Anthropologica

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**New Directions in Experimental and Engaged Ethnography /
Nouvelles orientations en ethnographie expérimentale et engagée**

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Thematic Section
New Directions in Experimental and Engaged Ethnography / Nouvelles orientations en ethnographie expérimentale et engagée
Guest Editor / Rédactrice Invitée : Dara Culhane

Anthropological Reflections / Réflexions Anthropologiques

Book Reviews / Comptes rendus

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Thematic Section
New Directions in Experimental and Engaged Ethnography

Introduction

Dara Culhane   *Simon Fraser University*

> What's left to do, then, is to follow events, to engage ethnographically with history unfolding in the present, or to anticipate what is emerging.
>
> —George Marcus 2008

25 January 2011
I set my cup of espresso down next to my computer, turn off my phone, block out chunks of time on my calendar, and push aside piles of books and papers to clear a space on my desk. I've lost track of how far behind deadline I am on the introduction for this thematic section on "New Directions in Experimental and Engaged Ethnography" that I've guest edited for Anthropologica. *I glance at the list of other deadlines passed and pending tacked onto my bulletin board. I feel an all too familiar sense of sinking, deep in my belly, and my heart races.*

Panic and genuine enthusiasm for the task notwithstanding, like millions of other people around the world this week in early 2011, I cannot NOT interrupt my work to check the news every hour or so.

On 20 January 2011 "We Are All Khaled Said," an Egyptian Facebook group named in memory of an activist beaten to death by police in Alexandria in June 2010, had issued a call for protesters to rally in opposition to the regime of President Hosni Mubarak.

Beginning today, 25 January, hundreds, and then thousands, and then hundreds of thousands of Egyptians begin gathering in Tahrir Square in the centre of Cairo, demanding that Mubarak resign. The government bans demonstrations.

Egyptians—women, children and men – fill the streets singing, dancing, marching, texting, talking on cell phones, praying. The government blocks Internet and mobile phone networks.

28 January 2011
Wael Ghomin, a Google marketing manager accused of being an instigator behind the initial rallying call

broadcast through Facebook, is arrested. He will be detained for ten days.

A man in Tahrir Square tells a CNN reporter: "We want work, food, education, medicine…to raise our families in peace. We want what all people all around the world want. We are not terrorists. We are proud Egyptians." Mubarak orders fighter jets to fly over Cairo. His supporters go on rampages attacking demonstrators.

31 January 2011
Mubarak announces that he will make a public appearance tomorrow, 1 February. CIA Director, Leon Panetta, tells the U.S. Congress that there is "a strong likelihood Mubarak may step down." News agencies and tweeters report, "Panetta says Mubarak will step down."

1 February 2011
Everyone, from the Egyptians in Tahrir Square to the President of the United States, to the Prime Ministers of Canada and the United Kingdom, to the leaders of the European Union, to the millions of people like me glued to television screens and online news programs around the world, tunes in for Mubarak's speech. Our shared news sources tell us that we all expect him to resign.

He doesn't. He refuses to step down as president, promising only that he will not seek re-election. Shock waves reverberate from the street corners through to the Oval Office.

2-4 February 2011
The occupation of public spaces by people in Egypt continues. Demonstrators have set up security checkpoints, first aid clinics, kitchens and makeshift homes: an alternative social world is emerging in Tahrir Square. Women—some wearing headscarves and others not— are among the leaders of this revolt. Some demonstrators go on about other business while others kneel to pray at appointed times. News cameras zoom in on Coptic Christians and Muslims walking arm and arm, holding crucifixes and copies of the Koran together in front of the lenses.

5 February 2011
British Prime Minister Donald Cameron, echoing German Chancellor Angela Merkel, declares, "multiculturalism has failed" in Britain. Islam is the difference that can't be assimilated. Like Merkel, Cameron threatens to enforce regimes based on "shared values." Neo-Nazis take to the streets of England to celebrate his announcement.

6-7 February 2011
Barak Obama tells the media that Egyptians want "democracy," and he sympathizes with their aspirations. Western leaders and media repeat Obama's message over and over again: traditional, non-Western dictatorship was the problem; neoliberal Western democracy is the answer. That the people in Tahrir Square are also calling for "work, food, homes, education, medicine and peace" is lost in the relentless rhetorical juxtaposition of "dictatorship" and "democracy." What if millions of unemployed, hungry and homeless Westerners identify similarities rather than differences between themselves and the non-Westerners engaged in toppling their corrupt governments?

8 February 2011
Wael Ghonim is released from custody. At the end of an interview with the private Egyptian network, Dream TV, he is shown images of the protesters killed by pro-Mubarak forces. Ghonim bursts into tears. More people go to Tahrir Square. Many tell reporters that watching Ghonim's interview moved them to join the protest.

10 February 2011
The Vancouver Sun announces a four part series on the Chez Soi/At Home Study, a research project whose first objective is to discover what the effect of homelessness is on mental health, and second, to test two models for housing people with mental illness who are currently homeless. The study was launched in October 2009 and will terminate in March 2013. Funded by the Canadian federal government, the $110 million study is divided among five cities. Vancouver's share is $30 million and the research here targets people who are diagnosed as mentally ill and are also designated "addicts."

There are 500 participants: 200 are housed in apartments and are directed to, but not provided directly with, support services; 100 are housed in the Bosman Hotel and given "wrap around services" that include medical care, counselling, yoga, acupuncture, and sessions with Aboriginal Elders. By conservative estimates, 500 persons represent about 25% of the "officially homeless" population of the City of Vancouver. A control group of 200 are monitored by researchers but are not provided with housing or services.

I have been hearing about the Chez Soi/At Home Study since planning for it began at least three years ago. The study is controversial and has raised a lot of serious questions. Is the study's key objective really a significant research question or do we already know enough to say with sufficient certainty that homeless-

ness has negative effects on mental health? Would $110 million in public funds be better spent on housing and health care than on research? Is withholding housing and services from a "control group" really the only valid research design legitimated by the academy? Is this ethical research? Tuskegee and El Dorado are mentioned frequently in discussions about Chez Soi/At Home.

11 February 2011
Mubarak resigns. Egyptians are jubilant. Celebrations erupt everywhere. Doubtless much public, private, semi-public and semi-private debate, intrigue, conflict and strife has been taking place beyond the purview of international news agencies and Facebook exchanges, and will continue. Predictions and speculations abound. Plots thicken. What is clear, though, is that what has been must come to an end. There are possibilities now for something new to emerge.

I wean myself from the multiple news sources I've been following, and catch up with reading the theses, papers, notices about deadlines for course outlines and book orders for the coming term, and various and sundry emails. I discuss the Chez Soi/At Home Study with a friend who is a mental health advocate. "I agree with all your criticisms," she says. "It's gross. But I'm trying to get my clients into the Bosman. For the people that get in there, it's really a chance, you know?"

16 February 2011
Testifying before a Senate Intelligence Committee hearing, CIA Director Leon Panetta admits that his "intelligence sources" on developments in Egypt were newscasts and the Internet. He wasn't able to predict when or if Mubarak would resign, or what would happen next. "There is a massive amount of data out there to follow— 600 million Facebook accounts, 190 million Twitter accounts and 35,000 hours of YouTube videos." The frustrated director of the world's most powerful nation's intelligence agency, historically famous for engineering coup d'états, revolutions and counter-revolutions, is defensive.

Today's Vancouver Sun article on the Chez Soi/At Home Study proclaims that housing mentally ill people saves taxpayers money. Journalist, Lori Culbert, quotes Michael Kirby, Director of the Canadian Mental Health Commission, who describes the study as "an amazing situation in which the right thing to do in human terms is also the most effective thing to do in economic terms."(Culbert 2011) Dr. Michael Krausz, University of British Columbia Professor of Psychiatry and Co-

Principal Investigator for Chez Soi/At Home, responds to questions about whether withholding housing and health services from a control group might be unethical. "A control group was necessary at an academic level to show the advantages of the interventions being offered to the other participants. At a human level, it is very difficult not to be able to offer this group any help," he says (Culbert 2011).

Culbert concludes:

> And while the academic findings must wait until all data are collected, experts are drawing preliminary conclusions that probably won't surprise most people: if you give the homeless a home and support services, they will stand a better chance of stabilizing their mental illness and addictions. [2011]

Researchers are confident, she reports, that the results of the Chez Soi/At Home Study will provide governments with the evidence they need to implement long-term solutions.

18 February 2011
I write a critical response and send it to SFU Media Relations for the weekly "Issues and Experts" column. They decline to publish it. I should write an Op-Ed piece or a letter to the editor setting out scholarly critiques of the Chez Soi/At Home Study, given that the "window" of public interest has been opened by the Vancouver Sun series, but I have so many other deadlines and demands; demands and deadlines. I tell myself I'll get back to it, as soon as my desk is clear. Now, I have to prepare to leave on a research trip to Ireland on 1 March. I still haven't finished the Anthropologica introduction. Ethics? Responsibility?

Wael Ghomin tells CBS news that he has no desire to take on political leadership. "I trust 80 million Egyptians," he says, "the giant is awake now and no one is going to put him to sleep again."

6-8 March 2011
Despite both appearances and experiences of spontaneity that characterize the current uprisings in North Africa and the Middle East, millions of people around the world have been talking, writing, texting, facebooking, singing, dancing, filming, painting, performing, dreaming of at least the beginnings of such great shifts—such giants awakening—for a long, long time. No one knows exactly where this will lead, what directions these movements will take, what repressions and manipulations, coercions and co-optations will insidiously and invidiously play out, alongside and in

between radical change, revolutionary breakthroughs, and yet to be imagined possibilities. But something has shifted; whatever happens, nothing will ever be quite the same again.

How can anthropologists participate in this world we live in? What contributions can we make? What are our ethical responsibilities? Our political commitments? Our professional obligations? The ties that bind the authors in this thematic section are commitments to ethical, experimental and engaged scholarship that pursues these questions, and challenges separations between the "economic level," the "academic level" and the "human level."

The anthropologist most centrally associated with the term "experimental ethnography" is George Marcus, co-editor and co-author, respectively, of two texts that sought to consolidate a radical break from the scientism that had dominated much 20th-century anthropology (Clifford and Marcus 1986; Marcus and Fischer 1986). For those who followed Marcus et al., fieldwork was not a practice of detached scientific observation, and relationships between ethnographer and informant were not those between active subject and passive object, but were dialogic exchanges between collaborators. The production of ethnographic monographs was therefore a communicative process from which texts emerged that included at least two voices and made use of literary and rhetorical strategies to represent "partial truths."

In his article "Two Decades After Writing Culture," Marcus (2007) writes that the "experimental moment" has failed to realize its potential, not having moved beyond individual anthropologists exploring diverse textual forms of ethnographic writing. It is time now, he argues, that experimentation move into the practice of fieldwork itself, rather than only its representation.

However, as the contributors to *Women Writing Culture* pointed out to the contributors of *Writing Culture*, interesting and provocative experiments in both fieldwork and its representation are not "new," but have in fact been underway in the margins and fringes of anthropology, in interdisciplinary collaborations, and in non-academic sites for quite some time (Behar and Gordon 1995). The papers in this thematic section take as foundational points of departure feminist, queer, anti-colonial and activist critique, and the radical experimentations that have infused the strategies of contemporary political movements. While carrying forward an interest in literary and artistic forms of expression and communication, we focus intensely on ethnographic fieldwork, and the potential and perils of

experimenting with articulating creative practices and conventional ethnographic methods.

There is much interest in the implications of dismantling Cartesian mind–body dualism, deconstructing the philosophical and political edifices built on binary oppositions between nature and culture, and the potentialities opened up by paying close attention to embodiment and affect in anthropology and throughout the arts, humanities and social sciences these days. We are called on to engage in critiques of secularism, to value indigenous epistemologies, to admit "spirit" into our analyses, and to explore perspectivism in a project of constructing "world anthropologies" (Ribeiro and Escobar 2006). How are we to research these dimensions of human experience and the political possibilities they present when our methods and training remain, for the most part, "dead from the neck down"? Magnat offers provocative possibilities for the adaptation of Grotowskian physical theatre to ethnography, pointing out potential alliances with indigenous methodologies. She argues forcefully for academic recognition of such interdisciplinary scholarship. Kazubowski-Houston's work draws on shared traditions in theatre anthropology, and presents us with the persistent ethnographic challenge and unanticipated consequences of putting theory into practice.

The papers here are centrally concerned, in diverse ways, with questions of politics and ethics. At the heart of these concerns are not the fears of legal liability that overdetermine university ethics review boards, nor the invidious censorship and regimes of knowledge control they have come to stand for. Rather, the authors in this collection address the questions that initially gave rise to demands by, particularly, indigenous peoples, for codes of research ethics that would protect the rights and respect the integrity of research subjects and interrupt exploitation. It is the political moralities of everyday and extraordinary human relationships, necessarily embedded in power relations and always specific to time and place, that concern the authors.

How can we honour, in practice, both a commitment to collaboration and to being led by participants and demands to articulate hypotheses and set out predictable outcomes for an Institutional Review Board? Given inevitable contingencies and unpredictability how do we answer a granting agency that asks for guarantees in advance that our "findings" will provide "evidence" upon which "policy" can be soundly based? Recognizing local political and social inequalities and conflicts, how can we work with the most marginalized and excluded members *and* respond to "community"-controlled research committees demanding guarantees of research-generated

"community" benefit? How do we do critical work in relation to something like, say, the *Chez Soi/At Home Study* that does not jeopardize the immediate support for beneficiaries, given that the difference between a roof over their heads even for a night might be the difference between life and death for one precious, individual human being? There are no perfect answers, of course. How do we continue to ask these questions and not become paralyzed?

Is the critical reflexivity practised by the authors—most admirably and courageously in this collection by Kazubowski-Houston—a "grotesque expression of a liberal moral conscience"? (Marcus 2008:12). Should our work be dismissed with what seems to have become the epithet of the day in some circles of anthropology: "moralism"? Will our commitments be read as individualistic, "narcissistic navel-gazing"? I argue, rather, that what the authors—myself included—are imperfectly struggling towards is what Veena Das (2006) describes as ethical and political "response-ability."

It is towards this goal that we analyze our missteps, misunderstandings, mistakes, failures and regrets in an effort to make public, and therefore subject to challenge, debate and change, that which every ethnographer experiences and most discuss privately. We intentionally transgress the still militantly patrolled border between "corridor talk" and "journal publication." We offer readers examples of an "experimental" ethnography as defined by Quetzil E. Castañeda (2006) that reflects the etymology of the word "experiment" as "putting into peril." We take risks, in good faith, not knowing where our work will lead, or what the consequences of publication will be, but hoping to create spaces for something new to emerge.

"Engaged anthropology"—the second term in our title—has conventionally been associated with applied anthropology that is conducted in the service of providing policy recommendations to governments, or supporting organized social or political reform movements, or providing programmatic advice to community development organizations. The papers here, however, reflect the more comprehensive vision of engagement articulated by the editors of an October 2010 supplement of *Current Anthropology.* Setha Low and Sally Engle Merry (2010:S204) argue that "there are a number of forms of engagement: (1) sharing and support, (2) teaching and public education, (3) social critique, (4) collaboration, (5) advocacy, and (6) activism." The papers that follow hope to contribute to these discussions on emerging forms and conceptual reformulations of "publicly engaged experimental anthropology."

This thematic section emerged from a session at the 2009 CASCA conference in Vancouver. The presentations addressed complicated, contradictory, contested engagements that complicate, contradict and contest each other. What was exciting about the session was the way the papers ricocheted off each other, how sparks flew. Presenters agreed with and supported each other sometimes on some points, and challenged and debated each other on other points. The discussions with audience members that followed were lively; criticisms were challenging and at times merciless. It has been impossible to maintain the energy of a face-to-face gathering of embodied beings through the necessarily tendentious process of peer review and into a textualized form for publication. You will not find here a new synthesis, a neatly packaged programmatic formula for a *New, Improved, Purer* Discipline of Anthropology. You will read no triumphant progress narratives celebrating movement from bad old days riddled with errors to seamlessly enlightened new days, no centre being forced to hold. I hope, in your reading of the papers, you will imagine them in conversation and sometimes in dispute with each other, and yourself as a composer arranging when the four distinct voices sing together, when they interrupt each other, and when a solo performance is warranted.

I will conclude by borrowing some words from Cristina Moretti who shares an excerpt from her fieldnotes about her reflections on sending ethnographic work out into the world, knowing it will necessarily get "lost." "The question here," Moretti writes, "is not what we have lost, but what we seek to find in its place."

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Section thématique
Nouvelles orientations en ethnographie expérimentale et engagée

Introduction

Dara Culhane   *Simon Fraser University*

What's left to do, then, is to follow events, to engage ethnographically with history unfolding in the present, or to anticipate what is emerging.
—George Marcus 2008

[Ce qu'il reste à faire, alors, c'est de suivre les événements, de s'avancer dans un engagement ethnographique avec l'histoire qui se déploie dans le présent, ou d'anticiper ce qui est en émergence.]

25 janvier 2011

Je dépose ma tasse d'espresso à côté de mon ordinateur, éteins mon téléphone, encercle des blocs de temps dans mon agenda, et déplace des piles de livres et de documents pour faire de la place sur mon bureau. J'ai perdu le compte de mon retard dans la rédaction de cette introduction à la section thématique sur les « Nouvelles directions en ethnographie expérimentale et engagée », à titre de rédactrice en chef invitée pour Anthropologica. Je jette un coup d'œil aux autres échéances passées et courantes épinglées sur mon tableau. Je retrouve un sentiment de noyade trop familier, au creux de mon ventre, et mon cœur s'emballe.

Quoi qu'il en soit de la panique et de mon enthousiasme sincère pour la tâche, comme des millions d'autres personnes dans le monde en ce début de 2011, je NE PEUX m'empêcher d'interrompre mon travail d'heure en heure pour suivre les nouvelles.

Le 20 janvier 2011, le groupe Facebook égyptien « Nous sommes tous Khaled Said », nommé en l'honneur d'un militant battu à mort par la police à Alexandrie en juin 2010, a lancé un appel à un rallye de protestation en opposition au régime du président Hosni Moubarak.

À compter d'aujourd'hui, 25 janvier, des centaines, puis des milliers, puis des centaines de milliers d'Égyptiens ont commencé à se rassembler sur la place Tahrir au centre du Caire, réclamant la démission de Moubarak. Le gouvernement interdit les manifestations.

Les Égyptiens – femmes, enfants et hommes – emplissent les rues et chantent, dansent, marchent, lancent des

textos, parlent au cellulaire et prient. Le gouvernement bloque l'internet et les réseaux de téléphone sans fil.

28 janvier 2011
Wael Ghomin, un directeur de marketing chez Google, accusé d'être un instigateur derrière le premier appel au rallye lancé sur Facebook, est arrêté. Il sera détenu dix jours.

Un homme sur la place Tahrir dit à un reporter de CNN : « Nous voulons travailler, manger, être éduqués, être soignés... élever nos familles en paix. Nous voulons ce que veulent tous les humains sur la terre. Nous ne sommes pas des terroristes. Nous sommes de fiers Égyptiens ». Moubarak fait survoler Le Caire par des chasseurs-bombardiers. Ses partisans se déchaînent contre les manifestants.

31 janvier 2011
Moubarak annonce qu'il va faire une apparition publique le lendemain, 1er février. Le directeur de la CIA, Leon Panetta, annonce au Congrès américain « qu'il existe une forte probabilité que Moubarak démissionne ». Les agences de presse et les chroniqueurs Twitter prennent : « Panetta dit que Moubarak va démissionner ».

1er février 2011
Tout le monde, des Égyptiens de la place Tahrir au président des États-Unis, aux premiers ministres du Canada et du Royaume-Uni, aux chefs de l'Union européenne, aux millions de personnes comme moi collées à leurs écrans de télévision et aux informations sur Internet, tout le monde attend le discours de Moubarak. Nos sources de nouvelles révèlent que nous attendons à ce qu'il abdique.

Il ne le fait pas. Il refuse de quitter la présidence, et promet seulement qu'il ne se représentera pas aux élections. L'onde de choc se propage de la rue jusqu'au Bureau Ovale.

2-4 février 2011
L'occupation populaire des espaces publics se poursuit en Égypte. Les manifestants ont mis sur pied des postes de contrôle de sécurité, des cliniques de premiers soins, des cuisines et des abris de fortune : un univers social alternatif émerge place Tahrir. Les femmes – certaines portant le foulard et d'autres pas – sont à la tête de cette révolte. Certains manifestants vaquent à leurs affaires tandis que d'autres s'agenouillent pour la prière aux heures prévues. Les caméras de reportage cadrent des chrétiens coptes et des musulmans marchant bras dessus bras dessous, portant ensemble des crucifix et des Corans devant les objectifs.

5 février 2011
Le premier ministre britannique Donald Cameron, faisant écho à la chancelière allemande Angela Merkel, déclare que « le multiculturalisme est un échec » en Grande-Bretagne. L'islam est la différence qui ne peut être assimilée. Comme Merkel, Cameron menace d'imposer des codes fondés sur « des valeurs partagées ». Les néonazis anglais descendent dans la rue pour célébrer cette annonce.

6-7 février 2011
Barak Obama déclare aux médias que les Égyptiens veulent « la démocratie » et qu'il partage leurs aspirations. Les médias et les chefs des pays occidentaux répètent le message d'Obama à qui mieux mieux : le problème, c'était une dictature traditionnelle non occidentale; la solution, c'est une démocratie néolibérale occidentale. La revendication des Égyptiens de la place Tahrir pour « du travail, de la nourriture, du logement, de l'éducation, des soins et la paix » est perdue dans l'intarissable juxtaposition rhétorique entre « démocratie » et « dictature ». Que se passerait-il si des millions d'Occidentaux chômeurs, affamés et sans-logis identifiaient des ressemblances plutôt que des différences entre eux et les non-occidentaux engagés à faire tomber leurs gouvernements corrompus?

8 février 2011
Wael Ghonim est relâché de sa garde à vue. À la fin d'une entrevue à la chaîne privée égyptienne Dream TV, on lui montre des images de manifestants tués par les forces pro-Moubarak. Ghonim éclate en sanglots. Davantage de gens descendent vers la place Tahrir. Plusieurs d'entre eux disent aux reporters qu'ils ont été touchés par l'entrevue de Ghonim et que c'est pour cela qu'ils participent aux manifestations.

10 février 2011
Le Vancouver Sun annonce une série de quatre articles sur l'étude Chez Soi/At Home, un projet de recherche dont l'objectif est d'explorer les effets de l'itinérance sur la santé mentale, et en second lieu, de mettre à l'essai deux modèles d'hébergement pour des personnes souffrant de maladie mentale et qui sont actuellement itinérantes. L'étude a été lancée en octobre 2009 et sera complétée en mars 2013. Financée par le gouvernement fédéral canadien, l'étude de 110 millions de dollars est répartie dans cinq villes canadiennes. La part de Vancouver est de 30 M$ et la recherche est ciblée ici sur les itinérants portant un diagnostic de maladie mentale et qui sont aussi désignés comme souffrant de toxicomanie ou de dépendance.

L'étude porte sur 500 participants : 200 d'entre eux sont logés dans des appartements et sont référés à des services de soutien, mais sans que ceux-ci leur soient fournis de manière directe; 100 d'entre eux sont logés à l'hôtel Bosman et reçoivent des « services intégrés » qui comprennent des soins médicaux, de la psychothérapie, du yoga, de l'acupuncture et des rencontres avec des aînés autochtones. Selon une estimation prudente, 500 personnes représentent environ 25 % de la population « officiellement itinérante » de Vancouver. Un groupe témoin de 200 personnes est observé par les chercheurs mais ne reçoit par d'hébergement ou de services.

J'entends parler de l'étude Chez Soi/At Home depuis le début de sa planification il y a au moins trois ans. L'étude est controversée et a soulevé nombre de questions sérieuses. Est-ce que l'objectif-clé de l'étude est réellement un objet de recherche significatif ou en savons-nous déjà assez pour affirmer avec certitude que l'itinérance a des effets négatifs sur la santé mentale? Est-ce que 110 M$ de fonds publics ne seraient pas mieux investis dans du logement et des soins de santé plutôt que dans de la recherche? Est-ce que le fait de priver un « groupe-témoin » d'hébergement et de services est la seule modalité valide de conception d'une recherche légitimée par la science? Est-ce là de la recherche éthique? Tuskegee et El Dorado sont fréquemment mentionnés dans les discussions qui entourent Chez Soi/At Home.

11 février 2011

Moubarak abdique. Les Égyptiens éclatent de joie et célèbrent partout. Il ne fait pas de doute que beaucoup de débats, de conflits, de querelles, de jeux de coulisses, publics et semi-publics, privés et semi-privés ont eu lieu loin du regard des agences de presse internationales et des forums Facebook, et que cela se poursuivra. Les spéculations et les prédictions foisonnent. Les enjeux se complexifient. Ce qui est clair toutefois, c'est qu'on doit voir la fin de ce qui a existé. La possibilité existe enfin de laisser émerger quelque chose de nouveau.

Je me sèvre des multiples sources de nouvelles auxquelles je m'abreuvais et commence mon rattrapage dans la lecture des thèses, des articles, des avis relatifs à des dates de tombée pour des sommaires de cours et des commandes de livres pour la session à venir, et divers courriels. Je discute de l'étude Chez Soi/At Home avec une amie intervenante en santé mentale. « Je suis d'accord avec toutes tes critiques, dit-elle. C'est choquant. Mais j'essaie de placer mes clients au Bosman. Pour les gens qui sont choisis là, c'est vraiment une chance, tu sais? »

16 février 2011

Témoignant devant un Comité du Sénat sur le renseignement, le directeur de la CIA Leon Panetta reconnaît que ses « sources d'information » sur là situation en Égypte étaient les communiqués d'agence et l'Internet. Il était incapable de prévoir quand ou si Moubarak abdiquerait, ou ce qui se produirait par la suite. « La quantité de données à suivre est gigantesque – 600 millions de comptes Facebook, 190 millions de comptes Twitter et 35 000 heures de vidéo sur YouTube ». Le directeur frustré de l'agence de renseignement de la nation la plus puissante du monde, historiquement fameuse pour avoir orchestré des coups d'état, des révolutions et contre-révolutions, est sur la défensive.

L'article du Vancouver Sun d'aujourd'hui sur l'étude Chez Soi/At Home affirme que de loger les personnes souffrant de maladie mentale économise l'argent des contribuables. La journaliste Lori Culbert cite Michael Kirby, directeur de la Commission canadienne de la santé mentale, qui décrit l'étude comme « une situation étonnante où le geste correct à poser en termes humains est aussi la solution la plus efficace en termes économiques ». (Culbert 2011). Le Dr Michael Krausz, professeur de psychiatrie à l'Université de Colombie-Britannique et chercheur principal associé de Chez Soi/At Home répond aux questions de savoir si le fait de ne pas fournir des services de logement et de santé à un groupe témoin peut s'avérer contraire à l'éthique. « Un groupe témoin était nécessaire au plan académique pour démontrer les avantages des interventions offertes aux autres participants. Au plan humain, il est très difficile d'être incapable d'offrir une aide quelconque à ce groupe » dit-il. (Culbert 2011)

Culbert conclut :

> Et alors que les résultats académiques devront attendre que toutes les données soient recueillies, les experts esquissent des conclusions préliminaires qui ne surprendront pas grand monde : si vous fournissez aux itinérants un logis et des services de soutien, leurs chances de stabiliser leur maladie mentale et leurs dépendances seront meilleures. [2011]

Les chercheurs sont confiants, constate-t-elle, que les résultats de l'étude Chez Soi/At Home fourniront aux gouvernements les éléments de preuve dont ils ont besoin pour mettre en œuvre des solutions à long terme.

18 février 2011

J'écris une réponse critique et je l'envoie aux Relations média de l'Université Simon Fraser pour leur rubrique hebdomadaire « Issues and Experts ». Ils choisissent de ne pas la publier. Je devrais écrire une opinion en page

éditoriale ou une lettre au journal énumérant les critiques académiques de l'étude Chez Soi/At Home, *étant donné que cette « fenêtre » d'intérêt public a été ouverte par la série du Vancouver Sun, mais j'ai tellement d'autres échéances et demandes; demandes et dates de tombée. Je me dis que j'y reviendrai aussitôt que j'aurai nettoyé mon bureau. Maintenant, il faut que je prépare mon départ pour un voyage de recherche en Irlande le 1ᵉʳ mars. Je n'ai toujours pas fini l'introduction pour* Anthropologica. *Éthique? Responsabilité?*

Wael Gomin dit à des reporters de CBS qu'il ne désire pas s'engager dans le leadership politique. « Je fais confiance à 80 millions d'Égyptiens, dit-il, le géant est maintenant réveillé et personne ne va le rendormir ».

6-8 mars 2011
En dépit des apparences et des expériences de spontanéité qui caractérisent les soulèvements actuels en Afrique du Nord et au Moyen-Orient, des millions de personnes autour du monde ont parlé, écrit, texté, facebooké, chanté, dansé, filmé, peint, performé, rêvé à au moins le commencement de changements aussi importants – de tels géants qui se réveillent – depuis très très longtemps. Personne ne sait exactement où cela nous mènera, quelles directions prendront ces mouvements, quelles répressions et manipulations, coercitions et cooptations brouilleront les cartes de manière insidieuse ou odieuse, au beau milieu et simultanément avec des changements radicaux, des avancées révolutionnaires et des possibilités encore à imaginer. Mais le vent a tourné; quoi qu'il arrive, rien ne sera plus jamais pareil.

Comment les anthropologues peuvent-ils participer au monde dans lequel nous vivons? Quelles contributions pouvons-nous faire? Quelles sont nos responsabilités éthiques? Nos engagements politiques? Nos obligations professionnelles? Les liens qui relient les auteurs de la présente section thématique sont des engagements à l'égard de missions académiques éthiques, expérimentales et engagées qui auscultent ces enjeux et remettent en question les clivages entre « le niveau économique », « le niveau académique » et « le niveau humain ».

L'anthropologue le plus directement associé avec le terme « anthropologie expérimentale » est George Marcus, respectivement coéditeur et coauteur de deux textes qui cherchèrent à consolider une rupture radicale avec le scientisme qui a dominé la majeure partie de l'anthropologie du 20ᵉ siècle (Clifford et Marcus 1986; Marcus et Fischer 1986). Pour ceux qui ont suivi Marcus et ses collègues, le travail de terrain n'était pas une pratique d'ob-

servation scientifique détachée, tandis que les relations entre ethnographe et informateur n'étaient pas celles entre un sujet actif et un objet passif, mais consistaient en échanges dialogiques entre collaborateurs. La production de monographies ethnographiques devenait en conséquence un processus de communication dont émergeaient des textes qui incluaient au moins deux voix et qui faisaient usage de stratégies littéraires et rhétoriques pour représenter des « vérités partielles ».

Dans son article « Two Decades After Writing Culture », Marcus (2007) écrit que « le moment expérimental » n'a pas réussi à réaliser son potentiel, n'ayant pas dépassé celui d'anthropologues individuels explorant diverses formes textuelles d'écriture ethnographique. Il est maintenant temps, plaide-t-il, que l'expérimentation se déplace vers la pratique même du travail de terrain, au lieu de se confiner à sa seule représentation.

Toutefois, comme les collaboratrices de *Women Writing Culture* l'ont fait remarquer aux collaborateurs de *Writing Culture*, des expériences intéressantes et dignes d'attention, aussi bien en matière de recherche terrain que dans sa représentation, ne sont pas « nouvelles » mais sont bel et bien en cours depuis un certain temps dans les marges et en périphérie de l'anthropologie, dans les collaborations interdisciplinaires et dans des contextes non académiques (Behar et Gordon 1995). Les articles de cette section thématique se fondent sur une critique féministe, homosexuelle, anticolonialiste et militante, et sur l'expérimentation radicale qui a perfusé les stratégies des mouvements politiques contemporains. Tout en mettant de l'avant un intérêt dans les formes artistiques et littéraires d'expression et de communication, nous faisons intensément le foyer sur le travail de terrain ethnographique, et sur le potentiel et les risques de l'expérimentation dans l'articulation des pratiques de création et des méthodes ethnographiques conventionnelles.

On s'intéresse beaucoup aux rejaillissements du démantèlement du dualisme cartésien corps-esprit, de la déconstruction des édifices philosophiques et politiques fondés sur l'opposition binaire entre nature et culture, et aux potentialités ouvertes en accordant une attention spéciale à l'incarnation et à l'affect en anthropologie et dans l'ensemble des arts et des sciences humaines et sociales aujourd'hui (Behar et Gordon 1995). Nous sommes appelés à nous engager dans des critiques du sécularisme, à valoriser les épistémologies indigènes, à admettre « l'âme » dans nos analyses et à explorer le perspectivisme dans le projet de construction des « anthropologies du monde » (Ribeiro et Escobar 2006). Comment nous y prendrons-nous pour mener des recherches sur ces dimensions de l'expérience humaine et sur les possibilités poli-

tiques qu'elles présentent quand nos méthodes et formations demeurent, en bonne partie, « mortes du cou jusqu'en bas »? Magnat présente des possibilités stimulantes pour l'adaptation du théâtre physique de Grotoswski à l'ethnographie, en soulignant des associations possibles avec les méthodologies indigènes. Elle propose un puissant argumentaire pour que l'institution académique reconnaisse de telles quêtes interdisciplinaires. Le travail de Kazubowski-Houston s'inspire de traditions partagées en anthropologie du théâtre et nous présente les défis ethnographiques persistants et les conséquences imprévues du passage de la théorie à la pratique.

Les articles ici rassemblés ont une préoccupation centrale, diversement exprimée, pour des enjeux de politique et d'éthique. Au cœur de ces préoccupations on trouve, non pas la peur des responsabilités civiles qui surdétermine les comités d'examen éthique des universités, non plus que les régimes de censure hargneuse et d'embrigadement du savoir qu'ils en sont venus à représenter. Les auteurs du présent recueil répondent plutôt aux questions qui ont initialement été à l'origine de revendications, en particulier de la part de peuples autochtones, pour des codes d'éthique de recherche qui protégeraient leurs droits, respecteraient l'intégrité des sujets de recherche et mettraient fin à leur exploitation. Les auteurs sont préoccupés des mœurs et moralités politiques des relations humaines quotidiennes aussi bien qu'extraordinaires, nécessairement enchâssées dans des rapports de pouvoir et toujours spécifiques à des lieux et moments.

Comment pouvons-nous honorer, en pratique, un engagement à la collaboration et à nous laisser mener par les participants en même temps que les exigences des comités d'examen institutionnels pour que nous articulions des hypothèses et établissions des résultats prévisibles. Compte tenu des imprévus et de l'imprédictibilité incontournables, que pouvons-nous répondre à une agence de financement qui demande à l'avance des garanties que nos « résultats » produiront des « évidences » qui fourniront une assise saine à la formulation de « politiques »? Lorsque nous reconnaissons les inégalités et conflits sociaux et politiques locaux, comment pouvons-nous travailler avec les membres les plus exclus et marginalisés *et* rendre des comptes à des comités de recherche contrôlés « par la communauté » exigeant des garanties de résultats de recherche générateurs de bénéfices pour la communauté? Comment produisons-nous un travail critique en rapport avec un objet comme, disons, l'étude *Chez Soi/At Home* sans compromettre le soutien immédiat pour les bénéficiaires, quand la présence d'un toit au-dessus de leur tête ne serait-ce que pour une seule nuit peut faire la différence entre la vie et la mort pour un irremplaçable

être humain? Il n'existe pas de réponse parfaite, évidemment. Comment continuer à poser ces questions sans s'en trouver paralysé?

Est-ce que la réflexivité critique pratiquée par les auteurs – et de manière spécialement courageuse et admirable dans cette collection par Kazubowski-Houston – constitue une « expression grotesque d'une conscience morale libérale »? (Marcus 2008:12). Est-ce que notre travail devrait être rejeté avec ce qui semble être devenu l'épithète du jour dans certains cercles anthropologiques : « moraliste »? Est-ce que nos engagements vont être perçus comme « du nombrilisme narcissique »? Je prétends plutôt que les auteurs – moi y compris – luttent imparfaitement pour atteindre ce que Veena Das (2006) décrit comme une « capacité de réponse » *(response-ability)* éthique et politique.

C'est en fonction de cet objectif que nous analysons nos faux pas, nos malentendus, nos erreurs, nos échecs et nos regrets, dans un effort pour rendre public, et donc sujet à contestation, débat et changement, ce que chaque ethnographe expérimente et ce que la plupart d'entre eux discutent privément. Nous transgressons intentionnellement la frontière toujours gardée militairement entre « la conversation de couloir » et « la publication dans une revue ». Nous offrons aux lecteurs des exemples d'une ethnographie « expérimentale » telle que définie par Quetzil E. Castañeda (2006) qui reflète l'étymologie du mot « expérience » au sens de « mise en péril ». « Nous prenons des risques, en toute bonne foi, en ne sachant pas où va mener notre travail ou quelles seront les conséquences de la publication, mais dans l'espoir de créer de l'espace pour laisser émerger quelque chose de nouveau.

« L'anthropologie engagée » – le second terme de notre titre – a été conventionnellement associée à l'anthropologie appliquée, c.-à-d. menée aux fins de fournir des recommandations de politiques aux gouvernements, ou de soutenir des mouvements organisés de réforme sociale ou politique, ou d'offrir des conseils d'orientation à des organismes de développement communautaire. Les articles réunis ici, toutefois, reflètent la vision plus large de l'engagement articulée par les éditeurs d'un supplément à *Current Anthropology* en octobre 2010. Setha Low et Sally Engle Merry (2010:S204) développent l'idée « qu'il existe diverses formes d'engagement : (1) le partage et le soutien, (2) l'enseignement et l'éducation publique, (3) la critique sociale, (4) la collaboration, (5) l'action revendicatrice et (6) le militantisme ». Les articles qui suivent espèrent contribuer aux discussions courantes sur les formes émergentes et les reformulations conceptuelles de « l'anthropologie expérimentale engagée sur la scène publique ».

Cette section thématique a vu le jour à la suite d'une session à la conférence de la CASCA 2009 à Vancouver. Les présentations portaient sur des engagements compliqués, contradictoires, contestés, qui se compliquaient, se contredisaient et se contestaient les uns les autres. Mais la session avait ceci d'excitant que les communications ricochaient l'une sur l'autre, soulevant des gerbes d'étincelles. Les conférenciers tombaient d'accord et se soutenaient mutuellement sur certains points, puis se défiaient et débattaient sur d'autres points. Les discussions avec l'auditoire qui suivaient les présentations étaient animées; les critiques étaient acérées et à l'occasion impitoyables. Il a été impossible de soutenir l'énergie d'une rencontre face à face d'êtres incarnés au travers du processus nécessairement orienté d'une évaluation par les pairs et d'une publication imprimée. Vous ne trouverez pas ici une nouvelle synthèse, une formule programmatique soigneusement emballée d'une Discipline Anthropologique, Nouvelle, Améliorée et Plus pure. Vous ne lirez pas de récit sur des progrès triomphants célébrant le passage des mauvais jours d'antan confits dans l'erreur à des jours nouveaux et sans défaut sous les Lumières, sans que quelqu'un ait à tenir le fort. J'espère que lorsque vous lirez ces communications, vous les imaginerez en conversation et parfois en affrontement les unes avec les autres, avec vous-même comme compositeur harmonisant les quatre voix distinctes dans un chant commun, et qui s'interrompent tour à tour quand une performance solo est justifiée.

Je conclurai en empruntant quelques mots à Cristina Moretti qui partage un extrait de ses notes de terrain sur ses réflexions à propos du fait de lancer son travail ethnographique dans le monde, sachant qu'il sera nécessairement « perdu ». « La question ici » écrit Moretti « n'est pas ce que nous avons perdu, mais ce que nous cherchons à trouver à sa place ».

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Conducting Embodied Research at the Intersection of Performance Studies, Experimental Ethnography and Indigenous Methodologies

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Abstract: Grounding embodied research in Indigenous methodologies as well as feminist, sensory and experimental ethnography, I propose an alternative performance-based approach modelled on the creative work of women from different cultures and generations who collaborated with influential theatre innovator Jerzy Grotowski. I infer from my experimental fieldwork and embodied research on the work of these artists that positionality, relationality, relevance, respect, and reciprocity are critical to articulating experiential ways of cognition beyond the limitations imposed by dominant conceptions of knowledge. Having foregrounded the Indigenous and environmentalist critique of performance-based methodologies derived from the work of Augusto Boal and Paulo Freire, I suggest that alternative approaches which allow for the interrelation of creativity, agency, embodiment and spirituality can help promote more diverse and inclusive perspectives.

Keywords: embodiment, performance, indigenous methodologies, Grotowski

Résumé : Mon approche performative de la recherche incarnée intègre les principes des méthodologies indigènes ainsi que de l'ethnographie féministe, sensorielle et expérimentale, et prend pour modèle le travail créatif de femmes de générations et de cultures diverses qui ont collaboré avec Jerzy Grotowski, un des plus importants praticiens du théâtre expérimental. Mon travail de terrain, fondé sur un processus de recherche qui passe par le corps, démontre que ce sont la positionnalité, la relationnalité, la pertinence, le respect et la réciprocité qui permettent de définir certains modes de cognition expérientielle situés au-delà des limites imposées par les conceptions dominantes de la connaissance. Ayant examiné la critique indigène et écologiste des méthodologies performatives dérivées du travail d'Augusto Boal et de Paulo Freire, je suggère qu'une démarche qui valorise l'interaction de la créativité, l'agence humaine, l'expérience vécue et la spiritualité, peut favoriser desperspectives de recherche plus sensibles à la diversité et l'inclusivité.

Mots-clés : Incarnation, performance, méthodologies indigènes, Grotowski

Embodied Research

Embodiment, lived experience and intersubjectivity are key to experimental approaches articulated at the intersection of performance and ethnography. Yet the slippery nature of the territories which this research proposes to investigate has often contributed to undermining its academic credibility. Since embodied experience eludes and possibly exceeds cognitive control, accounting for its destabilizing function within the research process potentially endangers dominant conceptions of knowledge upon which the legitimacy of academic discourses so crucially depends.

