature diffèrent dans leur mode de production et de transmission et ils sont ontologiquement différents. On peut donc s'étonner que l'auteur ne développe pas davantage leur ancrage culturel et les pratiques dans lesquels ils s'inscrivent[2].

Et, à bien considérer les données, il apparaît qu'elles sont relativement anciennes. Le savoir innu, par exemple, est essentiellement limité aux représentations qui en sont faites dans les observations, les mythes et les discours recueillis auprès des aînés (dont l'âge moyen est de 65 ans) entre 1981 et 2009. Mais la majorité des données réellement citées remonte au début des années 1980. Or, « chaque individu se perçoit d'abord comme appartenant à une génération » (Mailhot 1993 : 120, cité dans Bousquet 2002). Il existe un « effet de génération » qui doit être pris en compte, car l'âge des interlocuteurs et les contextes d'énonciation influencent leur production de savoir sur la nature puisque « le rapport avec les animaux change selon les âges de la vie » (Bousquet 2002 : 67). Ainsi, le risque est de contribuer à donner une image décalée de la réalité innue contemporaine. Or il aurait été intéressant de rendre davantage compte des évolutions des connaissances innues, car elles sont étroitement liées au mode de vie, au contexte historique, mais également aux interactions avec d'autres savoirs.

Le constat pour le savoir « scientifique occidental » est similaire : très peu de données sont ultérieures aux années 2000 et la majorité date des années 1970. Appelés indifféremment savoirs scientifiques, occidentaux, eurocanadiens, allochtones ou savoirs des Blancs, ces termes semblent désigner « la science », renvoyant l'image d'un savoir homogène et sans débat.

Au terme de la présentation des vingt quadrupèdes, Daniel Clément conclut en livrant des pistes qui mènent à une brève analyse anthropologique des relations entre les Innus et leurs animaux. Il soulève notamment la prédominance de la pensée analogique, comme il l'a montrée de manière particulièrement marquante avec l'ours noir. Malgré sa volonté de se mettre à l'écart de leurs travaux, il est inévitable d'établir un parallèle avec des recherches menées en anthropologie de la nature, notamment par Philippe Descola (2005), Arturo Escobar (1999) ou encore Frédéric Laugrand (2010) ou Laugrand et Jarich Osten (2007, 2012). Il y a incontestablement un dialogue à entamer et on peut regretter que l'auteur ne l'entreprenne pas lui-même.

En conclusion, l'ouvrage de Clément constitue un réel apport à la connaissance anthropologique en montrant qu'il existe chez les Innus des savoirs particuliers et denses sur les animaux et sur les relations qu'ils entretiennent avec eux. Il témoigne de manières de penser les relations entre les êtres différentes de celles des « scientifiques occidentaux ». Sa contribution ethnographique sur les savoirs innus de la nature est en cela particulièrement enrichissante. Enfin, il constitue une porte d'entrée vers une réflexion sur la place et les enjeux des savoirs écologiques innus dans un contexte contemporain où les pressions sur le territoire n'ont probablement jamais été aussi fortes.

Notes

1 Le terme « Moderne » renvoie à la conception singulière qui prédomine dans nos sociétés depuis l'époque des Lumières et qui opère un partage entre les éléments de la nature et ceux de la culture.

2 Pour une explication du mode de pensée « zoologique innue », Clément renvoie le lecteur à son ouvrage *La zoologie des Montagnais* (1995).

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Émilie Guilbeault-Cayer, *La crise d'Oka. Au-delà des barricades*. Québec, Septentrion, 2013, 204 pages.

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Court, mais consistant, cet ouvrage est tiré du mémoire de maîtrise en histoire de l'auteure, déposé en 2008 à l'Université Laval. D'une facture accessible plutôt que savamment académique, sa lecture est à la portée et à la destination d'un public plus large qu'exclusivement initié. L'étude que propose Émilie Guilbeault-Cayer prend le pari de combler le manque d'analyses des enjeux de la crise d'Oka et d'apporter des réponses aux questions qu'ils soulèvent encore vingt ans après. Pour ce faire, les discours et les actes des représentants étatiques et gouvernementaux québécois sont passés au crible. L'auteure s'appuie sur une observation chronologique autour de « trois moments charnières » : 1985, 1990 et 2002, soit avant, pendant et après Oka, car cette crise est vue comme un « tournant » (26) de l'histoire des rapports entre les autochtones, l'État, le gouvernement québécois et les citoyens du Québec.