Within the discipline of anthropology, alternative ethnographic models that account for the lived experience of researchers and research participants have arguably been most compellingly articulated by indigenous and feminist ethnographers. Lassiter notes that American Indian scholars were among the first to produce a radical critique of ethnographic fieldwork and to "call for models that more assertively attend to community concerns, models that would finally put to rest the lingering reverberations of anthropology's colonial past" (2005:6). Lassiter further remarks that feminist scholars, writing "as women whose knowledge is situated vis-à-vis their male counterparts" are already positioned as Other (2005:59). Indigenous and feminist anthropologists therefore raise related epistemological and methodological questions about ethnographic authority and the politics of representation because they share similar concerns about the ways in which conventional methodologies enable researchers positioned within the academy to authoritatively speak for the Other (Lassiter 2005:56, 59). Positioning oneself from within the community they are studying and accounting for their own embodied participation in the culture of that community has led indigenous and feminist researchers to develop alternative research methodologies which foreground embodiment, lived experience and intersubjectivity, and which privilege collaboration and reciprocity.

While feminist ethnographers are committed to creating "more humane and dialogic accounts that would more fully and more collaboratively represent the diversity of women's experience" (Lassiter 2005:56), for indigenous ethnographers, consultation with community members is meant to ensure that the research they are conducting is mutually beneficial. In both cases, lived experience and accountability are linked and the researcher bears a moral responsibility to the community. When reflecting on his ethnography of Kiowa songs, Lassiter acknowledges that what mattered most to the Kiowa community was the power his interpretation would have in "defining [this community] to the outside—and to future generations of Kiowas for that matter." The questions that emerged from the research process were therefore about "who has control and who has the last word" (2005:11). Indeed, what is ultimately relevant to the Kiowa people is the power of the songs, for it is the embodied experience of singing these songs which sustains the cultural continuity of the Kiowa community.

"Meetings with Remarkable Women/Tu es la fille de quelqu'un," the SSHRC-funded research project[1] I am currently conducting with women artists whose experiential approaches to performance vitally depend on embodiment, similarly hinges upon questions of accountability, relevance, and reciprocity. Indeed, for these women from different cultures and generations, who often work with ancient traditional songs, it is the power of performance, transmitted through their teaching and performing, which gives meaning to their creative work as members of a transnational community of artists who share a direct connection to Jerzy Grotowski's groundbreaking performance research.

The significance of the cross-cultural research conducted by the Polish director was recognized through his appointment, in 1997, to the Chair of Theatre Anthropology of the Collège de France in Paris.[2] His legacy was later acknowledged by UNESCO on the tenth anniversary of his death through the designation of 2009 as the "Year of Grotowski." Although many theatre historians rank Grotowski, along with Stanislavski and Brecht, as one of the most influential 20th-century theatre innovators, there is a relative paucity of scholarly texts investigating all but the early stages of Grotowski's lifelong research.[3] Grotowski's approach is therefore often reduced to that early phase of his work due to lack of knowledge about the rarely documented, post-theatrical phases of the research that he conducted from the 1970s to the late 1990s.

In *The Grotowski Sourcebook* (Schechner and Wolford 1997), performance studies theorist Richard Schech-

ner points to the small number of women among Grotowski's main representatives and their virtual absence among his official inheritors. Although not gender-specific, the particularly strenuous physical training emblematic of Grotowski's approach, as well as the central position occupied by Grotowski's male collaborators in most of his theatrical and post-theatrical experiments, have led historians and scholars to overlook the presence of women in Grotowski's work. The main goal of my project is to redress this imbalance by foregrounding the experience, contribution and perspective of women, and to provide access to their creative and teaching approaches in order to promote a more inclusive and diverse understanding of Grotowski's enduring legacy. Indeed, as evidenced by books, articles and interviews in Polish that have yet to be translated into other languages, as well as unpublished archival sources, personal testimonies and on-going transmission processes, it is clear that several generations of women from different cultures and traditions actively participated in all phases of Grotowski's practical research, and continue to play a pivotal role in today's Grotowski diaspora.

My own performance training is rooted in the transmission processes I am investigating in this project: I worked in Paris with Caroline Boué and Bertrand Quoniam, who were students of Ludwik Flaszen and Zygmunt Molik, two founding members of Grotowski's Laboratory Theatre. I went on to work directly with Molik, the voice specialist of the company, and with Rena Mirecka, also a founding member and the only woman to have performed in all Laboratory Theatre productions. Several other encounters with women belonging to the Grotowski diaspora eventually led me to conceive of this project.

Cree scholar Shawn Wilson suggests that, from an indigenous perspective, research is ceremony because it is about making connections and strengthening them, a process which takes "a lot of work, dedication and time" (2008:89-90). "Meetings with Remarkable Women/Tu es la fille de quelqu'un" crucially depends on establishing and sustaining the types of relationships which Wilson considers to be necessary conditions for conducting research. Informed by some of the key questions raised by indigenous and feminist researchers, this project examines the artistic journeys of women whose work has been significantly informed by their collaboration with Grotowski.

When reflecting on why, in my early 20s, after having studied acting in France for several years, I became interested in pursuing Grotowski-based training, I think I was searching for a performance practice that could provide women with creative agency beyond the limitations placed upon them by the conventions of psychological

realism. Feminist theorists have scrutinized the assumptions underlying such conventions, contending that realist theatre naturalizes the normative gender roles it reproduces on stage. Indeed, performers working in realist theatre are often type-cast in accordance with the gender roles society expects them to play. By taking on these roles, performers become complicit with the naturalization process at work in realist theatre, while at the same time being deeply shaped by these representations.

By focusing on women artists who do not readily align themselves or identify with post-structuralist feminist theory, however, my project confronts what Lassiter describes as "the gap between academically-positioned and community-positioned narratives," grounded in concerns about the politics of representation, that is to say, "about who has the right to represent whom and for what purposes, and about whose discourse will be privileged in the ethnographic text" (2005:4). Addressing such concerns entails calling into question the legitimacy of theoretical claims that make use of artistic practice to demonstrate the validity of an argument underpinned by a particular analytical framework.

While extremely empowering for women scholars, the feminist critique of essentialist representations of gender is itself a construction informed by a particular way of positioning oneself, which contains its own limitations. It seems impossible, for instance, to argue against biological determinism while simultaneously being engaged in forms of practice-based research that foreground embodied experience and generate alternative conceptions of what constitutes knowledge. Yet the women involved in this project have developed their own perspective on their positionality as artists, and they staunchly resist any kind of categorization which might limit, constrain or stultify what they envision as the human creative potential. In my articulation of the project's objectives, it was therefore imperative to leave the term *woman* open-ended so as not to impose a pre-determined theoretical lens through which to view and interpret their work.

Furthermore, that which may be referred to as the "spiritual" dimension of Grotowski-based artistic research eludes the grasp of post-structuralist theoretical approaches to performance, and I have found in indigenous research methodologies alternative theoretical frameworks that are inclusive of spirituality. Such inclusivity is especially critical to the analysis of Grotowski's post-theatrical work. Indeed, after having garnered international acclaim as the Laboratory Theatre's artistic director, Grotowski made the controversial decision, in 1969, to abandon theatre productions altogether in order to focus on practical

research that ranged from one-time participatory experiments conducted in unusual indoor and outdoor settings, to the long-term practical investigation of ritual performance processes. From then on, Grotowski's research became increasingly focused on traditional cultural practices although he was very careful not to speak directly of the spiritual aspect of his work so as not to encourage reductive generalizations based on a Eurocentric understanding of what may constitute spirituality. However, reconnecting with one's cultural ancestry was key to his approach, especially in his practical investigation of ancient traditional songs. He states:

> As one says in a French expression, "Tu es le fils de quelqu'un" [You are someone's son]. You are not a vagabond, you come from somewhere, from some country, from some place, from some landscape...Because he who began to sing the first words was someone's son, from somewhere, from some place, so, if you re-find this, you are someone's son. [If you don't,] you are cut off, sterile, barren. [Grotowski 1997c: 304]

Although this statement seems to focus solely on sons and can appear to privilege the masculine gender, it is clear in the notes to the transcriptions and translations of his public talks, always given in French, that Grotowski was well aware of gender-based linguistic shortcomings and that he did not intend his discourse to apply exclusively to males. The subtitle of my project, "Tu es la fille de quelqu'un," nevertheless reclaims and reconfigures what is essentially a folk-saying in my native culture, raising questions about lineage, artistic and otherwise, and about what it might mean to be someone's daughter.

Hawaiian scholar Manulani Aluli Meyer also links identity, lineage and place when she writes: "You came from a place. You grew in a place and you had a relationship with that place...Land is more than just a physical place...It is the key that turns the doors inward to reflect on how space shapes us" (2008:219). Meyer goes on to cite the Hawaiian elder Halemakua: "at one time, we all came from a place familiar with our evolution and storied with our experiences. At one time, we all had a rhythmic understanding of time and potent experiences of harmony in space." Meyer specifies that Halemakua believed it was possible to reconnect with this knowing in order to "engender, again, acts of care, compassion, and the right relationship with land, sky, water, and ocean - vital for these modern times" (2008:231).

Moreover, Meyer poses questions which I find particularly pertinent to my own research process. She asks, "will your research bring forth solutions that strengthen relationships with others or will it damage

future collaborations?" She replies that "knowledge that does not heal, bring together, challenge, surprise, encourage, or expand our awareness is not part of the consciousness this world needs now. This is the function we as indigenous people posit." She therefore makes a direct appeal to researchers to "see your work as a taonga (sacred object) for your family, your community, your people," and suggests that "your relationship to your research topic is your own. It springs from a lifetime of distinctness and uniqueness only you have history with" (2008:219-220). She insists that researchers should acknowledge that "objectivity is a subjective idea that cannot possibly describe the all of our experience," and urges them to "expand [their] repertoire of writers and thinkers" in order to overcome "the limitations of predictable research methodologies." Finally, she challenges researchers to have the maturity to seek "what most scholars refuse to admit exists: *spirit*" (Meyer 2008: 226, 228).

Having to admit the existence of "spirit" is precisely what Lassiter was confronted with when conducting research on Kiowa songs. Kiowa people's lived experience of these songs is that of an encounter with *daw*, which he states translates into "power, or more precisely spirit." For Kiowa people, "spirit is the deepest encounter with the song," and in the course of his research, Lassiter came to understand that Kiowa people were "very conscious of how academics theorize this talk about song within their own academically positioned narratives, effectively dismissing or explaining spirit away in their texts." This led him to reflect upon his positionality and question his own disbelief. He writes:

> We may suggest, for example, that spirit doesn't exist as an empirical reality—that it exists because Kiowas believe it exists, that it is a product of culture. And because culture is very real, spirit is very real. Yet for [Kiowa people], spirit is not a concept. It is a very real and tangible thing. An encounter with *daw* informs belief; not vice versa. We academics take a leap of faith— or one of disbelief...when we argue otherwise. And when we argue from our position of disbelief, however constructed, we argue from a political position of power, privileging our own voice in our literature. [2005:7-8]

Valuing the lived experience of others in spite of one's personal convictions becomes an ethical imperative in this case, especially since the very purpose of the research is to investigate the power of Kiowa songs.

In her discussion of "spirit," Meyer warns her readers not to confuse the category of spirit with religion, since Hawaiian elders speak of spirit with regard to intelligence (2008:218). Describing spirit as that which gives "a structure of rigour" to research, she specifies that it is about

> moving towards usefulness, moving towards meaning and beauty. It is the contemplation part of your work that brings you to insight, steadiness, and interconnection...In research, it is answers you will *remember* in your dreams...It is understanding an unexpected experience that will heighten the clarity of your findings. [2008:229]

She is therefore pointing to an experiential way of knowledge and infers from "the specificity of knowing her ancient self" the notion that "knowing is bound to how we develop a *relationship* with it," which leads her to posit that "*knowing is embodied* and in union with cognition," and to conclude that "*genuine knowledge must be experienced directly*" (2008:224). This is also a fundamental aspect of Grotowski's approach which his collaborators continue to uphold in their own creative research and in their teaching. Yet it is precisely what makes the investigation of their work particularly challenging for theatre and performance scholars.

Within theatre and performance studies, the practice–theory divide which separates performance scholars from performance practitioners is described by Conquergood (2002) as an "apartheid of knowledges" and attributed by Jackson (2004) to an insidious "division of labour" privileging those who think over those who do. Dance studies scholars have perhaps most effectively unsettled this hierarchical configuration by foregrounding the cultural specificity of mind–body dualism. Barbour thus remarks that "affected by dominant Western culture's denial and repression of the body, and of experience as a source of knowledge, lived movement experience has only recently been studied academically" (2005:35). Within the field of theatre and performance studies, somatophobia casts a shadow of suspicion over the hybrid status of the artist-scholar and contributes to undermining practice-based research endeavours that require the building of relationships based on trust, respect, and reciprocity with artists outside the academy.

In the case of this project, it is important to note that Grotowski's own critical stance toward the production of abstract intellectual constructs that replace (and displace) performance practice as such, was constantly balanced, in Grotowski's analysis of his own work, with the exacting demand for rigour and consistency that characterized his life-long practice-based research. Grotowski's perspicacity on these matters helps to explain why his collaborators may seem so acutely aware of the

potential for academic approaches to colonize practice in order to fit pre-established theoretical frameworks. Many of Grotowski's collaborators have similarly dedicated their life to sophisticated ways of conducting research through practice. Not only are these artists convinced that academic interpretations cannot convey the kind of embodied knowledge that is gained through "doing," but they are also weary of researchers who go to the other extreme by mystifying artistic practice to liberate it from theory's grasp.

Artists in the Grotowski diaspora therefore tend to mistrust most academic research endeavours, especially those supported by a large amount of university funding—a seemingly sure sign that there must be a hidden agenda. And in fact, there always is, since the academy sets the criteria for successful research—such as dissemination by means of peer-reviewed academic publications addressed primarily to an academic audience—thereby excluding most practitioners from the debate even when claiming to support process-oriented and practice-based projects grounded in the notion of performance as research.

Wilson speaks of a similar disjunction between Western and indigenous scholars:

> As part of their white privilege, there is no require-
> ment for [dominant-system academics] to be able to
> see other ways of being and doing, or even to recog-
> nize that they exist. Oftentimes, then, ideas coming
> from a different worldview are outside their entire
> mindset and way of thinking. The ability to bridge this
> gap becomes important in order to ease the tension
> that it creates. [2008:44]

Because of the complex negotiations in which I am engaged due to my positionality within this particular project, I have witnessed and experienced tensions not unlike those described by Wilson as I straddle two worlds that often seem irreconcilable.

Positionality and Productive Disorientation

I was born and raised in a French working class family, but left France when, at the age of 15, I received a full scholarship to study at Lester B. Pearson College, a United World College located on Vancouver Island, Canada. Returning to France after spending three years in North America, I pursued performance training rooted in the work of Grotowski. I was then offered funding to pursue doctoral studies in theatre at the University of California, where I later held a Postdoctoral Faculty Fellowship in Anthropology. I went on to teach performance practice and theory at an English-speaking Canadian university,

and am currently directing a cross-cultural research project funded by the Canadian government.

I am therefore always positioned as conducting research "abroad," whether I am in Canada, the United States, Poland, or even France, since "abroad" has paradoxically become what I now call "home." Due to my hybrid identity as an international performance practitioner and scholar, I am almost always simultaneously an insider and an outsider engaged in research processes where the distinction between practice and theory remains ambiguous to say the least. This balancing act at the crossroads of disciplinary and professional affiliations constitutes my experience of "precarious equilibrium," a phrase used by Grotowski and his collaborator Eugenio Barba to describe the organic tensions and oppositions cultivated in performance training to alter the balance of the performer's body-mind, thereby also altering the performer's perception or awareness of her relationship to herself, others and the world-at-large.

It is this particular positionality that has led me to become interested in the implications, for performance studies, of the critique of dominant Euro-American models produced by indigenous researchers. Indeed, this critique calls for the legitimization, in the academy, of embodied knowledge as a counter-hegemonic mode of inquiry and performance is foregrounded as fundamental to a number of indigenous cultures. While indigenous research approaches are designed by and for indigenous scholars and activists working within their communities, they raise questions that are more pertinent to my experience as a researcher, theatre practitioner and educator than the questions formulated by those whom Wilson (2008) identifies as "dominant system academics."

According to some of the key research criteria outlined by Wilson (2008), Aboriginal people themselves must approve the research methods and researchers must be willing and able to engage in a "deep listening and hearing with more than the ears" in order to develop a "reflective, non-judgmental consideration of what is being seen and heard" along with "an awareness and connection between logic of mind and the feelings of the heart." Researchers thus bear the "responsibility to act with fidelity in relationship to what has been heard, observed, and learnt." Wilson does not preclude the possibility that non-indigenous researchers might also benefit from following these principles, since he states: "so much the better if dominant universities and researchers adopt them as well" (2008:59). Such principles are particularly well suited to the embodied, participatory practice-based research I am conducting since the latter hinges upon a type of lived experience which also requires

a "deep listening" engaging the whole being, that is to say body, mind, and heart, as well as a suspension of judgment which can be understood as a form of "fidelity" to the embodied knowledge accessed through this experience.

Wilson's choice to equate research and ceremony emphasizes practice and efficacy, thereby grounding research in a form of doing. Participating in a ceremony entails carrying out a series of actions which, if performed competently and in accordance with traditional knowledge, can activate, sustain and revitalize relationships to others, the entire community and the natural world. There are striking parallels between this conception of ceremony, the research process in which I am engaged, and Grotowski's approach to artistic research, in which the performer is often referred to as a "doer." Furthermore, the transmission processes connecting one generation to the next in the Grotowski intercultural diaspora hinge upon the kind of artisanal competence and bodily know-how that guarantees efficacy within traditional ritual practices. Ironically, it is precisely the embodied dimension of Grotowski's cross-cultural research on aesthetic and ritual performance processes which tends to be dismissed by theatre scholars and critics for being suspiciously "esoteric" or even dangerously "mystical."

Such a propensity to discount embodiment is cogently countered by Danish anthropologist Kirsten Hastrup, who provides an analysis of human agency which anchors the latter in the living body. Hastrup discusses the connection between performance processes and the ethnographer's fieldwork experience, derives from her encounter with theatre the insight that "most cultural knowledge is stored in action rather than words," and specifies that such embodied knowledge is transmitted through psychophysical involvement in cultural processes (1995:82). Situating flesh and blood human agents within a corporeal field "with which every individual is inextricably linked by way of the physical, sensing and moving body" (1995:95), she infers from this embodied condition that "the point from which we experience the world is in constant motion...there is no seeing the world from above" (95). Interestingly, Hastrup's perspective on embodied agency is significantly informed by her collaboration with Eugenio Barba, the Italian theatre director who was deeply influenced by his three-year apprenticeship with Grotowski and went on to found the International School of Theatre Anthropology.

Barba infers from his cross-cultural investigation of embodied knowledge transmitted transgenerationally by performance practitioners, that the principles governing a wide range of world performance traditions hinge upon the interconnectedness of body and mind, in stark con-

trast with the Cartesian mind–body dualism. He therefore suggests that what he names "thinking-in-motion" can provide an alternative to the type of thinking which is discursive and resorts to language, or "thinking-in-concepts." He contrasts "thinking-in-motion" with "thinking-in-concepts" by specifying that the former is linked to what he describes as "creative thought...which proceeds by leaps, by means of sudden disorientation which obliges it to reorganize itself in new ways" (1995:88). Building on Barba's perspective, Hastrup defines such disorientation as simultaneously inherent to our embodied condition and resulting from our psychophysical engagement in the unpredictable fluctuations of forever emergent cultural processes.

In the social sciences, however, disorientation is still often dismissed as lack of control, and being taken by surprise is not something that is necessarily valued and acknowledged as productive, even though, as argued by Pink (2009), it is an unavoidable aspect of fieldwork experience. Pink warns that when ethnographers open themselves up to the new world in which they find themselves immersed during fieldwork, they may experience an acute sense of disorientation, and contends that, no matter how prepared they may be, "researchers' own sensory experience will most likely still surprise them, sometimes giving them access to a new form of knowing" (2009:45). It is precisely this new form of knowing that comes through disorientation which I would like to foreground here, inasmuch as this kind of lived experience, which, according to Pink, can be simultaneously jolting and revelatory, relates to performance training as conceived by Barba and Grotowski.

Engaging the entire organism in the research process is also critical to the notion of "sensuous scholarship" developed by Paul Stoller (1997), who suggests that the ethnographer should become an apprentice to those they are studying. Challenging the mind–body dualism which he argues still pervades Euro-American research paradigms, he suggests that anthropologists who are searching for ways of accounting for embodiment must "eject the conceit of control in which mind and body, self and other are considered separate." The embodied research process he envisions values a "mixing of head and heart" and demands an involvement in that process which I posit is akin to performance training, namely, an "opening of one's being to the world—a welcoming," or an "embodied hospitality" which Stoller argues is "the secret of the great scholars, painters, poets and filmmakers whose images and words resensualize us" (1997:xvii-xviii).

Furthering Stoller's contribution to sensory ethnography, Pink contends that the latter is about "learning to

know as others know through embodied practice," which entails participating" in *their* worlds, on the terms of their embodied understandings" (2009:70-72). Pink relates the notion of "ethnography as a participatory practice" to conceptions of "learning as embodied, emplaced, sensorial and empathetic, rather than occurring simply through a mix of participation and observation." She infers that such participatory practice hinges upon a multisensorial, attentive engagement in which "visual observation is not necessarily privileged" (2009:65).

Drawing from this alternative conception of ethnographic fieldwork, I would argue that the very notion of intimate immersion which is associated with fieldwork experience calls into question the assumption that, in order for research to be reliable, the researcher's mind and body must function separately. In light of Stoller's and Pink's suggested epistemological readjustments, it therefore becomes necessary to recalibrate methodologies in order to enable researchers to fully engage the dynamics of human interactions. I am therefore suggesting that what Pink refers to as the "jolt" of fieldwork experience constitutes precisely one of the most promising characteristics of embodied research.

Learning from Indigenous Perspectives

My training as a performer is rooted in the teachings of Grotowski's collaborators and I therefore bring to the "performance turn" in the social sciences an alternative conception of performance practice and theory. Indeed, Augusto Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed model is often presented as the "default" approach to performance, and Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, who advocate an approach to critical pedagogy informed by indigenous perspectives, state that "the performative and the political intersect on the terrain of a praxis-based ethics...a space of post-colonial, indigenous participatory theatre, a form of critical pedagogical theatre that draws its inspirations from Boal's major works" (2008:7).

The privileging of Boal by proponents of critical pedagogy can, of course, be attributed to their explicit allegiance to Paulo Freire, since Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed is grounded in Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed as well as in Brecht's Marxist approach to theatre. Allain notes that "Brecht wanted the spectators to rationalize their emotional responses and to evaluate the stage action objectively in order to ascertain the social foundation of the characters' motivations and their own reactions to these" (2006:30). Boal, inspired by Freire, envisions a post-Brechtian theatre in which the separation between audience members and actors dissolves, and where the "spect-actor" can intervene and change the course of events

presented by the Theatre of the Oppressed, the latter being envisioned by Boal as "a rehearsal of revolution" (1996:97).

In her examination of competing scholarly assessments of Boal's approach, Nicholson remarks that "depending on how you look at his work, Augusto Boal is either an inspirational and revolutionary practitioner or a Romantic idealist" (2005:15). She contrasts the perspectives of Schechner and Taussig with the former identifying Boal as a postmodernist who refuses to offer solutions to social problems, and the latter indicting Boal for being a traditional humanist who "believes that human nature has the power to transcend cultural differences." Nicholson goes on to suggest that it is Boal's relationship to the work of Freire which is most relevant to "those with an interest in applying Boal's theatrical strategies to pedagogical encounters" (2005:116-117).

Recent critical reassessments of the Marxist-inflected emancipatory discourses underpinning Boal's relationship to the work of Freire demonstrate that the seemingly unilateral integration of the Boalian performance paradigm by social scientists is far from unproblematic, especially from an indigenous perspective. For example, Driskill (2008) articulates a critique of the Theatre of the Oppressed methodology within the context of indigenous communities based on seven years of experience as an activist. While acknowledging that the Theatre of the Oppressed model benefits from "the radical and transformational possibilities in Freire," Driskill contends that "it also inherits a missionary history and approach in which Freire's work is implicated." Highlighting the alphabetic literacy projects which were key to Freire's activism, Driskill states that "while certainly alphabetic literacy is often an important survival skill for the oppressed, the teaching of literacy is also deeply implicated in colonial and missionary projects." In light of the violent history of residential schools that severed Aboriginal children from their families and uprooted them from their ancestral culture and native land, Driskill contends that "it makes sense for Native People to be critically wary of Freireian work," and adds: "many of the concepts that Freire asserts in regards to pedagogical approaches—community-specific models that differ from the "banking model" of education, for instance—are already present in many of our traditional pedagogies" (2008:158-159).

This critique is furthered by Bowers and Apffel-Marglin (2005), who state that, according to Third World activists who tested the pedagogy of the oppressed in their work with specific communities, Freire's approach is "based on Western assumptions that undermine indigenous knowledge systems." Bowers and Apffel-Marglin

suggest that the emancipatory vision pertaining to such an approach is grounded in "the same assumptions that underlie the planetary citizenship envisioned by the neoliberals promoting the Western model of global development" (2005:vii-viii), and Bowers later contends that it is urgent to acknowledge that Freire's emancipatory discourse is "based on earlier metaphorical constructions that did not take into account the fact that the fate of humans is dependent on the viability of natural systems" and that the preservation of biodiversity and "the recovery of the environment and community" are dependent on a nuanced understanding of the function and value of traditions (2005:140-143).

Questioning Freire's conviction that the individual can and should be freed by critical thinking from the weight of tradition, Bowers (2005) argues that such view is consonant with conceptions of self-determination that emerged out of the Industrial Revolution in Europe. He infers that this kind of individualism isolates members of a society by replacing "wisdom refined over generations of collective experience" with consumer-oriented culture and new technologies upon which everyone becomes increasingly dependent (2005:140-141). Bowers contrasts intergenerational knowledge, which is community-based, with the technology-driven hyperconsumerism that promotes a "world monoculture based on the more environmentally destructive characteristics of the Western mindset" (2005:145-147). Having specified that he intends neither to romanticize traditional knowledge nor to discount critical inquiry, he provides the example of an indigenous community in British Columbia whose elders "spent two years discussing how the adoption of computers would change the basic fabric of their community," suggesting that while they were engaged in critical reflection, the latter was practiced "within a knowledge system that highlighted traditions of moral reciprocity within the community—with 'community' being understood as including other living systems of their bioregion" (2005:189).

Finally, Grande's analysis of the anthropocentric dimension of Marxism posits that, while "the quest for indigenous sovereignty [is] tied to issues of *land*, Western constructions of democracy are tied to issues of *property*" (2008:243). She points out that what is at stake for revolutionary theorists is the egalitarian distribution of economic power and exchange, and asks: "*How does the 'egalitarian distribution' of colonized lands constitute greater justice for indigenous people?*" (2008:243). Grande further remarks that although Marx was a critic of capitalism, he shared many of its deep cultural assumptions, such as a secular faith in progress and modernity, and the belief that traditional knowledge, connection to one's

ancestral land, and spirituality based on one's relationship to the natural world, were to be dismissed as the worthless relics of a pre-modern era. Moreover, while Marx emphasized human agency by invoking the power of human beings to change their social conditions, an anti-deterministic view which has greatly contributed to the development of revolutionary movements and struggles for self-determination among oppressed and colonized peoples, Grande concurs with Bowers' critique of Freire by stating that Marxism "reinscribes the colonialist logic that conscripts 'nature' to the service of human society" (2008:248).

While it is undeniable that Boal's approach has been as influential in political theatre practice as Freire's has been in radical critical pedagogy, the absence of a discussion of alternative conceptions of performance and the singling out of Boal's approach by critical theorists results in making it a default position which serves as the sole model of critical pedagogical theatre. I was fortunate to meet Boal during a brief but engaging "Theatre of Images" workshop held at the University of Southern California in 2003, yet my training as a performer is Grotowski-based, and while I am certainly not advocating Grotowski's approach as the only alternative to Boal, I am suggesting that it may open up different possibilities for embodied research. Indeed, conversely to the European artists who were his contemporaries, Grotowski challenged the very notion of avant-garde by stating:

> I do not think that my work in the theatre may be described as a new method. It can be called a method, but it is a very narrow term. Neither do I believe that it is something new. That kind of exploration most often took place outside the theatre, though inside some theatres as well. What I have in mind is a way of life and cognition. It is a very old way. How it is articulated depends on period and society. [...] In this regard I feel much closer to [the painter of the Trois Frères cave] than to artists who think that they create the avant-garde of the new theatre. [1980:118-119]

By positing that his research is linked to an old way of cognition that can be traced back to ancient cave paintings, Grotowski thereby rejects the notion of linear progress, the separation of art and life, and the conflation of creativity with originality, thereby disowning the identity of an avant-garde artist.

Grotowski envisioned artistic practice as a struggle against all forms of limitations—those imposed by outside circumstances and those that one imposes upon oneself. In his 1985 talk, "Tu es le fils de quelqu'un" (You Are Someone's Son), Grotowski stated:

I don't work in order to lay out some treatise, but rather to extend that island of freedom that I carry...I must solve the problem of liberty and tyranny in practical ways—that means that my activity must leave behind traces, *examples* of liberty...This life that you are living, is it enough?...No, such life is not sufficient. So one does something, one proposes something, one accomplishes something which is the response to this deficiency...Art is deeply rebellious. [It] pushes back the limits imposed by society or, in tyrannical systems, imposed by power." [1997c:295]

Such a conception of art may be attributed in part to the oppressive political and social circumstances of Grotowski's Poland and to his witnessing of the destruction and suffering perpetrated by Nazism and Stalinism.[4] Theatre can therefore be said to have represented for Grotowski a field of practical investigation in which the performative was envisioned as a privileged, intimate area of human experience within which life might manifest itself at its fullest, in sharp contrast with a social reality tightly controlled through propaganda, censorship and repression.

In this context, the performer's embodied experience becomes "a matter of doing," as in the performance of ritual actions: "Ritual is performance, an accomplished action, an act" (1997b:36). Grotowski stresses that such actions are efficacious and deeply affect those who witness them, so that the performer becomes "a *pontifex*" or "a maker of bridges...between the witness and something" (1997b:37). Moreover, the notion of "meeting" recurs throughout Grotowski's theatrical and post-theatrical research, and is associated with an alternative type of agency emerging from the ability to let go of the will to control; it arises from the action of entering a space in which one cannot choose not to respond to the other, yet which is not a space for confrontation, for one neither refuses nor imposes oneself. In this type of meeting, "it is as if one spoke with one's self: you are, so I am. And also: I am being born so that you are born, so that you become. And also: do not be afraid, I am going with you" (1997a:119). While the notion of meeting is ever-present in Grotowski's approach, it is especially pivotal to the Paratheatrical and Theatre of Sources periods during which Grotowski's research became increasingly focused on sources of embodied knowledge that might reconnect human beings to their community, the natural world and their ancestral past.

The interconnection of traditional wisdom and contemporary cultural practice is also pivotal to indigenous conceptions of knowledge, according to which the purpose of research is "not the production of new knowledge per se" (Denzin and Lincoln 2008:14), but the development of pedagogical, artistic, political and ethical perspectives guided by indigenous principles and informed by the conviction that "the central tensions in the world today go beyond the crises in capitalism and neoliberalism's version of democracy" (Denzin and Lincoln 2008:13). For, according to Native Canadian, Hawaiian, Maori, and American Indian pedagogy, "the central crisis is spiritual, 'rooted in the increasingly virulent relationship between human beings and the rest of nature.'" In response to this crisis, indigenous activists propose a "respectful performance pedagogy [that] works to construct a vision of the person, ecology and environment that is compatible" with indigenous worldviews (Denzin and Lincoln 2008:13).

The spiritual dimension of cultural practices that have existed around the world for thousands of years is something which, when not simply dismissed as a form of false consciousness, is left entirely unexamined by the type of Marxist-inflected emancipatory discourses that inform Brecht's and Boal's perspectives. In contrast, because Grotowski's perspective acknowledges the value of traditional embodied knowledge, it does not preclude such a dimension, and the women whose creative work I have been investigating often anchor their artistic research in performance practices that can provide access to embodied experiences of spirituality.

Becoming Someone's Daughter: Embodied Research in Action

The main practice-based component of my research project involved organizing a month-long Laboratory of Creative Research that took place in Poland from 7 July to 5 August 2009 hosted by the Grotowski Institute for "2009, Year of Grotowski" (UNESCO). This Laboratory included five work sessions led by Rena Mirecka (Poland), Iben Nagel Rasmussen (Denmark), Katharina Seyferth (Germany), Ang Gey Pin (Singapore) and Dora Arreola (Mexico), a three-day theatre festival featuring the current creative work of these artists, as well as two days of meetings with other key women artists from the Grotowski diaspora such as Maja Komorowska and Ewa Benesz (Poland), Elizabeth Albahaca (Venezuela) and Marianne Arhne (Sweden). These events took place at two historical sites: the performance space in Wroclaw where the Laboratory Theatre rehearsed and performed landmark productions such as *The Constant Prince*, *Akropolis*, and *Apocalypsis cum Figuris*, and the workspace located in the forest of Brzezinka, about an hour and a half away from Wroclaw, where Grotowski conducted his post-theatrical research.

Taking part in this laboratory entailed "lending one's body to the world" (Stoller 1997), so that conducting research may become a form of apprenticeship through which one learns from others (Pink 2009) rather than study them. The intensive daily physical training, led by artists having themselves invested many years of their lives in a process of "self-cultivation," as defined by 15th-century Japanese Noh master Zeami, or what Stanislavski, and Grotowski after him, called "the work on oneself," turned this apprenticeship into an experiential approach to research hinging upon the direct transmission of embodied knowledge. In the summer of 2010, I continued to develop this research process as I travelled to Italy, Poland and France to meet individually with the artists, participate in workshops, and lead a group meeting hosted by Ewa Benesz at her home in Sardinia. I was accompanied by videographer Celeste Taliani, a member of the project's documentation team, who filmed and photographed these encounters.

The collaborative documentation process I developed is designed to provide participating artists with the opportunity to work closely with professional photographers and videographers to produce high quality documentation which can then be used by the artists for their ongoing research, personal archives, and the promotion of their work independently of this project. This material is also key to the book manuscript and companion documentary films which will constitute the main research outputs. Such a collaborative approach to documentation ensures that the artists remain in control of the modes of production and the representational strategies throughout the creation of audiovisual material, from the choice of medium (photos or video) to the selection and editing of that material. Indeed, respectful representation is critical if this process is to be mutually beneficial.

Providing access to the creative practice of these women is an important outcome. Feminists conducting phenomenological research in dance studies argue that while phenomenological inquiry, as conceived by Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty, challenges the Cartesian body–mind division by positing the living body as the centre of human experience, a generic male body remains the implicit reference point, leaving out individualized lived experience of male and female bodies. In response to the shortcomings of early phenomenology, Barbour argues that it is crucial to account for what she identifies as "women's lived movement experiences" through the development of specific methodologies and alternative ways of writing.

Barbour thus envisions an approach in which "the researcher's voice, theoretical discussion and quotes from the dancers all mingle together in the research publica-

tion," and writing is complemented with "'visual phenomenology' combining a CD-Rom or video of dancing with text and voice-over" (2005:39), thereby allowing readers "the novel experience of positioning themselves within the richness of the lived experience" (2005:43).

In Grotwoski-based approaches, "organicity" is conceived as a fundamental dimension of lived experience. Relationship to nature is central to the teachings of Rena Mirecka, a Polish woman in her mid-70s who may be considered as the elder of the group of artists whose creative work I am investigating. After 25 years of collaboration with Grotowski as a founding member of his Laboratory Theatre, Mirecka went on to develop her own paratheatrical research. This research is informed by Hinduism and Native American spirituality, and situates human beings in relation to "Mother Earth," "Father Sky" and the four cardinal directions (North, South, East, West), which are themselves linked to the four elements (air, water, fire, earth), as well as the four colours white, red, yellow and black. While Mirecka's interest in ritual performance practices is wide-ranging, her familiarity with North American indigenous cultures is informed by two important experiences: her work with Floyd Favel, a Cree performer, director and writer who took part in the last phase of Grotowski's practical research, known as Art as Vehicle; and, her encounter with a Native American woman who invited Mirecka to take part in an initiation ceremony.

Mirecka's teaching relies on seemingly very simple principles that are put into practice in her work: it is in giving that we receive; focusing only on the mind creates an imbalance because it leaves out other dimensions of existence which the mind alone cannot apprehend; every single detail must be attended to as precisely as possible, yet there must be joy and sorrow because that is part of life, and doing things mechanically or technically is not alive. When speaking about physical and vocal training, she explains that experiencing the organic connection between movement and sound is like stepping lightly into a canoe—only after developing a friendship with the water can we navigate the river. She also states that the participants' journey requires great commitment, the ability to let go of fear, shame, and will, in order to accept oneself and others as we are.

Having worked with Mirecka in various natural sites, from the verdant campus grounds of the University of Kent in Canterbury to the Sardinian wilderness, and from the city of Montreal to the forest of Brzezinka, I recall images of people dressed in white, singing or dancing around a tree bedecked with the multicolored oriflammes they crafted by hand; I revisit a subtle and inexorable

movement pivoting around the axis of the spine and enabling the gaze to encompass the surrounding landscape in its entirety—including the scrawny and hirsute Sardinian cows slowly gathering around us with a disgruntled look of disbelief; I can hear the calming tempo of a ceremonial drum punctuating a slow walk in which each participant is connected to others by long strings of white, red, yellow and black wool, and I can perceive in the background the violent honking of drivers infuriated by the sight of these white silhouettes filing past their halted cars in slow motion.

Relationship to nature is also central to the teachings of Katharina Seyferth, who participated in Grotowski's post-theatrical research as a core member of the group which was based in the forest of Brzezinka, an hour and a half away from the city of Wroclaw. In addition to studio work, Seyferth invited us to explore the forest on our own to discover a particular place with which to build a relation by developing a site-specific action that would eventually be shared with others. She also led us on long walks through the forest at night: in a long line we all followed in her brisk footstep, relying on our awakened sensory perception and the alertness of our bodies to avoid ditches, puddles and stinging nettles, at times running in her stride through the darkness, at times lying down on the soft, cool earth to contemplate the sky enfolded by the trees shooting towards the stars and to listen to the light and changing rhythm of invisible raindrops flickering on the leaves that sheltered our faces.

Mirecka and Seyferth both use elements of yoga when teaching physical training, and both speak about the training as a preparation for a journey into "the unknown": precise and rigorous physical work provides a structure taking the doer farther and deeper each time, beyond perceived limitations. During this training, it is crucial to take time to delve into the organicity and flow of the body in movement, for Mirecka and Seyferth stress that personal associations only emerge from a total commitment of the body to deep work. This is the necessary condition for something unexpected to take place—which becomes a point of entry into the unknown. Finally, Mirecka and Seyferth both make clear that although the training is physically demanding, the point is not to be exhausted but to find an organic way of working that energizes the body, which can only happen when going beyond tiredness and discovering another quality of energy. This is how one finds "the life" that turns mere exercises into creative exploration.

Seyferth noted during her work session that simplicity should ensue from the work, so that the training is a preparation enabling something to emerge by itself:

unknown, surprising, alive, unpredictable. She also stressed that judging or being judged during the work must be avoided, as well as talking about the work afterwards, because the workspace must remain a space in which one feels free to explore. Similar principles link the respective approaches of the other work leaders involved in this research project, with the most central element being what Grotowski himself termed "organicity."

During the Collège de France lectures, Grotowski defined "organicity" by stating that it referred to the existence of the genuine living process which characterized an "expression not elaborated in advance" (1997-98). Grotowski provided the example of the movement of trees swaying in the wind, or the ebb and flow of the ocean on the shore. He remarked that the expressiveness that could be perceived in nature by the viewer appeared without the purpose of illustrating, representing or expressing anything. Without the presence of the viewer, these natural phenomena kept occurring and recurring, unnoticed.

Grotowski remarked that organicity in and of itself was not necessarily a guarantee of creativity, and stated that a truly creative organic process was always connected to the flux of personal associations. He explained that the notion of personal associations was, in a way, "very down to earth: one does something…and one has an association" (1997-98). He then placed his right elbow on the table he was sitting at, resting his head inside the fold of his right arm, with his right hand on his left shoulder, close to his neck. He indicated that because this action was not quotidian, it resulted in a series of personal associations which would not have taken place if he had been holding himself in a more conventional way. He specified that associations could be linked to something that had happened to us in the past, or something that could have happened, or that we think should have happened: "something rooted in the personal life, for example a longing never nurtured" (1997-98).

Organicity and personal associations are also key to vocal training and the singing of traditional songs, which often have a central place in the teaching of the women involved in this project. Working with these artists has thus led me to reconnect with traditional songs in the ancient Occitan language, which my maternal grandmother spoke with her sisters, brothers, parents and grandparents. It has also fueled my interest in the creative research of women in the Grotowski diaspora, and has compelled me to try to understand what motivated many of them to dedicate much of their lives to this research.

For Ang Gey Pin, a woman who works with ancient Chinese traditional songs, singing requires receiving and following the song with the whole body, neither ahead of

nor behind the leader, trusting that "the song is a map." It is about having the courage to dive in: the structure is there, yet a freedom must be found. This is similar to working with a text through building a precise line of organic physical actions (physical score), which is both the source and the channel of a river of images, sensations, and memories (associations) born from the interplay of actions and words. Just as acting, in this kind of approach, is not about reciting a text but about letting the text speak through the psychophysical score, singing is not about reproducing a melody but about embodying the song's structure and letting the song sing you. To borrow Ang's words, "it's about singing with the heart and asking for something, as if searching for the secret life of the song."