Jusqu'à l'été 1990, le relationnel entre l'État québécois et les autochtones présents sur le territoire de la province (chapitre I) est politiquement marqué de tensions. D'abord, les autochtones sont sujets à un traitement distinctif et spécifique de la part du pouvoir. Le réveil des officiels québécois se situe entre les années 1960 et 1970 avec la mise en œuvre de politiques sectorielles envers les autochtones, la signature de la Convention de la baie James et du Nord québécois en 1975 et celle de la Convention du Nord-est québécois en 1978. Ce changement a révélé une urgence d'« améliorer les relations » et de « préciser les orientations étatiques » (30). Sont alors apparus au début des années 1980 des « signes de durcissements des relations, d'insatisfaction et de tensions » (38). Les deux premiers pas politiques importants du gouvernement du Québec envers les autochtones, à savoir la proposition des *15 principes* de 1983 et la motion *Reconnaissance des onze nations amérindiennes vivant en territoire québécois* de 1985, ont amorcé le passage d'un traitement juridique à un traitement politique des conflits, et ce, de manière incitative tant chez les représentants étatiques et gouvernementaux québécois que chez les représentants autochtones. Un « respect mutuel » et une « confiance réciproque » (46), tous deux inédits, sont devenus les leitmotivs des deux parties. C'est à partir de cette motion que les assises de la politique étatique québécoise envers les autochtones sont entérinées en 1988 avec le document officiel *Les fondements de la politique du gouvernement du Québec en matière autochtone*. Dès lors, la reconnaissance a porté sur la spécificité autochtone, la valeur des conventions de 1975 et de 1978, ainsi que les droits ancestraux et actuels. L'innovation de cette démarche porte sur la « prise en charge du développement économique par les nations amérindiennes elles-mêmes » (52). Bien que la démarche politique ait pris le pas sur le recours juridique dans le jeu de leurs avantages et inconvénients respectifs, des « ratés » politiques ne peuvent être évités, surtout que « beaucoup de compromis

et de volonté sont nécessaires » (59). Pour l'historienne, le processus scientifique de prise de décision politique pré-Oka, fondé sur le trinôme diagnostic-pronostic-thérapie, caractéristique du modèle des sciences naturelles et médicales (16–18) et « partie intégrante de la culture politique québécoise » (61), révèle respectivement une conscience de l'existence du contexte tendu, mais une absence de considération de son caractère urgent ou prioritaire (diagnostic), un « optimisme à outrance » (62) (pronostic) et la reconnaissance de l'existence des nations autochtones au Québec (thérapie).

Afin de contextualiser l'examen des faits qui ont eu cours à Oka (chapitre II), Guilbeault-Cayer les replace d'emblée dans l'évolution des relations entre les autochtones et l'État québécois au cours des trente années qui les précèdent. Elles sont marquées par une série d'« ondes de chocs » essentiellement autour de conflits portant sur l'accès aux ressources naturelles : l'opposition et la négociation des Cris du Québec au projet hydroélectrique de la baie James au début des années 1970 ainsi que les conflits régionaux au Québec et au Canada au début et à la fin des années 1980. Ces évènements, vus historiquement comme constitutifs d'un « point de non-retour », établissent le constat d'un « fossé ... plus grand que présumé » entre les parties (69–70). Pour déconstruire les décisions et les motivations internes des responsables politiques de l'État québécois qui ont sous-tendu leur *modus operandi* au cours des évènements, l'auteure a employé le même modèle du diagnostic-pronostic-thérapie. Le diagnostic a révélé un contexte politique urgent, complexe et pluri-problématique. Le pronostic des membres du gouvernement a été entièrement tourné vers l'évitement de la Loi sur les mesures de guerre, un octobre 1970 à l'amérindienne pourrait-on dire, afin de « justifier l'importance d'une action rapide » pour mettre fin au conflit (98). La thérapie choisie a été de désamorcer la situation par une série de solutions à court terme (discussion du retour à la paix civile, appel aux forces policières provinciales et militaires fédérales) et moyen terme (discréditer la cause mohawk).

En effet, au cours des années 1990 et 2000, les relations entre les autochtones, les représentants étatiques et gouvernementaux et les citoyens sont bouleversées par « certains développements sur le plan du dialogue » (115). De nombreuses négociations aboutissent à différentes sortes de règlements. Pour l'auteure, par la confirmation et le renforcement de l'« idée préconçue de l'Amérindien au Québec et [d]es perceptions que se font les citoyens du Québec d'eux-mêmes » (119–120), la couverture médiatique des évènements d'Oka a eu des conséquences substantielles sur ces avancées. Elle a porté le discrédit sur la cause mohawk, et autochtone en général, aux yeux de l'opinion publique québécoise, tout en complexifiant la conciliation des droits. Rejets, tensions, préjugés ont ainsi été entretenus abusivement par les médias. Le fossé entre autochtones et non-autochtones a continué de se creuser. L'écho médiatique ayant été global, la négociation s'est déplacée vers la scène mondiale. Paradoxalement, les autochtones y ont acquis de « nouveaux moyens de faire valoir leurs droits » (132). Sous l'influence d'instances internationales et de l'opinion publique internationale, les politiques gouvernementales québécoises se sont alors améliorées.

Guilbeault-Cayer finit par conclure que l'optimisme des représentants de l'État et du gouvernement québécois, ainsi que l'impuissance de leur politique au sujet des autochtones des années 1980 ont donné lieu à une incompréhension mutuelle dont le point culminant a été les évènements d'Oka. Cependant,

le contexte historique pré- et post-Oka, et leurs circonstances respectives, ont eux aussi participé au final à la « mutation dans les approches à l'égard des revendications autochtones » (176). En ce sens, il y a ici une judicieuse nuance finale du rôle unique et direct de la crise d'Oka dans cette évolution en demi-teinte (entre avancées et reculs) en tant que « catalyseur au changement » plutôt qu'instigateur (177).

L'avant, le pendant et l'après-Oka qu'analyse l'auteure constituent une temporalité contextuelle appropriée pour comprendre la gestion de la crise d'Oka par l'État et le gouvernement du Québec. Le traitement s'alimente qui plus est à des sources scientifiques diversifiées : histoire, droit, sciences politiques, sociologie, anthropologie, et plus originalement, sciences naturelles et médicales, via le trinôme diagnostic-pronostic-thérapie. Reprendre cette même méthode pour examiner les décisions des dirigeants québécois peut cependant prêter à confusion dans la distinction entre l'objet (la méthode d'analyse des dirigeants québécois) et le sujet (la méthode d'analyse de l'auteure).

La précision sur la pertinence du point de vue autochtone sur cette histoire évite la partialité. En effet, il ne faudrait pas oublier la perspective des Mohawks, et des autochtones plus largement. Toutefois, cette précision arrive tard, trop tard même : dans le dernier paragraphe de la conclusion. Une précision sur le choix de ne tenir compte que de la version officielle québécoise en rappelant explicitement qu'elle n'est qu'une version des deux aurait été préférable en introduction. Cette précision au préalable paraît d'autant plus substantielle que la crise en question est encore sensible plus de vingt après chez les citoyens comme parmi les dirigeants. Le choix du drapeau des guerriers mohawks comme seule et unique illustration du livre paraît par ailleurs paradoxal. Le « fait autochtone » n'étant jamais évoqué de manière achevée et probante, au contraire, il y a ici un contre-emploi racoleur à employer cette seule référence iconographique. Où est le drapeau québécois ? Il reste à espérer que la perspective mohawk-autochtone de l'histoire de la crise d'Oka soit examinée avec autant de précisions.

Cet ouvrage est incontestablement un immanquable pour toute recherche, scientifique ou plus simplement citoyenne, sur le sujet des relations entre autochtones et le pouvoir québécois. D'autant plus que sa sortie, et surtout ses analyses, sont à inscrire dans l'actualité brûlante de l'automne 2012 du mouvement *Idle No More* (Finie l'inertie) au Québec. La contemporanéité des enseignements de cet « été indien » (9) avec le regain des revendications autochtones sur la scène politique et publique de cet « automne autochtone » est l'expression d'une perpétuelle zone d'ombre sur les relations entre autochtones et non-autochtones. Là réside l'intérêt majeur du livre: il co-engage un dialogue historique entre un passé ignoré et une actualité qui ne peut que s'époumoner à en rappeler les faits et leurs effets, surtout si la version mohawk-autochtone n'est pas partie prenante de la discussion.

Jean-Pierre Sawaya, *Au nom de la loi, je vous arrête !* *Les Amérindiens du Québec et la Dominion Police,* *1880–1920,* Québec : Septentrion, 2012, 194 pages.

Recenseure : Mylène Jaccoud
Université de Montréal

Jean-Pierre Sawaya est détenteur d'un doctorat en histoire de l'Université Laval. Dans cet ouvrage, l'auteur révèle un pan d'histoire méconnu des rapports entre Premières nations et Euro-canadiens, celui du développement de polices autochtones sur les réserves à la fin du 19e siècle au Québec.