According to Grotowski, what keeps a song alive is the particular vibratory quality linked to the precision of the song's structure, so that it is necessary to search for the vocal and physical score inscribed within each particular song. When a competent performer actively and attentively embodies a traditional song, it can become a vehicle that reconnects them to those who first sang this song. Grotowski thus believed that ancestral embodied knowledge was encoded in traditional songs, and that the power of these songs hinged upon the embodied experience of singing them. Trusting that the body can remember how to sing these songs can therefore become a way of reclaiming cultural continuity.

Driskill might be referring to a similar process when writing about learning to sing a Cherokee lullaby:

As someone who did not grow up speaking my language or any traditional songs and who is currently in the process of reclaiming those traditions—as are many Native people in North America—the process of relearning this lullaby was and is integral to my own decolonial process. The performance context provided me an opportunity to relearn and perform a traditional song, a major act in intergenerational healing and cultural continuance. As I sang this lullaby during rehearsals and performance, I imagined my ancestors witnessing from the corners of the theatre, helping me in the healing and often painful work of suture. [2008:164]

The relationship between performance, embodiment and cultural continuance evoked here by Driskill points to a creative agency which is intimately linked to lived experience and yet which is not limited to or defined by a single individual perspective.

When Grotowski spoke about "la lignée organique au théâtre et dans le rituel," the title of his Collège de France lectures, he established a link between aesthetic and ritual performance processes, suggesting that theatre and ritual were related because of the live process they had in common and that may be described as a transformation of energy generating a different quality of perception—Grotowski employed the English term "awareness" (1995:125). Favel defines this type of process as linking theatre, tradition and ritual:

Theatre and ritual traditions share the same characteristics: narrative, action, and the use of a specialized or sacred space. But theatre comes from across the Big Water and our traditions originate here. Both of these mediums have different objectives and goals. Where these two mediums connect is at the spiritual level. In the moment of performance, higher self is activated, and it is at this higher plane that theatre and tradition are connected and related. [2009:33]

Among the women from different cultures and generations who have been in direct contact with Grotowski's work, those involved in "Meetings with Remarkable Women/Tu es la fille de quelqu'un" have developed approaches which, while extremely diverse, are often situated at the intersection of theatre, tradition and ritual. Consequently, their work does not fit in any single category available in Grotowski's terminology, whether it be art as presentation, para-theatre, theatre of sources or art as vehicle. The spiritual dimension to which Favel refers is present in the traditions from which these artists draw, and the heightened awareness evoked by Grotowski also seems key to their teaching.

Might such a conception of performance process provide women with an alternative form of embodied agency otherwise unavailable to them in more conventional forms of theatre practice and in the normative gender roles that society expects them to play in real life? Can physically-based training focused on organicity and associations lead women performers to undertake their own journeys into the unknown? If this process-oriented approach can enable women to explore "what could have happened, what should have happened," and what is rooted in their personal lives and linked to "a longing never nurtured" (Grotowski 1997-98) how might women claim the power of performance and transmit it to others in order to change lives?

Because the training in each work session during the month-long Laboratory of Creative Research required engaging one's whole being—body, mind and heart—it became impossible to distinguish between being, doing, sensing, feeling, imagining, remembering, thinking and understanding. In this type of embodied experience, different layers of consciousness seem to be activated simul-

taneously without cancelling each other out. The perception of self and other merges with the experience of time and space, which expand beyond everyday notions of duration and location. Everything in the world seems interconnected, and everyone seems to exist in relation to everything. There is no difference between inner and outer, impulse and action, movement and repose. Boundaries dissolve to let life flow through with a rush of fresh associations in its wake. Years elapse in the blink of an eye. Tender traces of sensations and images linger longingly in the depths of the flesh, with the body-memory[5] as sole recording technology—a sedimentation process occurs and an archeology of experience becomes possible.

Although I employed a team of professional photographers and videographers to document these meetings, it is impossible to capture on film personal associations that endow physical actions with organicity, or to record the kind of silence and stillness from which the vibratory qualities of movement and voice emerge, filling the space with energy and life. Moreover, while the pages of the participants' journals overflow with words struggling to convey what can be learned from lived experience, they can only provide a partial perspective of how such an experience might transform us.

Yet, I would posit that intense immersion in embodied research creates the type of fieldwork experience which Pink describes as a "learning to know as others know through embodied practice" (2009:70) or a multisensorial engagement which results in a sense of productive disorientation combining the loss of control, mixing of head and heart, and opening to the world evoked by Stoller (1997). Participating in embodied research is therefore a form of apprenticeship, which, as suggested by Wilson (2008), entails listening with more than the ears, seeing with more than the eyes, and understanding with the heart as well as the mind. In the research I have been conducting, this embodied awareness implies a different notion of creative agency, rooted in the very principles of the training itself, and transmitted through the teaching of that training. The intrinsic value of this form of embodied knowledge, which must be experienced through doing, might very well reside in the process of searching. "Searching for what?" one may ask.

While it is still too early to draw conclusions, it is clear that Grotowski is commonly remembered by his collaborators as someone who entrusted them with doing the impossible. In his "Reply to Stanislavski," Grotowski (1980) suggests that one can only respond to the perils of life by tapping into the sources of life, and that this is only possible if one finds the direction leading to these sources. When assigning impossible tasks to his collaborators, the Polish director must have been curious about what they would discover in the process of searching. While inviting people to do the impossible may appear unduly demanding, it may also be interpreted as challenging them to find their own way.

Through my on-going apprenticeship, which began in my early 20s, I have learnt that acquiring such knowledge requires not only discipline and perseverance, but audacity as well. It might involve searching within oneself for potentialities that had remained unexplored, hence unknown; letting go of the desire to acquire the skills and techniques usually associated with artistic know-how; and, confronting one's perceived limitations and shortcomings in order to allow oneself to live life more fully.

This searching may enable one to experience the here and now in a new light, even if only momentarily, and the embodied memory of this lived experience may become an oasis and a landmark, sustaining one's journey by giving it direction and meaning. For, in the end, creative research may very well be about learning to remain open to possibilities, to embrace surprises, challenges, and transformations. If envisioned as an experiential way of cognition, embodied research might even become a way of life. Perhaps this is what Meyer has in mind when pointing us to answers remembered in our dreams (2008:229), while Wilson reminds us: "if research doesn't change you as a person, then you haven't done it right" (2008:135).

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Notes

2   Grotowski held a series of public lectures in various theatres throughout the French capital (24 March; 2, 16 and 23 June; 6, 13 and 20 October 1997; 12 and 26 January 1998). The title of these lectures was "La Lignée Organique au Théâtre et dans le Rituel" (The Organic Line in Theatre and in Ritual). Each four-hour session was comprised of two parts. During the first part, the founder of the Polish Laboratory Theatre spoke of his on-going research; he also presented and commented on documentary and archival film excerpts specifically selected for each session. The second part was entirely devoted to creating a dialogue with the audience through questions and answers. I attended each of these lectures and have documented them in the Polish theatre journal *Didaskalia*.

3   Theatre scholars tend to focus exclusively on the theatre of productions period (1959 to 1969) addressed in the seminal

book *Towards a Poor Theatre* (Grotowski 1968), which is the best-known primary source available in English.

4 See Findlay (1997) for a discussion of Grotowski's work as an anti-Stalinist youth activist and founding member of the Political Center of the Academic Left (1997:178). In a statement published in 1957 in *Gazeta Krakowska*, Grotowski, who was then 24 years old, declared:

> We want an organization that will teach people to think politically, to understand their interests, to fight for bread and democracy and for justice and truth in everyday life. We must fight for people to live like humans and be masters of their fate...We must fight for people to speak their minds without fear of being harassed. [Findlay 1997:182]

Two years later, Grotowski founded the theatre company that was later to become the Laboratory Theatre. Findlay suggests that the official statements made by Grotowski in the 1960s and 1970s about the allegedly apolitical nature of his work may be retrospectively interpreted as ingenious smoke screens dissimulating the group's intense engagement in the political life of the country.

5 In "Reply to Stanislavski," a talk given in 1969 at the Brooklyn Academy, Grotowski states that performance is about mobilizing one's body-memory (*corps-mémoire*) or body-in-life (*corps-vie*), which simultaneously encompasses one's experience and one's potential, one's past and one's future. Grotowski defines personal associations as actions that cling to one's life, to one's experience, to one's potential, beyond the "re-living" of past events which have come to characterize approaches to psychological realism. He also specifies that the performer's moment-to-moment experience always occurs in the presence of someone or something, so that performing is never the repetition of a "real life"-type of response that already occurred in the past, but constitutes the performer's actual response to what is happening here and now, and it is precisely the unpredictability of this organic process which keeps the performer's work alive (Grotowski 1980:118-119).

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"Don't Tell Me How to Dance!": Negotiating Collaboration, Empowerment and Politicization in the Ethnographic Theatre Project "Hope"

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Abstract: This article contributes to the experimental ethnography literature by providing a critique of ethnographic collaboration, empowerment and politicization. Focusing on my ethnographic theatre project "Hope"—developed in collaboration with Roma women and local actors in Poland in 2003—I discuss the power struggles over representation that defined my project and that arose from our multifarious understandings of theatre as an art form, differences in what the project meant to us and in what we hoped to accomplish through it. I reveal the problematic moral, ethical and political decisions I had to make that forced me to rethink both my methodology and my role as ethnographer.

Keywords: performance-centred research, collaboration, politicization, Roma, ethics, improvisation

Résumé : Cet article est une contribution à la littérature en ethnographie expérimentale qui présente une critique de la collaboration, de la revendication de pouvoir et de la politisation ethnographiques. À partir de mon projet de théâtre ethnographique « Hope » – élaboré avec des femmes Roms et des comédiens locaux en Pologne en 2003 – je discute des luttes de pouvoir en matière de représentation qui ont défini mon projet et qui découlaient de la multiplicité des compréhensions du théâtre en tant que forme d'art, et des différences dans ce que le projet signifiait pour nous par rapport à ce que nous espérions accomplir à travers lui. Je révèle les complexes décisions morales, éthiques et politiques que j'ai dû prendre qui m'ont forcée à redéfinir et ma méthodologie et mon rôle en tant qu'ethnographe.

Mots-clés : recherche fondée sur la performance, collaboration, politisation, Roma, éthique, improvisation

Introduction

This article discusses my ethnographic theatre project "Hope" conducted in the city of Elblag, Poland in 2002-2003. The project was developed in collaboration with research participants—five Roma[1] women from Elblag and six young actors from Elblag's Cultural Centre for International Cooperation where I worked as an artistic director and acting instructor. My husband Shawn—also an actor in the production—was my co-investigator in the project. As methodologies of research, I employed participant observation of the Roma women's lives, unstructured and semi-structured interviews, and a performance-centred ethnography in which I used theatre as a form of ethnographic participant observation, and analyzed it as a product that emerged out of the research process.

The Roma women I worked with belonged to the Roma group called "Polska Rroma" that originally arrived in Poland in the 16th century (Bartosz 1994:73). They settled in Elblag after the communist government banned itinerant Roma caravans in 1968. All the women in Elblag were members of the same community, as many of them had lived in the city for most of their adult lives and, for some, Elblag was their natal home. The actors, who ranged in age from 14 to 19, were enrolled in both my acting and theatre-culture courses at the Centre. They had participated in my two earlier ethnographic theatre productions staged at the Cultural Centre that studied racism and gender inequality in Poland.

Through this ethnographic theatre project, I originally set out to study and document violence in the lives of Roma women. I had hoped that the women would act in the production, but they declined, worried about the potential repercussions from performing for an audience in a country where racism against Roma was widespread; they were also concerned about a possible backlash from their own community. Instead, they decided to participate in the project as playwrights, directors, dramaturgs and

designers, and agreed that actors from the Cultural Centre would do the acting. On many occasions, however, the women joined the actors in improvising in rehearsals, and at times, even improvised on their own.

I knew that violence against Roma was ever-present in Poland, as I had heard about, and personally witnessed, acts of discrimination against them in my country since the collapse of state socialism. The Roma women themselves also spoke about various forms of violence in their lives during my pilot research in 2001. However, when I began my doctoral research in 2002, there had been no ethnographic studies conducted with Roma in Poland, only in other eastern and western European countries (Arias 2002; Okely 1983; Stewart 1997). There had also been no published collaborative ethnographies conducted primarily with Roma women. By collaborative ethnography I mean research that engages its participants directly in the planning and decision-making processes and thus, seeks to destabilize power differentials between ethnographer and research participants (Chataway 1997; Robertson and Culhane 2005; Yeich 1996). Influenced by the performative approaches to research of Conquergood (1991, 1993, 1998, 2002), Fabian (1990), Madison (2005) and Mienczakowski (2000), I believed that the inherently collective nature of theatre held the promise of a more collaborative, empowering and politicizing ethnography with the potential to encourage social critique.

Working in theatre was not new to me. Shawn and I brought to the project over a decade of experience as theatre artists. I hold an MFA in Interdisciplinary Directing from Simon Fraser University and Shawn and I have trained in the non-realist, physical and image-based methodologies of Polish avant-garde theatre artists Jerzy Grotowski, Tadeusz Kantor and Józef Szajna.

However, the relations of power in the field that defined our mutual interactions in the studio complicated my plans and my commitment to collaborative, empowering and politicizing research. The key factor was the power struggles over representation that arose from our multifarious understandings of theatre as an art form, and differences in what the project meant to us and in what we hoped to accomplish through it. For the Roma women, theatre was a form of staged soap opera defined by the portrayal of domestic life, melodrama and realist modes of representation; conversely, the actors and I were committed to the non-realist and metaphoric theatre aesthetic of the Polish 20th-century avant-garde. The Roma women wanted the performance to be a celebration of "traditional"[2] Roma culture; the actors and I saw such representations as exoticizing and apolitical. Naively, I had not expected that such power struggles would be a major issue in my project. Certainly anthropologists acknowledge that while collaborative research aims to overcome power imbalances, those based in class, ethnicity or race, gender, age and sexuality cannot be entirely overcome and can complicate ethnographer-participant relations (Chataway 1997; Fabian 1990; Reid and Vianna 2001). However, power struggles among research participants and with the ethnographer are not extensively examined in anthropological literature using concrete real-life examples. As Waters observes, "frank discussions of the reality of the research experience are much rarer than the sanitized discussions of 'research methods'" (2001:347). Huisman also recognizes that "much qualitative research continues to be presented in a way that does not acknowledge the struggles and dilemmas behind the work" (2008:374). Only recently have some researchers begun exposing the power struggles within the ethnographic process itself (Henry 2003; Huisman 2008; Pratt and Kirby 2003; Szeman 2005); yet even in these more recent accounts, frank examples of the exploitations of power in which ethnographers often personally partake are uncommon. My project—which sought to combine theatre and anthropology—also presented some unique challenges by virtue of its interdisciplinarity. In the world of theatre with which I was very familiar, power struggles between and among playwrights, directors, actors, and designers are commonplace (see Nouryeh 2001; Zelenak 2003), but these players often share some common background and work together toward a common goal. This was not the case in my project. The Roma women had no theatre background and were drawn to the project for various—and not always compatible—reasons. Also, my own complex roles in the project (ethnographer, instructor, artistic director) contributed to the in-rehearsal power struggles in ways that were difficult to anticipate. Finally, the unpredictability and the improvisational character of fieldwork (Cerwonka and Malkki 2007) that forces us to perpetually respond to the shifting and changing contexts around us made it difficult for me to foresee, and thus prepare for, the constant shifting of power, competing personal and professional agendas, and indeed my own inability to stay above the power games that threatened to derail the theatre production.

This paper offers an original contribution to the growing body of experimental ethnography literature by providing a critique of ethnographic collaboration, empowerment and politicization in the context of my ethnographic theatre project conducted with Roma women in Poland. I expose, in candid terms, the ways in which conflicts over representation between Roma women, the actors and me, forced me to make difficult

ethical and moral decisions and rethink both perform-ance-ethnography as a methodology of research and my role as ethnographer.

Theoretical and Methodological Underpinnings

My work finds an affinity with the performance-centred ethnography literature that examines theatre as both ethnographic research methodology and representation (Conquergood 1991, 1993, 1998, 2002; Denzin 2003; Fabian 1990; Madison 2005; Mienczakowski 1992, 1994, 1995, 2000, 2001; Pratt and Kirby 2003; Schechner 1985; Turner 1982). The project "Hope" used theatre performance as a mode of ethnographic participant observation, where I addressed my research questions by collaboratively cre-ating a theatre performance with the participants. How-ever, my fieldwork also involved the study of the per-formance itself, as I documented and analyzed the performance as a form of representation, and participant and audience responses to "Hope."

Upon commencing my research with Polish Roma women, I was particularly fascinated by the collaborative, empowering and politicizing potential of theatre as a mode of participant observation. I believed that by involving the ethnographer as a "co-performer" who speaks to and with, and not about and for, the research participants (Fabian 1990:7, 43), one could provide a more equitable and empowering form of inquiry. I adopted a collaborative approach to research because it appeared to be most suited to my work with such marginalized people as the Roma.

My understanding of politicization and empowerment was also inspired by Bertolt Brecht's (1964) "epic the-atre" and Jim Mienczakowski's "emancipatory drama" (2000). Brecht's (1964) epic theatre sought to engage audi-ence members in social critique and action by adopting various strategies of defamiliarization (A-effect)—actors stepping in and out of character, playing more than one character, offering commentary on the play's action and using symbolic props—which were to portray events on stage from unusual perspectives in order to resensitize the audience to violence and injustice that had become pedestrian.

Brecht, an ardent Marxist, has been criticized for his didacticism (Becker 2010:160-162, 165; Gibson 2002; Lennox 1978); oversimplicafication of reality (Case 1983; Lennox 1978; Ruprecht 2010:39); paternalism (Lennox 1978:94); and underestimation of the audience's critical faculties (Silcox 2010). While conscious of these criticisms and, consequently, the potential risks of employing Brecht-ian politicization in ethnographic research, I was never-theless fascinated by, and wanted to adopt in my research, Brecht's notion of A-effect as a strategy for cultural cri-tique. Thus, my idea of politicization can be seen as bear-ing an affinity with a school of visual anthropology that negotiates "the anthropological" with "the aesthetic expressive" in order to problematize the boundary be-tween fact and fiction, involve the viewer in a social cri-tique of dominant worldviews and, subsequently, chal-lenge the authority of the ethnographer by repudiating any claims of authenticity (Edwards 1997:55, 59, 69).

Moreover, I felt that physical theatre would offer an embodied and "sensuous scholarship" (Stoller 1997) wherein Roma women could articulate those experiences of violence that might otherwise be too ineffable, taboo, painful or embarrassing to be related directly in spoken narratives (Farnell 1999; Stoller 1997). However, while Brecht saw empathy as an obstacle to rational thought, I was convinced that it was indispensable in encouraging social critique, particularly in an ethnographic theatre project dealing with violence. Here I aligned myself with Mienczakowski who sees the emancipatory and empow-ering potential of "ethno-dramas" in the empathy they invoke in audiences and research participants (2000:135). I was aware that while the discourse of empowerment has been integral in collaborative and participatory research concerned with social justice and activism, it has also been seen as problematic due to its "hidden paternalism" (Sanger 1994:200); its naïve optimism about transgress-ing power differentials in researcher–participant rela-tions and the possibility of achieving "common under-standing" between the researcher and the participants (Lennie 1999:103, 104). However, in my view, empower-ment through empathy was not about doing "something… 'to' or 'for' someone" (Lather, 1991:4), but about provid-ing an "input of local knowledge," and an occasion that would encourage the ethnographer, research participants and audience members to critically engage their emotions and sensations in rethinking of oppressive conditions and their alternatives (Lennie 1999:109).

I decided to study the situation of Roma minorities because as a native of Poland, I had often witnessed, heard and read about the racial stereotyping and verbal and physical abuse of the Roma, their exclusion from public spaces and discrimination in both the workplace and pub-lic services. Such instances of violence against Roma in Poland have been documented by various organizations, including the European Roma Rights Centre (2002) and Amnesty International (2004) as well as discussed by var-ious Polish and Western scholars (Puckett 2005; Ringold 2000; Sobotka 2001; Stewart 1997). I decided to study vio-lence specifically as experienced by Roma women because

I believed they were marginalized on the basis of their race, ethnicity and gender within Polish society, and subordinated by Roma gender norms (Arias 2002; Stewart 1997). And, there was virtually no ethnographically based research that explored the current situation of Roma women in Poland. Elblag was my first choice as a research site, as I was born and lived there prior to immigrating to Canada in 1992; and, it is where I witnessed countless instances of discrimination, prejudice and violence against Roma.

The six actors who participated in the project were, like me, all white ethnic Poles of middle-to-upper class backgrounds. Agnieszka (19) was a student of Polish Philology at Gdansk University. Sisters Grazyna (18) and Olga (16) were both attending Lyceum in Elblag; Grazyna planned to study at the University of Poznan after her maturity[3] and university entrance exams in the spring. Gosia (18) and Derek (18) were also preparing for these exams. The youngest, Maria (14), was in her first year of Lyceum. All students had little or no prior training as actors; all were taking courses at the Centre in the hopes of eventually becoming theatre professionals. They had also worked with Shawn and me on two previous ethnographic plays that explored racism and gender inequality in Poland. Committed to politically conscious art, they felt that the new project could expose and critique the violence experienced by Roma in Poland; however, they also saw the project as an opportunity to further develop their acting skills, and to gain exposure in Elblag's theatre community.

While I was the actors' instructor, they neither filled out course evaluations, as this was not required by the Cultural Centre, nor were they remunerated for their participation in the project; I also did not assign them grades. I obtained the students' informed consent to participate in the project as performers and research participants with the understanding that they could withdraw from the project at any time.

My search for Roma participants was arduous and lengthy. I travelled across Poland to look for a Roma community willing to participate in my project because when I initially met a group of Elblag's Roma women telling fortunes in a city park during my pilot research in 2001, they expressed little interest in my project. They considered themselves to be "fortune-tellers...[and] not artistic Gypsies" (Field notes 2001). However, when my attempts at recruiting research participants from other cities turned out to be fruitless, I was compelled to approach the Roma women in Elblag again. Initially they were still uninterested in my artistic undertaking, but after a month of hanging out with them in a city park and discussing

our children, our lives and the latest gossip, the women slowly warmed up to me, and eventually agreed to participate. They saw the project as an opportunity to earn some extra income (I offered to pay each woman an honorarium of forty zloty ($15 CDN) per three-hour rehearsal), a means of telling the larger public about the struggles of the Roma in Poland, and of generating help from Elblag's citizenry.

Although I worked closely for over a year with most of Elblag's Roma women, five women—Randia, Zefiryna, Ana, Basia and Ewa—ended up participating in the project as playwrights, directors, dramaturges, choreographers and designers. Some Roma women did not want to participate, while others were unable to due to familial obligations or community infighting. My five main participants also excluded a few women from the project, as they considered them to be "[un]reliable sources of information" (Field notes 2002). Randia (55) was a widow who lived with her daughter Zefiryna (25), her son-in-law and their nine-year-old daughter. She suffered from heart disease and diabetes, and lived off a meagre government disability pension. Randia's daughter Zefiryna and her family did not have stable sources of income: they were unable to find employment and were not eligible for welfare. While Zefiryna occasionally did some petty trading, her husband was unemployed, and it was Randia's pension and small earnings from fortune telling that sustained the entire family. Ana (38) lived with her mentally ill mother, her husband, her two young children (under 10) and an adult son (20). Ana's husband traded electronics and cars while she tried to earn some money through petty trading and fortune telling. She suffered from chronic health problems after she had developed a blood clot in her lungs following the birth of her youngest son. She also experienced anxiety and panic attacks. Ewa (32) was Randia's older daughter. She lived with her husband and three children (under 13). Ewa received a disability pension for severe epilepsy and anxiety attacks and her husband sold cars. Basia (43) lived with her husband, her son (15) and her nephew (17) in a small apartment. She and her husband were unemployed, but she engaged in petty trading, and was also receiving foster support monies for her orphaned nephew.

The performance "Hope" was developed through participant observation, interviews, prerehearsal sessions (focus groups) and rehearsals. While the collaborative development of theatre performance was always the main goal of my work, I conducted participant observation and interviews to establish rapport with the Roma women, to learn about their lives in everyday contexts and to generate research material in case the women decided not to

work on a theatre project. However, I also thought that the material generated through participant observation and interviews could be used in the development of a theatre performance if the women agreed to participate.

My participant observation—which spanned a year, and occurred before, during and after the development of the theatre performance—involved visiting the women and their families daily, helping them with their chores, accompanying them to doctor and welfare office appointments, travelling out of town for fortune telling and trading, and attending special occasions (christenings and feast days). In taped interviews, which were both unstructured and semi-structured, I asked the women about the difficulties they were encountering at the time. I also recorded the women's life stories and life histories. In the context of my research, the life histories had a more biographical framework, while the life stories were less time-bound. In the interviews, life histories and life stories, the women predominantly spoke about their personal problems in terms of violence. The meanings the women attached to violence varied according to what was going on in their lives at the time and where we were in the research process. However, for the Roma women, violence encompassed poverty, harassment, discrimination, Roma tradition, domestic violence and poor health.

The women defined poverty as the inability to afford the basic necessities of life, such as food, shelter and medications, and attributed it to widespread unemployment in Poland, prejudice in the work force, the Roma's lack of education, and their incapacity to fortune-tell or trade due to Poles' "general hostility toward the Gypsies" (Field notes 2002). They also claimed the physical and verbal violence and harassment they experienced from non-Roma had worsened since the collapse of state socialism and prevented them from fortune-telling and trading. Furthermore, they believed they suffered from discrimination in both public and private sectors, such as in government offices, schools, hospitals, medical offices and housing rental agencies. Roma tradition was also a significant burden in their lives because, they argued, it restricted their lives and was responsible for the violence they suffered at home. The women identified the custom of marrying off girls at a young age as a particularly oppressive aspect of their tradition that was an obstacle to Roma girls' access to education. As well, they complained that the commonly held belief among the Roma that "a Roma man can do everything, and a Roma woman nothing" allowed the men to abuse their wives physically and emotionally, commit adultery and abstain from house chores, childcare and finances. Finally, the women were despondent over their state of health: many suf-

fered from depression, "nervous attacks," heart disease, diabetes, high blood pressure, schizophrenia and suicidal tendencies.

Yet, while the women often spoke about violence in their lives, they also discussed—especially in their informal conversations—various strategies they used to cope with everyday hardships, as well as their hopes for the future. Their coping strategies included the use of sedatives and passive acceptance of abuse, reciprocating the abuse to which they were subjected, establishing a line of credit with the local grocer or pawning personal items to alleviate the effects of poverty. When visiting their homes and accompanying them on errands, I also noticed that their lives transgressed the violence paradigm of both their stories and my research interests. They women invested a lot of effort, and took great pride in, caring for their children, cooking, cleaning, shopping, fortune-telling and trading. They rushed out from their homes early in the morning to secure the best spot for fortune-telling, stood in long queues to purchase discounted cuts of meat as a surprise for the evening meal, or renovated their flat on their own "so it looks more like a home for Christmas" (Field notes 2003). Moreover, the women at times talked about the future in hopeful terms. They told me about their efforts to save money and make contacts abroad so they could one day leave Poland. I quickly became aware that, coming from the West, I was a symbol of hope for them. Some of the women hoped I would help them immigrate to Canada and often competed with one another for my attention.

Initially, the women were slightly apprehensive about working with Polish actors, but when I assured them that the actors were committed to critiquing racism, the women no longer seemed worried. Our pre-rehearsal sessions, which spanned two months, took the form of focus groups (informal, unstructured or semi-structured group interviews). We met three times weekly, for three hours each session. The women requested that no male actors be present until rehearsals, as they felt uncomfortable about discussing their personal lives in front of men. In pre-rehearsal sessions, like in the interviews, I asked the women about various challenges in their daily lives, and they again spoke about poverty, harassment, discrimination, Roma tradition, domestic abuse and poor health, as well as their coping strategies and hopes for the future.

The next stage of the process involved rehearsals, which took place thrice weekly, three hours per session, for five weeks. Here we developed a theatre performance in response to the same questions the women had addressed in the pre-rehearsal sessions—their everyday problems and fears. Through improvisations and group

negotiations we created the basic storyline of the performance; the play's key images, individual scenes and plot sequence; the psychological, emotional and physical profiles of the characters; blocking and choreography; the spoken text; and the design.

Often the actors would improvise scenes and the Roma women would offer suggestions, but on many occasions, the women joined the actors in improvising or even improvised alone. They especially liked to dance and to teach the actors the steps to traditional Roma dances. Collective writing usually involved the women dictating a scene's spoken text and the actors and I offering suggestions with an eye to theatrical expediency. A typical rehearsal would commence with a warm-up session for the actors, and subsequently, the Roma women and the actors would improvise the spoken and physical texts of the play. To conclude our session, we would rehearse and polish the newly improvised material.

The final version of the performance, publicly presented on 31 May and 1 June 2003[4] in Elblag's Cultural Centre, told the story of a 13-year-old Roma girl, whose name, Nadzieja, translates from Polish to English as *hope*. Throughout the play, Nadzieja recounts her memories of domestic and racial violence until she slips into schizophrenic delusions wherein she befriends and transforms into a dog. Her journey ends in a psychiatric ward, where, with the help of her canine companion, she overdoses.

Shawn and I did not record audience demographics, but based on our observations and the ticket reservation list, we can approximate that the audience (roughly100) was mainly composed of the participants' families, friends and acquaintances, with a few people from the general public. We managed to record in our field notes various informal audience responses immediately after, and in the weeks following, the performance. I analyzed data arising from rehearsal video recordings, transcripts of the rehearsal and pre-rehearsal sessions and field notes.

Soap Opera or Art: Whose Vision Is This?

My commitment to collaborative, empowering and politicizing ethnography was complicated in the project "Hope" by the power relations in the field. One of the key factors was the power struggle over representation that arose in rehearsals and resulted from our multifarious understandings of theatre as an art form. The atmosphere in rehearsals was often tense and fraught with bickering and verbal abuse on the part of the actors and the Roma women. I doubted my own understanding of collaborative ethnography, with the looming fear that opening night would come and the project would implode. A significant source of tension in rehearsals essentially came down to

what can be seen as a conflict between mass culture and art. The Roma women's conceptualizations of theatre appeared to be influenced by soap operas. The women were very fond of serials, particularly American and Brazilian, and Randia once made a comment that working on the play was "just like doing a soap opera" (Transcript, Rehearsal 2003).

As a genre of popular fiction—often regarded a women's genre—the soap opera is characterized by an emphasis on the melodramatic and the use of realism and cultural verisimilitude. The soap opera's melodramatic sensibility is evident in its focus on everyday domestic life and family relationships, protracted scenes, a narrative of repetition and similarity, and a predilection for talk over action (Hall 1997:344, 352, 371; Lacey 2000:37-40, 220-223). Its commitment to realism is manifest in its proclivity to depict people, events and objects as they appear in the real world (Hall 1997:360; Shohat and Stam 1994:179), often by adopting Konstantin Stanislavski's[5] psychological realism as an acting style (Gledhill 1992:114, 118; Longhurst 1987).[6] Additionally, time in soap operas reflects real-time, as "the same number of days pass between the episodes for both the audience and characters" (Lacey 2000:40). The soap opera also employs cultural verisimilitude[7]—a representational strategy that refers the viewer to what is accepted as "real": a culture's norms, mores and common sense knowledge (Neale 1981:36-41).

The Roma women wanted to create the play drawing from the conventions of soap operas in both content and form. The storyline they developed had melodramatic characteristics evident in its focus on the everyday, ordinary lives of Nadzieja and her family: the domestic realm where female characters prepared meals, men read newspapers and personal relationships unfolded (Transcript, Rehearsal 2003). The spoken and physical texts the women created also tended to be melodramatic: Nadzieja's physical and emotional life was portrayed through themes of domestic violence, infidelity and jealousy, all mainstays of soap opera. The women's preferred modes of representation were realism and cultural verisimilitude. They tried to represent the fictional world of the performance in a way that they recognized as their own, and that referred the audience to the norms, mores and common sense of Roma social realities. For example, the women located the play's central actions at the table because, as it was evident from their interviews and life stories, the kitchen table was for them an integral cultural space of daily gatherings, where men discussed business while the women prepared the food, sat to rest, eat and exchange gossip, and where families and friends gathered to celebrate extra-daily events,

such as christenings, weddings or holiday gatherings. Furthermore, the women's penchant to have the characters engage in extended discussions at the table as they themselves do in their daily lives mirrored the predilection in soap operas to talk rather than act. Their commitment to realism as a mode of theatrical representation was also obvious in their insistence that the actors, as with many soap operas, adopt psychological realism as their acting style.[8] As in Stanislavski's realist approach to acting, the women wanted the actors to render faithfully in minutiae everyday interactions and conversations.[9]

This attempt by the Roma women to create a theatre performance employing the conventions of soap opera alarmed the actors from the outset, as they largely despised this aesthetic. To them, it represented everything that was wrong with mass culture and women's entertainment. In Polish intellectual circles, both terms carry negative connotations: mass culture is considered to be inferior, and created by popular, rather than true, artists; women's entertainment is viewed as intellectually mediocre and apolitical fluff (Durczak 1999; Filipowicz 1995; Mazierska 2001). For the actors—who considered themselves to be intellectuals, artists and feminists, it was important to avoid the stigma of being associated with mass culture art or women's entertainment. Thus, they clung to the abstract, non-realist, metaphoric, visual and physical forms and conventions of the Polish 20th-century avant-garde (i.e., Grotowski, Kantor and Szajna). While it might seem surprising that the actors had already assumed the identities of intellectuals and feminists at such a young age, most of them came from families of Poland's intelligentsia and, thus, had inherited "highbrow" aesthetic dispositions that were later reinforced in the university-preparatory lyceums which they attended (Bourdieu 1984:1, 6, 56).

Naturally then, they also avoided realism on stage because they considered it artistically inferior. While they appeared genuinely committed to ethnographic work, as amateur actors seeking to establish themselves professionally in Elblag's theatre community, they wanted to showcase their talent in the best light possible. "I hope my friends won't show up... they'll see *that* [Olga's acting] and will walk out immediately...who wouldn't?...I would!," Olga fretted (Field notes 2003). They were especially concerned about the audience's response to "Hope" because of the fiasco of our earlier production of "Horses and Angels" at a national theatre competition. Despite our efforts to create a work of high calibre, the performance failed to win recognition from the jury. When rumours spread around the Centre that the performance was snubbed because the jury believed it expressed "radical,

unsupported, feminist sentiments" (Field notes 2003), the actors were heartbroken. Some of them thought they needed to "prove themselves" as artists to local audiences through the project "Hope". This was evident in the words of advice Derek shared with his fellow actors: "We better show people we can act... so they don't think the jury was right [about their verdict]" (Field notes 2003).

Natural then was the actors' resistance to engaging in what they perceived as popular art. They openly scoffed at, ignored, attempted to sabotage, or blatantly refused the Roma women's suggestions and requests. For example, they mocked the melodrama implicit in the texts the women developed by acting in a hyper-melodramatic style—exaggerating their gestures and movements, and incorporating caricatures of pathos in their voices. I often intervened by asking the actors to stop their behaviour, by diverting their attention, or by talking to them outside of rehearsals; however, my interventions usually had negligible effects: "It is hard not to laugh [at the Roma women] when one is blabbing the same things over and over again," quipped Olga. I think that my interventions fell on deaf ears because the actors, to a certain extent, held me accountable for the ill fortune of "Horses and Angels," which soured our mutual relations. Grazyna reproached me one day: "Maybe if *we* had been more attuned to what the jury expected, we would've won!" (Field notes 2003). Here "we" was clearly pointed at me as the director of the project. I believe the actors expected me to compensate them for the disappointment of "Horses and Angels" by demonstrating my alliance with them in "Hope."

The actors' overt resistance to the Roma women's conceptions of theatre led to steadily increasing conflicts and tensions between the two groups. The Roma women responded to the mockery and sabotage by asserting their authority as directors of the project, setting impossibly high performance standards for the actors, and then mocking, criticizing, and at times insulting them. For example, Randia would often remark, "they'll never learn!" when the actors tried to learn a new Roma dance or song. Any questions or suggestions the actors offered about improving their dancing, the women would brusquely counter, "don't tell me how to dance!" (Field notes 2003). And when they were teaching Derek the steps of a Roma dance, they went so far as to scorn him as "crooked-legged," "stiff stick" and "mentally slow" (Transcript, Rehearsal 2003).

"But It Would've Been So Much Fun!": Celebrating Tradition or Fighting Injustice?

Conflicts over representation that played out in rehearsals not only arose from our divergent understandings of theatre

as an art form, but also from the differences in what the project meant to us and in what we hoped to accomplish through it. While in the pre-rehearsal sessions the women spoke of the performance as an opportunity to tell the larger public about the hardships the Roma suffer in Poland and to generate help from Elblag's community, in rehearsals they were preoccupied with creating a performance that would celebrate and share their "traditional" cultural practices with the Gadje[10] actors and audiences. "We could have a large table set up, covered with a white table cloth, and lots of food on it, so they see that the Roma really know how to play!" suggested Ana during one rehearsal (Transcript, Rehearsal 2003). The women wanted the performance to be replete with a traditionally extravagant Roma wedding feast, music and dancing. For the Roma women, such "traditional" cultural practises were also about having fun, as they enjoyed both dancing and singing. The actors, who saw the project as professional development, a way of gaining public exposure in Elblag's theatre community, and a political forum wherein to critique racism, resisted the Roma women's notion of the performance as a celebration of "traditional" Roma culture. While for them the project was also about having fun, as they were passionate about theatre, having fun for them meant doing "serious artistic work" of an avant-garde aesthetic (Field notes 2003). Thus the actors objected to the women's scrupulously realistic celebration of Roma culture because they found it both theatrically uninteresting and politically denuded. "We have to be careful about how we say things...how we represent them [the Roma]" said Grazyna after one of our rehearsals, "we want the performance to speak against racism and not to perpetuate Roma stereotypes" (Field notes 2003).

Also committed to creating an ethnographic-artistic undertaking with a political agenda, I was uneasy about what I perceived as exoticizing representations of Roma culture, because I did not want "Hope" to perpetuate stereotypes of the Roma as a mysterious, carefree and pristine "other," or mask the unequal relations of power that defined the Roma's and Gadje's interactions in Poland, as well as our own relations in the rehearsal studio. Hence, for me, the women's understanding of the performance as a celebration of Roma "tradition" lacked a politics of culture and power, which I thought was essential in a country where, to borrow Razack's words, "minorities are invited to keep their culture but enjoy no greater access to power and resources" (1994:898). Thus, one day I suggested that we incorporate Brecht's idea of having the actors step out of character in order to provide commentary on the performance's action, and to

expose it as a constructed event, and not a true rendering of Roma life. My intention was not to obfuscate the Roma women's soap opera aesthetic, but rather, to problematize the representations of Roma culture and "tradition" in the play.

Yet, I have to admit that I also felt guilty about disappointing my actors with "Horses and Angels" and, thus, hoped to compensate them with a more rewarding end result this time around. Furthermore, it would be misleading of me to deny that the artist in me was also, to some extent, concerned about creating a theatrically compelling event that would validate the actors' and my reputations as theatre artists. Ultimately, we were all preoccupied with our reputations, as the Roma women dismissed my idea of including Brechtian techniques in the performance out of a concern that this would only "confuse the audience," "compromise the beauty of the performance," and make "people think that either the actors don't know how to act, or that the Roma are 'not all there [mentally]' " (Field notes 2003). The actors in turn criticized the women's obstinacy, and argued that "politically, nothing will ever change for the Roma if all they show to the audience is how many hens they can eat at a wedding table" (Olga, Field notes 2003).

The tensions in rehearsals increased significantly, and I found myself implicated in what Loizos identified as the anthropologist's "Faustian contract"—the unspoken contract of reciprocity that binds us to our research participants, and expects us to compensate them for their participation in the study (1994:14). My Faustian contract with my research participants required that I be the Roma women's and the actors' accomplice in sabotaging each other's work. Randia made it clear when she asserted: "When we sometimes disagree, Magda, you've got to keep our side, won't you?...because you know what we want and you're our friend." "Tell them [the actors] that you are an anthropologist, you know what you're doing...and it's your play" (Field notes 2003)—Ana counselled me after a rehearsal in which the actors had bickered about costumes. Similarly, the actors urged me to "wake-up and acknowledge [my] responsibilities as director [because] if we leave the performance entirely to the Roma women, the audience will leave [the theatre] bored to death" (Field notes 2003). Thus, the Roma women often invoked my role as their friend or anthropologist to convince me to stand behind their artistic vision, while the actors appealed more to my role as a theatre director. So, slipping on Faust's shoes, I was trying not to give away too much of my soul to either side. I had become a juggler of power in my attempts to balance both the Roma women's and the actors' needs, and ultimately, my own need to hold the

production together. Eventually, however, when the power struggles in the rehearsals threatened to entirely derail the project, I yielded to the actors' demands and convinced the Roma women not to make the wedding feast a significant part of the story, but instead, to foreground arduous, rather than celebratory, moments in the characters' lives. The women eventually acquiesced to my suggestions and we presented Nadzieja's wedding, dance, as well as several other scenes, in a stylised slow-motion to highlight the fragmentation of her schizophrenic psyche. Consequently, the performance that was publicly presented at the Cultural Centre was a melange of "avant-garde" and "soap opera." The performance's amalgam aesthetic was very well received by the Roma women, the actors and the audience; however, the audience members to whom Shawn and I had spoken primarily saw the play as a representation of Roma folklore and culture, and not as a critique of racism and violence. While I attribute this response to the specific context of Poland where discussing racism might have been seen as politically perilous given the country's recent attempts at counteracting global media representations of Polish pogroms of Jews under state socialism; nevertheless, the limits of stylization as a politicizing strategy are evident here.[11]

It is also important to acknowledge that although the Roma women appreciated and agreed to incorporate stylization into the performance, in some ways it was a hollow victory: I believe it had a detrimental effect on the relations between them and the actors, and was, in part, responsible for the unattainable standards of perfection the women demanded of the actors in rehearsals. One night, after watching a run-through of the performance, Randia confronted me: "You have to look truth straight in the eye, Magda...a big Roma wedding would've been so much fun!" (Field notes 2003).