Fondée sur un corpus documentaire de sources administratives et juridiques fédérales qui proviennent des archives du ministère des Affaires indiennes, du ministère de la Justice, de la Gendarmerie royale du Canada et sur la consultation des archives du Conseil privé, celles des Oblats et des Eudistes, l'étude de Sawaya propose de décrire l'organisation de cette force policière dans les réserves de la province de Québec durant cette période. En effet, à compter de 1880, le ministre de l'Intérieur, John A. MacDonald, également responsable de la Loi sur les Indiens, choisit de doter la Dominion Police d'un personnel d'origine autochtone en vue d'assurer l'ordre et la sécurité dans les réserves. De 1880 à 1920, une quarantaine d'individus, 23 Amérindiens et 17 Canadiens recensés par l'auteur dans les archives, seront ainsi embauchés pour agir dans les réserves du Québec, plus particulièrement à Caughnawaga, Maniwaki, Pointe-Bleue, Restigouche et Saint-François.

L'auteur situe l'institution de cette force policière dans le contexte précis de la prohibition imposée par la Loi sur les Indiens (13). L'introduction d'une police autochtone dans les réserves serait intrinsèquement liée aux mesures prises par l'État pour contrer l'alcoolisme dans les réserves. Cette perspective fait l'objet du premier chapitre, appuyé en cela par les « nombreux témoignages » attestant du problème de l'alcoolisme dans les réserves indiennes et qui constituerait « les principales causes de la délinquance et de la criminalité autochtone » (22). Dans ce contexte, l'embauche de policiers autochtones offre certains avantages : économiques (ces policiers étant moins rémunérés), symboliques (par la mise en place d'une autorité représentative du gouvernement du Canada) et pratiques (un policier issu de la communauté suscitant une confiance accrue serait plus à même d'infiltrer et enquêter les milieux criminels). Le lecteur découvre au fil des chapitres (sept en tout) comment ces forces constabulaires autochtones sont recrutées, mobilisées, organisées et encadrées. Mais il découvre surtout comment ces policiers ont été en fin de compte considérés comme une force policière de seconde zone, ne bénéficiant ni des mêmes prérogatives et pouvoirs, ni des mêmes ressources humaines et matérielles pour mener à bien leur mission.

De facture essentiellement descriptive, l'ouvrage de Sawaya a le mérite de documenter une histoire coloniale peu visitée. En revanche, on peut regretter l'absence d'une véritable reconstruction et analyse historique. Le tableau que l'auteur dépeint paraît éclaté, morcelé mais surtout inachevé. À l'exception d'un passage dans lequel les enjeux symboliques de la mise en place d'une police autochtone dans les réserves sont rapidement évoqués, le lecteur reste sur l'impression que Sawaya endosse l'argumentaire des agents de l'État de l'époque : l'État canadien doit « protéger ses pupilles contre les trafiquants d'alcool et la propagation de l'alcoolisme » (29) et « compte tenu du niveau élevé de criminalité, d'insécurité et de violence, les fonctionnaires du département ne suffisent pas à la tâche » (30). À ce manque de distance à l'égard des sources historiques utilisées s'ajoute un problème d'absence de triangulation des données par la mobilisation de références complémentaires qui auraient sans doute permis de relativiser la thèse de la régulation sociale. Les anthropologues du droit

ont pourtant mis en évidence le fait qu'au temps de la colonie, l'imposition du système de droit du colonisateur n'est pas motivée par le besoin de réguler ces sociétés puisque les colons rencontrent des sociétés relativement organisées et pacifiées. Les fondements de cette imposition se trouvent ancrés dans le projet de consolidation de l'État-nation, lequel passe par la neutralisation des pluralismes normatifs, juridiques et identitaires. L'accomplissement de cette mission en est particulièrement facilité par les politiques d'autochtonisation que les systèmes coloniaux anglo-saxons ont instaurées dans leurs colonies, mieux connues sous le principe de l'*indirect-rule* britannique. L'emploi de ressources autochtones chargées de remplir des fonctions dévolues à l'État a toujours constitué un puissant mécanisme de colonisation et de reproduction de l'ordre étatique.

En dépit de ses limites, l'ouvrage de Jean-Pierre Sawaya ne manque pas d'intérêt. Les nombreux documents d'archives mobilisés dans cette étude sauront attirer l'attention des chercheurs en quête de sources primaires permettant d'étayer leur compréhension de l'histoire passée et contemporaine de la gestion de l'ordre dans les communautés autochtones.