Looking Truth Straight in the Eye

The power struggles that arose in rehearsals speak of the challenges of my specific project "Hope"; however, they are also, to a certain extent, indicative of the conflicts that can characterize community-academia performance research. In such partnerships, conflicts are not uncommon, and only recently have they become a central theme in experimental ethnography literature (Edmondson 2005; Pratt and Kirby 2003; Szeman 2005). Such conflicts often oscillate around questions of what should be represented, and how it should be represented. These are framed by concerns over content, aesthetics, target audience, or the research project's goals (Pratt and Kirby 2003). For example, the use of a realist versus non-realist aesthetic can become a central point of contention between academics

and community collaborators (Edmondson 2005; Pratt and Kirby 2003). Western academics can at times privilege a non-realist aesthetic, especially in representations of violence, oppression and suffering, because they are troubled by realism's colonial and imperialist legacy, its problematic claims to objectivity and truth (Edmondson 2005:463), its penchant for sentimentality through the identification of the actor with the character (Pratt and Kirby 2003:22), and the proclivity of its linear narrative to "flatten contradiction and systemize chaos" (Taussig 1986:132). Consequently, academics may favour anti-realist modes of representation, including Brechtian strategies of alienation (Edmondson 2005:22; Pratt and Kirby 2003:22; Taussig 1986:144); Bakhtin's grotesque (Pratt and Kirby 2003:23); dada and surrealism (Feldman and Laub 1992); clowning (Pratt and Kirby 2003:28); and some circus techniques, such as acrobatics and juggling (Edmondson 2005:466). Conversely, according to Edmondson (2005), community collaborators may want to embrace realism as a mode of representation because, in their struggles for justice, they want their stories to be taken seriously as "fact," not "fiction," and to invoke audience empathy and identification. They also may find the use of a realist narrative—"with its promise of restoration," closure, and ability to render the incomprehensibility of violence comprehensible—imperative to safely relate stories of violence and trauma. Accustomed to realist modes of representation as a result of globalizing forces, research participants may also resist non-realist strategies propagated by academics as another version of Western dominance and paternalism (Edmondson 2005:464-468). Such conflicts between community and academic collaborators can be understood in terms of what Bourdieu (1984) defined as symbolic struggles for "distinction," namely, for instituting and authorizing one's own aesthetic tastes over those of others. For Bourdieu, such struggles are often expressed as "intolerance ('sick-making')" of other tastes—one of the most important dividing points between classes. This intolerance, Bourdieu argued, is exemplified in the resistance of the working-class spectators to the intellectual elites' subversions of traditional modes of theatrical expression (e.g., Brecht's A-effect; Bourdieu 1984: 4-5, 56).

Similar conflicts—resulting from different understandings of what should be represented in the performance, and how to represent it—also defined my project "Hope". While I commenced my research committed to protect and advance the rights of my research participants, in retrospect, I see that I neglected to consider sufficiently what such rights meant from their perspectives. Although the Roma women's conception of the

performance as a celebration of their culture might have been, in part, problematic, as it advanced the notion of culture "whereby culture is taken to mean values, beliefs, knowledge, and customs that exist in a timeless and unchangeable vacuum outside of patriarchy, racism, imperialism, and colonialism" (Razack 1994:896), I now recognise that it was unfair to dismiss the women's representation of their culture merely as an identification with hegemonic forces that perpetuated their oppression (Gramsci 1971). In fact, the Roma women's understanding of the performance as a celebration of their culture might have been more "messy" and contradictory than I had imagined. It might have been simultaneously hegemonic and counter-hegemonic, perpetuating some of the more innocuous Roma stereotypes (mysterious, pristine, musical), while at the same time destabilizing some negative ones (lazy or passive victim). Furthermore, the women's desire to turn the performance into a celebration of Roma culture may have been an astute political move, a way of asserting their right to publicly celebrate their ways of life, after over five decades of the socialist state's enforced assimilatory policies (Ringold 2000). Ana, after all, wanted the performance to display an extravagant Roma wedding feast, so "they [the non-Roma audience] can see that the Roma really know how to play!" (Transcript, Rehearsal 2003). Clifford argues that while in postindustrial contexts, displays of cultural heritage have been often viewed as "a form of depoliticized, commodified nostalgia—ersatz tradition," this ignores the fact that "tradition" often plays a crucial role in people's struggles for political and cultural freedom (2004:6, 9). Thus, displaying and celebrating their cultural practices within the play could have been for the Roma women a politicizing strategy of asserting their identity, survival and self-determination. The Roma women could have been acutely aware that in a world where racism is ubiquitous, the only recognition their work might get is in showcasing the "traditional" aspects of their culture. In one of our pre-rehearsal sessions, Ewa asserted, "when there's a Roma concert…people come to the city just to see the Roma dance and sing…but then when the concert is over, and the Roma aren't on the stage anymore, then they call…they call those same Roma thieves and criminals" (Transcript, Pre-Rehearsal 2003). The women's preference for realism as a mode of representation might have been a means of legitimizing their representations of "traditional" Roma culture—a "public form of truth-claiming" (Feldman 1992:60). It was evident the women feared that non-realism would compromise the seriousness of their representations when they argued that Brechtian illusion-breaking strategies might negatively reflect on them and the actors. Finally, what I also neglected to take into account—sadly, given the project's commitment to sensuous and embodied scholarship—was that the women's celebration of their culture via "traditional" Roma dance might have also been about the joy of dancing, a more embodied and sensuous experience that could have been empowering for the Roma women, albeit not in easily rationalizable terms.

Ironically, when my project sought to facilitate a ground upon which the Roma women could articulate their claims for justice by persuading them to foreground the arduous and background the celebratory, and to incorporate stylization as a representational strategy, I denied their right to speak for themselves. Naturally, my project was complicated by the fact that the Roma women and the actors—who had largely incompatible goals and agendas—were my research participants, and as an anthropologist, I was equally accountable to both groups. Furthermore, I also held the roles of theatre instructor and artistic director at the Cultural Centre; and while I generally wanted to privilege the artistic vision of the Roma women, as they were marginalized members of society, at the same time, I also felt obligated to support the actors' artistic ambitions. Certainly, I could have left my employment with the Cultural Centre and, instead, worked with a community of artists with no professional aspirations; but given my limited research funds as a graduate student, I needed the Cultural Centre's production support to realize my project. Consequently, I tried to juggle power in rehearsals in ways that were cognizant of both the Roma women's and the actors' concerns, and the performance of "Hope"—a melange of "avant-garde" and "soap opera"—was the end-product of that. Yet, given the Roma women's marginalized status, this aesthetic stew needs to be seen as a compromise made "under Western duress" (Edmondson 2005:466). Such a "compromise" was possible because I believed, in my commitment to abstract notions of collaboration, empowerment and politicization, that a performance-centred research that combines "the anthropological" with "the aesthetic expressive" would facilitate a critical and equitable research methodology. Instead, in ignoring the Roma women's own expressed needs, my project proved to be an unwittingly paternalistic enterprise wherein I assumed I knew what was best for them.

At the time of conducting my research, however, I did not see my decision to introduce stylization into the performance, and to foreground the hardships of Roma life as paternalistic or disempowering for the women. I was motivated by a desire to appease the actors and prevent the project from imploding, all the while believing that I

was acting in the women's best interests. While I knew that focusing on Roma hardships risked perpetuating stereotypes of the Roma as passive victims, I saw it as a lesser evil in a country that systematically refuses to acknowledge and address violence suffered by Roma. To me, foregrounding the arduous aspects of Roma life constituted a more politically astute strategy. After all, the Roma women themselves argued in the pre-rehearsal sessions that in Poland no one was interested in Roma problems, only in their culture.

At the same time, however, I cannot say that my decision to compromise the Roma women's vision of the performance was entirely calculated. At the outset of my research, I would have never imagined that I could impose my own aesthetic upon the Roma women; but in retrospect, I recognize that fieldwork *happens to us* on a more experiential level. The ethnographer is not "a fly on the wall," who can observe from a distance and easily rationalize his or her research experience on the spot (Cerwonka and Malkki 2007:174), because fieldwork throws us amidst unpredictable relations of power and competing agendas, where we frequently have to make difficult moral and ethical decisions with little, if any, time for reflection. Sometimes, the unfamiliarity, uncertainty and intensity of the ethnographic whirlpool can lead us to make decisions and act in ways surprising to us in hindsight. This is what, in part, happened during this project. While as an anthropologist I was aware that expressions of cultural heritage can play an important role in marginalized people's political struggles (an issue discussed even in introductory anthropology textbooks), in rehearsals I had failed to recognize the women's desire to celebrate their cultural practices as a means of asserting Roma identity and survival. Weighed down by the chains of my Faustian contract, I perceived the women's attempts at displaying their Roma "tradition" in the performance primarily as a counter to the actors' arrogance in rehearsals and, consequently, I made decisions I later regretted.

In fact, I see now that the intensity of fieldwork experience made all of us respond differently in different research situations. While in the pre-rehearsal sessions, I assured the Roma women that I was committed to advancing their rights, in rehearsals I refused them such rights. Likewise, the actors expressed their devotion to social justice research in the pre-rehearsal sessions, but in rehearsals they stonewalled the Roma women's artistic vision. In the pre-rehearsal sessions the Roma argued they wanted the performance to speak out against the violence in their lives, but in rehearsals they were preoccupied with developing a performance that would celebrate their "tradition." Lassiter aptly summarizes this

inconsistent nature of fieldwork when he notes that initial agreements between anthropologists and research participants "often shift in new contexts where the power of original discussions becomes compromised by other factors beyond our direct control and beyond our vision of what the project can and will become" (2005:96). For example, it is possible that in the pre-rehearsal sessions the women wanted the performance to focus on violence in their lives, because in this early research stage, they adopted my—and the actors'—goals for the project in order to secure their relationship with us (Lindlof 1995:177). Yet when the contexts had shifted in rehearsals, the women's objectives also appeared to follow suit. Perhaps by the time we commenced the rehearsals, the women had grown more comfortable with their participation in the project and thus, more confident in asserting their own artistic and political goals. Or maybe the imminence of opening night shook their confidence, and they became concerned that portraying violence committed against the Roma in a public performance could compromise their personal safety. After all, when we once brainstormed how to represent violence on stage, the women refused to implicate Poles directly so as not to fuel existing antagonisms.

My failure to accommodate the women's desires and expectations, however contradictory and shifting they may have been, left me unsettled about my entire understanding of performance-centred research, and about my role as ethnographer. Does theatre offer more opportunities for collaborative, empowering and politicizing research? At times I think that my interviews with the Roma women, my daily visits to their homes, hanging out with them as they were fortune-telling, accompanying them on errands, and lending an ear to their stories of joy and sorrow might have given them a greater sense of empowerment than the actual process of developing a theatre performance. In the end, I do not think that there is a simple answer to this question. Every research project and ethnographer-participant relationship is unique. Each is embedded in, and also creates, different and contested fields of power and, thus, naturally will have different meanings and collaborative, empowering and politicizing potentials.

How do I envision my future ethnographic journey in the light of my experiences in the project "Hope?" I want it to be an ethnography of discovery, in which both the research participants and ethnographer learn ways of doing ethnography together, starting anew with each project and each set of circumstances. Undoubtedly, this will involve being more cautious about all of my assumptions about ethnography and art, and I will no longer look to them as the sole guiding principles in my ethnographic

endeavours. Clearly, had I been more flexible about my research objective to study violence as experienced by the Roma women, I would have likely responded more creatively to the women's desires to celebrate their "tradition" through "Hope." Had I been more open-minded about my methodological commitments, I would have recognized that collaboration, politicization and empowerment can bear different meanings, dimensions and implications, depending on who is involved in the project, and where the project takes place. This is an important lesson I had learned over the course of my project. Experiences in the field—especially in unstable socio-political contexts—will always challenge our theories and methodologies, rendering some of them irrelevant in the process. As Greenhouse points out, "people's altered lives challenge...ethnographers to redefine...violence and humane affirmation, structure and agency, hegemony and resistance" (2002:8). Yet, to me, an ethnography of discovery should go beyond merely being open-minded about one's theoretical and methodological "toolkit." It should also involve committing oneself to what I call a "look inward"— an ongoing awareness and critique of the power relations within one's own ethnographic process. Such a critique would consider the ways in which power enters, and is being produced and reproduced, in and through our field relations (Groves and Chang 1999:257). This would demand of us not only modifying our theoretical and methodological objectives in response to such a production of power, but also improvising—in the most ethical and creative ways—our volatile and contradictory relationships with research participants.

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Notes

1. In this paper, as well as in my recent book *Staging Strife: Lessons from Performing Ethnography with Polish Roma* (2010), I use the term *Roma* both as adjective and noun in accordance with the Oxford English Dictionary usage guidelines. While *Romani* or *Romany* can also be used as adjectives, my Roma participants favoured the adjectival form of *Roma* due to the ambiguity of the terms *Romani* and *Romany*, which can refer to both a Roma girl or woman, and to the Indo-Aryan language of the Roma people.

2. The term *tradition* is clearly problematic as it is deeply rooted in anthropology's classical notion of culture—non-Western culture in particular—as "bounded," stable, isolated from its larger social, cultural, political contexts and defined by "tradition" that is diametrically opposed to Western "modernity" (Crehan 2002:37, 53). Currently, anthropologists recognize that cultures are porous, fluid, shifting and interconnected (Crehan 2002:49; Gupta and Ferguson 1997:4); and traditions are not ancient and preserved customs, but continuously constructed and re-constructed in response to changing local and global relations of power (Crehan 2002:54). In this paper, I use the word *tradition* only in reference to what Roma women themselves identified, in the context of my project, as part of their "traditional cultural heritage," because I recognize that Roma culture has not been an autonomous and bounded entity, and Roma tradition is not an antediluvian set of beliefs and practices (Okely 2010:38), but rather, an "imposed, invented, reworked and transformed...site of difference and contestation" (Gupta and Ferguson 1997:5) that has formed "alongside and in opposition to other dominating cultures" (Okely 2010:40).

3. Maturity exams are written by students in Poland in their final year of secondary school.

4. We charged an admission of eight zloty in an effort to raise money for the Roma women.

5. A precursor of realism in theatre was Konstantin Stanislavski (1863-1938), Russian theatre director and actor, and co-founder of the Moscow Art Theatre (1898), whose theories later formed the basis for the development of "Method Acting." Stanislavski's theory of theatre called for realistic characters and stage settings. The actors were to evoke what Stanislavski coined as "emotion memory" in order to faithfully represent the characters' emotional realities (see Stanislavski 1984).

6. However, it is important to recognize that, historically, melodrama and realism have been diametrically opposed to each other. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, realism—with its commitment to a "truthful" rendition of "space and time [and] social and cultural relationships" (Shohat and Stam 1994:179)—was a reply to melodrama's simple plot, stock characters and exaggerated stereotypical and externalized acting. Stanislavski's psychological realism, for example, sought to challenge "the melodramatic theatricalism" by training the actor to use their own emotions in creating psychologically "truthful" characterizations (Wiles 1980:16). It is the 20th-century television genre of soap opera that has co-opted elements of both melodrama and realism by either combining realism's "truthful" rendition of social

landscape–relationships with melodramatic, externalized acting, or more frequently, Stanislavski's realist acting style with melodrama's themes of domestic life, and family relationships (Butler 1991; Gledhill 1992:114, 118; Longhurst 1987).

7 *Cultural verisimilitude* is a term used to problematize the concept of realism.

8 While the women sought to incorporate melodramatic themes into the performance, they favoured psychological realism over melodrama's exaggerated and externalized acting style.

9 For readers interested in Roma performance, there exists substantial literature on the topic (Kertész-Wilkinson 1997; Lemon 2000; Silverman 1996).

10 *Gadjo* is the Romany word for non-Roma people; its plural form is *Gadje*.

11 Given the theme of this special issue of *Anthropologica* (with a focus on experimental and engaged ethnography), in this paper I focus on ethnographic process. Readers interested in a more detailed discussion about the development and performance of "Hope" should see Kazubowski-Houston 2010.

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The Wandering Ethnographer: Researching and Representing the City through Everyday Encounters

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Abstract: Drawing on fieldwork I conducted in Milan, Italy, in 2004-05 and in 2009, this paper is an open invitation to create experimental forms of ethnographic representation that could become part of the unfinished production of the everyday in urban locales. To this end, I reflect on several fieldwork encounters—Milanese people's commentaries, everyday incidents, as well as local cultural and activists' projects—that can provide a helpful model for such a practice. I argue that these varied interventions offer insight into complex social processes and disjunctures in contemporary Milan because they are small, quotidian, and temporary, and because they can easily travel through the urban terrain. Learning from these encounters, I propose that we, too, can produce stories and objects that speak by circulating: ethnographic interventions that use public space, activate affect and become companions to people's embodied journeys in city spaces.

Keywords: experimental ethnography, Milan, Italy, urban anthropology, public space

Résumé : À partir de recherche de terrain que j'ai menée à Milan, en Italie, en 2004-2005 et en 2009, cet article est une invitation ouverte à créer des formes expérimentales de représentation ethnographique qui pourraient faire partie de la production inachevée du quotidien dans les contextes urbains. À cette fin, je réfléchis à diverses rencontres vécues dans le cadre de la recherche – commentaires de Milanais, incidents du quotidien, de même que projets locaux, culturels ou militants – qui peuvent constituer un modèle utile pour une pratique de cet ordre. Je fais valoir que ces interventions variées permettent d'appréhender en partie des processus et des dichotomies sociales complexes dans le Milan contemporain parce qu'elles sont de portée modeste, quotidiennes et temporaires et parce qu'elles peuvent voyager facilement parmi le terrain urbain. De ce que nous apprenons de ces rencontres, je propose que nous aussi pouvons produire des histoires et des objets qui deviennent éloquents par leur circulation : des interventions ethnographiques qui utilisent l'espace public, mettent en branle l'affect et deviennent des compagnons des voyages incarnés des citoyens dans les espaces urbains.

Mots-clés : ethnographie expérimentale, Milan, Italie, anthropologie urbaine, espace public

"I was riding on bus #92, from the Quartiere Bovisa, an old industrial and working class neighbourhood that now has no factories left, toward a more central area of the city of Milan where I was staying. It was 5:30 in the afternoon, the bus was full, and the traffic terrible. From my position close to the front door I overheard a conversation between the bus driver, a man about my age, and another passenger, an older woman. Talking, at first, about the traffic, the woman—who said she had been working with youth at risk for decades—and the driver quickly moved on to the situation of families and of society more generally. "Ah," said then the bus driver, "in our society there is a disjuncture between reality and the collective imaginary."

Searching as I was for insights on a city in crisis but which represents itself as rich and glamorous, this sentence struck me because it so nicely encapsulated some of the contemporary paradoxes of Milan. Indeed, just after this comment, I reached my bus stop: an area where within a few blocks one can find an immense wasteland left by an abandoned train station, the headquarters of two of the most prestigious fashion houses, and several large social housing buildings where Italian low-income seniors and migrant families live. Two days later, I was talking to a friend in the Department of Anthropology at the University, and told her about what the bus driver said. "Ah, but that must be my friend," she said, "he graduated a short while ago with a thesis on the collective imaginary, and now he works as a transit driver!"

In 2009, when this encounter took place, I had returned to Milan, the largest urban centre in northern Italy, to continue the fieldwork I started in 2004 on the lives of public spaces in the city. I was interested in tracing some of the ways in which different Milanese conceptualize, narrate and participate in streets, plazas, and parks, and some of the contentions associated with their everyday use. In 2009, I was particularly intrigued

by the intersections of memory and imagination as they emerged in discourses and lived experiences connected to different urban locales. To quote, once again, the bus driver, I wanted to know how different "collective imaginaries" were being fostered or challenged by the construction, appropriation or interpretation of particular sites. Because public space is inherently unfinished and it does not "belong" to everyone in the same way (Dines 2002; Maritano 2004; Mitchell 1995), this is necessarily a difficult affair.

In Milan, like in most other cities in fact, those who have more resources at their disposal have an easier time claiming a legitimate presence in public space than do less-advantaged residents like low-income people, visible minorities and anyone who is understood as an immigrant or non-Italian. Although ideally public space should be the medium through which people can be confronted with "difference without exclusion" in Young's terms (Caldeira 2000:301), often streets and plazas become an experiential field where those who consider themselves Milanese can distinguish "others" because they act, look, or speak differently than them. Discussions and varying interpretations of public space then reflect and negotiate different inhabitants' sense of entitlement to the city. Moreover, in a rich metropolis where many live in poverty (see Benassi 2005), the construction of new neighbourhoods and public spaces in conjunction with massive redevelopment projects had become a fertile ground for debating the past, the present and the future.

Milan has been often characterized as a particularly fragmented city due to a series of important changes that took place over the past 60 years. Once a major industrial centre with a strong working class and unionist culture, it very rapidly became a city of empty factories, gentrifying neighbourhoods and a tertiary economy centred on fashion and design (see Foot 2001). The transition from the factory to the catwalk starting at the end of the 1970s was, moreover, accompanied by a wave of international migrants who, as a group, encounter difficult social and economic conditions.[1] Today, an uneasy multiculturalism, deepening social inequalities and the lack of affordable housing are all contributing to a widespread sense of crisis in the city. In spite of this, Milan's metropolitan region has become one of the hottest real estate markets in Italy (Aalbers 2007) and it is currently being transformed through sweeping redevelopment projects (Bolocan Goldstein and Bonfantini 2007). Building—both materially and figuratively—on massive construction sites, developers, city officials and the major players in the fashion sector seem intent on narrating Milan to itself as a city which grows and glitters.

Paradoxically, while these projects are creating countless new residences, they are doing little to make them affordable to those who are in dire need of housing. As urban activists often decry, Milan is a city of empty apartments and homeless people (see, for example, Copyriot et al. 2005). In this context, the premises of empty factories and abandoned train stations, where major urban redevelopment projects are taking place, are becoming sites where the dreamlike plans of developers clash with urban activists' utopian desires and with the dramatic everyday life of the homeless people who take refuge there.[2]

The bus driver's comment then struck me as a well-suited description of some of these situations and processes. The "collective imaginary" that is currently being promoted sees spaces and people projected towards the future less through common commitments to an inclusive and just society than through identification with a cosmopolitan and aesthetic creativity. While this imaginary plays an important role in the redevelopment of the city, it does not seem to benefit or include more marginal sections of the population, who, on the contrary, have been further displaced from the city because of continuing gentrification.

The transit conversation, however, fascinated me also because of its unlikely location. In particular, it left me with a keen sense of anthropology and anthropological insight literally circulating through the city, entering people's conversations, and existing in the most ordinary public spaces. (Transit is perhaps not officially a public space, but it is generally used and perceived as such.) Sparked by the bus commentary, and from other exchanges in and about Milanese streets and plazas, my paper is then an invitation to imagine an anthropology that could circulate and live in city locales and could avail itself of the very medium of public space—particularly of the ephemerality and intimacy of its encounters.

The driver's phrase was all the more striking because it resonated with a wider traffic of commentaries that I learned about in the city, from activists' interventions to cultural projects of various kinds, to the stories of the inhabitants who took me for city walks and showed me places that were significant to "their" Milan. More to the point, it was its form as a circulating intervention that mirrored a wider sensibility, or strategy, which seemed to animate the city.

The bus incident, in fact, occurred in a context where several ideas and things were circulating and appearing in interesting ways. As soon as I arrived in Italy in January 2009, for example, I came across a large billboard that read, in white letters over an all-black background: "looking for Gramsci in Milan." I was puzzled. Who was

looking for Gramsci and why? Wanting to take a picture of the billboard, I returned a few days later with my camera, only to discover that it was covered by an advertisement for a wrestling match. Gramsci's disappearance left me wondering for weeks: are they still looking for him? Who else are they searching for? Some weeks later, I saw a postcard pinned on a wall, with the same writing and background as the billboard, that read, "is culture politics?" and led me to a public art exhibition by Alfredo Jaar on the role of culture in society.[3]

The same day I saw the postcard, I found a shelf in the subway station where people could leave books for others to read, and that evening, I heard about a group of people active in Milan who leave books of their choosing in places such as parks, streets or popular stores, for other people to encounter them randomly. Another interesting example was stencilled, unsigned sentences in green ink which started to show up on building walls in one of the neighbourhoods of the city. They were insistently asking: "who will defend us from vigilante squads?" This last circulation was a bitter, critical response to a proposed law on security which sought to institute groups of volunteers to patrol the streets at night with the alleged goal of keeping women safe but the suspected aim of further harassing and intimidating non-Italian immigrants. Some more, some less directly, these circulations seemed to mirror and feed into more general social themes and concerns, such as the creation of something called culture, and various political engagements. In the words of Stewart, as an "opening onto something," they showed "a thicket of connections between vague yet forceful and affecting elements" (Stewart 2008:72).

So we have: Gramsci on a wall; Calvino on a park bench; Yourcenar in one of the fridges of an Ikea store; and, an anthropologist on the bus. Without implying that what circulates in the city is always progressive and inspiring, and indeed exactly because often it is not, these encounters made me wish for an alternative ethnographic representation that could follow de Certeau's "thick and thins" of urban movements (de Certeau 1984:93) and emerge within Stewart's "ordinary life" (2005:1029). Both Stewart and de Certeau suggest that we pay attention to practices, ideas, and relationships that emerge in the nooks of the everyday. Although not fully formed into systems, social objects, definite opinions or publicized truth, these events and "ruptures" (Stewart 2008:73) can nonetheless tell us something about what is going on.

De Certeau, for example, was inspired by how the movement of people through streets can escape dominant representations of space, thus making room for other stories, itineraries and sources of critique. And Stewart calls

us to listen for "emergent vitalities and the ordinary practices that instantiate or articulate them, if only partially and fleetingly" (2005:1028). According to Stewart, this requires a different approach to theory and a different mode of doing research. She talks about a "weak theory" (2008), one that does not result in "perfect links between theoretical categories and the real world" but rather is a tentative reflection by "a subject caught in the powerful tension between what can be known and told and what remains obscure or unspeakable but is nonetheless real" (2005:1028). Instead of an encompassing framework for understanding, what is needed is a sensibility for the jarring coexistence and coming apart of aspects of the social.

Taking inspiration from the bus driver, the stencils, and more, in this paper I argue, so to speak, also for a "weak" representation, for ethnographic interventions and stories that could become enmeshed in the unfinished production of the everyday. I ask: could we create "things which speak by circulating"—interventions that aim at getting lost, so that they could be found and used in the everyday traffic of bodies, discourses, and ideas? The many stories, interrogations and critiques I learned about are too small and quotidian to constitute a movement or to be noticed as a social phenomenon, yet they nonetheless leave traces in the city. What if they mattered exactly because they are small enough to travel?

Words and Walks

My interest in circulating and emerging moments of insight was a direct result of one of my research practices: I had been asking different people—nine women and three men of different classes, nationalities and ages—to guide me on a walking tour of "their Milan" as a way to explore varying conceptions and uses of urban public space. These walking tours alerted me to small, travelling forms of social critique, because, like them, they yielded moments of insight that emerged from temporary folds of daily life, and which depended on an embodied, moving positionality. Using streets and plazas as sites of intervention, the itineraries remained open, contextual and ephemeral, feeding from and yet resisting Milanese everyday life. Let me describe one example.

The encounter with the bus driver took place at the end of a very long day. Earlier, I had met one of my research participants, a low-income elderly woman with a keen passion for her city, who had agreed to show me the Bovisa neighbourhood where she had lived all her life. The walk with Eliza turned out to be only the first segment of a seven hour walk we concluded over the course of two additional days. The main reason as to why we needed that much time is because her neighbourhood had

been radically transformed in past decades. So, almost street-by-street, Eliza presented and narrated to me the places that are now invisible, what remained the same, and the new buildings, plazas, and churches that she had seen being constructed. The following is an excerpt from one of our tours:

There was this house...and I remember that when I was a child people said that it was a strange house... then it happened that it became offices, and after the offices it became a post office...

This house here is where I was born...It was called the big barrack...because there lived 110 families. It was a village. People also lived in the attics. There were cellars, where we escaped to during the war...it was a house, but it was also a village.

Then the municipality took it. They wanted to do homes for rail workers, and then they wanted to do offices...So people started to move out...So they gave social housing to the ones who had remained, and they walled it up, until the time they would know what to do with it. They walled it in the 1970s, from 1970 to 1974. "Today we will demolish it" [they would say], "tomorrow," who knows?" So the 1990s came. At a certain point we saw the scaffolding...they were restructuring it...And so it lived anew. The house is more than one hundred years old because when my parents moved there in the thirties it was already old.

When we were children, it was not like this. Here it was not like this. The trolley car passed here, but there were gardens, and there we went to play...We would be looking at the stars, we would look for the big dipper...There was a radio that was bombarded during the war...There is an enormous change. That house remained, and this one they are redeveloping it. This one is still there but as you see [is also being transformed]...Now here is the Porsche [car dealer], and before it there was a paper factory...

Here there was a business, a foundry. Now there is a wall, before there was a courtyard. They made a garden of it, but it was my playing courtyard...

[This was] a telecommunication factory...It was a postwar factory, I think that five thousand people worked there, it was a resource [for the neighbourhood]...When they demolished it, we all kept asking ourselves: "my goodness, was it...was it so big?" And when we would see the empty space inside, passing by with the bus, we would say to each other "my goodness, what was inside?" It was a marvel! [February 18, 2009]

Bovisa is a striking example of some of the forces and processes that have shaped Milan in the last decades. Central to Eliza's recollections was growing up in a self-consciously left-leaning, working class area of the city, where factories were central landmarks, and dictated much of the rhythm of everyday life (Parsi and Tacchi 2003; Petrillo 2004). With the advent of deindustrialization in Milan at the end of the 1970s and in the 1980s, all of the large factories in Bovisa closed. As Eliza recalls, when its last one, the Face, was demolished at the beginning of the 1990s, impressing one last time its vastness and centrality on the neighbourhood, Bovisa was already on its way to becoming a very different place. Now it houses part of the University of Milan, many of its students, as well as several immigrant communities. Manufacturing businesses have been replaced by service companies and even its main plaza has been redesigned.

As Eliza guided me through the neighbourhood recounting these changes, her commentary was accompanied by striking landscapes: older streets and plazas sat side by side with empty fields and massive new buildings made of glass. With the precision of a mapmaker, Eliza's narration equally took hold of all parts of the neighbourhood, from the new tunnels covered in graffiti, to the remainders of abandoned industrial premises, to the older churches and courtyards. Yet this was not simply an inventory of things or locations. Our walking tour became a way to construct a space from where Eliza could tell about the area and its transformations as a subject in space who could anchor the past and the future. From this point of view, however, the movement of time was less the succession of buildings and forms, than a simultaneous appearance of the old and the new in the streets and landscapes of the neighbourhood.

Our itinerary also embodied Eliza's acute sense of displacement. Our walk became a struggle with surveillance cameras and security guards as Eliza tried to take photographs of the neighbourhood she considered her home. People in uniforms rushed to us at the gates of the glittering new buildings of various businesses and of the local university. Although an older woman and her small-statured companion could have not looked particularly threatening, the guards glared at the camera in our hands with suspicion and unceremoniously made sure that we crossed the street and went elsewhere. The feeling that we were being controlled while trying to witness these transformations became visible in Eliza's disconcertion at having to play spy in the streets and plazas that she had known so intimately since the time of her childhood and of which she could narrate so exactly the stories and events—much more exactly than the people who now guarded them so carefully.

Without criticizing new developments, and indeed wondering at the beauty of new buildings, Eliza's walk became an oblique commentary on some of the faultlines

of disconnection between different eras of the neighbourhood. One of the things that struck me during this itinerary was the extent to which Eliza's story created an uneasy location, as it stepped to the side of the trope of a glorified passage from the past to the future through a promising present. While official discourses in town have been celebrating the swift succession of eras, Eliza's words and walk paced the widening gap between the old and the new. The sense that the former had not just passed and gone but rather, had been lost, and the insight that what was found in its place was so different than what had gone missing invited ghostly inhabitants. These ranged from industrial equipment left resting on the lush grass between residences, to vacant fields and abandoned industrial buildings.

During our third walk, for example, we started to note with an eerie surprise that the metallic frame of the gasometer (a very large industrial structure which was used from the early 1900s to store gas, see Photographs 1 and 2 below) that had been left as a historical landmark, was visible from almost all areas of the neighbourhood. Its skeletal metal frame seemed to follow us around, and was casting its shadow on abandoned lots as well as on shiny new buildings. "It is the spirit of the place," summarized Eliza. Either as a spirit's blessing or a ghostly haunting, this and other pieces of industrial archaeology are handy reminders that Milan today is crisscrossed by the tangled connections between "the city in which we were living, the ruins of the city in which we were born, and the city in which we wanted to live" (Copyriot et al. 2005).

Walking tours, like the one with Eliza, became for me a helpful model for people's connections to the city, for public space and for ethnography itself. As Nicolini (1998) so poignantly shows in her article on San Francisco, a simple walk through the city can awaken memories and social critique and generally reveal aspects of the city that differ radically from one person to the next. For this reason, Guano (2003) also suggests that a person's itinerary can help us understand how social relations shape spaces and in turn how our presence and movements through particular locales help to define our identities within a social landscape. It is not surprising then, that my interlocutors pointed to different sites and told me a variety of stories.

What I found particularly interesting, however, was less the actual locations that they showed me, than the form of their commentaries. For, if the itineraries created a space of intervention from which to comment on the city, this speaking position was a walking position, realized as a nexus of physical, social and metaphorical journeys. For one, it was deeply dependent on my guides' symbolic and material place in the city, the ease of their movements and the constraints and possibilities they lived with. One of my interlocutors, for example, walked me through the places that are particularly significant for an immigrant working as a street vendor, as he had once been. From this perspective, some locations appear obscure and inaccessible, while others, like train stations and plaza, are important places for work and they appear open and invite social interaction. Another one of my guides talked about the difficulty of being a low-income, visible-minority woman in a city that greatly values and judges appearances. The walking tour that we did together became a search for inexpensive stores that offer resources for dressing beautifully and thus becoming "Milanese" in the
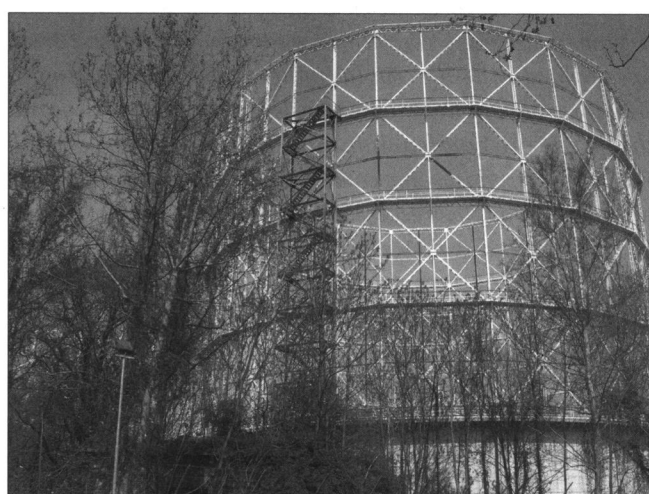
Photographs 1 and 2: Remnants of a gas storage structure in Bovisa, Milan, visible throughout the neighbourhood. (Photographed by the author, 2009).

eyes of other inhabitants. For the other, because these commentaries and stories were made possible by walking, much of what my guides taught me emerged from the surprises of sudden encounters and from the process of looking for something—remembered, lost, known, or suspected—in the midst of urban daily life. Rather than establishing a body of facts, the itineraries were about knowing and representing in a moment in time. As a particular form of commentary they were then similar to the other things that spoke by circulating. Like them, their insights did not generate comprehensive explanations or new theories on the city, but wedged themselves between awkward conjunctures of social realities. As such, they were stark reflections on some of the rifts that accompany Milanese daily life.

To put it differently, the walks seemed to be such apt interventions because, as Boeri (2007) points out, Milan is perhaps best understood by following the intricate, small movements that compose the city. This is because much of its social reality is notoriously fragmented, contradictory and hard to narrate (see also Bolocan Goldstein and Bonfantini 2007; Foot 2001); in short, it is a city for subjectivities that are at the brink of things. Consider, for example, the following two incidents from my fieldwork in the city. I include them here because—with Boeri and the other authors of an extraordinary collection on living arrangements and forms of inhabiting Milan—I am seeking ways to give room to "diffuse" and fleeting social instances which do not add up to a neat anatomy of the city but rather produce a "multitude of small shudders in the urban body" (Boeri 2007).

I

It is noon at the local medical office in a street close to the periphery. A busy crowd of women, men and children, speaking many different languages, has been waiting in line for much of the morning. The office just closed and the people are now leaving: most have finally seen a representative and in some cases had their queries answered and their problems resolved. As the old doors of the offices are locked and a new silence envelopes the halls of the building, a dozen seniors linger on. Outside, it is cold and raining and perhaps they want to delay an unpleasant journey home. As I prepare to leave, I am struck by their conversation, and by the particular atmosphere of the place. Some of the seniors have started talking in dialect and one of them begins to recall what it was like, decades ago, when she had a family and prepared pasta for her husband, who has now passed away. It was always at noon, like now, that she would place the pot on the stove. The other people respond in quiet voices. As this

conversation grips me, I am surprised by how easily this group of seniors could be described as a snapshot of the old Milan, in contrast to the cosmopolitan population inhabiting the city today. As quintessential Milanese, the seniors seem to speak a common language and refer to shared, familiar gestures.

Yet being in this moment and encountering this scene also reminds me that it is exactly a longing for this familiar past that fuels many heated debates on who should be welcomed in Milan. For many inhabitants, non-Italian newcomers cannot contribute to the culture and long-standing identity of the city. At noon in the halls of the medical building, it is tempting to either romanticize the seniors' Milanese-ness and the loss of an era, or on the contrary, discount this moment in which it emerges, as insignificant. What are we then to make of this awkward gap between the closing of one door and the opening of another? Of this small, ordinary encounter, with its echo and trajectory that can cause both strife and the possibility of memory and history?

A couple of days after, as I walk in the same area of the city under the rain, I pass by the immigrant street seller who always peddles his wares in front of the supermarket. Over the past months, I have always seen him alone. Today, he is huddled under an umbrella with an older white Italian man and they are chatting. Their quiet conversation, under the supermarket awning and the umbrella, looks as intimate and striking as the one I witnessed at the medical building. This encounter, however, suggests different possibilities: an alliance which is not dependent on essential identities but is a momentary juncture between complex itineraries. To put it differently: the question here is not what we have lost, but what we seek to find in its place. (January 23, 2009)

II

A man with a violin gets on the subway. His violin is repaired with tape; his backpack has holes cut into it to allow the loudspeaker inside to sound through, the bow is already in his hand, and the violin almost on his shoulder. On the other side of the wagon, but facing a different direction, is a cop. He looks straight ahead, and does not see the man with a violin just a few metres away. The violinist does not look at the cop at all, but lowers his bow, looks at his shoes, and slowly sits down in an empty seat nearby. The power of authority—more specifically of the new stricter bylaws introduced in the past couple of years by the right wing municipality—becomes suddenly apparent in these two looks that do not cross. The violinist is the one who is forced to see—although pretending not to—even when and exactly because he is invisi-

ble, or better, one of those inhabitants desired to be invisible by others. (March 12, 2009).

These three encounters—with the seniors, the street seller, and the violinist—tell us about some of the current issues, anxieties and inequalities of contemporary Milan. The lingering group of seniors reminds us of the demographic crisis and how many older people in Milan, especially women, find themselves alone and with scarce resources. The medical building is located very close to several blocs of social housing where many Italian seniors and international immigrant families live. This cohabitation has often generated complex antagonisms rather than common ground. Guidicini summarizes one of these divisions, by pointing out that the only thing that these two groups of inhabitants have in common is a pervasive feeling of nostalgia. That too, writes Guidicini, seems to separate rather than unite them, as it is a longing for very different things, social relations and cultural or historical contexts (2008:20).

The man with the violin reminds me that not everyone can claim urban spaces equally. The situation is rendered worse by recent anti-immigrant backlash and legislation, and by a municipal government whose priorities are public security and control. Indeed, just a few weeks after riding the subway with the violinist, I witnessed two rather spectacular raids by the police against a group of street vendors who were selling their wares close to the doors of the Sforza Castle, one of the main tourist destinations in Milan. In this context, people at the margins who have been described as the invisible inhabitants of the city, become even more so (see, for example, Parenti 2007). The violinist also shows that sometimes pathways cross exactly by not crossing, or that avoiding another can also be a way of encountering them. Paone (2008) for example, argues that in Italy, stowing away the other through spaces of containment, such as camps, transitory centres and detention sites, has become the privileged way of welcoming, knowing, naming and encountering new migrants, seen as an "humanity in excess" (Paone 2008:85).

Caught in the movement of people, ideas, images and experiences, the violinist, the seniors, and the street seller are the results of powerful economic, social and political systems. However, they are also something more: they are, so to speak, travelling instants: parts of currents of encounters, meanings and reinterpretations. What do we make of their appearances, of their momentary emergence? More than just adding to a coherent ethnographic body of evidence, they, like the ghosts of the gasometer, keep peering up from behind the corners of social experience.