Marc-Urbain Proulx, *Regards sur l'économie des collectivités autochtones du Québec*, Québec, Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2012, 98 pages.

Recenseure : Katia Iankova
University of Greenwich

Ce livre s'inscrit dans les meilleures traditions des études économiques classiques et, par sa nature et son envergure, est le premier du genre publié au Québec, englobant la totalité des 54 communautés autochtones de la province. Par ce fait, il est particulièrement intéressant et précieux pour tous les collègues qui vont étudier ultérieurement ce sujet. En effet, il servira sans doute de référence de base pour les analyses économiques, qu'elles soient des études de cas ou des analyses sectorielles, reliées aux réalités économiques autochtones au Québec.

S'appuyant sur les recensements et les données de Statistique Canada de 2001 et 2006, les données sont traitées en soulignant les dynamiques et les tendances temporelles économiques autochtones. Puisqu'il est paru en 2012, ce livre n'inclut pas les toutes nouvelles données du recensement de 2011, ce qui pourrait nous donner une compréhension encore plus riche et complète des ces tendances. Le présent ouvrage est divisé en 7 chapitres, chacun discutant un problème particulier que l'auteur juge essentiel quant à l'évolution économique des autochtones.

La première partie du livre est dédiée aux conditions générales contemporaines auxquelles les autochtones font face—entre autres, la faiblesse des revenus, la pauvreté dans laquelle certaines communautés vivent, les disparités économiques et sociales entre les membres des communautés, le taux de natalité et le niveau de formation des communautés. Ces facteurs sont comparés et analysés pour faire ressortir le caractère et le profil socioéconomique de chaque communauté. Plusieurs tendances sont observées, notamment la localisation géographique des communautés autochtones, de proximité ou

d'éloignement aux centres urbains, et les incidences sur leurs économies, les transformant en deux réalités, « rurales » et « urbaines », très différentes. Ce leitmotiv apparaît à plusieurs reprises dans les chapitres de ce livre. Le rapport avec la terre et le traitement des ressources naturelles, les négociations historiques avec les gouvernements provincial et fédéral sont d'autres fils conducteurs. La gouvernance autochtone, les ententes historiques de la Paix des braves et de la Convention de la Baie James et du Nord québécois, thèmes très discutés dans la littérature autochtone, sont ici abordées sous l'angle des retombées économiques pour les communautés bénéficiaires, tels des projets miniers, forestiers, hydroélectriques et touristiques de grande envergure dont les revenus ont enrichi les nations.

L'intégration des facteurs tels que le degré et la diversité des secteurs d'éducation, la diversité au niveau industriel, la disponibilité des logements publics et privés, la capacité d'innovation et le style de gouvernance sont utilisés dans la deuxième partie du livre pour évaluer la maturité économique des communautés et observer les tendances de groupe. Cela est fait encore une fois dans une perspective géographique de proximité-éloignement des marchés principaux et en prenant en compte l'ouverture des autochtones à ces derniers. Un diagnostic socioéconomique à partir des forces, faiblesses, opportunités et menaces pour le développement est fait pour la totalité des nations.

Une nouveauté que cette recherche apporte aux études autochtones est la définition du caractère des économies autochtones du Québec, en les apparentant à des économies de type socialiste. Malgré la présence du secteur privé et de son développement dynamique, les projets économiques majeurs et prédominants sont de caractère communautaire ou coopératif – le premier fortement centralisé et contrôlé par les gouvernements autochtones, soit indépendamment, soit en partenariat avec les gouvernements provincial et fédéral. Quant aux coopératives, c'est une tradition historique des autochtones canadiens, mais qui est particulièrement prononcée chez les communautés du Moyen et du Grand Nord québécois. Ces deux modèles de partage et de communautarisme d'un côté et de centralisation économique étatique de l'autre côté sont très particuliers et font que les autochtones eux-mêmes appellent parfois, en plaisantant, leurs économies « communistes ». Les points positifs et négatifs de ces modèles pour le développement socioéconomique des communautés autochtones pourraient être un sujet de recherche futur très fructueux. Dans ce livre, l'auteur fait ressortir les différences culturelles des sociétés non autochtones et autochtones en comparant les logiques économiques capitaliste et socialiste. Sans prétendre à l'exhaustivité, l'auteur a souligné cette différence fondamentale et, partant de ce point, a analysé les activités industrielles en tenant compte du contexte social et culturel des communautés.