Or, think of Subway #5: starting in late 2009, several people have told me that the municipality is building it, and everyone pointed out how peculiar it is that the city is constructing a Subway #5, when only the lines 1, 2 and 3 exist. Where did the Subway #4 go? Did they forget about it? Did it get lost underground? Is it because 4 is not a good number? Or is it because the municipality wants the city and its subway to sound grander and bigger than it actually is? Of course there is an explanation—the planned #4 will be built later because of a delay in the funding— but this reason is not what is remembered. What circulates in the city is the oddity of having #5 but not #4. Most importantly, this wondering of where #4 might have been lost becomes yet another story about a city where much is bizarre, unjust and unjustified.

I am fascinated by these moments in which a difficult social reality becomes apparent and starts posing questions, and even more by the way in which these interrogations remain part of the dynamic immediacy of the streets, the plazas and the courtyards they emerged from. What I want to suggest here is that this could provide us with a helpful model for different ethnographic representations. The walking tours were inspiring for the kind of travelling ethnography I am envisioning also because they led me to appreciate the smallness and ordinariness of public spaces and alerted me to the power of ephemerality, embodiment and imagination within them. My guides showed me public space by activating it: public space emerged as that which allowed our very interaction. In this process, they reminded me that public space exists because of its constant creation by particularly positioned people—in the words of Don Felice, one of my guides, public space is a "shifting sand dune" always changing, yet inevitably reassembling under the winds of social interaction.

Moreover, while I witnessed several rallies and demonstrations during which plazas and streets work as crucial loci for representation (Mitchell 1995), for political campaigns and as potential stages for revolutions, I was greatly seduced by the subtle power of affect and imagination as my guides reinterpreted the most ordinary public spaces to suggest different perspectives and possibilities. While claiming and contesting public spaces can have important effects because streets and plazas are replete with social processes that extend beyond them, it is also accurate to say that people engage with public spaces by virtue of them also being a very immediate and common-sensical part of their lives, and one connected with their feelings, movements, sensual experiences and memories. It is telling, in this respect, that several people in Milan when I described my research said, "ah, you want to know how people *live* the city!" (field notes, 28 October 2004).

My guides taught me that public spaces can some-times work as a locus for political engagement, commentary and change because, by virtue of their surprises, their openness and their daily re-creation and enactment, they provide us with moments in which we are called to witness and to represent, to use fantasy and imagination along with critical thinking, thus learning, as Spivak puts it, some "lessons otherwise" (Gordon 1997:25). Walking with my guides then led me to wonder: how can we harness public space and its imaginations to make anthropology matter more in ordinary life? How can we follow circulating moments of insight to enliven and give form to our own social critique? In other words, how can we invent an ethnographic representation that can live in the space of the city, in the time of everyday life, can activate affect, and that can become a companion to people's journeys within urban spaces?

Booklets

Returning, however obliquely, to my initial story of anthropology on and in transit, I found that a helpful model for public space, and perhaps also for a possible kind of anthropology, could be a series of booklets produced by an organization called Subway which circulate on buses and subway stations. They are thin, as small as a hand, and each contains a short fiction, or non-fiction story. The length of their narration is measured in the numbers of bus (or subway) stops needed to read them. Here are some of their titles, translated from the Italian: "DDC: One Academic Thriller for Five Stops," "Underground Travellers: Nine Poems, One per Bus Station," "The Missed Witness: A Comedy for 10 Stops."

Here, I want to talk about the booklet not so much as a particular project used by passengers in specific ways (that would require a careful ethnography of the booklets' use in Milan, which I must postpone to a later time), but rather as an intriguing model for ethnographic commentary. What I find so interesting in the booklets is their capacity to speak while travelling and to become co-passengers by virtue of their very smallness and ephemerality. Because they fit in a pocket they can be carried along and be shared. Because they come in different lengths, depending on the number of stations, they become part of the journey. As a small, fleeting companion to people's movements in the city, it seems to me that they act like a bridge, translating literature into momentary and intimate encounters.

In other words, they work a bit like public space as that which is small and ordinary, and close to people's everyday lives, while being at the same time, also vast and extensive, shaping and shaped by wider structures,

Photograph 3: Booklets produced by Subway-Letteratura to promote emerging writers and to find wider audiences for literary works (for more information, please see www.subway-letteratura.org). (Photographed by the author, 2010) .

systems and processes. As Pratt (1988) so beautifully narrates, when we go for a walk, our directions, journeys and encounters are shaped by what we can do and who we can be on those streets. In turn, because history, power differentials and complex identities become intelligible as they are embodied in simple gestures, a look, a conversation or a walk in our neighbourhood, those itineraries and social interactions can at times realize temporary spaces from where we can comment on and possibly change the city around us.

In suggesting that we theorize an anthropology of the booklet, what I want to emphasize here is that the way in which complex social practices and structures of power intersect at an "ordinary little place"—like the bench by the bus stop and the small market plaza down the road—might provide us with a useful, albeit fleeting space of intervention. Keeping Edwards' (1997) warning in mind, that when anthropology gets trivialized and travels as pop culture it can have very negative results, I ask: is there a way to invent an anthropology of the booklet, as a way to practice a kind of itinerant and circulating ethnography that could speak through images, words, objects or performances and stir discussions and emerging social commentary?

Another interesting feature of the booklets is that they so intimately partake in the tide of things lost and things found that seems to animate Milan and that we might find relevant in other cities as well. To put it simply, the booklets are easy to find because they are also easy to lose—that is, to disseminate. Far from being just a practical detail, this could direct us to a useful theoretical approach

and methodological strategy. Indeed, many of the circulations I mentioned above use the familiar concept of leaving something behind and then finding it again as a way to connect people, circulate ideas and generate debate. In the context of contemporary Milan, this simple and playful strategy can be a powerful way to emphasize the ruptures between what has been forgotten or intentionally cancelled and what has taken its place. Returning to Eliza and the seniors, an attention to what has been lost and what we seek to find can help us resist too easy a nostalgia in favour of a critical questioning of the forces and subjects who are shaping the future.

Public space is a useful terrain of intervention here also because it often works as that time and space "in between." In the specific cases of my guides, it was a gap between the subtle movements of searching, losing and finding that gave depth and vitality to collective memory and brought forth lingering questions about self, others and society. Public spaces are privileged sites where these ruptures are articulated, commented and reinterpreted because in many respects they are crossroads of paths (personal, collective, research-wise) that always involve the leaving of something and the looking for something else or elsewhere. This is never an innocent or simple practice. As public space itself is always contested and relational—a nexus of journeys weaved from different life stories, positionalities, interests and interpretations—the feeling of loss of one is often claimed as the rightful appropriation of another.

Producing booklets rather than, or in addition to, ethnographies might be a way for our research to partake of this losing in order to generate little interventions which could be "found" in everyday life. These stories, ideas, questions, performances, actions, connections and traces could help us to pose questions at the intersections between what is solid and certain and what is more fleeting, and perhaps also more eerie, spectral and uncertain. Experimenting with creating booklets could then help us to invent ethnographic forms of actions and engagements which, by being part of these urban tides, could allow us to remain a small, fleeting part of the waves we aim to investigate.

Lastly, booklets can come in different forms. Consider, for example, the following two projects that are, so to speak, a spatial versions of booklets. A few months after Alfredo Jaar's posters and postcards about culture and society had interrogated the city, Milanese designer Giulio Iaccheti presented a project called the "Feet of Memory" as part of his exhibition "Disobeying Objects" at the Triennale Design Museum (29 May to 28 June 2009). The "Feet of Memory" is a stencil that, when painted over,

leaves the imprint of a pair of shoes. It tells passersby that "someone was walking here, paused and looked in that direction." According to Iacchetti (2009), the stencil allows its user to direct other people's gaze to particular landmarks, urban sites, signs and commemorative plaques by leaving a painted trace of a person's journey and of a reflective pause within it. While being an act of narrating and commemorating, its central characteristic is that it leaves room for critique and interpretation, as it can be used to remember different things and to emphasize different aspects and locations of the city, depending on what is significant to its user. As Iacchetti described, following the exhibition in Milan, the painted pairs of feet subtly and peacefully invaded city streets, as people who had received the stencil at the Triennale exhibition used it to create footprints on sidewalks in front of different landmarks and sites, thus composing circulating, small and fleeting messages to others.

A little earlier, in April 2009, the Esterni Association presented a weeklong project to activate public spaces as sites of cultural production, sociability and debate. The organizers and participants occupied ten car-parking spaces, the "2m times 5" as they called it, to realize ten provocative and interactive public design projects in the streets of Milan, thus creating almost a spatial version of booklets. People wandering in the streets on 18 April found, instead of a parked car, a round bench where they could sit with other passers-by and swing; an eight-person bicycle to produce energy for playing music in the street; a mini workshop where for hemming pants and sewing new clothes; a mat to "park" themselves and rest; a place to have a public pedicure; and much more.

In talking about these projects, my aim here is to suggest ideas and examples that might prove "good to think with." More precisely, I want to alert us to the many interesting, witty, and inspiring practices already happening around us. I believe that we can learn a lot from these projects, ideas and circulations, but not by producing careful definitions of them or an all-encompassing description. As Stewart has recently written, the point "is not to judge the value of analytic objects or to somehow get their representation 'right' but to wonder where they might go and what potential modes of knowing, relating, and attending to things are already somehow present in them as a potential or resonance" (2008:73).

In other words, I am interested in how they might surprise and "grip us," and shift our ways of looking, listening, walking and writing. The reason for paying attention to these practices is that they might help us explore ways of participating in the tides of things lost and things
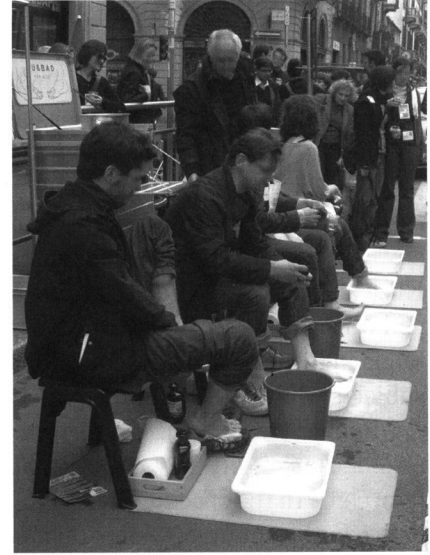
Photographs 4 and 5: Some examples of the Esterni Association's "2m times 5" project in Milan in 2009. (Photographed by the author).

found that seem to animate Milan and perhaps other cities as well. In suggesting this, my goal is to open a door rather than provide a map for the journey. I leave it up to you, the reader, to delineate the specific forms that these interventions could take. As such, this paper is like a booklet—a small provocative question that could become, for a number of stations, a companion to your own ethnographic itineraries.

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Acknowledgments

Notes

1 International migrants are, for example, more likely than Italians to work in undesirable, dangerous and lower-paid occupations, while often suffering from widespread discrimination (see Caritas/Migrantes 2008).

2 See Copyriot et al. (2005) for examples of alternative redevelopments. Osservatori Naga (2003) discusses how homeless individuals and families take refuge in abandoned areas (vacant factory buildings and industrial sites) and live there in hiding.

3 Between November 2008 and February 2009, the Chilean contemporary artist Alfredo Jaar used posters on several common advertising surfaces (the sides of buses, the walls of buildings, etc.) and free postcards to ask the city provocative questions about the meaning and role of culture. The captions included: "What is culture?"; "Is culture politics?"; "Is culture necessary?"; "Looking for Pasolini in Milan"; and "Looking for culture in Milan." This public art project was called "Questions, questions" and included public discussions led by Jaar (see, for example, Tamisari 2009).

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Stories and Plays: Ethnography, Performance and Ethical Engagements

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Abstract: This article offers an account of an intentionally utopian ethnographic project, carried out in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside. The "Stories and Plays Project" explored conditions of possibility for experiencing ethical engagements between researchers and research subjects in a context of deeply commodified research relationships dominated by biomedical and pharmaceutical research, and advanced marginalization. Articulating ethnography and performance methodologies within a framework shaped by improvisation as concept and practice, and committed to ethical-political relations of fieldwork processes over representational products, the project included an alternative, three-stage consent process. This article draws on current debates about theorizing fieldwork, engages in interdisciplinary debate, and seeks to provoke reflections on a "new," emerging experimental ethnography.

Keywords: experimental ethnography, performance studies, ethics, community-based research, Downtown Eastside Vancouver

Résumé : Cet article présente le récit d'un projet ethnographique intentionnellement utopique mené dans le quartier Downtown Eastside de Vancouver. Le « Stories and Plays Project » explorait les conditions de la possibilité d'expérimenter des engagements éthiques entre chercheurs et sujets de recherche dans le contexte de relations de recherche profondément chosifiées, dominées par la recherche biomédicale et pharmaceutique et une marginalisation avancée. Articulant des méthodologies ethnographiques et de performance dans un cadre façonné par l'improvisation comme concept et pratique, et répondant à un engagement envers des relations éthiques-politiques donnant préséance aux processus du travail de terrain par rapport aux produits de représentation, le projet comprenait un processus alternatif en trois étapes. Cet article puise dans les débats courants visant à théoriser le travail de terrain, touche aux débats interdisciplinaires et cherche à provoquer des réflexions sur une « nouvelle » ethnographie expérimentale en émergence.

Mots-clés : ethnographie expérimentale, études sur la performance, éthique, recherche fondée dans la communauté, Downtown Eastside Vancouver

Prologue: A Moment of Ethical Engagement

T approached me as I headed out the door after the last meeting of the "Stories and Plays Project":

> *T: Is this IT?*
> *Dara Culhane: Yep! This is IT.*
> *T: Well, now I want to ask you for something.*
> *DC: O.K...*
> *T: I waited until the project was over. Now, I've done something for you, I want to ask you to do something for me. You can say no if you want to. No strings attached for you or for me.*
> *DC: O.K?*
> *T: You know I'm going to court next week...*
> *DC: Yeah...?*
> *T: Would you write a letter for me for the sentencing?*
> *DC: Oh, sure! I've written tons of those letters. No problem.*
> *T: I'm not asking you to bullshit. I want you to write exactly what you really think of me. What I did in this project.*
> *DC: Of course...I didn't mean...*
> *T: I don't want any bullshit.*
> *DC: Right. OK. I'll drop the letter off here tomorrow around lunchtime.*
> *T: I'll be here.*

T held the door open for me, and I walked through.

I went home and sat down to write the letter. It took me many drafts over several hours to find a writing voice that didn't sound like that of a bullshitter. The next day I met T in the lunchroom and handed him the promised letter in an unsealed, university letterhead envelope. T took the envelope from me. "Thanks," he said, looking me straight in the eye. T raised the envelope to his lips, licked and sealed it. "I'll give it to my lawyer," he said. I was surprised—and disappointed—when he didn't

read the letter. "I wrote exactly what I think of you," I said, "no bullshit." T ran his thumb over the flap to emphasize the seal, and put the envelope in his pocket. "I don't need to read it," he said, "I trust you." "Thanks... Well...Good luck in court."

"Whatever...nothing they can do that I can't handle. I'm my own man."

> I suggest that the experience of performance, the pleasure of a utopian performative, even if it doesn't change the world, certainly changes the people who feel it.
> —Dolan 2005:19

The "Stories and Plays Project" (hereafter SPP) was co-created by nine members of an inner city, street-front clinic and drop-in centre in Downtown Eastside Vancouver, British Columbia, called the HIV Positive Outlook Program (POP),[1] run by Vancouver Native Health Society (VNHS); six university students[2]; and me, Dara Culhane, an Associate Professor of Anthropology at Simon Fraser University (SFU).[3]

SPP consisted in 14 four-hour workshops organized around creative practices of sharing food and conversation, storytelling, performance and photography that took place over 10 weeks, April-June 2007. The project culminated in an event that included an exhibit, seven live performance pieces and quantities of food and non-alcoholic refreshment. The objective of SPP was to experiment with processes for creating conditions of possibility wherein university-based researchers and subaltern research participants might experience "ethical engagement."

Photograph 1: The Stories and Plays Project Team (2007, Anonymous, used with permission).

This article describes the context in which the project emerged, reviews how SPP unfolded in practice, and ends with a pause to reflect on surprises I encountered in conducting it and with lingering questions about its potential effects. Theatre artist-scholar Baz Kershaw's (2009) call for "boundless specificity" serves as academic story-telling method. Kershaw writes, "every example is incorrigibly particular...Boundless specificity produces precise methodological opportunities generally and a plethora of insights, understandings, knowings relevant to a wide range of disciplines specifically" (2009:5).

I turn to the SPP project three years after it was enacted and from a first-person perspective. In doing so, I am less influenced by popular genres of *reflection* focused on individual introspection than by emerging work on *reflexivity* that, following Holmes, I consider "to be more than reflection and to include bodies, practices and emotions"(2010:14). Reflexivity is epistemologically consistent with Fabian's argument that ethnographic knowledge is *"essentially, not incidentally, performative"* (Fabian 1990:5; see also Castañeda 2006b). This is a theoretical premise that guides my work. *Critical* reflexivity demands we challenge, more than claim, ethnographic authority, and calls upon us to critique "values and ideas that have been incorporated into the self" (Haddad 2003:66). While reflexivity necessarily includes individual reflection, I follow May's direction that the goal of critical reflexivity should be to develop insights into the "social conditions of...knowledge production and its relation to knowledge reception and context and thus its capacity for action" (May 2004:183). In my choice of writing voice, I am particularly inspired by Wright's argument that "an autobiographical approach is employed precisely to be specific and in the attempt to avoid the pitfalls of overgeneralization and the authority of authenticity" (2003:805).

How the Story Begins

From 2005-08, I was a co-investigator on a multi-project grant entitled "Health Care for Homeless People" (HCHP).[4] One of the objectives of HCHP was to explore alternative processes for securing informed consent to participate in research from people whom health researchers call "vulnerable populations." Towards this goal I submitted a proposal to my colleagues in HCHP that posed the following research questions:

(1) How might we construct *conditions of possibility* wherein *ethical engagements* between university-based researchers and subaltern research subjects could emerge in the specific context of Downtown Eastside Vancouver, Canada, in 2007?

(2) How might we design procedures for acquiring *informed consent from human subjects to participate in research* that are consistent with both SFU's Ethics Review Board's (ERB) criteria (that in turn are regulated by the Government of Canada Tri-Council Policy Statement [GC-TCPS] on Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans [ECRIH]), and with an overarching anthropological-ethnographic principle: "Consent is a process that emerges within relationships. It is not an event sealed by a contract."

(3) Could an articulation between ethnography and creative practices constitute a methodology through which goals (1) and (2) could be realized?

I titled my proposal: "Performing Consent: An Experiment in Experimental Performative Ethnography" (Culhane 2006). The HCHP team accepted the proposal I began consultations and negotiations with VNHS to launch the project.

My research design responded to a strong critique of "data-mining" (researchers using research subjects principally as means to researchers' ends) that has become a central dynamic in everyday encounters between research*ers* and research*ed* in Downtown Eastside Vancouver, and in protests voiced by some community representatives against university-led interventions in their neighbourhood. Many Downtown Eastsiders are astute political analysts who clearly articulate their understandings of themselves as "raw material for the extraction of surplus value" in the research and poverty industries.[5] Indigenous community representatives, in particular, often point out the historical continuities in their objectivized positioning as sources of intellectual and biovalue, and their exclusion from benefits or profits so derived. I take these critiques seriously.

Space

Downtown Eastside Vancouver has emerged in local, national and global imaginaries as a quintessential zone of what Agamben (1998) calls "bare life." It is one of those spaces in which global pharmaceutical corporations have organized a "guinea pig economy" based on research with human subjects (Abadie 2010; see also Petryna 2009). Here, a subaltern class of "surplus population" represented by conflations of social problems and biomedical disease labels and perceived as being entitled to, at best, basic subsistence, is subject to overt and covert regimes of spatial containment and medical-pharmaceutical governance and control.[6]

But who actually lives here? Precise population figures for an inner-city neighbourhood where real estate speculation, rampant gentrification and increasing "house-

lessness" compete for space are, of course, elusive. Downtown Eastside Vancouver is a "low income" neighbourhood but not a homogenous one. Census Canada imagines there are about 16,000 residents in Downtown Eastside Vancouver. Between 25%–40% are indigenous persons (depending on how the count is conducted, by whom and for what purpose) from all over Canada—and from elsewhere in North, Central and South America who have been dislocated over the course of years, decades or centuries. The neighbourhood is the historic site of Chinatown and still home to many East Asian Canadians. Another significant category of residents are described as "multi-cultural": people with diverse relationships to East Asian, South Asian, Latin American, Middle Eastern and African heritages. The "other" residents are Caucasian Canadians (of various sorts). Young people of all races—but disproportionately Indigenous—raised in government foster homes and now "released from care" live here. So do teenage runaways, refugees and asylum seekers from around the world, former patients of institutions for the mentally ill now "deinstitutionalized," unskilled and semi-skilled workers whose labour has been rendered redundant, disabled and chronically ill people. Many suffer with diseases like TB, HIV/AIDS, Hepatitis C, syphilis, diabetes and mental illness. Their homes are in dilapidated rooming houses, or public housing projects, or outside on streets, in parks, alleys and doorways. Buying, using and selling concoctions of prescription and street drugs structure the everyday lives of some residents, and many women in particular support families and habits through street-level prostitution, now called "survival sex work." Epidemiological estimates claim that about 25% of the Downtown Eastside population is made up of heroin and crack cocaine "addicts."

There are also elderly people who have been here most of their lives and choose to stay, or whose limited pensions determine that this is the only neighbourhood they can afford to live in: "Ordinary working and middle class people"—like me—also live here in homes we or our parents or grandparents bought before home ownership became an option restricted exclusively to the wealthy, or in the diminishing stock of affordable rental homes, or in family social housing projects. There are activists and artists too, for whom the neighbourhood has long been a place where individuality and eccentricity can flourish. Finally, recently vying for space are "the yuppies," drawn by real estate speculators' new loft and condo developments. Of course, in "real life" most residents simultaneously inhabit more than one of the bureaucratic categories superimposed by governments and social scientists.

Relationships

I have found that conventional class or political economy analyses, and frameworks based in new social movements or identity politics, fail to resonate with, or offer theoretical insights into, the immersed ethnographic research I do in this "contaminated" (Stewart 1991) and "unfinished world" (Stewart 2008). The analytic category of "subaltern" is more meaningful and potentially productive here. For present purposes I invoke Spivak's minimalist definition: "By *subalternity* I mean those removed from lines of social mobility" (2004:531).[7]

As well, I make sense of the differences between the professional "us-researcher-not subaltern" and "them-researched-subaltern" by reference to three interrelated dynamics. First is the emerging class relation between us and them. I include in the category "us" all whose incomes and professional positions are derived in diverse ways from our work with subaltern persons. Of course, the differences among the minimum wage front-line worker, the street nurse, the police officer, the legal aid lawyer, the graduate student, the professor, the doctor, the transnational HIV/AIDS consultant researcher and the pharmaceutical representative are as many and important as they are among "subalterns." In casting these relations in such stark terms I take an analytic position, not a moral one: regardless of our origins or theirs, or our present locations in race, gender, sexuality, age, and dis/able-bodied structures of relations, *we* are currently accessing the lines of social mobility from which *they* are removed. More to the point, our inclusion in the legitimate economy arises from and depends on their exclusion from the same. I wish, in this article, to isolate and hold up for scrutiny complicity in what community activists label "poverty pimping."

The second and concomitant dynamic is the shape research gives to our interactions, what Castañeda identifies as a crucial difference between ethnography as a disciplined methodology and the conversation, storytelling and general social interaction everyone engages in through everyday life. He writes,

> The fieldworker, like the lay "person on-the-street"...has a thought in the back of the head...[that]...is the research design of the ethnography and the research problem that the fieldworker is investigating...Research problems may on occasion manifest similarities to the agendas in the back of the head of subjects of research, but ultimately...are quite distinct. (2006b:82)

Third and concomitant is an autoethnographic aspect. My connections with Downtown Eastside Vancouver are complex, longstanding and entangled, beginning long before my current role as an ethnographer. They include that I have resided on the gentrifying frontier of the neighbourhood for most of four decades. However, the six city blocks that separate my modest condominium from Downtown Eastside's infamous central intersection of Main and Hastings Streets encompass a distance that cannot be traversed in the five minutes it takes me to walk to my "field site," or erased through more collaborative research strategies.

Time

Like so many inner cities around the world Downtown Eastside Vancouver is changing as it undergoes rapid gentrification (Ley 2003). What makes Downtown Eastside Vancouver unique, however, is that this waterfront neighbourhood has also become an internationally renowned centre for medical and pharmaceutical research on HIV/AIDS and addiction. This designation dates back to 1997 when, prompted by epidemiologists' reports that local intravenous drug users were experiencing the highest rates of HIV infection in the "developed" world, the City of Vancouver declared the neighbourhood a Public Health Emergency Zone. Radical advocates in the Downtown Eastside rallied around harm reduction programs and achieved unexpected victories: needle exchange programs flourished, North America's first state-sponsored safe injection site opened; a clinical trial distributed heroin; methadone was dispensed in pharmacies; sex workers organized; and, a research industry expanded dramatically.

Since 1997, research funding has steadily increased while public funding of social and health services has decreased, creating obvious dilemmas and tensions between researchers and community advocates, activists and residents. Health and human service providers and advocates must look to researchers for data to support their applications for funds to continue their work or to redefine service provision as "research." Over the past decade a veritable tsunami of data has issued from Downtown Eastside Vancouver. Medical researchers and epidemiologists funded by governments, foundations and pharmaceutical corporations have been its primary producers. However, scholars—including anthropologists like myself—as well as journalists, writers, community development practitioners, artists and theatre and film makers have also been employed in creating and communicating representations of Downtown Eastside Vancouver.[8]

In recent years public support has been pegged below subsistence levels. For subaltern persons, survival demands generating additional income. This creates a

pool of people available to work in the lowest echelons of the illicit drug, sex and petty crime economy, and to serve as research subjects in licit clinical trials of experimental drugs, community arts projects, and, yes, experimental performative ethnographies. For subaltern persons, access to public support and private philanthropy increasingly demands performing what I am calling a "bare life entitlement narrative," an available cause-and-effect narrative consisting in a life story featuring traumatic individualized experiences as causal of some recognized biomedical or social problem label.[9] For university-based researchers, access to public support and private philanthropy demands documenting, representing and reproducing bare life narratives supplemented by policy recommendations. These narratives are, in every important way, true; the pain they disclose is real. That their telling may be co-opted into commodified entitlement narratives when exchanged for food, housing, health care, attention, affection, compassion and belonging; or grants, publications, tenure and promotion is the result of political decisions not made by the tellers, or by researchers or by artists. People tell stories, but not in conditions of their own making.

Clearing a Space for an Experiment

As I explained earlier, SPP received funding to explore new, alternative processes for acquiring informed consent. Most readers of this journal are likely all too familiar with university ethics review requirements, and I will not rehearse the many debates here.[10] These prescribed processes for obtaining informed consent are based on political-theoretical assumptions drawn from law and medicine. Foundational are:
(1) that the data sought already exist and await mining;
(2) that what a research subject will say in an interview or do while being observed is determined by a set of discoverable patterns or rules;
(3) that the consequences of divulging this data to as yet unknown audiences can be sufficiently well known in advance for her consent to be "informed";
(4) that research relationships are contained within a formally defined interview or other clearly bounded times and places, and that moments in relationships that constitute "research" and "not research" are clearly delineated.

These premises are antithetical to the premises of performative ethnography and performance as research (see, for example, Kershaw 2009:6). The three-stage process for negotiating and renegotiating informed consent that I designed for SPP reflected different principles:

(1) a *performative* principle that meaning emerges in the performance of storytelling and reception by diverse audiences, and that to be as sincere as possible, consent should follow performance; and
(2) a *temporal* principle that the consent form and moment of its signing are enmeshed in layers of context that extend at least throughout the life of the research project and often beyond.
Therefore, an ethical engagement demands constant renegotiation over time.

In developing SPP I was significantly influenced by Castañeda's formulation of experimental ethnography. Castañeda argues that the primary value of anthropological interventions is located in processes of fieldwork and relevance to those who participate in them, and that ethnographic methodology is a political process of knowledge recirculation and production requiring theorization (2004; 2005a; 2005b; 2006a; 2006b; 2009). For Castañeda, *experimental* refers to the etymological root of the word, meaning "to put into peril," to try out practices without any certainty of outcomes. Castañeda begins with a strong argument against the subordination of fieldwork processes to products in mainstream anthropology: the book, the film, the play, "measureable outcomes," policy recommendations, et cetera. Castañeda proposes, rather, that the primary site of value should shift to the processes of ethnographic fieldwork.[11] Taking his point, I sought to create a research design for SPP that might at least work along the horizon, or in border zones, where the still distinct interests of researchers and researched might be brought into conversation.

The specific research questions I formulated became a series of "what ifs?". First, I asked *what if* the research design included the possibility that no conventional outcomes or products might result from the SPP project? Could this strategy constitute a concrete response to the criticism voiced by research subjects that exploitation forms the core of relationships between researchers and researched in Downtown Eastside Vancouver? I proposed that researchers put at risk the possibility of acquiring commodities like articles, books or policy recommendations. I also allowed for four possible outcomes from the project overall:

Process-related:

(1) We would conduct the 14 workshops plus a final public performance or exhibit or installation. Participants would be responsible for selecting the audience(s) to whom any performance or exhibition work would be addressed. That audience could—if the participants so chose—be limited to the project team only.

(2) Only 14 workshops would take place. There could be no final "event," simply a 14th workshop.

Products:

(3) After the conclusion of the project, publications could follow on either: (a) the experimental process for obtaining informed consent alone; or, (b) selected or all aspects of the project as determined by participants.

Or,

(4) Workshops and public performances and exhibits would take place (as per (1) and (2) above), but no publications (oral, written, performed or filmed) based on the project would result at all. SPP might exist only in the moments of its enactment, in the memories of the team and in informal conversations.

Honouring these promises could have required that I not produce any publications should the participants exercise option (4) above. This could have "put into peril" my access to further research funding opportunities, and negatively impacted my career progress. My privileged and secure—at least at the moment of this writing—position as a 60-year-old tenured faculty member who earns sufficient money to care for my family and myself constitutes the first "condition of possibility" that enabled me to take the risks necessary to carry out SPP with integrity.

I designed a three-stage process for negotiating informed consent with the SPP participants consistent with these possible outcomes. The SFU Ethics Review Board agreed to this process with the proviso that any changes to the forms initially approved would have to be vetted through their office as formal amendments. I will describe this three-stage process as my story arrives at the moments when "informed consent forms" were—literally—put on the table in SPP.

The second research question that emerged was: *what if* participants were not asked to *necessarily* perform "bare life entitlement narratives"? This question reflected a critique of representation familiar to anthropologists and artists, but also addressed a particular, local political campaign related to the "Missing and Murdered Women of Downtown Eastside Vancouver." Briefly, at least since the mid-1990s alarming numbers of women began "disappearing" from Downtown Eastside Vancouver. Relatives and friends charged that the Vancouver Police Department (VPD) and Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) failed to act on missing persons reports they filed, dismissing the women as transient drug addicts and prostitutes unworthy of expenditures of public funds and police resources. A protest movement mobilized around this issue that resulted in the 2002 arrest and subsequent

conviction of William Pickton for the murder of six women, although the DNA of 33 reported missing women was found on Pickton's suburban pig farm in Coquitlam, B.C.[12] A central slogan adopted by activists has been: "We are mothers, sisters, daughters, aunties, and grandmothers. Not just prostitutes and drug addicts. Not welfare cheats" (Culhane 2003b:593).

A third question built on my professional interests in performance and ethnography. *What if* we experimented with an improvisational "devised theatre" methodology, rather than beginning the project with pre-determined topics?[13] *What if* they told stories that were not *only* about being HIV-postive, Intravenous Drug Users (IVDUs), Homeless Urban Aboriginals, Mental Health Consumers or Sex Workers? *What if* they told the stories I regularly hear in my everyday life, and in my work as an immersed ethnographer: complex, contradictory tales that are alternately or simultaneously moving, humorous, shocking, insightful, mean-spirited, compassionate and all things in between? I planned processes for devising performance pieces through improvisations that would emerge from any and all activities undertaken in the workshops in general, including casual conversations and sharing food, *and* from storytelling exercises and theatre games specifically.

Finally, I wanted to experiment with improvisation and performance as both a theoretical and methodological strategy that might create conditions of possibility for university-based researchers and subaltern research subjects to experience "ethical engagements." *What if* we tried to put into practice the notion that the entire SPP project and all its activities were "improvised, devised performances"? I hoped we might experience relationships with each other in the context of SPP as ends in themselves at least as much as, and perhaps as more than, means to researchers' ends.

Making It Real

Vancouver Native Health Society (VNHS) operates a medical clinic with on-site physician care, a pharmacy, methadone maintenance and maximally assisted therapy programs. The VNHS Positive Outlook Program (POP) offers HIV/AIDS and Hepatitis C Virus prevention education, crisis intervention and a food bank, and houses a daily drop-in centre that serves hot meals. I asked VNHS for time and space to hold the project, and we negotiated issues around recruitment of participants, safety and building security. I was eventually granted their endorsement for SPP. I then recruited six SFU students (four graduate-level and two undergraduates; five from anthropology and one from theatre) as research assistants, offering them ten hours of paid employment at the same rate

($15.00/hour) as the participants. In initial meetings with these students and the individuals whom VNHS/POP administrators encouraged to join as research participants, I described the project as "14 creative workshops including a meal, storytelling, theatre games, art work, writing, and that may conclude in a performance or exhibit or some combination, but may not." I struggled to articulate answers to questions about the project that necessarily hovered "at the edge of semantic availability" (Williams 1977:132) because we had not yet created it.

Like me, members of the group had a hard time explaining to their peers the purpose of the project they were involving themselves in. Questions they faced (or asked themselves) about tangible outcomes and products illuminated the extent to which an open-ended, improvisation-based research design that intentionally created maximum possibilities for participants to shape the project in process flew in the face of community norms. Promising "policy relevant" research, or research for "program development" or research that is "therapeutically effective" is a dominant rhetorical practice that has resource-generating and employment implications. Reflecting on his first impression of the SPP proposal, one participant summed it up by saying, "I didn't get what the idea was, really. But I thought, hey, $60.00 and a meal? Why not? I didn't have anything else to do on Tuesday nights, so what the hell? I'll give it a shot." Another reminded me,

> I never believed you when you said there wasn't really a plan. Remember? At the first meeting, I said "what's the plan behind the no plan?" I figured there had to be one...and I'd hang around and figure out what it was.

Another woman said she had enjoyed participating in a previous performance project I had coordinated. She did not really give much thought to the goals of SPP, she said, but was game to "come along for the ride."

Finally, we were ready for workshop. I had in mind Fabian's description of how an ethnographer's role changes when performativity constitutes the theoretical premise of a project: "The ethnographer's role...is no longer that of a questioner; he or she is but a provider of occasions, a catalyst in the weakest sense, and a producer (in analogy to a theatrical producer) in the strongest" (1990:7). I set out to provide 14 occasions. Through the SPP workshops, I wanted to create an environment radically different from the everyday lives of the participants: a space and time in which they would be respected, fêted and treated as complex human beings with untapped creative capacities and imaginations. I wanted an ambiance of festivity, a celebratory and an energetic mood where they could intentionally make themselves up, perform

themselves as they might have been, or are or might someday become. I designed SPP as if I were staging an improvised performance in an imaginary world that existed only for four hours a week for 14 weeks in the VNHS/POP lounge during the spring of 2007.

After issuing an invitation that I hoped would convey a sense of fun, respect and possibility, our first workshop began with a (relatively) plain language version of the required SFU form for informed consent by human subjects to participate in research. This form—Stage 1 of the three-stage process—asked participants to consent to a process, not a product: to engage in the first six workshops, during which we would develop the program for the final event, *and* decide if we would have one at all. We broke into small groups to discuss sections of the form, each group then explained the content of their section, relayed any questions or debates their group had raised, and detailed any revisions they might wish to propose. There were lively and detailed discussions during this process about the implications of what individual ownership of stories, casual conversational exchanges and photographic or video images could entail in practice.

"You have to sign to get the money," one woman explained to the team. Another summed up my lengthy explanation of the dense forms in four words: "review, revisit, revise, maybe." No revisions were requested. Everyone signed the forms.

The first hour of each workshop was taken up with preparing the meal we would share, making individualized cards for honoraria payments and socializing. Preparing food, eating and cleaning up were, as planned, times during which social relationships, conversations and project planning usually flourished, but unevenly. Menus were planned collectively, taking account of specific nutritional needs, but more importantly appealing to various tastes (Alexeyeff 2004; Mintz and Du Bois 2002). Refusing "bare life," we sought to nourish souls as much as bodies, so each dinner was a feast. We had appetizers, entrees and desserts. We covered our tables with tablecloths, arranged centerpieces of flowers and laid out real dishes, glasses, and cutlery. Excess reigned.

While some students and participants worked on meal preparation, others made honorarium cards. The first principle that guided the SPP experiment in paying honoraria was reciprocity: an exchange of money in return for labour and knowledge, and recognition that everyone involved in the project was being paid in various ways for their work. Individualized, decorated cards including personalized inscriptions and containing cash honoraria were distributed at the end of each four-hour workshop. We sought means of performing payment that would express

the complex cultural, political and affective meanings that money holds for all of us (Mauer 2006; Simmel 2004). This process was unevenly participated in and diversely analyzed by different participants. One woman said of the cards, "I love them. I got them all sitting on my TV." Another surmised, "it's all about presentation, not about money–a gift, someone's taken the time to make a card and say 'thank you for your generous time.'" Another concluded, "Usually it's, like, 'do the thing, here's your money, now piss off'...In this project it was like, 'do the thing, here's your money, *and a card*, now piss off.'"

The third and fourth hours of each workshop were spent in processes of developing a final performance and event (maybe). We played theatre games drawn largely from Boal's *Games for Actors and Non-Actors* (1992) and Johnstone's *Improv for Storytellers* (1999). We engaged in storytelling circles using a wide range of prompts that excluded specific requests for stories about drug use, violence, child abuse, HIV or sex work. However, if anyone wanted to tell stories about those topics—and some did—we did not discourage them. The prompts I offered followed subjects like: tell a story about your name, your favorite food, a tattoo, your hometown. We took photographs and shared them at subsequent workshops. We painted. We recorded interviews, transcribed them and reviewed transcripts together. We experimented with writing scripts and monologues. Students paired up with, or formed small groups with, participants.

Improvisation was the organizing and animating principle.[14] In beginners' theatrical improvisation, the central dynamics of relationship and communication between actors is embodied in "offers" made by one, to which the appropriate response of another is "yes, and." "Yes, and" keeps communication flowing, whereas responses that effect closure of communication—"No, but"—are referred to as "blocking" and discouraged. In practice, this meant, for example, that when a jar of honey on the dinner table evoked a story by Sam about his memories of bee keeping on his family farm, Rima—the student working with Sam—suggested he consider bee keeping as the subject of his performance. They began developing a piece through recording and transcribing Sam's stories and researching bee colonies on the internet. When Ralph (a participant) pulled "recite a poem" from the hat during a storytelling circle and surprised himself by recalling a poem he had learned in elementary school, Aliya—a theatre student—engaged him in imagining how the whole group could stage the poem under Ralph's and Aliya's co-direction. This happened at the fifth workshop and Ralph had been working with Pat (another student) for three weeks previously photographing and scripting a narrated

slide show about Ralph's working life as a trucker. Students therefore carried the brunt of the responsibility to achieve an undefined goal through an improvisational process I could best describe to them as,

> Pay close attention...improvise...pick up cues...respond...support people in moving towards...something. Make sure we are ready to put on a good public performance by week 14. But, of course, don't predetermine what that might be. And remember! We might not have a performance at all.

One student later described her experience of the first few weeks of the project as like "being in a fog." Another recalled, less charitably, "I felt like I was being held hostage in John Malkovitch's brain."

After each workshop the students and I met at "after meetings" and reviewed what had happened, where each person's project was at, and what support we might offer to develop their ideas. The students and I circulated a "rolling collective fieldwork journal" by email that documented the process from multiple perspectives and kept us alert to experience, questions and dilemmas, including those of writing and sharing field notes! This was intended as a reflexive improvisational practice, extending the "yes, and" improvisational principle and the ethical-political principle of accountability to participants beyond the fieldwork encounter into a "perpetual present" practice of research design. The after-meetings were also the primary site where ethnographic documentation and reflection took place, and enacted our improvisational "surfing methodology"[15]—each week we tried to catch the waves generated by the participants, ride them as far as we could, not drown, and be ready for the next wave.

At the sixth workshop we agreed on a program for a final performance and exhibit. At this point, I requested another consent form be signed: Stage 2 of the three-stage process. This one asked participants to consent to participate in the next eight rehearsal workshops on the same terms as the first six, and up to and including the agreed-upon public finale program. The principle I was trying to put into practice was that until this turning point (where a "product" had been developed and agreed on) participants could not sincerely consent to participate in anything *but* a process of development. Although we repeated the exercise of breaking into small groups, discussing sections and reporting back, little discussion or debate ensued. No revisions were requested. Everyone signed the forms.

At each workshop up to the twelfth (of 14) I reminded everyone that we could, if we chose, conclude the project with an extra-special dinner instead of a public perform-

ance or exhibit as a finale. The participants consistently rejected this option. They wanted to put on a show of some sort for the audience they had chosen: family, friends and VNHS staff. They wanted to perform for these people. And they wanted to perform *well*. "We don't want to look like a bunch of fucked up drug addicts," one participant stipulated, and everyone nodded in agreement.

Thus came the final event, which was held in the Board Room of VNHS. It turned out to include, first, a more lavish feast than what we had become accustomed to, as well as an exhibit of photos and texts documenting the project's process. Ron (a participant) and Lesley (a student) developed a poster presentation about Ron's work as a west coast salmon fisher using transcriptions of Ron's storytelling and archival photos of his home village, fishing boats and canneries. We then presented the following program of live performances, each segment lasting approximately ten minutes:

> **Archie**, a talented writer who had taken on the role of project ethnographer read from his field notes to introduce the audience to the project and our process. At a number of sessions we had taken turns reading his notes aloud out of interest and to explore shifts between writing text, performing one's own words, and hearing one's written words performed by others.
>
> **Rod** (a participant) and **Marian** (a student) had photographed a day in the life of Sadie, Rod's dog, from Sadie's "close-to-the-ground" perspective. Rod, with Sadie lying at his feet, narrated this slide show. Rod had worked on a number of different ideas throughout the project, settling on this one about mid-way through.
>
> **Corrinne** (a participant) and **I** worked through interviews, transcriptions, editing and conversations to produce a monologue that Corrinne read aloud about her experience of being diagnosed HIV-positive. Ironically, perhaps, given my political goals in relation to performance content, this piece was the most conventional in subject matter.
>
> **Anita** (a participant) and **I** created a music video made up of photos of Anita posing in various masks and costumes to the background of Credence Clearwater Revival's "Proud Mary" (Anita's favorite song). Anita led the audience in singing along with the chorus— "Rollin', Rollin', Rollin' on a river"—while the slides were projected onto a screen behind her.
>
> **Heather** (a participant) and **Lori** (a student) presented a PowerPoint slide show that documented Heather's work in the VNHS kitchen, preparing and serving over 125 meals per day. The background music was a N'amgis Feast Song from Heather's First Nation, and Heather stood by the screen as the slide show played. By her own account, she was proud of the presentation.
>
> **Sam** (a participant) and **Rima** (a student) developed a short lecture-form presentation, illustrated by slides, about a looming, global environmental crisis—"Colony Collapse"—caused by bees abandoning their colonies.
>
> **Lyanna** (a participant), **Marian, Pat** and **Aliya** (students) worked to create a satirical presentation in photos that highlighted various aspects of Lyanna's day-to-day life and included the various roles she juggles as mother, employee, research assistant and girlfriend. Lyanna narrated the slide show. Her piece, dedicated to her late son, was moving, eloquent, humorous and visually striking.
>
> **Ralph** (a participant) and **Aliya** (theatre student) co-directed a performance of "The Highwayman," the poem that Ralph had recalled during an earlier storytelling exercise. Ralph and Aliya co-directed the whole project team in performing this poem. Ralph recited it while participants and students performed the characters: Sam played the Highwayman; Rod played the stable hand; Anita played the Landlord's daughter; Rima, Lori and Marian were King George's soldiers. Aliya directed. This group performance concluded our show.

Following a wrap-up and evaluation session a week after this finale, I requested signatures on a final consent form. Again, I was trying to put into practice a performative and improvisational principle: that participants could not know until after the performance/exhibit event how they themselves felt about it, or how the audience they had invited responded and thus contributed to creating new meanings and significances of the event. This final form included permission for the students and I to write and publish articles about the project; to create a manual about the project that would include photographs on the VNHS website; and to publicly distribute a DVD made of the finale. Again, we broke into small groups, discussed each section of the final form and reported back to the group as a whole. There was considerable discussion, particularly about putting the DVD and photographs on the VNHS website. The only revision requested, however, was that a "non-commercial use only" caveat be included in the release of any materials for publication. Researchers (the students and I) were to be restricted to publication in academic journals and use of materials for educational purposes in classrooms. Everyone signed the forms.

Relationships were good. Participants were happy with the event and the response it had received. Fellow feeling was running high. For the participants, raising questions and objections at this point might have been socially awkward; they may not have wanted to appear ungrateful for a new experience or as if they were not holding up their side of the reciprocal relationship, or contract, between researchers and researched. Perhaps some feared that raising objections would be hurtful to me, since my investment in the project was obvious.[16] In

retrospect, a process that offered participants an opportunity to provide confidential evaluations might have been more informative.

A Pause...for Reflections, Surprises and New Questions

> In abandoning any lingering yearnings for purity—a search which anthropological work should long have brought into question in any case—scholars will have to accept partial solutions, concepts that are useful but flawed; they will have to themselves self-consciously occupy margins...We hear, then, a repeated theme—a call to humility about the constructs with which we must work but also a call to engaged scholarship.
>
> —Mertz (2002:369)

One of the greatest promises of ethnography is its capacity to surprise. So we pause, rather than conclude, at the end of specific research projects, more often than not with new questions rather than definitive answers. I pause now to share reflexive reflections about useful and inevitably flawed work, and to pose new questions about experimental, engaged ethnography.[17]

I have been continually confronted by questions about "outcomes" in relation to SPP. These questions range, depending on who asks—doctors, medical researchers, health care providers, advocates, activists, artists, researchers, colleagues, students or research participants. "Did SPP help participants manage their addictions more positively?" "Did they comply with HIV medication regimes more effectively?" "What policy or program recommendations were produced?" "How was it different from other community theatre projects?" "Was it just another fun thing for researchers that exploited research participants like all other research projects?" "What was *the point* of SPP, anyway?"

Certainly, the usual "outcomes" increasingly demanded by funders of social sciences, arts and humanities research and community artistic performances did not emerge. No team members stopped using illicit drugs. We tested no licit drugs. We asked no questions about intimate sexual practices. We broke no new ground in theatrical aesthetics. We offered no policy or program recommendations. We cannot point to any change in the material conditions of participants' lives. Nor has the three-stage process for negotiating informed consent been taken up by other researchers working in Downtown Eastside Vancouver, although many make sincere efforts to insure research participants understand the forms they are signing and, in day to day relationships, often *must* de facto negotiate and renegotiate "consent." This new

process for consent was not adopted as general policy for research at VNHS either, although their Research Committee continues to try to hold researchers accountable in various ways.

In 2009, the Canadian Institutes for Health Research (CIHR), Aboriginal Community-Based Research (CBR-A) Operating Grants Program soundly rejected a proposal several colleagues and I submitted in partnership with VNHS/POP for funding to carry out a three-year research program that would have built on and expanded the work we began in SPP and other projects in experimental ethnography (see, for example, Krawcyzk et al. 2007). The CIHR adjudication review committee concluded that:

> Although this proposal involves communities and includes many novel, creative, and indigenous methodologies that would certainly constitute a fertile training ground for trainees...Although the involvement of community is apparent and community letters attest to strong support for the proposed project...(and)...the references and methodology are relevant...overall the committee felt this was not a *research* project. [emphasis added]

Despite this, I am confident that attributing primary value to the fieldwork process—the first principle of the "new" experimental ethnography— and considering the project *as a whole (processes and products) as a "utopian performative,"* we can claim modest success.

Therapeutic Effects of a Utopian Performative

> Utopian performatives describe small but profound moments in which performance calls the attention of the audience in a way that lifts everyone slightly above the present, into a hopeful feeling of what the world might be like if every moment of our lives were as emotionally voluminous, generous, aesthetically striking, and intersubjectively intense.
>
> —Dolan (2005:5)

Reflexive Reflections: "Addiction" is a motor force in the political economy and governance of Downtown Eastside Vancouver. Biomedical and psychological theories of addiction begin with assumptions that individuals diagnosed as "addicts" require therapy in order to be cured, normalized and managed, whether through abstinence-based 12-step Alcoholics Anonymous or Narcotics Anonymous, or harm reduction programs. The concept of therapy proposed by Tyler (1986) and explored by Castañeda (2006b) is based on different premises and goals. Tyler describes

therapy as a process "that departs from the commonsense world only in order to reconfirm it and to return us to it renewed and mindful of our renewal" (Castañeda 2006b:92; see also work by feminist ethnographers Hogan and Pink 2010 and performance studies scholars-artists Cheu 2005:137 and Nash 2005:191). I trace one of the ways SPP has rippled through structures of feeling in Downtown Eastside Vancouver since 2007—or, we might say, has had therapeutic effects there—through a lens sharpened by Dolan's idea of the "utopian performative," and by critical alternatives to biomedical-psychological concepts of therapy articulated by Hogan and Pink, Nash, and Tyler.

A few of the participants and a number of VNHS staff have commented on how participation in SPP served as a springboard for them to become more involved and less isolated. One participant later pointed to the moment when he stepped forward to take a role in "The Highwayman" as the moment when he decided to do something for other people, to stop living only for himself. The participants' chosen audience of family, friends and service providers, meanwhile, clearly enjoyed the finale event and were proud of the participants' demonstrations of talent and skill. In *not* reproducing the conventional "bare life entitlement narratives" anticipated by themselves and by the audience, I believe performers "cracked open," to use Garfinkel's term (Castaneda 2006b:78) a space in themselves and in the audience to do and imagine themselves and each other in unexpected and provocative ways. Friends and family members experienced their stigmatized mothers-fathers- aunts-uncles-cousins-wives-lovers-husbands-sisters-brothers-friends as smart, funny, attractive, admirable persons. Stigmatized mothers-fathers-aunts-uncles-cousins-wives-lovers-husbands-sisters-brothers-friends experienced themselves being sensed as such by people they care about.

Audience members experienced the "HIV positive-IVDU-Sex Worker-Homeless-Urban-Aboriginal-Other" as proud, knowledgeable, entertaining performers. The HIV positive-IVDU-Sex Worker-Urban-Aboriginal-Other experienced the "Doctor-Social Worker-Nurse-Pharmacist-Security Guard" as laughing, clapping, singing-along persons. Many staff members expressed surprise about the talents and knowledge displayed by the performers. No one *became* or consumed an "Other." Differences that preceded the event succeeded it.

Surprises: While my focus when designing SPP had been on creating a space for stories other than "bare life entitlement narratives," to be told, following writers who espouse experimental performance methodologies (see particularly, Conquergood 2006; Hamera 2006; Stewart

2005), I was intrigued by proposals that performance not only represents and re-circulates pre-existing knowledge but may itself be a generative source of new knowledge (Magnat 2005; Quirt and Kugler 2004; Riley 2009; Sandahl and Auslander 2005). I believe the "liveness" of the SPP final performance (Auslander 1999), the multisensory and embodied experience of performing and witnessing, and the affective "flow" between audiences and performers (Schechner 2002) were as significant for audiences and performers as the content of the stories themselves. Even less tangible but no less significant were the ways that traces of the relationships developed during the 14 workshops shaped and manifested within and through the final event.

Questions: What if rather than aspiring to legitimate ourselves in the terms of natural, social or policy sciences, we assessed the ethical-political and intellectual-artistic value—the effects—of "experimental performative ethnography"—by criteria articulating the following three principles: (1) an experimental ethnographic principle of assigning primary value to participants' experiences of the process they have engaged in; (2) a performative principle as articulated by Powell and Shaffer: "The most exciting performances...are those that make the audience think differently about the world far after the performance is done by capturing our attention *with the performance*" (2009:4); and, (3) a political principle that values interventions in the politics of affect:

> What the performative approach shows is in just how many registers the political and political action operate, even as it necessarily questions straitjacketed notions of what the political and political action consist of....the performative approach can provide...several new means of enunciation and an ethic. [Thrift 2003:2022; see also Carmody and Love 2008]

Material Effects of a Therapeutic Utopian Performative

I trace the individual and collective "therapeutic" effects described above as *simultaneously* political-economic effects.

Reflexive Reflections: As I described earlier, the research and community arts industries are important sectors of the Downtown Eastside political economy and the occupational niche of research subject-community participant is expanding. This means that research participants may reinforce their entitlements to services and accumulate some paraprofessional capital and legitimate-legal employment possibilities by their participation. The work they can secure is poorly paid on a piece-rate basis,

temporary and part-time. Nonetheless, these jobs are safer and freer from direct violence than work in the sex, drugs and petty crime industries, a consideration particularly significant for women. Employment as a research participant is only ever one of many strategies available to keep the backbone from scratching the belly in a day-to-day struggle for basic survival. It does not replace other sources of income or offer possibilities of social mobility beyond the enclosures of subalternity.

Research participants in Downtown Eastside Vancouver consistently and vociferously voice critiques of the political economy we work in. But many also say that along with the need for money, they are motivated to exchange their blood, urine, memories and stories with researchers by the sincere desire to contribute to discovering vaccines and cures and to changing policy. Many say, too, that they welcome opportunities to "tell their stories" and to be heard by interested researchers and the audiences we can reach, and to develop friendships across difference. That they receive pittances of cash in exchange does not exhaust explanations of their motivations to participate any more than the fact that we researchers receive substantial financial rewards and accrue professional capital as collectors of blood, urine, memories and stories exhausts explanations of our motivations. That we inhabit contradictory positions that shift and change over time, that we never fully understand ourselves and that we desire each other's recognition, approval and friendship are what researchers and research subjects have in common. Of course, we experience similarities *and* differences from our diverse locations within the unequal and unjust social worlds we share.

Surprises: I have come to consider the participants' final granting of permission to us to publish as a gift in the Maussian sense; that is, there is no such thing as an "altruistic gift" given without expectation of and desire for return. Gifts are always part of complex systems of exchanges. Each act of gift-giving necessarily simultaneously effects payment of a past debt and incurs a future debt. Refusal of these obligations severs social relations—such as when a gift is refused or returned, when one fails to reciprocate, or when, as givers, we deny the expectation of return or the capacity of the recipient to return the gift in some form, someday. Gifting cycles keep open the possibility of ongoing social relations into an unpredictable future. Unlike the one-off interview, completion of a questionnaire or deposit of bodily fluids and payment or receipt of cash for the same that circumscribe research relationships within the moment of exchange, our exchanges of stories and cash and food and sociality through ethnography and performance in SPP extended over time.

Question: What if time facilitated more possibilities for negotiation of relationships and interactions and thus for moving—*even by a small step*—away from a commodity exchange and—*even by a small step*—towards a gift cycle along the commodity-gift continuum?[18]

Informed Consent to Material Effects of Therapeutic Utopian Performatives

Reflexive Reflections: Challenging and often fraught relationships of exchange and reciprocity between anthropologists and research subjects are nothing new. However, time-space compression, intensified commodification of all aspects of human life and the particular form of Taylorization of research in places like Downtown Eastside Vancouver produce complex ethical and political challenges for ethnographers and artists working in what are now commonly referred to as "guinea pig" economies.[19] In taking their place as "research subjects" in medical and epidemiological HIV/AIDS and addiction research, Downtown Eastside Vancouverites join the ranks of human subjects in clinical trials that have swelled, globally, from 4000 in 1995 to 400,000 in 1999 (see Abadie 2010; Elliott 2008; Petryna 2009; Rajan 2007).

Anderson and Weijer argue that the irreducible ethical question is whether an individual participates in clinical trials research as a result of "undue inducement" (2002:360). This condition can only be satisfied if participants have sufficient access to other sources of income and morally uncompromising options to render their participation a meaningful choice (see also Dickert and Grady 1999; Rajan 2007; Weijer and Emanuel 2000). In impoverished zones like Downtown Eastside Vancouver, Anderson's premise is simply not met. Endemic poverty renders any notion of "choice"—to be a research participant, a (licit or illicit) drug consumer or seller, a community arts project participant, a petty criminal, a binner or a sex worker—too compromised to be politically or morally meaningful. Nonetheless, even in conditions of economic desperation in Downtown Eastside Vancouver, subaltern persons do, quite regularly, turn down invitations to participate in projects they find too objectionable for various reasons. They may passively resist, through silence, withholding or other acts of non-compliance if they do officially participate. They resign in protest if participation experiences are unsatisfactory.[20]

Surprises: When informed consent forms were first required beginning in earnest about 15 years ago, it was not unusual for potential research subjects to become so intimidated or just generally put off that they would opt out of participating, a situation that continues in many contexts today. Ethnographers call this "the chill factor"

and lament it loudly (Bradbund 2006). Initiating relationships through the signing of legal contracts threatens ethnographer's desires for "rapport," "access" and "dialogic communication." In Downtown Eastside Vancouver though, these days, research subjects most often respond to requests for signatures saying things like "Oh yeah, I've signed lots of these. Just gimme the pen."

Surprise: My mantra on the subject of ethics and informed consent throughout SPP—and the one by which I have written and taught the question for many years— was "consent is a process that emerges from relationships; it is not an event sealed in a contract." Now I would argue that my initial formulations were too simplistic and remained trapped in a moralistic and abstract either–or binary: relationship *or* contract. Consent forms, after all, are far more legally binding on researchers than on research subjects. While they increasingly serve as "liability insurance" for universities, they continue to bear the traces of their origins in demands by, particularly, indigenous peoples, for protection of research subjects' legal rights (see Fassin 2006). Reflecting on the experience now, I suggest that we *integrated* contracts and relationships in practice and lived experience that necessarily produced excesses that the dualistic binary could never contain.

In SPP, the political and economic underbelly of our relationship was made visible and experienced bodily and affectively throughout SPP by *explicitly* performing *ethical consent*. We *demonstrated* through the three-stage process of negotiating consent and signing new forms that participants *could withhold* their ultimate consent and could exercise the power of a final no *after being paid*. I believe this practice generated a small shift in the power embedded in the researcher–researched relationship that was *experienced as possibility* throughout the project.

Questions: What if the routinization and repetition of the so-called "ethical informed consent process" has subverted the influence consent forms *actually exert* in the shaping of lived experiences of research relationships? *What if* the effects of the pro forma legalistic script recede, and the improvisational, performative and far more challenging face-to-face human relationships ascend? *What if* we surrender the protective shields of professional expertise or step-by-step codified methods set out in textbooks calling themselves "toolkits?"

The Questions: So what? Who cares?

Weems accuses feminist, postcolonial and other researchers she classifies as committed to "emancipatory ethnography" of authoring "victory narratives…(about)… how they eventually gained trust and better data through

a combination of reflexive collaboration and ethics of caring…[and who]…offer confessions to the research community as evidence of…authentic connection with participants" (2006:995; see, for example, Tomaselli 2003). From a position in Marxist anthropology, Smith (2006) critiques the privileging of experiential knowledge that ignores the fact that "The Logic of Capital is the Real Which Lurks in the Background" (the title of Smith's work) behind social relations in capitalist societies. These authors caution ethnographers against being seduced by naïve realism and empiricism.

In SPP we *did* put on a final performance and exhibit, and the participants *did* give final consent to our "extraction of surplus value" from them: I *am* writing and publishing this article and others. Students *did* each receive stipends, a course credit, and valuable training and experience. Participants each received honoraria, and we were all treated to 14 unusually sumptuous meals (plus 14 take-homes), fun and creative experiences, training and reputation that advanced our respective competitive edges as researchers and research participants in the local research economy. We did not overcome the fundamental political, economic and social differences between researchers and research participants. A project is not a revolution.

I believe that we succeeded in creating *experiences of ethical engagement* in the *context of embodied, affective relationships* that generated *effects* that *may* have the *potential* to be politically productive in the mutually constitutive realms of affect, memory, political power and economic survival. I also hope that through writing, teaching and speaking about this project we will contribute to conversations in anthropology, performance studies and related fields[21] and perhaps beyond into what we euphemistically call "the real world."

Question: What do you think?

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Notes

1 Sam Cvetkovic, Corinne Gurney, Archie Mayan Jr., Ralph, Anita Peace Maker, Rod Rock Thunder, Ron Skulsh, Lyanna Storm and Heather Walkus.

2 Lesley Cerny, Pat Feindel, Lori Gabrielson, Aliya Griffin, Marian Krawcyzk and Rima Noureddine.

3 This article is excerpted from a larger work in progress based in ten years of immersed ethnography in Downtown Eastside Vancouver and focused on three demarcated "research projects," of which SPP was the third. The working title is "Complicity: Performing Ethnography, Autobiography, Ethics and Politics."

4 The Principal Investigator was Dr. C.K. Patton; co-investigators were Dr. M. Tyndall, Irene Goldstone, Dara Culhane and Olena Hankivsky. It was funded by the Canadian Aids Network for Research and Action (CANFAR).

5 Downtown Eastside Vancouver has a long history of political activism. Analyses and language of diverse left-wing and popular movements permeate the consciousness and vocabulary of many neighbourhood residents. Researchers are regularly confronted by challenges to explain themselves in these terms.

6 See also Bauman (2004), Bourgois and Schonberg (2009), Rajan (2007), Sharma (2009) and Sylvester (2006).

7 Discussions and debates about formulations of "subalternity" by Spivak and others are vast and it is beyond the scope of this article to address them in any depth. To trace Spivak's development of the concept see Spivak 1988, 1999 and 2000.

8 As a sample survey, see Blomley (1998), Collins et al. (2005), Culhane (2003a, 2003b, 2005, 2009), Manzoni et al. (2007), Mehrabadi et al. (2009), O'Donnell (2007), Pullen and Matthews (2006), Robertson (2006, 2007), Robertson and Culhane (2005), Roe (2009/1010), Shannon et al. (2005), Wood et al. (2008), Woolford (2001) and Wunker (2008).

9 Following Shuman (2006) and Norrick (2005), "available narratives are the stories that become tellable in a particular context about a particular topic" (Shuman 2006:150).

10 For in-depth and comprehensive discussions of the current state of these debates in anthropology, see Bradbund (2006), Brenneis (2006), Davidson (2007), Fassin (2006), Garber et al. (2000), Huisman (2008), Lederman (2006), Marshall (2003), Meskell and Pells (2005), Pels (1999) and Strathern (2006).

11 To demand that anthropologists and their ethnographic processes be accountable to the people they engage is not, of course, a new idea. This has long been a tenet of feminist and indigenous anthropology (see, for example, Visweswaran [1994] and Tuhiwai-Smith [1999], respectively), and it is an important raison d'être of most applied anthropology.

12 A report resulting from an investigation headed by retired Police Chief, Doug LePard, released in August 2010, criticized the VPD's and RCMP's handling of these cases, and called for a public inquiry (LePard 2010).

13 Here, I am drawing on critical scholarship on community theatre practices. See, for example, Cheu (2005), Dolan (2005), Edmondson (2005, 2007), Goodman and deGay (2000), Hutchison (2005), Magnat (2005), Mündel (2003), Nash (2005), Rose (2008), Salverson (1996), Sandahl and Auslander (2005) and Szeman (2005).

14 For more on the potentialities of considering improvisation as central to ethnography, see Ingold and Hallam 2007:1-24; Malkki 2007:162-187; Riley 2009:214-222; Sawyer 2001:149-162.

15 I am grateful to Sabine Silberberg for sharing this term that she invented to describe her own ethnographic work with drug users in Vancouver.

16 Thanks to Lesley Cerny for pointing this out.

17 Thanks to Adrienne Burk for suggesting the idea of concluding with a "pause" rather than a conventional "conclusion."

18 See Morris 2007 on Derrida's discussion of the relationship between time and reciprocity.

19 See Hecht 2006, Petryna et al. 2006 and Veissière 2009 for discussions about ethical-political dilemmas faced by ethnographers in these zones.

20 Research subjects exercise agency in determining what form their participation will take. See, for example, Castañeda 2006b on research participants as "emergent audiences" for "ethnographer's installations," and Ortner 1995 on "ethnographic refusal." Recent work on reconceptualizing agency is apropos. See, for example, Mahmood 2005.

21 See Castaneda 2009 on "expanded documentation" and experimental ethnography.

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Articles

Sharia and Shah Bano: Multiculturalism and Women's Rights

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Abstract: This article is a comparative examination of the 2005 sharia controversy surrounding the establishment of faith-based arbitration in Ontario, Canada, and a similar controversy in India after the 1985 Supreme Court Ruling favouring the claim of Shah Bano, a Muslim woman who challenged her husband in court for extended maintenance in contravention of Muslim Personal Law. I use the two controversies to interrogate the contentious issue of group rights and women's rights with particular reference to religious-based personal laws. The two cases demonstrate the patriarchal aspects of personal laws in the private and public realms and their politicization in the public realm. They also underscore the limits of multiculturalism in its potential to deal with the impacts of multicultural accommodation of group rights on the equality rights of women within these groups. My paper emphasizes the need to move beyond multiculturalism and highlights the strategic importance of mainstreaming feminist citizenship and human rights discourses into legal norms and practices relating to family law issues in multicultural societies.

Keywords: multiculturalism, personal laws, women's rights, cultural rights

Résumé : Cet article fait un examen comparatif de la controverse de 2005 sur la charia, autour de la création de tribunaux religieux d'arbitrage familial, en Ontario, au Canada, et une controverse similaire en Inde, suite à la décision de 1985 de la Cour Suprême qui donnait raison à la revendication de Shah Bano, une femme musulmane qui poursuivait son mari pour l'avoir maintenue pour une longue période de temps en contravention avec la Muslim Personal Law (c.-à-d. la charia). J'utilise les deux controverses pour interroger la question litigieuse des droits collectifs et des droits des femmes en référant particulièrement aux lois sur les personnes à fondement religieux. Les deux exemples démontrent les aspects patriarcaux des lois sur les personnes dans les domaines privé et public, et leur politisation dans le domaine public. Ils soulignent aussi les limites du multiculturalisme dans son potentiel à gérer les impacts de l'accommodement multiculturel des droits collectifs sur le droit à l'égalité des femmes au sein de ces groupes. Mon article souligne le besoin d'aller au-delà du multiculturalisme et met en lumière l'importance stratégique d'intégrer les discours féministes sur la citoyenneté et les droits humains dans les normes et pratiques juridiques relatives aux enjeux de loi familiale dans les sociétés multiculturelles.

Mots-Clés : multiculturalisme, lois sur les personnes, droits des femmes, droits culturels

Introduction

This article traces the unfolding and outcome of the sharia controversy in Ontario, Canada and the Shah Bano conflict in India to discuss their similarities and differences in relation to the key issues of women's rights, cultural rights and identity politics in multicultural settings. Specifically, I draw insights from the two cases to examine their implications for multiculturalism and women's rights as equal citizens.

The rights of cultural minorities and the ideals and values of democratic citizenship are two areas that have received considerable attention in recent times (Kymlicka and Norman 2000). They are also the areas that have caused the most tension in Canada and countries such as France, England and Germany with a significant number of immigrants. In these countries, personal laws and other cultural symbols (e.g., veiling) have become the battleground for the defense of purportedly "authentic" religious and ethnic traditions and identities, with gender often being the focal point in these battles. Multiculturalism has provided a context for groups to negotiate their collective cultural rights and citizenship rights as part of multicultural accommodation and equality of citizenship (see Asad 2006; Kepel 2004; Soysal 2001; Turner 1993; Wilson 1997; Yuval-Davis 1997). "Culture" is also becoming a "ubiquitous synonym for identity" (Benhabib 2002:1; Sahlins 1999), and the "claims of cultures" for recognition and protection (Kymlicka 1996) have transformed the "political" and "public" arenas into sites of conflict and contestation. These developments have brought into sharp relief the tension between the rights of religious minorities and the equality rights of women in multicultural societies.

A dramatic manifestation of these tensions occurred on 8 September 2005, when several cities in Canada and across Europe held mass protests against a proposal to establish sharia courts in the Province of Ontario, Canada. Similar tensions have arisen in the multicultural societies

of South Asia with plural legal systems governing the public and private realms. A highly publicized instance is the Shah Bano case in India, where the Supreme Court, in 1985, ruled in favour of Shah Bano, a divorced Muslim woman who challenged her husband for extended maintenance in contravention of Muslim Personal Law. The opposition of Muslim groups to the court ruling forced the Government of India to override the Supreme Court's decision and enact the Muslim Women's Protection of Rights on Divorce law, which entrenched Muslim personal law and placed the responsibility for protecting divorced women after the *iddat*[1] period on their natal families and not their husbands. In Canada, protests against sharia courts resulted in the government of Ontario moving away from religious arbitration in family disputes, previously permitted under an arbitration law of the province.

I use the sharia and Shah Bano cases as comparative sites to interrogate the contentious issue of group rights and women's citizenship rights with particular reference to religious-based personal laws. My paper falls within the tradition of the comparative approach in anthropology, and is in keeping with critical legal anthropological (Moore 2001; Wilson 1997) and feminist discourses on citizenship in national and transnational settings (McCain and Grossman 2009; Merry 2006; Mukhopadhyay 1994; Sweetman 2004). My interest in personal laws partly stems from my research on personal law disputes involving Christian women in the southern Indian state of Kerala. My purpose in comparing Canada and India, however, needs elaboration.

Multiculturalism emerged in Canada as the "official doctrine and corresponding practices" (Fleras and Elliott 1992:22) to manage (Bannerji 2000) and accommodate the cultural diversity of immigrants, Aboriginal communities and French and English groups (Fleras and Elliott 1992). Charles Taylor (1992:25) characterizes the "politics of multiculturalism" as "politics of recognition," with two distinct components. The first relates to the equal rights of citizens regardless of their religious or cultural affiliations; the second is the recognition given to unique identities of groups, as a basis for positively differential treatment (such as native self-government and protective discrimination favouring minority groups). The rationale for multicultural citizenship in Canada, according to Kymlicka (1996), is "compensatory," as in the case of First Nations, and "inclusive," as it applies to new immigrants.

Historically, Canadian secular laws emerged from within a largely Christian ethos which influenced Anglo-French common law and still shapes public articulation of moral views or opinions on many social issues (see Chaterjee 2006:61; Kymlicka 1996). When the rights of

cultural communities began to be recognized, a uniform code of social and civil laws had already been established (Mahajan 1998). However, religious minorities in Ontario (e.g., Jews and Mennonites) have been availing themselves of the provincial arbitration laws to resolve family disputes and personal law matters using religious laws outside the formal Canadian court system (Kymlicka 1996). Federal and provincial governments also encourage private arbitration of disputes under arbitration laws in Canada, as Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) mechanisms to provide speed and efficiency in resolving disputes, and to off-load cases from the overloaded Canadian courts. In the case of personal laws and private arbitrations, ADR mechanisms would offer religious and cultural minorities autonomy over family law, and would be consistent with Canada's policy on multicultural accommodation of immigrant minorities.

India has no official "multicultural policy," perhaps given its evolution as a "historical society" (like other South Asian countries) with different groups co-existing for long periods of time, in contrast to the primarily immigrant societies of Canada and the United States (for a discussion of this distinction and its implications, see McGarry 1998:215). Nonetheless, India is a hugely diverse and plural society, and the Indian state is constitutionally entrusted with the task of guaranteeing equal citizenship rights to religious, linguistic and cultural minorities based on political secularism and fundamental rights in the constitution. Specifically, Article 44 of the constitution enshrines the directive principle for creating a uniform civil code (UCC) based on gender equality for all religious communities in personal and family law matters. This has become a huge challenge and a political nightmare in light of the colonial practice of codifying separate personal laws for different religious communities. This legacy of legal pluralism has been criticized for institutionalizing personal laws that were previously flexible with myriads of local variations within each religion into rigid religious categories to be administered by religious authorities (Kishwar 1994). Shah Bano's case became the most publicized case in the history of personal law litigation in India, ultimately pitting Indian secularism against Muslim religious authorities, with the latter prevailing in the end.

Personal laws are specific to different religious communities and govern such areas as marriage, guardianship, divorce, adoption, inheritance, succession and maintenance. They have two distinct but interconnected functions: as cultural identity and boundary markers on the one hand, and as a distributive instrument for the differential allocation of rights and entitlements among

group members, on the other (Shachar 2000:203). Personal law is invariably one of the areas affected by the multicultural accommodation of minority groups and their claim for recognition as distinct identities (see Shachar 2000). It is also yet another instance of the near universal incongruity between citizenship rights and entitlements, on the one hand, and their non-realization for women living under plural legal systems, on the other (see Philips 2003/04:88). Personal laws are generally discriminatory to women in many parts of the world regardless of their religious, secular or theocratic orientations (see Abou-Habib 2004 on Arab countries; AN-Naim 1990 and Souaiaia 2008 on Muslim Law; and Jaising 2005 on South Asia). Prevailing systems of unequal dowry endowments, male-biased inheritance practices and discriminatory divorce, maintenance, adultery and child custody laws provide ample evidence of the entrenchment of unequal gender entitlements within personal laws.[2] Personal laws also function as "gatekeepers" for the moral control of women within the family and community and are predicated on essentializing cultural ideologies that construct women as economic dependents, chaste wives, good mothers and obedient daughters (Kapur and Cossman 1996). The defence of culture and religion often surfaces around the private realms of family and kinship and the preservation of patriarchal privileges and unequal gender entitlements (see Philips 2003). For these reasons, personal law has been an important focus of women's groups challenging gender discrimination in India, Sri Lanka and other South Asian countries.

Gender discriminatory personal laws often coexist with constitutional guarantees for the equal rights of women as citizens, and the governments of many South Asian countries are reluctant to enforce these guarantees particularly in the case of the personal laws of minority groups. For example, despite resistance among sections of the Hindu majority, the Indian government undertook the reform of Hindu law to conform to gender equality provisions in the constitution. On the other hand, minority Muslim leaders have thwarted similar efforts to reform Muslim law.

One of the arguments offered in support of religious-based personal laws among immigrant communities in Canada is their assumed rootedness in the traditions and cultures from which immigrants come (see Boyd 2004). This rationale for continuing such "traditions" comes dangerously close to "ethnic essentialism" (Perry 1992) and "cultural fundamentalism" (Stolcke 1995), and to reinforcing difference between mainstream Canadians and immigrant groups (Grillo 2003; also see Kamlani and Keung 2004). Legal pluralism in religious-based personal

laws in India, as previously mentioned, is a legacy of British colonialism. Customary and religious personal laws in much of South Asia also evolved and incorporated concepts and principles from colonial legal systems and from the personal laws of other religious communities (see Goonesekere 2005:220 on Sri Lanka). Thus, Engineer (1992:6) warns against seeing the sharia as "totally divine or immutable"; and others have traced the evolution of sharia as the "canon law of Islam" through the dynamics of interpretation and historical circumstances (see Hurst 2008). The commonly labelled "sharia" law in many parts of the Muslim world contains a great deal of variation in both principles and practices. The reform of Muslim Law in some countries coexists with hard-line interpretations of sharia in others (see Van Engeland-Nourai 2009). It is important, therefore, to acknowledge the evolutionary history, diversity, mutability and flexibility of personal laws of immigrant communities to avoid multicultural accommodation becoming a vehicle for cultural relativism. In these contexts, perceptions of "immutable" and "static" culture as applied to immigrant groups are both unfounded and inimical to women's claims to justice and equal citizenship (see Herskovitz 1972; Markowitz 2004; Merry 2006; Perry 1992 for their critiques of the culture concept).

It is misleading as well, to consider gender discriminatory practices as part of the fixed traditions of "other cultures" and religions (Volpp 2001; see also Modood 1998; Narayan 1997). It would be equally problematic to support the continuation of gender oppressive practices in the name of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism has come to include more than the aesthetics and rituals of custom, worship rights and tolerance for religious symbols (see Stein 2007:27). There are instances where it even involves contentious practices such as polygyny, the forced marriage of minors, honour killings, exclusionary gender traditions within places of worship and religious schools, and state-sanctioned private arbitration forums run by gender-biased male religious leaders (Bakht 2004; Jiménez 2005a; Reddy 2008; Stein 2007). Recognizing this reality, the United Nations Human Development Program Report (2004:58) has asserted that: "The accommodation of customary law cannot be seen as an entitlement to maintain practices that violate human rights no matter how 'traditional' or 'authentic' they may claim to be."

The question of group rights is a contentious one (Warren 2006). Critics of liberalism contend that the liberal focus on individualism is incompatible with the protection and special rights that minority cultures require (Kymlicka 1992), while its advocates question the claim of ethnic and religious minorities for special status

(Kulkathas 1992). Multiculturalism has also become the scapegoat for the fault lines of race (Khan 1993), gender and ethnicity with Moller-Okin (1999) taking the extreme position of declaring that multiculturalism is bad for women. As Volpp (2001) observes, the multiculturalism-versus-feminism dichotomy is a flawed dichotomy for a number of reasons. It ignores intra-cultural contestation and victimizes minority women by denying them agency. It deflects attention away from patriarchy and other structural inequalities, such as race and class, that shape cultural practices and their expressions in different contexts. Multiculturalism is also problematic insofar as it is used as an instrument to maintain the patriarchal status quo (Khan 1995; Razack 1991), and for managing diversity by transferring the state's responsibility for its citizens well being—in this case women—to their communities. Criminal trials in the United States, where crimes against women have been judged using the "culture as defence" argument, which gives more significance to women's membership within their cultural groups than their status and rights as American citizens, best exemplify this point (Benhabib 2002; Donovan 2003). While women are by no means a unitary category and part of their identity and rights come from group membership, cultural groups are also not unitary groups and internal dissent and divisions exist among all groups (Kulkathas 1992). Sex equality, meaning non-subordination to men (MacKinnon 2006), and preserving religious or cultural identity and integrity need not be mutually exclusive ideals (MacKinnon 2005:277). This is also the argument used by "intersectional feminists" to critique the secular–religious dichotomy (see Baines 2009; Kortweig 2008).

However, the experiences of religious minorities and Aboriginal groups in India and Canada, respectively, prove that cultural and religious sensitivity often takes priority over women's rights. For example, cultural identity may be intertwined with patriarchal privileges in the areas of descent, inheritance, citizenship and child custody rights. This is the case in many Arab states, among Aboriginal communities in Canada, and religious minorities in India (see Curry 2007; Razack 1991; West 2002 on Canada; Nathani 1996 on India; and Abou-Habib 2004 on Arab countries). The challenge for feminists, activists and anthropologists writing on and working for women's equality in South Asian societies, has been to maintain a fine balance between supporting the integrity and cohesiveness of cultural minorities on the one hand, and women's individual rights on the other.

Women's groups in many multicultural societies of South Asia are increasingly turning their attention to the global languages of citizenship and human rights (Coomeraswamy 2005; Kymlicka 1996; McClain and Grossman 2009; Reddy 2008). The discourses around citizenship and human rights have also acquired culture specific meanings in keeping with local contexts and traditions (Merry 2003, 2006). A number of South Asian countries (including Muslim majority countries) are also signatories to international conventions on gender equality and human rights. Public discussions of multiculturalism in Canada and Europe seldom capture these discursive shifts in the source countries of new immigrants. Western commentaries are often oblivious to the role of agentic "third world" women who use the law to challenge discrimination within the family or participate in local movements to make formal gender equality a reality.

The challenge multiculturalism faces in addressing minority women's citizenship rights in countries such as Canada, has led to calls for a new multicultural paradigm that would move beyond the group-versus-individual dichotomy (see Bakht 2005; Reddy 2008). The anthropologist, Terence Turner (1993) suggests that the revolutionary potential of multiculturalism in contemporary societies lies in fostering shared and flexible values, and generating self-consciously formed groups and networks around collective struggles for universal human rights. The question raised in this paper is how we may harness such a democratic culture to serve the interests of substantive gender equality, since Turner himself does not suggest an answer. Multiculturalism, in my view, has become a sterile discourse since it offers little by way of a framework for balancing the issue of group rights and women's rights.

The sharia and Shah Bano cases underscore the strategic importance of mainstreaming minority women's voices and experiences and incorporating feminist citizenship and human rights discourses into legal norms and practices. Equal citizenship, or fulfilling the ideals of "inclusion, membership, and belonging" (McCain and Grossman 2009:1), is as important an ideal for women in cultural groups, as multiculturalism is for enabling the rights of the same groups in the wider society. Feminist theorizing of citizenship has moved beyond the liberal notion of gender-neutral citizenship to emphasize the status, entitlements, responsibilities, identity and agency aspects involving both individuals and their communities (Agacinski 1998; Lister 2001; Meer and Sever 2004; Sen 1994). The Gender-Differentiated Citizenship model advocated by both Lister (2001) and Agacinski (1998) calls for the inclusion of sexual differentiation into the very definition of citizenship without, however, disintegrating into sexual segregation or sexual essentialism. The Gender-Pluralist Model of citizenship goes further by calling

women to engage in "struggles against the multiple forms in which the category 'woman' is constructed and subordinated" (Mouffe 1992:337), since sex inequality is only one among other interrelated modes of oppressions emerging from racial, ethnic and class locations. Citizenship has also become an important political tool for feminists to challenge the public–private divide, for bringing gender inequalities within marriage and family into the public realm and for negotiating between the citizenship rights of cultural communities and women's right as equal citizens (Philips 2003/2004). As the National Association of Women and the Law (NAWL) in Canada has noted, the public–private dichotomy invariably disadvantages women based on a narrow conception of citizenship as entailing public issues and not private experiences (Boyd 2004:33).

In the next two sections, I describe the salient aspects of the sharia and Shah Bano controversies. I then compare the two conflicts in terms of multiculturalism, women's rights, the role of the state and cultural identity politics. Lastly, I discuss the implications of the two controversies for interrogating the relationship between cultural rights and women's citizenship rights in multicultural contexts. I examine some of the recommendations of Canadian and Indian feminists for resolving the dilemma of group rights and women's rights with regard to personal laws. I also undertake a critical evaluation of the safeguards proposed by Marion Boyd (2004) in her report to the Ontario government on the feasibility of using religious laws in family disputes. In my concluding remarks, I emphasize the importance of citizenship and the legal domain in addressing the issue of women's rights with respect to family law issues in multicultural contexts.

The Sharia Controversy in Ontario

The sharia controversy in Ontario began in 2003 with the announcement by Syed Mumtaz Ali, an Ontario lawyer and President of the Canadian Society of Muslims, that a new organization called the Islamic Institute of Civil Justice (IICJ) has been established to conduct arbitration of family disputes among Canadian Muslims according to sharia law under Ontario's arbitration laws (Boyd 2004:3). Arbitration practices are well established in Ontario as a form of resolving disputes, with decisions subject to appeals in the Canadian courts. As noted previously, some religious minority groups in Ontario were already using the arbitration system to resolve family disputes in religious courts. The Arbitration Act of 1991 gave a higher profile and legitimacy to arbitration and reduced the discretion of the court in supervising arbitrations (Boyd 2004:11).

It was perfectly appropriate for the IICJ, or any other organization[3] to consider arbitration mechanisms as a means of resolving family disputes according to Muslim religious laws. However, the IICJ failed to communicate its intentions properly, and perhaps it may have not thought through the full implications of what it was proposing to carry out. Syed Ali announced that Muslim arbitration would be the only option open to "good Muslims" and that the decisions taken in arbitration hearings would be final and binding on the parties involved in the arbitration process without appeal to Canadian courts (Ali 1994; Boyd 2004; Hurst 2004, May 22:A01). These statements turned out to be both overreaching and misleading, and led to comments and criticisms among Muslims and non-Muslims in Ontario.