Un autre mérite du livre est que l'auteur y a introduit de nouvelles variables d'analyse économique de caractère social et psychologique. Il s'agit du niveau d'ouverture envers le monde extérieur non autochtone, de l'importation des idées et des savoirs novateurs et de la capacité d'élargir les réseaux entrepreneuriaux. L'auteur les utilise pour ensuite évaluer le degré de succès et la diversification des structures des entreprises autochtones. Cette ouverture—ou, au contraire, cette fermeture—est mesurée en termes de mobilité des autochtones

entre les communautés elles-mêmes et les centres urbains immédiats et le nombre de partenariats autochtones/allochtones créés dans les deux périodes de recensement.

Les savoirs traditionnels concernant le traitement des ressources naturelles et l'approche durable trouvent aussi une place particulière dans ce livre—l'exemple du « jardinage forestier », traitant la forêt par coupe en damier par opposition à la « coupe au blanc » classique, est une illustration éloquente à ce propos. C'est un accent qui mérite d'être approfondi pour des études futures abordant les savoirs traditionnels et le développement économique durable des communautés indigènes au Québec et au Canada.

Pour conclure, cet ouvrage produit par un économiste (avec l'aide de ses assistants de recherche, mentionnés dans le texte) utilisant des méthodes économétriques est écrit et se lit avec une telle clarté et légèreté qu'il est à recommander à tous les universitaires et aux étudiants de sciences sociales et humaines, ainsi qu'au grand public, pour une lecture de fond concernant les économies des autochtones du Québec d'aujourd'hui.

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La source des citations incorporées au texte doit être citée à l'aide de la méthode auteur-date (Godelier 1973:116-119). Veuillez noter que le nom de l'auteur n'est pas suivi d'une virgule et qu'aucun espace ne sépare les deux points des numéros de page. Si le nom de l'auteur apparaît déjà dans le texte, il est suffisant de n'indiquer que l'année de publication et les numéros de page. Les numéros de page doivent être mentionnés dans le cas des citations textuelles. Il n'est pas nécessaire de le faire lorsqu'une idée ou un argument général est rapporté. On distingue les renvois multiples à un même auteur pour une même année en ajoutant une lettre minuscule au bout de l'année (1973a, 1973b) Lorsque plusieurs ouvrages ayant des auteurs différents sont cités, la référence devrait apparaître comme suit : (Godelier 1973a, 1973b; Poulantzas 1978)

Références bibliographiques
La bibliographie doit être dactylographiée à double interligne et être insérée après les notes sur une page séparée. On demande aux auteurs de suivre les règles de rédaction suivantes pour la présentation de la bibliographie :

Articles de revues :
Augé, Marc
    1986   Anthropologie et la maladie. L'Homme 26(1-2):15.
Ouvrages :
Smith, Gavin
    1999   Confronting the Present: Towards a Politically Engaged Anthropology. Oxford : Berg.
Saillant, Francine, et Manon Boulianne, dirs.
    2003   Transformations sociales, genre et santé: perspectives critiques et comparatives. Paris et Québec: L'Harmattan et les Presses Universitaires de l'Université de Laval.
Chapitre d'un livre :
Muratorio, Blanca M.
    1995   Amazonian Windows to the Past: Recovering Women's Histories from the Ecuadorian Upper Amazon. Dans Articulating Hidden Histories: Exploring the Influence of Eric R. Wolf. J. Schneider et R. Rapp, dirs. Pp. 322-335. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Graphiques
Les cartes, figures et tableaux doivent être présentés prêts pour l'impression et ne pas dépasser 16 x 12,5 cm (5 x 8"). Ils sont placés sur des feuilles à part et leur place est indiquée dans le texte. Les images électroniques doivent aussi être fournies en format digital en haute résolution (au moins 300 dpi). Les images sur disque ou CD-Rom devraient être acheminées dans des fichiers TIF ou JPEG numérisés en haute résolution. Veuillez identifier chaque fichier selon le protocole suivant : jsmith_01.tif ou jane-d_fig3.jpg.

ÉVALUATION
Chaque manuscrit est soumis pour évaluation à deux personnes choisies en fonction du sujet du texte. On demande aux personnes qui soumettent un manuscrit de fournir une liste de personnes aptes à évaluer leur texte (en indiquant leur affiliation institutionnelle et leur adresse électronique). Le choix de ces personnes, n'est cependant pas limité à cette liste.

Cover photo: "Investing in the Nation's Future:" Children's Day Parade, Port Vila, Vanuatu.
Photo courtesy of Alexandra Widmer, 2010.

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