Faced with rising controversy, the Government of Ontario invited Marion Boyd, a former Attorney General, to undertake a review of Ontario's arbitration process dealing with family disputes and specifically in regard to the impact that the use of arbitration might have on vulnerable individuals, namely "women, persons with disabilities and elderly persons" (Boyd 2004:143). In December 2004, Boyd submitted her findings in a comprehensive report leadingly titled, "Dispute Resolution in Family Law: Protecting Choice, Promoting Inclusion." Her principal finding, despite evidence to the contrary submitted to the review process by various organizations, was that there was no evidence of systematic discrimination in private arbitration around family law issues. She recommended that arbitration should be allowed to continue as an alternative dispute resolution option, even using religious laws under the Arbitration Act, subject to safeguards recommended in her report[4] (Boyd 2004:133). For Boyd (2007:465), "family law" is "a litmus test for how a jurisdiction interprets multiculturalism," and defines a community's sense of belonging according to "its own norms."

The Boyd review and report generated public and media discussions on the core issues of Canadian multiculturalism, women's rights and Muslim identity. I have summarized public discussions of these issues from several articles, commentaries, opinion pieces and exchanges that appeared in the *Globe and Mail* (Canada's national newspaper), the *Toronto Star* (the most widely circulated newspaper in Ontario), and the internet between 2003 and 2006. I attended a public meeting in Kitchener, Ontario, on the day of the sharia protest on 8 September 2005, and participated in a workshop on sharia law at Wilfrid Laurier University in Waterloo later that year. I also draw extensively from the Boyd Report (2004) that contained representations from at least 50 organizations including several women's groups and as many as 250 individuals (Boyd 2007).

In general, the opponents of religious arbitration regarded the introduction of sharia courts as a threat to the gender equality of Muslim women, while the supporters of sharia courts considered the mainstreaming of religious rbitration as the best means of securing the rights of Muslim women within a multicultural Canada. What was at stake in this debate, for sharia supporters, was Canada's reputation as a tolerant and accommodating society (Kitchener meeting, 8 September 2005).

Homo Arjomand, the Iranian-born leader of the anti-sharia movement in Ontario, captured the sentiments of the opposition to sharia courts when she observed that "multiculturalism was never meant to take away the equality rights of a group, in this case Muslim women" (Hurst 2004). She also added that multiculturalism has now "become a barrier to women's rights (Wente 2004). Ayaan Hirsi Ali, who was an outspoken critique of both multiculturalism and sharia law, blamed Western multiculturalism for giving "more importance to community rights than to the individual rights of women" (Wente 2005; see also Mallan 2004). The Canadian Muslim Congress regarded the use of religious law in a secular society as both "racist and unconstitutional" (Kamlani and Keung 2004).[5] There were also concerns that it would lead to the "ghettoization" of Muslim women within a multicultural Canada (Valpy and Howlett 2005; Wente 2004).

The supporters of sharia courts took the opposite position that denying Muslims their right to religious arbitration went against the tenets of Canadian multicultural policy, with its emphasis on integration, respect for diversity and group rights (Fahmy 2005; Globe and Mail 2005). Successful integration meant accommodating religious arbitration and protecting Muslim women from an adversarial, racially biased and discriminatory secular Canadian court system.

On the question of women's rights, sharia supporters believed that arbitration according to Muslim law would increase women's status since the Quran gives more protection to women than is usually understood (Kitchener meeting, 8 September 2005; see also Baqi 2005; Muhaseen and Haque 2004). Muslim arbitrators also tend to favour women in granting arbitral awards in private arbitration courts (Qaiser 2004). Sharia supporters argued that family disputes are often dealt with in informal and unregulated settings, and bringing them under a formal arbitration process was necessary to ensure the protection of Muslim women's interests and rights (Campbell 2005). They contended that the safeguards proposed by the Boyd report would be the best means of constraining private arbitration decisions in cases where such decisions were inconsistent with the Canadian Charter (Kutty 2004; Siddiqui 2004).

Sharia opponents, however, considered the introduction of sharia law as a "betrayal of women" (Mallan 2004) that would "lead to injustices of the most vulnerable" (Hurst 2004). Several Muslim women and men at the public meeting in Kitchener provided personal and anecdotal accounts of the injustices meted out to women by patriarchal Imams of sharia hearings (see also Boyd 2004:46-55; Jiménez 2005a). Homa Arjamond, who was one of the main speakers at this meeting, recounted cases she was involved in where women were virtually absent from the arbitration hearings which were comprised solely of male representatives. Thus, Muslim "women's agency" was clearly an issue in the controversy with supporters and detractors disagreeing as to whether women's agency could be best served in the secular Canadian courts or in Muslim religious courts (Korteweg 2008).

Another focus in the debate was Muslim identity. The Boyd report (2004:89) had acknowledged the policing function of personal laws for preserving group boundaries and for separating "outsiders" and "insiders." Syed Mumtaz Ali, in his report, the "Review of the Ontario Civil Justice System" (1994:13), had already established this Muslim identity as including diverse ethnic groups from many Islamic sects who "follow the Islamic religious tradition." Private arbitration under Muslim law would also facilitate Muslim youth to establish their identity as a minority within a larger hostile community (Boyd 2004).

Opponents to sharia courts considered efforts to construct such an overarching Muslim identity as deeply problematic. Similar efforts by the Canadian Society of Muslims (Ali and Whitehouse 1991) several years before the controversy led Shahnaz Khan (1993:54-55) to comment that such efforts were essentially reifying concepts such as "Muslim People" and "Muslim personal status law" in a rather overarching simplistic response to the racial characterization of Muslim immigrants in Canada. Hogben (2004; see also Wente 2005) dismissed the use of the term *sharia* to describe the proposed tribunal as a way of giving them "Islamic" legitimacy and "play(ing) into the fears of us, newer Canadians, arguing that we need identity markers to remain Canadian." For Homa Arjomand (Boyd 2004:47), "the issue of political identity is at the root of the demand for a Muslim arbitration process," since "sharia is not only a religion; it is intrinsically connected with the state" in Muslim societies where "it controls every aspect of an individual's life." Several Muslim speakers at the Kitchener meeting echoed similar concerns and highlighted the link between political Islam, Muslim identity in transnational societies, and the demand for faith-based arbitration of family conflicts (Boyd 2004:54; Resnick 2007; Simpson 2005).

Canadian organizations, like the women's Legal Education Action Fund (LEAF), in their submissions to the Boyd review (2004:8) emphasized that the demand for religious arbitration was not just a case of identity assertion but it supported the maintenance of a male status quo within a patriarchal family system. They were concerned that the "ideas put to rest through family law reform which were originally grounded in religious [Christian] precept" were resurfacing in the name of multiculturalism and religious freedom.

Public discussion around faith-based arbitration and opposition to establishing "sharia courts," persuaded the Ontario government to change course with regard to expanding the practice of religious arbitrations. Instead, the government of Ontario chose to disallow faith-based arbitration altogether and "to ensure all family law arbitrations are conducted only under Canadian law, which includes all provincial statutes" (Boyd 2007:472). Ontario also passed the Family Law Statute Amendment Act in 2006, to bring all matters concerning arbitration of family disputes under government authority (see Resnick 2007). Similarly, the amendment of the *Children's Law Reform Act* sought to address issues related to the custody of children (Boyd 2007). The decision of the Ontario government to abolish religious arbitration in the wake of opposition to sharia courts illustrates concerns surrounding what Ayelet Shachar (1998:289) describes as the "paradox of multicultural vulnerability" (i.e., the impacts of multicultural accommodation of group rights on the equality rights of women members within the group).

The Shah Bano Controversy in India

The Shah Bano case involved the hijacking of a Muslim woman's claim for extended maintenance by Muslim leaders in India to make identity claims in the context of increasing political tensions between right wing Hindu fundamentalists and their Muslim counterparts. It also highlighted the issue of how minority fears of assimilation and social marginalization can have detrimental effects on women's quest for equal entitlements within marriage and the family.

Shah Bano and her first cousin, Ahmed Khan, a Lawyer by profession, were married for 43 years and the couple lived in the State of Madhya Pradesh in India. In 1975, Khan separated from Shah Bano after taking a second wife and stopped maintenance payments after two years of separation. Shah Bano, then 75 years old, filed for maintenance under the Indian Criminal Procedure Code, which deals with the destitution of widows, children and parents. In retaliation, Khan ended their marriage by

pronouncing the triple talaq (unilateral divorce) and returning a sum of Rs.3000 ($60) as the *mahr* (bridewealth) that was due to his divorced wife under Muslim personal law. Khan argued that he had more than fulfilled his obligation by returning the mahr, and paying a maintenance fee of Rs.200 ($4) per month for two years above the period of iddat stipulated by Muslim personal law. The lower courts held against Khan and asked him to pay a paltry sum of Rs.25 per month. The High Court of Madhya Pradesh increased the payment to Rs.179.20, and Khan appealed to the Supreme Court (Kumar 1993:161).

In April 1985, ten years after their separation, the Supreme Court of India held with Shah Bano, rejected Khan's appeal and ordered him to continue paying maintenance under Section 125 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, which applied to all citizens regardless of religious affiliation. The Court held that as mahr was not a divorce payment but a marriage payment, its return did not absolve Khan from his obligation to pay maintenance to his divorced wife. The Court also affirmed that the application of Article 125 of the Criminal Code was consistent with the directive principle of Article 44 of the Constitution that committed the Indian State to secure a Uniform Civil Code (UCC) for all its citizens. The Court's judgement appeared to bypass the gender equality issue by focusing on the enactment of a common civil code (Hasan 2005:361; also see Das 1994). But the Court went on to observe that its ruling was consistent with Muslim religious principles, even quoting the Quran that making a fair and reasonable provision for women who are divorced is an obligation of god-fearing people (Engineer 1987: 28-30, 1992:129).

The Supreme Court ruling became the lightning rod for the protagonists of Muslim religious law who argued that the sharia could not be altered or abrogated. It was divinely inspired and derived from revealed sources (Engineer 1987). It was also binding on all Muslims in both the public and the private spheres of human relations. The Supreme Court ruling was merely part of an effort to "assimilate Muslims into a broader and predominantly Hindu culture" (Awn 1994:66; Kapur and Cossman 1996). Muslim opponents warned that the sanctity of Islamic law, the survival of the Muslim community and the very integrity of the Indian nation as a multicultural society were being threatened (Parashar 1992:187). Muslim leaders further claimed that the Supreme Court had usurped the interpretive authority of Muslim theologians (Kapur and Cossman 1996:63). The All India Muslim Personal Law Board that had an intervener status in the Supreme Court appeal, became the official agency of protests against the court ruling (Engineer 1987:149), organizing

sharia protests and making political claims on the Indian government (Hansen 1999:149).

The Board sent a message to the Congress government under then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi by turning the Muslim vote against the ruling party in a series of by-elections that came after the Court ruling (Pathak and Sunder-Rajan 1989:161). The government that initially supported the ruling changed its position and voted in parliament to pass into law the Muslim Women's Protection of Rights on Divorce Bill, introduced by an independent Muslim Member of Parliament. The new law absolved the Muslim husband of all legal responsibility toward his wife after the expiry of the iddat period. Beyond this, if she still needed support, the law laid the responsibility to support her on her natal family. In effect, the new law took away even the privileges women enjoyed under the Quran (Chhachhi 1994; Kishwar 1987). According to many Islamic commentators, the Quran prescribes fair and adequate maintenance, does not stipulate the amount during the period of payment, and places the responsibility of maintenance solely on the shoulders of the husband (Engineer 1987:15).

The Shah Bano case divided the Muslim community at the beginning, further polarized Hindus and Muslims, and created strange alliances separately within the two groups. Muslim women's groups who came out in support of Shah Bano were overwhelmed by the political clout of the All India Muslim Personal Law Board. Even the supposedly secular Congress government of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi abandoned secularism and the commitment to establishing a Uniform Civil Code in the face of the Board's opposition to the Supreme Court ruling. On the other hand, the traditionally anti-Muslim and fundamentalist Hindu organizations found in the Shah Bano case a convenient cudgel to attack the "secular" Congress government and Muslim leaders. Overnight, they became the champions of gender equality for Muslim women and their liberation from oppressive Muslim men (Bacchetta 1994:188). Indian feminist groups, who were opposed to the new law and critical of the Congress government for its act of political expediency, found themselves falling into strange alignment with fundamentalist Hindu groups (Kapur and Cossman 1996). Finally, the demonizing of Islamic religion and culture by Hindu fundamentalists drove a number of Muslim women's groups into silence; some even became the reluctant supporters of Muslim religious leaders. Shah Bano herself came out to reject the Supreme Court ruling in public and to affirm the traditions of her community, blaming her ignorance for the litigation: "Most of us read the Koran but do not understand it. I was ignorant when I fought the case all these years. The *maulvis* have now told us that it would be un-Islamic if I accepted the judgement" (Naqvi1987:68).

Comparing the Sharia and Shah Bano Controversies

The sharia and Shah Bano controversies exposed the patriarchal aspects of personal laws in private and public realms and their politicization in the public realm. They raised questions of identity, and implicated the two governments in Ontario and in India in diametrically opposite ways. In both cases, conservative male leaders took upon themselves the task of representing their communities in a matter that deeply implicated women. The Muslim Personal Law Board in India, and the Institute of Islamic Code of Justice in Ontario, hardly showed any sensitivity to issues of gender equality in the private realm and with regard to personal and family law matters. In their view, minority groups were entitled to differential citizenship within a multicultural mosaic, regardless of the implications for women in those groups. Their view of citizenship also limited family disputes and women's experiences to the private realm and ruled them out of bounds for public purview.

On the other hand, the two organizations were not averse to politicizing the issue of personal laws and family law matters in spite of their insistence that they belong to the private realm. The politicization of personal laws tends to acquire more urgency in situations of heightened religious and ethnic tensions. For instance, Hindu-Muslim tensions in North India led to the enactment of the Shariat Law in India in 1937. Similarly, Punjabi Sikhs' demand for a separate Sikh customary law (Sikhs traditionally come under Hindu law), took place at the height of the Khalistan agitation of the 1980s. Shah Bano's challenge also emerged in a politically charged environment involving Hindu and Muslim fundamentalists. Since the 1970s, the rise of Hindu fundamentalism along with anti-Muslim violence (Chhachhi 1994:84; Parashar 1992), and relative economic marginalization of Indian Muslims have created a volatile political situation between Indian Muslims and Hindus (Hansen 1999). Although Muslims in Canada do not have similar experiences, sharia supporters in Canada considered public opposition to sharia courts as "sharia phobia" or "Islamaphobia" (Hurst 2005; Khan 2005). Even moderate groups of Canadian Muslims who were opposed to sharia courts were provoked to dismiss media and public opposition as anti-Muslim frenzy brought on by world political events. The public outcry against sharia courts was one manifestation of these global tensions in Canada (Jiménez 2005b; Siddiqui 2005).

In both cases, Muslim women were under pressure to choose between loyalty to their religious communities and their own equality rights as women. For instance, the insistence of Indian Muslim leaders that religious identity was in danger of obliteration through the subjugation of Muslims to a Unitary Civil Code forced Shah Bano to subject her gendered identity and maintenance needs to the religious claims of the community (Menon 1994). The hijacking of the Shah Bano issue by Hindu fundamentalists also led many Indian feminists to rethink their position on the UCC (Kapur and Cossman 1996; Menon 1998). Alia Hogben, the Indo-Canadian President of the Canadian Council of Muslim Women, captured the dilemma facing many Canadian Muslim women when she noted that many pro-faith women of diverse Islamic sects were hesitant to speak out against their community for fear of providing "ammunition to those who malign them" (Hurst 2004; see Baines 2009 on this dilemma). The sharia issue was also a dilemma for Canadian feminists who are cognizant of the implications of the equality issues for women of faith among religious minorities (Cossman and Fudge 2002:405).

Perhaps the most significant difference between the sharia and Shah Bano examples is the directional changes in government policy in Ontario and India, respectively. The Shah Bano case illustrates the weakness of India's constitutional secularism without a corresponding social ethos (Brass 1998). It demonstrates the power of a religious community and its patriarchal spokespersons to shape the direction and content of law-making and enforcement (Das 1994). Ontario avoided such an outcome by enacting the Ontario Family Law Status Amendment Act (2006), consolidating and strengthening the authority of the secular legal system and its control over personal and family law. As Jeffrey Simpson of the *Globe and Mail* noted, "the more multicultural Canada becomes, the less acceptance exists for group institutions to rub against prevailing secular norms...Public tolerance for deep multiculturalism is limited, if it means special rules for a particular group" (2005; for more discussion on multiculturalism and secularism, see Globe and Mail 2005; Goar 2005; Horton 1993:1-2).

The Shah Bano case may not have attracted international attention at the time, but its significance lies in demonstrating the challenges facing women in all multicultural contexts. Opposition to sharia Courts in Canada came from concerns about the general erosion of women's rights with the rise of the religious fundamentalists in many South Asian countries, home to the majority of Muslim immigrants in Canada. There were also concerns about the effects of sharia courts in Ontario on women who live

in other Muslim countries (Gagnon 2005). Thus, Women Living Under Muslim Law (WLUML), an international rights group, warned that a secular state such as Canada should not "fall into the trap of not interfering in old-world traditions out of misguided sensitivity" (Hurst 2004).

Concluding Discussion

The sharia and Shah Bano controversies illustrate the tensions between "external legal protections" for eliminating inequalities between identity groups, on the one hand, and "internal restrictions" on the citizenship rights of women, on the other (Kymlicka 1996:35). Indian (see Menon 1998; Sunder-Rajan 2000) and North American feminists and legal scholars have put forward many proposals to reconcile group rights and women's rights with respect to personal laws. These proposals range from promoting complete autonomy for "cultural groups" to control their own personal laws, to demands for a feminist jurisprudence to escape the clutches of legal and kinship patriarchies (Jethmalani 1995; MacKinnon 1993, 2005). Other proposals include, providing women with the opportunity to choose between secular laws and religious laws (an option available to Indian women) (MacKinnon 2005; Shachar 1998), a "joint-governance" approach involving the state and cultural communities, "multicultural interlegality" (or hybridity), and personal law reform through defensive litigation by women.

The two main areas of concern with respect to family disputes are the gender-discriminatory religious laws for settling disputes and the gender power imbalances in religious courts. On the question of laws, Shachar (1998) has suggested an "intersectionist joint-governance" approach to accommodate multicultural groups by allowing communities to use family law to preserve group boundaries while permitting the state to intervene to protect intragroup members from family law-related discrimination. However, as Schachar (1998:290) has also acknowledged, all religious laws contain inbuilt inequalities that function to preserve the gender status quo. These inbuilt inequalities may conform to religious traditions and requirements (An-Na'im 1990 on sharia; Bakht 2004:16) or operate to maintain the cultural integrity and identity of groups, particularly where group membership and patrilineal privileges within the family are inextricably linked, as in the case of Aboriginal groups and religious communities that privilege the patrilineal line. There are also practical and legal problems in instituting a "joint-governance approach" among immigrant groups, who are differentiated by their countries of origin, language and customary versions of sharia law. The proposal to introduce sharia law was problematic from the start because

it tried to compress diverse Muslim groups into a single Islamic identity.

In England, "multicultural interlegality"—a system of legal pluralism combining religious and secular laws—functions as a hybrid system of law, wherein English law operates within Muslim law and is applied together based on negotiation and accommodation (Banu 2009; Blacksone 2005; Menski 1997). This system of multicultural legal pluralism has some value in terms of accommodation, religious law reform and integration of secular and religious principles. However, this system has also produced a two-tier legal system operating at official (English) and "unofficial" (termed *Angrezi Sharia*) levels, and has resulted in a myriad of practices such as multiple civil and religious marriages and divorces to satisfy the requirements of both English and religious laws (Banu 2009:421). Since there may be more acceptance of religious divorce within the community, a Muslim woman may be compelled to go to a religious tribunal to seek divorce if a husband rejects the civil divorce obtained from an English court (Fournier 2004).

In Canada, the courts would likely strike down any section of religious law that is inconsistent with the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Resnick 2007; Bakht 2004). The Charter is clear on the point of the limits of multiculturalism, since Section 28 of the Charter privileges the sex equality protections already contained in Section 15(1) and overrides Section 27 which deals with multicultural rights (Resnick 2007). There is also evidence of the influence of the Charter in judicial rulings in Canadian family law cases (Bakht 2004:fn. 33). Canadian Charter challenges on sexual equality issues (Razack 1991:134) have been few but invoking the Charter is one avenue for pursuing gender equality for women as Canadian citizens.

There has been much progress in Canadian family law since the 19th century, which incorporates women's rights, even as "family law matters have become a matter of public law and policy" (Bakht 2004:26). Thus, until and unless minority religious laws are reformed and can stand the test of constitutionality and gender equality principles, Canadian Family Law provides the best safeguard for women from minority and immigrant communities.

The other area of concern for women is the gender power dynamic within religious arbitration processes. A criticism of multicultural interlegality in Britain is that it serves to obscure these power dynamics and the conflicting interests among community members involved in arbitrations (Banu 2009; Galanter 1981; Menski 2002). The Boyd review (2004:107) acknowledged the "intersectionality of vulnerabilities" that women from immigrant communities might be exposed to due to immigration,

sponsorship, debt, class and other factors that may compromise women's hope for justice in religious courts (or secular courts for that matter). Many commentators have described the safeguards proposed by the Boyd Report to address these issues as inadequate. In particular, private arbitration in Canada, despite some merits (i.e., language, privacy, speed etc.), is not as transparent as the Canadian Court system, and contains fewer safeguards and supports for vulnerable citizens in the form of legal aid and information on citizens' rights and Canadian laws (Bakht 2004). Many of the Report's recommendations, particularly a woman's right to waive independent legal advice, ignore the fact that women may be in a weaker bargaining position vis-à-vis other family members and may be forced to waive their right to legal advice. Women have the right to appeal arbitration decisions that are against them, but since the main objective of private arbitration is to avoid the courts, it is unlikely that women will use the appeal process (Bakht 2004:6). Furthermore, a ruling may be binding within the cultural community even when it is not upheld by a Canadian court. Bakht (2004:7) who has reviewed a number of private arbitration cases in Canada concluded that for the most part, the courts have "an interest in upholding parties' private bargains" without interference and are more reluctant to do so if the arbitration awards are informed by religious laws.

Other safeguards contained in the Boyd Report, such as screening for family violence do not take into account forms of abuse other than physical violence (e.g., mental abuse, restriction of movement, ostracism and cultural restrictions). Evidence from Britain suggests that private tribunals may legitimize the authority of religious leaders and community spokespersons and operate as private sites of power and privilege where family law is subjected to "extra-legal" regulation based on beliefs about privacy and principles of "honour and shame" (Banu 2009:425). Thus, while private arbitration may be an effective and efficient dispute settlement forum for disputants operating within a "level playing field" as in commercial disputes, it is unlikely to be the case involving religious arbitration of family disputes where women may not have equal bargaining powers with men (Resnick 2007).

Feminists and legal scholars have been skeptical about the "protective" and "liberating" potential of law and legal discourses to secure women's equal rights. This is understandable in light of the enormous challenges that women from all walks of life face in dealing with family conflicts including the biases of the mainstream judicial system and its representatives (see Mackinnon 1993, Razack 1991 and Smart 1989 on Canadian cases; and Cossman and Fudge 2002 and Jethmalani 1995 on India). Cultural pres-

sures and family power dynamics are also factors that impede defensive litigation by women in secular courts (see Philips 2003 on Kerala, India). Shah Bano's experience is an apt illustration of Indian women's predicaments. For women to take the route of defensive litigation or to choose secular courts over private tribunals, the state would have to undertake other policy actions such as reforming the court system to create a women-friendly atmosphere and sensitizing legal service providers to gender equality issues.

A related area of focus should be women's citizenship rights. The mobilizing factor must be the pursuit of the common goal of ending gender-based discrimination regardless of its social, economic or cultural location. This intersectionist perspective (Kapur and Cossman 1996) is also the viewpoint taken by those who advocate a gender-pluralist model of citizenship, legal and political theorists writing on questions of Aboriginal women's rights in North America (Shachar 1998), Muslim organizations such as Women Living Under Muslim Law (MLUML), and legal feminists' writing on Muslim law (see Hirsch 2006). The Shah Bano case has proven to be a landmark case for women fighting for the implementation of their constitutional, legal and citizenship rights in India and other South Asian countries and has been an exemplifier of how cultural and religious claims and identity politics can undermine women's rights to equality. The sharia controversy in Canada led to successful mobilization and resistance at the local and international levels, and the resistance included women from minority cultures who were concerned that religious courts would undermine their equal rights as citizens. Creating consensus among women about multiple discriminations, finding appropriate legal strategies, and providing economic and institutional supports and entitlements can advance women's movement towards substantive gender equality. Without such a moral vision and common understanding, legal citizenship for minority women in multicultural and transnational societies will only be a formal recognition and not an active status.

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Notes

1 The term *iddat* refers to the waiting period for divorced or widowed women before remarriage can take place. The period covers three menstrual periods, or three lunar months in the case of women who have passed the period of menopause.

2 For more discussion on this point, see Hasan 2005, Kishwar 1994 and MacKinnon 2005 on India; Basu 2005, Redding 2005 and Zia 1994 on Pakistan; Pereira 2005 on Bangladesh; Muttettuwegama 2005 and Jayawardena and Kodikara 2003 on Sri Lanka.

3 The Canadian Islamic Congress (CIC) was one of the most prominent supporters of the IICJ's proposals to establish sharia tribunals in Ontario. Its leader, Dr. Mohamed Elmasry, promotes the Congress as a non-sectarian organization whose purpose is "smart integration" and civic participation along with the preservation of a distinct Muslim identity within a multicultural Canada. The Canadian media has also tended to portray the CIC as the voice of conservative Canadian Muslims in contrast to the Muslim Canadian Congress (MCC) that is represented as the voice of liberal, progressive and moderate Muslims (see Sharify-Funk 2009:78).

4 The Boyd Report recommended adding arbitration agreements and protection to the Ontario Family Law Act. In addition, both the agreement to arbitrate and the religious law to be used in arbitration had to be confirmed before the arbitration process. Furthermore, the parties to a dispute had to review the statement of principles of faith-based arbitration. The agreements of the parties involved in arbitration were also required to contain a certificate of independent legal advice or a waiver of it based on individual choice. Arbitrators should be voluntary members of professional organizations who should screen the parties for power imbalances and domestic violence. Boyd further recommended "public education and training of lawyers and arbitrators, record keeping procedures, community involvement, and policy analysis of the legality of providing a higher level of court oversight to family and inheritance cases based on religious principles" (Baines 2009:88).

5 Mr. Tarek Fatah, the former leader of the Muslim Canadian Congress, has been an outspoken critic of sharia law. The MCC, under his leadership, projected itself as the voice of progressive and moderate Muslims and as the champion of gender equality; it advocated the separation of state and religion, rejected the practice of hijab (Muslim women's dress) and promoted human rights and citizenship and not just multiculturalism (Hurst 2005).

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Drawing Lines in the Museum: Plains Cree Ontology as Political Practice

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Abstract: This article examines how a Plains Cree elder "develops protocol" with an extensive collection of Plains Cree sacred materials. Protocols—both political and ceremonial acts that govern through laws of exchange and reciprocity—involve humans and the sacred items in a relational system of agents. Taking Glenbow Museum's storage room as a meeting place for two distinct ontological engagements—the state via museological practice, and the Cree through the protocols of one elder—conflicts in how each approaches sacred subject matter are identified. While the state assumes bureaucracy must prevail, the Cree elder requires protocols to guide the process.

Keywords: Indigenous peoples, Plains Cree, museums, ontology, traditional knowledge, repatriation, Aboriginal-state relations, sacred materials

Résumé : Cet article étudie comment un aîné Cri-des-Plaines « élabore un protocole » avec une importante collection d'objets sacrés des Cris-des-Plaines. Les protocoles – des gestes à la fois politiques et cérémoniels qui s'imposent par le biais de lois d'échange et de réciprocité – associent les humains et les objets sacrés dans un système relationnel de rôles. Le fait de choisir un entrepôt du Glenbow Museum comme lieu de réunion pour deux engagements ontologiques distincts – l'État par le biais de la pratique muséologique et les Cris par les protocoles d'un ancien – est en contradiction dans la manière dont chacun approche et identifie le caractère sacré des sujets. Alors que l'État suppose que la bureaucratie doit avoir préséance, l'ancien Cri exige que les protocoles guident le processus.

Mots-clés : peuples indigènes, Cris-des-Plaines, musées, ontologie, savoir traditionnel, rapatriement, relations autochtones-État, objets sacrés

Introduction

Across Canada, the Federal Government has gradually come to recognize and is slowly acknowledging the intergenerational impact of harsh assimilative policies on the country's First Nations Peoples. Among the myriad factors influencing alienation from ancestral ceremonial practices experienced by many First Nation communities, is a strong disconnection from cultural materials originating from those communities. Across the country, museums hold vast collections of First Nations artifacts: collections that are firmly rooted in the assimilative goals of the colonial process. Over the past two decades, many of Canada's museums have been working closely with First Nations to appropriately address how these materials should be treated. In some cases this involves developing clear guidelines for storage and handling of these items within the museum; in other cases this involves a lengthy process of working towards repatriation policy, leading to the eventual return of materials to their source communities.

The process of repatriating First Nations cultural materials, though successful in many cases across the country, evokes a torrent of issues that arise from a collaborative procedure in which the approach favoured by the Federal or Provincial Governments is often prioritized. When bureaucratic processes are imposed on First Nations people, they may become less willing or interested in working with the government and, in this context, associated museums. Recent anthropological explorations of museums have focused on issues of ownership, repatriation, autonomy and control within the broader context of Aboriginal-state relations in Canada (Asch 2008; Glass 2004; Kramer 2004; Mauze 2003; Noble 2007, 2008; Saunders 1997). These anthropologists explore the political implications of First Nations' struggle for recognition of autonomous control over cultural materials within the context of state-derived policies and regulations that continue to claim authority over those materials. This

article looks at a particular case of relationship-building where a Cree elder was working with two Albertan museums, the Glenbow Museum in Calgary and the Royal Alberta Museum (RAM) in Edmonton, to address future directions to take with an extensive collection of Plains Cree sacred materials. Here I argue that in spite of the conflicting ontological assumptions underlying this elder's ceremonial practices and the museums' bureaucratic process, the elder's practices enact a system of actants[1] (see Latour 1999) that continues to operate despite the state's presumption of holding authority.

Clammer, Poirier and Schwimmer describe ontology as "an account of a way of being in the world and a definition through practice (and not only through cognition) of what that world is and how it is constituted" (2004:4). They continue that since "ontologies are basic to the construction of culture, then it is reasonable to assume that differing conceptions of being-in-the-world necessarily enter into conflicts between systems (societies or cultures) based on different ontological premises," (Clammer et al. 2004:4). As Poirier explains, since the world enacted by modernity "strongly advocates an absolute dichotomy between nature and culture, animality and humanity, matter (body) and mind, instinct and reason, and so on, then worlds that do not advocate such a dualistic mode are viewed as non-modern" (2005:9). While the museum's bureaucratic process can be understood as enacting modernity, the non-modern world enacted by this elder is performed as "authoritative against other ways of knowing the world. It functions in other contexts (including Western) with, against, and sometimes despite other local authoritative epistemologies" (Bird-David 1999:S69).

Mekwan Awasis, the Plains Cree elder I focus on in this article, was recommended to Glenbow employees based on the work he had done at the Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC) in Ottawa. He apprenticed under elder Gordon Rain for about 20 years and explains: "if he didn't guide and teach all those ceremonies, what they meant, I wouldn't have known anything what to do with the sacred artifacts that they have" (Awasis, personal communication, 30 June 2007). When his teacher passed away he was asked to take over the work of developing protocol in the museum for appropriate storage and treatment of the materials. The project at CMC took about 15 years to complete.

Mekwan Awasis[2] began travelling to Calgary's Glenbow Museum in the summer of 2005, where he had been invited to "develop protocol"[3] with the museum and its extensive collection of Plains Cree sacred materials. My own involvement in this project began in September 2005, when I moved to Calgary to take up an internship in Glenbow's Ethnology Department. The opportunity to participate in this project was the primary motivation for my move. For two weeks that fall, I assisted the curators, technicians and Mekwan with moving and handling sacred materials, and with finding information in the museum's database. I returned to assist again in January of 2007, this time as a graduate student in social anthropology, and asked Mekwan if I could visit him in his community that summer to carry out my fieldwork. Between July and September of that year, I spent a total of six weeks on his reserve conducting interviews with him, engaging in ceremonial activities, and spending time with his entire extended family and members of his community. That summer we made two more trips to Glenbow and I also accompanied Mekwan on his first visit to the Royal Alberta Museum in Edmonton.

Over three years of my involvement in this process, through my inclusion as both observer and participant, I came to understand the Plains Cree "protocols" enacted by Mekwan to be a mode of socialization and communication whereby the sacred materials *themselves* are granted the agency and authority to govern. Mekwan refers to the process of interacting with the materials through protocol as "horizontal and vertical socialization." In this process, the participant follows a linear sequence of actions that constitute the horizontal axis of socialization. In strictly abiding by protocols and acknowledging them as laws that pertain to both ceremonial and political governing authority, one becomes socialized along the vertical axis, where the behaviours of ancestral beings become recognizable. According to Mekwan, protocols are fundamental to Cree ceremonial life and outline Cree ethical praxis.[4] It is the role of ceremonial acts to govern,[5] even when they take place within non-traditional settings such as the museum, a Western institution with deep roots in colonial processes, practices and policies. In what follows, I discuss how Mekwan sought to achieve this. I begin by describing the historical and contemporary circumstances surrounding the collection at stake, I will then discuss the conflicting approaches enacted by Mekwan's protocols and by the museums' bureaucratic process as they pertain to repatriation policy. Subsequently, and to show the way these protocols hold their own authority, I will discuss Mekwan's process of horizontal and vertical socialization as it relates not only to the sacred materials, but also to Aboriginal intentions in treaty-making. I follow with three key examples that took place during my time in the museum in order to explicate the interplay between ontological conflict and compatibility.

Plains Cree Sacred Materials at Glenbow Museum

Most of the materials in question were collected from the area of Treaty Six, signed in 1876, which extends from the western border of Alberta to the eastern border of Saskatchewan, and from the Athabasca River in the north to the South Saskatchewan River in the south. During the 1860s, the Plains Cree faced many changes: food resources became over-exploited; the population was reduced by European diseases; violence erupted with other Native and non-Native groups for competition over diminishing bison herds; and Euro-Canadians were encroaching on their lands. It was under these conditions that the terms of Treaty Six were negotiated with the British Crown through representatives of the Queen. Terms were negotiated for economic support through the transition to an agriculture-based economy (Grey 1997:23; Pettipas 1994:63-68). For the Cree, equally important to their freedom to select lands and settle on reserves with minimal interference, "were governmental promises that their cultural autonomy was not a point of negotiation. For them, the treaties were guarantees that they could continue to live in their territories according to their customary ways" (Pettipas 1994:68). Harsh assimilative policies prevailed, however, and as a result many ceremonial items fell out of use. Hugh Dempsey, a Glenbow employee from 1956 to 1991, told me that people were quite willing to sell sacred materials with the attitude that they were no longer relevant or useful, and that those in possession of them often did not know how to properly use them (Dempsey, personal communication, 7 September 2007).[6]

Today, the collection of Plains Cree sacred materials constitutes about 20 large wooden cabinets in the ethnology department's storage room at Glenbow. All of the sacred materials are housed toward one corner of the large space, furthest from the room's entrances so as to allow for minimal disturbance. Though they currently reside in an Alberta museum, most of the items, when collected by Glenbow staff in the 1960s, were purchased from reserves in Saskatchewan, according to Gerald Conaty, a Glenbow employee since 1990 (Personal communication, 4 February 2008).

A few requests for repatriation have come from Plains Cree communities, but the requests came from Saskatchewan and, as Conaty explains, "there is currently no mechanism that will enable the return of material to people who reside outside Alberta" (Conaty, personal communication, 4 February 2008). Conaty has worked extensively on the repatriation of materials to Blackfoot communities in southern Alberta, and while the current First Nations Sacred Ceremonial Objects Repatriation Act (FNSCORA) applies to all material in provincial collections in Alberta, thus far the regulations for the FNSCORA have been worked out only for Blackfoot collections. The regulations are in the process of being developed for Treaty Six First Nations including Plains Cree, however, Glenbow employees as well as the Alberta government recognize it cannot be assumed that what works for one First Nation will work for another (Conaty, personal communication, 24 November 2008). Given the sensitivities surrounding museum ownership of sacred and ceremonial materials that originate from Aboriginal communities, here I will focus not the materials' physical properties but on the circumstances surrounding the collection. I give one key descriptive example, but only in relation to the item's associated protocols.

Bureaucracy and Protocols

Alberta's process for developing repatriation policy is relatively progressive in Canada. However, the state maintains control over what kind of relationship First Nations can legally have with sacred materials (Glass 2004) through a bureaucratic process that continues to emphasize "property as a commodity capable of individual ownership and alienation for the purposes of resource use and wealth maximization" (Noble 2008:2). As a state-run institution, the museum enacts a modern ontology through which, as Bird-David explains, one views the world as "a totalizing scheme of separated essences" that dichotomizes the environment and turns attention to an "otherness," which "highlights differences and eclipses commonalities" (Bird-David 1999:S77-78).

FNSCORA reflects a modernist perspective which assumes a clear separation between people and objects. This is evident in Part 2, Clause 4(2), where it states:

> A society may make an application for the repatriation of a sacred ceremonial object only if the society has received a request from an individual who has agreed to put that sacred ceremonial object back into use as a sacred ceremonial object. [FNSCORA 2004:2]

The Act carries the assumptions that one particular sequence of actions will satisfy both the ceremonial and policy requirements for putting an object "back into use," and that ceremonial practices have not changed since an object was last used in ceremony. The possibility of dialogue with the sacred materials *themselves* is not acknowledged.

Mekwan's ceremonial protocols, in the context of the Glenbow Museum, involve a gradual process of socializing with the sacred artifacts. As Mekwan later told me, it is

not customarily appropriate for him to be explicit with those present, including myself and the museum workers, about what those protocols involve. Rather, it is in the process of relating, through observation and participation, that one comes to play a role in the socialization process. Giving cloth and tobacco, smudging with smoke from sweetgrass, sharing berries and tea, and placing tobacco next to the sacred materials[7] are all acts of protocol intended to reinforce the relational, reciprocal connection between and among human and non-human agents. In acts of protocol, all facets of the wider collective of agents—both human and non-human—are engaging in reciprocal exchange. The giving of tobacco, very common among First Nations peoples, engages "humans not only in a web of meaning, but also in a wider other-than-human community." In such exchanges, "the tobacco participate[s] in the greeting" (Harvey 2006:44).

"Always get your protocol ready over here: cloth, tobacco. Always have those ready at a museum. Because they represent protocol. It is about protocol" (Awasis, personal communication, 15 August 2007). In Bird-David's relational or animistic epistemology, one comes to know the world "by focusing primarily on relatedness, from a related point of view, within the shifting horizons of the related viewer" (1999:S77-78). Mekwan, through a non-modern or relational ontology, approaches the ceremonial items from within "webs of relatedness" (Bird-David 1999:S77) which are an extension of the role he plays in his community. He regularly holds ceremonies in the sweatlodge on his property, and he promotes Cree spirituality as a way of life in his ongoing work with Native youth, teachers, psychologists, linguists and students attending the Alberta Justice College. Mekwan also draws attention to the significance of the connections between his work in the museum and his entire extended family: "the museums, that's...a bigger protocol, 'cause I have children, I have grandchildren, so I have to do my protocol before I leave" (Awasis, personal communication, 30 June 2007). Appropriately carrying out protocol in museums is crucial to maintain and safeguard not only his contemporary community and familial network of ceremonial connections but also, as we will see, the intergenerational kinship ties that continually govern through the laws of protocol.

Protocols are prescribed actions and behaviours, forming a system of rules and laws that enable a process of communication and socialization whereby participants may become oriented to learn about or discover the sacred. These acts, passed on through generations of spiritual commitment, form a method of ceremonial respect that promotes intergenerational kinship ties, acknowl-edges not only the imminence but also the agency of non-humans (see Poirier 2008:79), and honours the authorized powers that prescribe and uphold protocols as laws. Abiding by protocols engages humans in a reciprocal relationship with non-human agents. These relationships operate on the premise that ceremonial acts of exchange, understood to enact and maintain laws, have properties that govern the connections made between humans and the non-human beings that are associated with a particular ceremony. As a process of socialization, protocol opens up the ontological possibility of "delinking from modern rationality and building other possible worlds" (Mignolo 2007:498) where people become intrinsically linked to other people, to things and to ceremonial beings such as *Pakakhoos* (discussed below).

Mekwan explains why protocol is so important, in connection to the caution with which information is shared:

> When we come for protocol, we want to do that the way of the old people, how they did that, their value system, their belief system, their customs, their traditions...a long time ago a lot of elders were reluctant to share a lot of ideas or answers to a lot of people...But we like to refer to protocol as an offering and to acknowledge those stories, our ancestors and most of all to acknowledge the spirit part of it...The old people said when you see someone...coming to your house, with their hat off, with their tobacco and cloth in their hand, it's telling you that person is humble and that person is telling you that he or she is sincere and true in their protocol. [Awasis, personal communication, 30 June 2007]

What makes knowledge traditional "is not its antiquity but the way it is acquired and used" (Oguamanam 2007: 35). Gaining access to information within a traditional knowledge system depends on abiding by particular protocols to acquire that information. The offering of cloth and tobacco to an elder when making a request is a means of acknowledging the source of that elder's knowledge. In the offering, generations of ancestors who perpetuated and accumulated a wealth of sacred knowledge and ceremonial practices become immanent through the act of exchange. Following through with acts of protocol demonstrates that the one requesting information understands and respects the sacred nature of that knowledge and the laws of exchange and reciprocity that guide the process. Within this relational system of knowledge sharing, the acts of protocol themselves are equally as important as the information acquired.

Ontological Conflict

There is conflict between the ontological assumptions that underlie Mekwan's practices, and those that underlie the bureaucratic process. While Mekwan's protocols engage Glenbow's sacred materials in a relational dialogue that is open-ended and uncertain, the state's bureaucratic process predicts a particular trajectory that assumes a pre-determined outcome. While on the reserve, I met a Cree woman who works with artifacts in a small cultural centre. Curious about whether the cultural centre had any items similar to those at Glenbow, I asked her what kinds of "things" she had been working with. As a response, rather than telling me about the *material* aspects of the centre's collection, she told me a story about an experience she had *relating with* the items. In her story the material aspects are not accorded primacy; rather, it is the process of socializing with them that is most significant.

The state is primarily concerned with the *material* aspects of the sacred items—where they are currently held and where they might physically end up is based on the museum's legal requirements as the items' legal owners, and reflects Western property transactions and colonial state practices that assume control over First Nations' cultural heritage and resources (Asch 2008; Glass 2004; Kramer 2004; Noble 2008). From a Cree perspective, it is not the *material* aspects of the collection but the *relational* aspects that are most vital to the perpetuation and reintegration of ceremonial and political structures. In this relational perspective the material components—the bundles, pipes and regalia—are constituent elements of the entire living system of what is considered sacred.

At the policy level of the Alberta Government, Cree protocols, as they are practiced by Mekwan, are not validated to operate as a form of authority. However, as Bird-David explains, "relational epistemologies function in diverse contexts where other epistemologies enjoy authority" (1999:S78). In Glenbow's space of encounter, all participants become mutually engaged in following Mekwan's process of socializing with the sacred materials. They cede to the authority of his knowledge concerning sacred subject matter, look to him for answers and suggestions, and comply with those suggestions to the extent that is possible with the resources available in the storage room. Glenbow's employees intentionally partake in a productive negotiation between the restrictions of museum practices and Mekwan's protocols. While the technicians and curators are constricted by the organizational function of the museum's database system, the storage cabinets, and somewhat arbitrarily applied taxonomies, this place of mutual engagement allows for compatibility through prac-

tice. No one is excluded from the act of smudging with sweetgrass or placing tobacco next to the artifacts. Detailed notes record Mekwan's knowledge of ceremonial items and his recognition of particularly powerful objects and, under his direction, certain sensitive items were moved from the non-sacred storage area to a cabinet designated for sacred materials.

Far beyond the confines of the museum, Mekwan continued to engage in this productive negotiation by acknowledging museum workers in his own ceremonial practices. He explains he always had a ceremony in his sweatlodge after returning home from Glenbow or the museum in Ottawa to "ask for guidance [for us] and for the ones that work in the museums" (Awasis, personal communication, 30 June 2007). Mekwan's practices hold complete authority on his property and they continue to operate in the museum despite the ontological conflict underlying his protocols and the bureaucratic process.

Horizontal and Vertical Socialization

When I first expressed my interest to Mekwan in learning more about the sacred materials in the museum, he told me I had to "learn about protocol." Only in giving him tobacco could I ask further questions about sacred subject matter. When I gave him tobacco, my research inquiry began. This was my first act of protocol.

That day we sat around a table drinking tea in Glenbow's ethnology department. Mekwan said to me: "There's horizontal socialization and there's vertical socialization," his hand first making a circle on the table's surface, then spiraling upward into the air. "It's in the vertical that we'll come to work together." Only later did I come to understand that he was outlining his knowledge practice and that I had become an active participant. He added: "We'll start drawing some lines."

As Mekwan demonstrated to me through his knowledge practice, the process of horizontal and vertical socialization orients the participant along two axes of experience. On the horizontal axis, the participant follows through with acts of protocol—they socialize with human and non-human agents by engaging in interactions of a finite nature, with a defined beginning and end:

> When we prepare those ceremonies and even when we prepare a sweat everything is over here horizontally. It's horizontal, it's on the ground. Everything is laid out here, the rocks...in all our different ceremonies...when you socialize even with people, well that's the same thing you do with these, whether they're artifacts...you socialize with them, you're socializing with them. [Awasis, personal communication, 25 June 2007]

The vertical axis becomes revealed or discovered through adherence to acts of protocol, but it is up to the participant to decipher the vertical axis for themselves. Mekwan explains this with an example from a Sundance we had attended:

> We socialize, see like those helpers for example at that ceremony you went to…when the Sundance maker gets their grounds, their sacred Sundance grounds, he goes there with all his material that he's going to use, like the cloth…And going back to horizontal now, that ceremony, everything's over here [gestures across the ground]. You prepare everything, that's horizontal. But they go from here, from A to B [makes a vertical gesture with his hand]. To get all those elements, all that stuff they're going to use, the material, the tree and they'll make that teepee and wrap it up with canvas. It's horizontal on the ground over here, then when they lift it up its vertical, it becomes vertical. And that pole that they go get…when you go find it its vertical. They don't go find a dead tree or some tree that's already chopped. There's scouts that'll go that are asked with protocol to go get that pole, there's two guys that will go chop it down. When it lands its horizontal. They bring it, it sits horizontal, they bring it and they rest it facing the leaves, facing north on a tripod…and soon as they're done while that thing's sitting horizontal, it becomes vertical. So we use those kind of teachings. [Awasis, personal communication, 25 June 2007]

Preparations for the ceremony are made with tangible materials on the horizontal axis, where "you socialize with them." Much as Ridington says of the Dunne-za that "experience flows sequentially but is meaningful hierarchically" (1990:125), here a linear sequence of actions, such as those culminating in the raising of the Sundance pole, lead to a hierarchical recognition of the habitual movements and patterns of the non-human, intangible actants in the collective. Ingold explains that in the Ojibwa view of the world, "different beings, whether or not they qualify as persons, have characteristic patterns of movement—ways of being alive—that reveal them for what they are" (2004:38). For James Bay Cree, Feit tells us that "the world is volitional, and the perceived regularities of the world are not those of natural law but, rather, are like the habitual behaviour of persons." Such behaviour is predictable at times, but being that this is a very complex intelligent order, it is "not always knowable by humans" (Feit 2004:103). In Mekwan's knowledge practice, socializing on the horizontal axis causes the world to become volitional and knowable as being constituted by patterns of behaviour. It is on the vertical axis that these patterns become apparent through the participant's lived experi-

ences in an expanding perception of what is knowable about the world's regularities. An individual's power stems from their ability to discern the behavioural patterns of communally recognized non-human actants, though the patterns come in an individualized form. Through visionary experiences, one with power comes to perceive the potency of particular colours, numbers, songs, symbols and images that are associated with specific ceremonies, seasons, directions and myths, and to comprehend the interplay between linear and non-linear orientations to time. In vertical socialization, "pattern dominates process" and "hierarchy dominates sequence" (Ridington 1990:128).

Cree sacred materials, though they are being held in a Western museum, still follow a pattern of habitual movement, which, as we will see in the next section, is prescribed by the movement of the sun. Ingold explains that the sun "has its own regular pattern of rising and setting," (2004:38) which is viewed as habitual in the same way that the movements of humans and of animals are viewed as habitual. These movements are not conceived as taking place against the backdrop of a separate environment, Ingold continues, as "living beings do not move upon the world, but move along with it" (2004:38). Despite their 40-odd years in a museum storage room, the sacred materials continue the "move along with" the world. As the materials are acknowledged through acts of protocol on the horizontal axis, their patterns of behaviour begin to become apparent to some of those human actants in contact with them through a hierarchical recognition of patterns on the vertical axis.

Patterns of Movement

First Nations negotiations surrounding materials held by museums are intrinsically tied to Treaty (Glass 2004:116). Most of the written Treaty documents reflect European interests and intentions, and it has been noted that the texts of Treaties were not properly translated into Aboriginal languages for Aboriginal signatories. A phrase that was incorporated into the Treaty Six document to reflect Aboriginal intentions are the words that the agreement would last "as long as the sun shines and the waters flow" (Venne 1997:194). There are numerous interpretations of the meaning of this phrase to those Aboriginal representatives present at the Treaty negotiations (IWGIA 1997; Venne 1997). An elder spoke about the value of this phrase at a Treaty Six forum:

> The way the negotiations proceeded, the way the Treaty was finalized: it has its own unique interpretation in our own language…The whiteman wanted to tell the ultimate truth. But our ancestors knew the meaning.

The sciences behind the sun, the sacredness of the sun. And with this meaning, our ancestors told the Crown's representatives that it would last this long. [IWGIA 1997:60]

As this elder implies, for the Cree and Dene signatories of Treaty Six, the habitual movements of the sun were the foundation of the political relationship they were agreeing to. For the Cree of Treaty Six, just as the natural order of the world depended on the sun's patterns of rising and setting, so would maintenance of the Treaty relationship, which had been understood not to interfere with traditional and customary practices. This perspective was imperceptible to Euro-Canadian representatives, whose imperialist assumptions about the superiority of their Western viewpoint depended on the dualistic split between nature and culture, who guided assimilative practices and policies aimed at erasing indigenous practices.

The sun's place in traditional politics is also evident in Mekwan's explanation of how the bundles in the museum connect to forms of government:

> Well the old scientists, meaning the old people that were immersed in spirituality, they would have called that the ancestral, spiritual…form of government that would be linked to those bundles. And the other form of government is…the eastern sky, where the sun and the earth meet, that would be a directive, that would be another form of government. Same with the southern sky, that would be another form of government. And over here the same thing, the western sky, that would be another government. Same thing over here to the north, that would be another form of government. [Personal communication, 28 August 2007]

Mekwan speaks of the natural laws that stem from the sun's pattern of movement as forms of government. Each directive he speaks of is associated with a particular ceremony, which is constituted by particular protocols. In abiding by these laws or prescribed behaviours, the ceremony governs the people by maintaining strong connections with many generations of ancestral beings. These beings are immanent in the immediate environment during ceremony just as they are within the museum's storage room. The laws are upheld not only through ceremonial practice but also in everyday life. While on the reserve, Mekwan and his family stressed that everyone must be inside after dark, once the sun has set in the West. When I asked why, he responded: "because that's the law." The bundles and other ceremonial materials in the museum still have the capacity to govern, and through protocols, are slowly brought back into governance. Cree

relationships to non-human actants, as in many other indigenous views of the world, are based on principles of relationality and reciprocity. Feit tells us that for the Cree, "a hunter enters into a reciprocal relationship: animals are given to hunters to meet their needs and wants, and in return hunters incur obligations to animals" (2004:102). The same reciprocal relationship applies to those who engage in ceremonial practices and protocols, which are derived from the habitual action of the sun. At a Sundance, people must walk clockwise around the Sundance pole. During a sweat ceremony in Mekwan's sweatlodge, which takes place at noon when the sun is highest, people must move clockwise around the mound of tobacco, cloth, sage and sweetgrass in the centre of the room. Those offering tea move in the sun's direction around the circle of people to pour. His son, learning to properly do a pipe ceremony, always moves the pipe in a clockwise circle. These protocols determine the obligations and responsibilities in traditional Cree social, political and governmental structure, as well as kinship and gender roles, which all relate back to the fundamental movement of the sun. In turn, abiding by these prescribed protocols in ritualized settings acknowledges those habitual movements not only of the sun, but also of all other beings, human and non-human, who habitually move according to the same patterns within "networks of social relationships" (Poirier 2005:91). The non-human actants in the Cree collective, recognizing that humans engaged in ceremonial activity are carrying out obligatory duties, the materials housed in Glenbow's storage room, though largely untouched and unseen over the past few decades, still hold the authority to govern. Horizontal and vertical socialization is a practice through which, with the guidance of elders such as Mekwan, the participant becomes oriented to perceiving these beings. Through the socialization process, protocols become a means of communication and activate a system of non-human agents into a reciprocal relationship with human agents. Acts of exchange between Mekwan and employees of Glenbow Museum mark the beginning of an open-ended dialogue in which Mekwan's practices are granted authority.

Giving Tobacco: The Politics of Knowledge Exchange

For Mekwan, that which is sacred is animate, active and influences the flow and outcome of events. Knowledge is discovered experientially. Bird Rose noted that the paradigm shift "from visions of deterministic prediction to an awareness of uncertainty and probability" marks a shift in the way knowledge is perceived. She remarked that the incumbent challenge lies in enabling this shift by

moving "from the proposition that incomplete knowledge is an obstacle to be overcome, to the proposition that incomplete knowledge is a condition of participation in a living system" (Bird Rose 2007:2).

The museum and the modernist systems on which it depends take the stance that incomplete knowledge is a problem that should be resolved. Mekwan, as demonstrated by his protocols, acknowledged that humans are part of a living system and can only have partial knowledge. This is the essence of the sacred: knowledge is revealed through acts of protocol, but not everything is knowable. What guides the exchange of sacred knowledge within the museum? How far can the authority of protocols be acknowledged in the museum's storage room?

Bird Rose noted that "knowledge emerges from dialogue" (2007:13). Acts of protocol, from a Plains Cree perspective, must be understood as engaging in a process of communication and socialization. Before initiating a dialogue with Mekwan, he stressed that I had to give him tobacco. When I gave tobacco to Mekwan I entered into a dialogical engagement with the question: "What is 'knowable' about the Plains Cree sacred materials stored in Glenbow's cabinets?" Early in my research, I expected this dialogue to emerge verbally, in a pointed question and answer interview format. It was only by engaging in acts of protocol that I began to learn that these acts were, indeed, communicative and dialogical.

Knowledge emerges from dialogue. Dialogue requires communication. Acts of protocol are a particular mode of communication. Thus, protocol leads to particular knowledge.

Acts of protocol, carried out in the museum, are inherently political. The museum, a Western institution with a mission to collect objects and information that "are said to belong to a Canadian heritage held in trust 'for us all'" (Doxtator 1994:59), expects all knowledge to be "knowable." If information is not yet "known," it is not because it is considered "unknowable"; it is because it has yet to be "discovered." Involving employees of Western institutions into acts of protocol is a demand for recognition that humans are part of a living system over which they do not have ultimate control. Recognizing this through relationship-building with First Nations has vast political consequences.

Oguamanam writes that "what is traditional about traditional [or indigenous] knowledge is not its antiquity but the way it is acquired and used" (2007:35). This is a crucial point in discussing the knowledge being exchanged in the museum, since engaging in acts of protocol is the only way to gain access to the traditional Cree knowledge in question. I recall that early on in the collaboration,

Conaty did not know that Mekwan had to be given tobacco on the morning of each day that he arrived to work at the museum. Having given him tobacco once for a three-day visit, Conaty noticed Mekwan was sharing less and less information as the days went on. He often remained silent, rather than discussing the materials in detail as he had been doing on the first day. Only when a close friend of Mekwan's, who had a familiarity with the necessary protocols, shared this with Conaty did he realize his mistake. When Mekwan next visited the museum, about a year and a half later, he was given tobacco each morning of his three-day visit, as well as cotton broadcloth in four colours on the first day. These protocols are essential for the exchange of information. That which he shares with the museum interacts dialogically with the living system from which his knowledge emerges.

This example demonstrates the highly politicized nature of information exchange between keepers of indigenous knowledge and Western institutions. Conaty sought information on behalf of the institution and in its goal to accumulate knowledge about the collection. Mekwan required daily acts of protocol in order for that knowledge to be given. Protocols are a form of communication, derived from natural law. If those laws are not upheld, the dialogue becomes one-sided and knowledge will not be exchanged. In this instance, compatibility came through the act of exchange, since Conaty was quite interested in abiding by and respecting the necessary protocols.

Acts of protocol provide the link between realities derived from drastically different ontological orientations. For Mekwan, requiring tobacco is a political demand, as it is a way of protecting sacred knowledge and re-instilling the Cree demands in Treaty Six. The significance of this demand extends far beyond the "horizontal" action that has a defined beginning and end: the giver extends the tobacco towards him in an open palm, stating why it is being offered; he decides whether to accept it, and if he does, reaches out to take the tobacco; he then engages in the ritualized behaviour of opening the package and smelling it.

Moving into the "vertical" axis, the implications of daily tobacco-giving expand as an acknowledgement of the authority held by the Cree system of agents. In giving tobacco and cloth to Mekwan, Conaty recognized that the information he sought was is ancestral knowledge, derived from generations of adherence to ceremonial practices and related back to the fundamental movements of the sun. In this relational system of knowledge sharing, the acts of protocol were themselves as important as the information acquired. Traditional Cree knowledge, as part of a living system, must be exchanged according to the

same laws that dictate how to behave in a Sundance lodge, how to perform a pipe ceremony and how to socialize with sacred objects.

Resocializing the sacred materials with their habitual patterns of movement through acts of protocol is a way of recognizing their autonomy as a system of agents. By engaging in acts of protocol, the museum and its employees were acknowledging that Mekwan's knowledge is part of a living system. That protocols were taken quite seriously in the museum invited a number of questions: to what extent can the museum give up its control and authority over Plains Cree sacred materials? How far can Cree protocols be ceded authority in the museum's efforts to determine future directions? What can the museum know or claim to know about the authoritative structures derived from Mekwan's protocols?

Giving Ribbons to Pakakhoos: Acknowledging a System of Agents

In Glenbow's cabinets are many figures in the form of a doll, made to represent the ceremonial being known as Pakakhoos. During my time at Glenbow, I saw several such dolls of all sizes, some made of cloth, some of wood and some of braids of sweetgrass. Here I discuss Pakakhoos' role in ceremony and begin to explore the question of how far Mekwan's protocols associated with this being could be carried, given the constraints of repatriation policy.

One particularly stunning Pakakhoos doll has a body of stuffed cloth and hide, with a carved wooden face stitched onto the head. A lock of human hair extends down the doll's back. The detailed ornamentation indicates that the doll, for an extended period of time, had a very significant role in ceremonial life. Small beads outline the edges of a miniature satchel and sash, and strings of beads hang from one wrist. On each wrist dangle two metal jingles in the shape of long triangles. Four jingles were once hanging from each ankle, but a bare thread remains where one has gone missing. Four brass bells are attached to the centre of the back, and a brilliant array of coloured ribbons are draped and tied around the body. The doll's long-time use in ceremony is made evident by its faded clothing, intricate decoration, and the different degrees of wear on the layers of ribbon. As we will see, these ribbons represent protocol.

Pakakhoos is just one example of figures and images that appear repeatedly in the collection of sacred materials, showing the consistency of ceremonial practices among the Plains Cree prior to the Federal Government's targetted annihilation of such practices. The government's goal of cultural erasure gradually caused these items to fall out of use. The museum's collection, despite claims that items were not confiscated but were sold voluntarily to museum employees (Conaty 1995:405), were created under radically asymmetrical power relations.

Pakakhoos, a ceremonial being believed to have been a human boy at one time, governs laws of exchange and reciprocity through a Giveaway ceremony. As a boy, this being froze to death in the winter and then became associated with food, hunting and survival. In his material form, the doll will often carry an item such as a rifle, bow and arrow or, as one other example I saw in the museum, a tiny fork. Mekwan explained to me that people engage in ceremony with Pakakhoos when family members die in certain ways, and then they become "kinshipped in" through the ceremony as a means of healing (Interview, 2 July 2007). Carrying out acts of protocol in the ceremony brings an individual into a reciprocal relationship with Pakakhoos. The individual gives ribbons and clothing to the being and, in return, the individual's kinship ties are strengthened and their family is assured of health and being well-fed. Protocol, as a mode of communication, engages the individual in a dialogical exchange.

The traditional or ancestral knowledge associated with this ceremonial being is part of a living system and therefore must be acquired through the proper laws governing that knowledge. Mekwan was limited in what he could tell me about Pakakhoos. He said to me: "there's a story that you could get through protocol from an old lady that I know" (Interview, 2 July 2007). Stories about Pakakhoos, as a being in the Plains Cree system of agents, must come through protocol. The authority of the laws that determine what is knowable, and through what means, must be followed. Given that I only carried out protocols through Mekwan, I only had access to his knowledge of Pakakhoos and could not gain access to the story known by this old lady. He continued:

> the people that are going to do the ceremony, that have pledged to do the ceremony, it's related to life in general, good luck and good hunting and so that they don't starve their children or some of them will combine all of it so that they'll be warm in their household, that nobody will get cold. And it's related to when somebody freezes to death, that spirit is related to when somebody drowns, and related to when somebody burns in the fire, and there's one more, that I'm not sure, I'm going to have to do protocol myself to ask. [Interview, 28 August 2007]

Again, to gain access to knowledge associated with Pakakhoos, one must abide by the necessary protocols. Mekwan discussed Pakakhoos as a form of government, indicating the potency of agency accorded to this being.

This reflects Lyons' powerful assertion that "the primary law of Indian government is the spiritual law. Spirituality is the highest form of politics, and our spirituality is directly involved in government" (1984:5). Despite the fact that these dolls are still sitting, largely untouched and unseen in the museum's cabinets, they are still powerful and have the strength and capacity to govern.

The museum, though individual employees play roles as active negotiators to protect the interests of First Nations, is constricted by and dependent on the state's bureaucratic system and Western conceptions of ownership. Through Mekwan's practices we see that from a Cree perspective, observant of the authority held by a ceremonial being such as Pakakhoos, a pre-determined bureaucratic process runs counter to the role of such a being in ceremonial life. For the Cree, the role of the ceremony is to govern. The secular state is constructed dichotomously against the possibility that sacred or spiritual subject matter can have authoritative agency (Bhargava 2006:2). Can the state recognize that ceremony and ceremonial materials have the capacity to govern, even within a Western institution?

Ruling that an item can only be repatriated if it is going "back into ceremonial use as a ceremonial object" (FNSCORA 2004:2) denies the possibility that Pakakhoos, through a gradual reintegration, may play an active part in the governing role of a specific ceremony. It also denies that Treaty Six communities would benefit from having access to a powerful kin-making and politics-binding being such as Pakakhoos, as well as the other sacred materials in Glenbow's cabinets, before reintroducing them to a ceremonial context. Cree protocols and forms of government, not the bureaucratic process, are meant to determine whether and when an item such as a Pakakhoos doll returns to use in ceremony, who is in charge of putting on that ceremony, and where the doll should be kept while not in use. Can the laws of exchange and reciprocity involved in relating to a being such as Pakakhoos be drawn into the development of repatriation policy?

The Hunt for the Root: A Model for Correspondence

Approaching the Glenbow Museum one morning, Mekwan told me he had an idea. We entered the museum and began the day's work of looking through the Plains Cree "non-sacred" materials with the two curators and a technician. At some point about mid-morning, when he and I were standing before a storage cupboard, he pointed to a mass of tangled roots, about the size of two fists put together, and said to me, "Hey, look at that root. Very interesting." He said it was a type of medicine and that we

might want to look for it again later on. I thought nothing of it and we carried on.

At the museum the next day, Mekwan expressed an interest in finding the root again. The two of us, being the only ones who saw it the day before, tried to remember where we had seen it. He thought it was in the far end of the room in a portable storage cupboard, while I remembered seeing it at the other end of the room. We checked both places and could not find the root. I began to get a sense that his "idea" the day before had everything to do with this root, or this "medicine."

Determined to carry on until we found the root, Mekwan drew the museum workers into the hunt. The two curators and technician joined in the search, playing their own part by deciding where to look according to the cues Mekwan had given them. Mekwan recalled that he might have seen the root next to a whip, so the technician printed off a list of whips in the collection and began to look for them. The search carried on relentlessly, the curators, Mekwan and I looking again and again in every drawer of the entire row of cupboards. We turned nothing up, but reconvened several times saying "I know we saw it," prompting Mekwan to continue searching.

In the museum storage room, Mekwan's practice was infiltrating its colonial confines by engaging us all in a subtle, accessible process of horizontal and vertical socialization that did not stray too radically from the everyday awareness of all those who joined in the search. Horizontally, Mekwan and I engaged in the linear acts of seeing and speaking about the root, and the museum workers, in helping us look for it, were joining in on the horizontal axis. Drawing all participants into *the hunt*, a relational perception began to operate as authoritative.

To "put something vertical" is to reorient perception in a manner that makes one open to *interacting and relating with* items such as the root. By engaging in the search, the Glenbow employees, having been invited into Mekwan's ontological practice, became willing participants in this subtle reorientation of perception through the vertical axis. The search was working on the premise that we had actually seen the root, and that it was possible for the root to be animate. Acknowledgement of this possibility, which does not stray too radically from the museum workers' everyday awareness, drew them into Mekwan's political collective.

By *interacting with* the root on the premise of it being animate, we also became relationally engaged with all the other materials. Acting as the sun in the museum's environment, the root, shifting about according to its own patterns of behaviour, was drawing us into the search on the assumption that we would find it again, as sure as the sun

will continue its "regular patterns of rising and setting" (Ingold 2004:38) and "return to the eastern horizon" (Ridington 1990:131). However, the habitual movements of the root, unlike those regular patterns of the sun, are unpredictable. As Feit explains, "habits make action likely, not certain" (2004:103). Our attempts to predict the root's location proved unsuccessful, but through Mekwan's insistence that we find it again we began to engage with it relationally.

The state's approach is to incorporate indigenous practices into an existing pre-defined bureaucratic process. This process is based on principles of Western property transaction that assumes cultural property to be alienable, and pre-supposes that the goal of the process, for sacred materials to be reincorporated into ceremonial use, will satisfy state objectives as well as those of the First Nation. Turning to Noble's notion of "radical correspondence," derived from "translating one socially embedded form of transaction into another" (2007:338), an intriguing question arises: what happens if things work the other way, with the museum's practices being incorporated into an indigenous system of transaction? Revolving actions in the museum setting around an animate root, pulling the museum's practices into the Cree system of acknowledging the habitual movements of the root, and also of the materials in the sacred storage area, the potentiality for radical correspondence between these divergent modes of transaction becomes evident.

Conclusion

Though this paper only documents its beginning stages, the collaborative project at Glenbow opened up the possibility for recognition of "radically different ontologies" in the same state (Clammer et al. 2004:15). While modernist assumptions underlying the bureaucratic process set clear limits on how far Mekwan's protocols can be carried out, Glenbow provided a space where those protocols could operate according to the system of agents they enact.

The requirement that materials must go into "active ceremonial use" in order to be repatriated reflects a Western, modernist assumption that sacred materials will follow a specified, pre-determined trajectory, and denies the possibility that new knowledge may be generated in the process (Oguamanam 2007). The material aspects of repatriation are assumed to be the most vital components of revitalizing cultural practices, and Western bureaucratic processes are held as authoritative in resolving issues surrounding First Nations cultural property. It is assumed that knowledge associated with sacred materials has been stagnant and unchanging since they were last used in cer-

emony. These assumptions are opposed to the Cree understanding of the items as animate, deny the possibility that these materials may hold authority, and fail to recognize that the sacred materials, in a "permanent state of flux" (Blaser 2010:36), are already in a process of unfolding that depends on the practice of Cree protocols such as Mekwan's, not on the museum's bureaucratic system.

In addressing how to move forward in any actions concerning sacred materials, Cree laws must be followed. These laws, which operate to acknowledge the governing role of non-human agents, in addition to human agents, and the imminent presence of ancestral and ceremonial beings, stand in stark contrast to the linear and separationist policies of the state. Expectations and assumptions about a predictable path or outcome for the sacred items to follow run counter to the role of protocols. This set of laws, based on promoting intergenerational kinship ties through acts of exchange, accepts that humans are only one component of an entire system of agents. This system, comprised of animate beings that govern through reciprocal relationships with humans, is not knowable in its complete form. Any attempt by Alberta repatriation policy to predict a specific outcome assumes this system to be fully knowable, determinate and, therefore, disrespects the governing role of protocols as a means for engaging always emergent actions of humans and non-humans.

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Notes

1   I borrow the term *actant* from actor-network theory, where it is used to refer to any human or non-human entity that has the ability to act (see Latour 1999). I use the term to indicate that agency is distributed equally across entities, and that those entities include both humans and non-humans.
2   This elder's English name is Joseph Deschamps, however, here I will refer to him by his Cree name, Mekwan Awasis, or Feather Child.
3   This was the first time I was exposed to the term *protocol* in this context. Since it had come from Glenbow's curator, I assumed it referred to museum protocol. I soon learned that in this project, the term actually referred to Cree protocol. I use the term *protocol* in this paper the way Mekwan uses the term to refer to his own practices.

4 For ease of presentation, here I discuss Mekwan's practices as constituting *a* Plains Cree perspective. In other words, I am not suggesting that he represents Plains Cree communities or that his practices are representative of other Cree ceremonialists. Based on fieldwork in his community and in the museum, I can attest that his authority to perform ceremonies is recognized in both places. I participated in a few ceremonies Mekwan had been asked to perform. I also witnessed members of his community come to his house with tobacco and cloth to make requests for naming ceremonies, healing or protection, and one woman asked him to perform a Tea Dance ceremony.

5 I use the term *govern* to refer to the agency accorded to and enacted by non-human actants, specifically ancestral and ceremonial beings, with whom humans directly engage through ceremonial protocol.

6 Dempsey also told me about some materials associated with the collection that remain in the Ethnology Department's records: reports from the two fieldtrips he took with other long-time Glenbow employee Doug Light in 1961 and 1962, and sketches of Plains Cree sacred items Dempsey made when they first came to the museum in case pieces became scattered or missing.

7 Placing tobacco directly on the storage shelves was common and welcome at Glenbow, however, the curators at RAM did not encourage the introduction of foreign materials into the cabinets.

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Ideas / Idées

Twenty-five Years Later: The Questions

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In the history of anthropology, certain years are associated, or ought to be associated, with the appearance of books that made a difference to the discipline, for example 1922 (Malinowski's *Argonauts*), 1928 (Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa*), 1949 (Lévi-Strauss's *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté*), 1968 (Harris's *The Rise of Anthropological Theory*). In similar fashion, 1986 was the year of *Writing Culture* (Clifford and Marcus 1986) and *Anthropology as Cultural Critique* (Marcus and Fischer 1986), the year that something we called "postmodernism" (a term as elastic as the existentialism of a previous decade) took centre stage. Arguably for the first time, the selection of field sites, the process of fieldwork (and the power relations intrinsic to it) and the rhetoric of ethnography became the focus of theoretical talk rather than diachronic processes such as evolution and supposed synchronic structures. Key notions such as *culture* and *the field* (particularly after Gupta and Ferguson's *Anthropological Locations* in 1997) were bracketed and questioned. Polyvocality–polyphony replaced unabashed ethnographic authority as a desideratum. There were experiments with ethnographic form, merging ethnography as a fictive form with "pure" fiction. The new orthodoxy (that was not) declared the comparative method dead along with instrumental reason and scientific pretence. One is perfectly aware that there never was a united "postmodernist" movement in anthropology, that there were Foucauldians, Derrideans, devotees of the Frankfurt School, pragmatists, practitioners of the anthropology of experience, students of Turner and Geertz, some of the above, all of the above and none of the above.

Those who rejected "the posts" included latter-day Boasians, structural-functionalists, many psychological and cognitive anthropologists, neo-Marxists who practised anthropological political economy, symbolic and structural anthropologists, cultural materialists, cultural ecologists and sociobiologists. In other words, this diverse

group shared little in common, except that they all clung to some vision of anthropology as a comparative science, albeit only the cultural materialists and some cognitive anthropologists were diehard positivists. Among the critics of the movement numbered Marvin Harris (1998) for every reason one could imagine, many followers of Eric Wolf, Roy d'Andrade (1995) who was particularly upset by the postmodernism of Nancy Scheper-Hughes, Herbert Lewis (1998) who felt that the gains of the Boasian movement (such as the scientific dismissal of racism) were in danger of obloquy at the hands of a movement that seemed (to him) intent on misrepresenting anthropology's past, Marshall Sahlins (the first major anthropologist to utilize the work of Baudrillard) who has criticized inappropriate extensions of Foucauldian notions beyond the specific context of early modernity which they were used to describe (Sahlins 2002), and Tom Beidelman who stated that the doubting of ethnographic authority was "a failure of moral nerve" (1986:10). After 25 years one must ask how lasting the effect of postmodernism has been? Were its proponents or its critics right? To what extent has it been absorbed into the mainstream, whatever that mainstream may be? Is there a new empiricism, more concerned with the actual circumstances of globalization, global flows and world crises than with any grand theory or grand anti-theory? Indeed, is there any sign of a new theoretical movement that will create the same stir as *Writing Culture* or, from a different perspective, 1968's *Rise of Anthropological Theory*? '

There is another set of questions that Canadians might ask. Only one Canadian (something few noticed?) and only one woman (something many rightly remarked) contributed to *Writing Culture*—Mary Louise Pratt from Listowel, Ontario, who is not an anthropologist *stricto sensu*. Those who recall meetings from that time know that English-speaking Canadians, such as Michael Lambek (1991), Stanley Barrett (1996: 150-163) and Regna Darnell were very much involved in these debates. In Québec, there was a more muted reaction—perhaps here we could talk of two (anthropological) solitudes.

We invited a number of scholars to contribute mini-articles or short commentaries on the theme "25 Years Later," which might or might not react to the thoughts outlined above, but would address the fortune of postmodernism in anthropology.

The responses we got could not have been more diverse. We received two short articles. Michael Fischer offers us a polyphonic, nine-canto *Singspiel*, a whimsical, imaginary reprise of the Santa Fe conference that led to the publication of *Writing Culture* with a *dramatis personae* that seems to bear some kind of resemblance to the

original cast. Like most humour, the Singspiel has a serious purpose: to fend off what Fischer perceives to be "misreadings, misapprehensions, misappropriations" of the book in the years immediately following its publication. The Singspiel is preceded by an introduction, and the piece discusses some more recent works by the author and some other participants in the conference. Michael Lambek undertook to revise and reshape an unpublished essay for this volume, evaluating three approaches to anthropological inquiry, based to some degree on Alasdair MacIntyre's "Three Rival versions of Moral Inquiry" (1990). These are Encyclopaedia (objectivist), Genealogy (sceptical) and Tradition (hermeneutical). Very obviously, anthropological postmodernism epitomized by some essays in *Writing Culture* emphasizes Genealogy over Tradition and tends to eschew Encyclopaedia. Despite his own hermeneutic bent, Lambek sees the anthropology of the future as based on an interplay between these three approaches which, unlike MacIntyre, he does not view as mutually exclusive.

There are four commentaries. Stanley Barrett approves of the turn to reflexivity and understands that the crisis of representation was a necessary consequence of the end of colonialism, the Vietnam War, globalization and new forms of mass communication. However, he considers the "experimental moment" a failure, because, in his view, little of value has emerged from "either dialogical texts or mixed genres." In Barrett's view, a renascent empiricism, based in good ethnography, could reinvigorate anthropology. However, Regna Darnell, who has been a referee, for several Turner prizes, considers that the movement toward experimental ethnography, which is postmodernism's legacy, has not been a failure. Our bricoleur's "toolkit has been substantially expanded by postmodernism." Andrew Strathern and Pamela Stewart believe that, despite a tendency sometimes to produce pretentious, solipsistic critiques, postmodernism brought a moment of healthy scepticism to the theory and practice of anthropology. The movement "from Saussure to not so sure" was beneficial. Finally, Alan Smart, who was never a postmodernist, observes that anthropological postmodernism was and is in spirit a humanistic movement inspired by eclectic traditions like postmodernist architecture and that it does not preach the "death of the subject" like so many forms of post-structuralism. However, it is his view that the anthropology of the future will be "post-human." It must transcend the anthropomorphism that predominates in most theory and ethnography and break down the barriers between humans and their environment, some part of which we have fashioned into a prosthetic extension of ourselves, and particularly between

humans and other living organisms with which we share and exchange genetic material.

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A Polyphonic Nine Canto *Singspiel* after 25 Years of *Writing Culture* and *Anthropology as Cultural Critique*

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Introduction: Historical Horizons, Emergent Futures

1. Rhizomes

From a Rice University perspective, *Anthropology as Cultural Critique* (1986, henceforth ACC), *Writing Culture* (1986, henceforth WC), the inauguration of the journal *Cultural Anthropology* (1986) under George Marcus' editorship, along with the Center for Cultural Studies (CCS) (which I directed 1987–93 and which grew out of the Rice Circle), and the eight volumes in the 1990s of the *Late Editions* series were organic, rhizomatic, parts of one another. ACC in particular was a reading of our generation's effort to produce ethnographies that marked out somewhat new terrains and approaches, such as, for instance, attention to dream analysis and small group dynamics in Amazonian bands (Kracke 1978), or the sonic phenomenological and cosmological-moral critical apparatuses of New Guinea (Feld 1982). Both of these required readers to engage in the cultural and strategic richness of local knowledges as they would with their own, including changing sensibilities about location in larger than local worlds. Above all, we insisted that anthropology get past the silly polemics about materialist versus symbolic or interpretive approaches, since both are required, particularly in a changing world where both are contested and reworked. While ACC was a call for renewal of

anthropology's goals of providing frameworks for comparative humanities, social reform, social theory, translations or confrontations across epistemes and positionalities in the global economy, as well as renewed methodological critique, WC proved to be a hinge of conversation across the humanities, involving the new interdisciplines of media studies, feminist studies, comparative literature, postcolonial studies, cultural studies and new historicism. Oddly, the reception of WC often reduced attention to single texts in a manner quite contrary to anthropology's (and ACC's) larger goals and to the experiences of the "sixties generation" of which we were a part.

2. Ethnographic Authority

If one assumes and acknowledges that ethnographers always step into prior streams of representations, re-presentations, evocations, montages, performatives and genres, many of the apparent difficulties of "ethnographic authority" are shifted so that the focus becomes the circuits, modalities, and discursive apparatuses in their social and historical contexts and their postings back and forth between prior and subsequent generations.

3. Contexts and Collaborations

ACC and WC happened between a series of overlapping major historical horizons: (a) socio-politically between the Iranian revolution and the collapse of the Soviet Union, both of which transformed the theatres of global politics; (b) in terms of generational sensibility, between the 1960s (the Vietnam War, the Civil Rights Movement, the Peace Corps) and the 1990s (the World Wide Web, Gen X and Y entering the labour force as captured by Douglas Coupland (1991), MTV, the first Gulf War, the dot.com and biotech bubbles); (c) between anthropology done in teams of researchers of large projects over several decades, and anthropology done by individuals;[1] (d) between the simultaneous entry onto the American academic stage of structuralism and poststructuralism at The Johns Hopkins University's 1966 conference, "The Structuralist Controversy: The Languages of Criticism and the Sciences of Man" (Macksey and Donato 1972)[2] and the introduction in the 1990s of the World Wide Web, the digital and genomics revolutions, and the shift of focus from interdisciplinary conversations between anthropology and the humanities in the 1980s to ones in the 1990s with the sciences, science studies, new biologies, comparative media studies, and studies of the global political economy ("globalization").

4. Corpus

In my own trajectories, ACC became the first of a trilogy of volumes on anthropology as cultural critique, ethno-graphic methods, and the mutations and evolution of social theory articulating the historical and ethnographic contexts from which they arose. This trilogy inter-braided with a quartet of volumes that provided some of my own fieldwork as one set of ethnographic groundings for those reflections on theory, method, genre and explorations of adapting form and content to one another. The first was a study of the city of Yazd and its villages in dialogue with towns and city in Western India as settings for comparative religion and development of communities of Zoroastrians, Jews and Baha'is, including sections on the famines of the 19th century and emigration to India, the structure of bazaars as social-moral arenas, and the spatial and social dramas of riots and inscriptions of state and religious "truth" on the bodies of minorities (Fischer 1973). The second (Fischer 1980) was a study of the town of Qum as a training centre for religious leaders who propagated class-linked styles of religiosity across Iran, including a "Karbala paradigm" that mobilized a revolution, generated immanent or internal critique; a paradigm that could be evaluated both against other scholastic traditions of disputation (in Jainism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Christianity, Judaism) as well as so-called "post-modern" deconstruction. This was part of a seven-country set of comparative projects each done by paired "native" and American analysts (in my case Shahrough Akhavi and Mehdi Abedi). A third (Fischer and Abedi 1990) juxtaposed contesting oral, written, and visual media worlds, including how Khomeini overcame his recognition that his mobilization of the critical apparatus of Shi'ism would be insufficient to ground his desire for guardianship by the cleric (velayat-e faqih) to be read as a way for clerics to intervene as governors of the political system. Using that case as a teaching tool for understanding the critical apparatus of Shi'ite hermeneutics, the small media of the revolution including the contestations among the revolution's factions in the extraordinary graphics of the revolution's posters, and an early account of what would become central to Iranian culture in the 2000s, it was a double weaving of that culture from one end of the loom in Iran and another end of the loom in America and Europe. A fourth study examined three non-homogenizable understandings of Iran's Zoroastrian heritage in Zoroastrianism itself (ritual), in the national epic (parable), and in philosophy (gnostic imagery), as well as on Iranian cinema from the 1970s through the 1990s reflecting particularly on how social repair is attempted after war, first in Khuzistan, then Kurdistan, then Afghanistan, over the course of the 1990s (Fischer 2004).

5. Essay as Form

These seven volumes form a foundation from which many essays also spin off exploring fieldwork, genres of culture (both native genres and analysts' genres), anthropology as cultural critique, and social theory as responses to worlds that outrun the pedagogies in which their inhabitants were trained. Among these were essays in the *Late Editions* series, produced by editorial collaboratives on *Perilous States* after the fall of the Soviet Union (Fischer 1997), new *Technoscientific Imaginaries* (Fischer 1995), on the generationally- and social justice-charged print work of artist and psychiatrist Eric Avery (Fischer 2000a), and on the millennial anxiety manifested in the potential Y2K bug, lodged like land mines within patched and repatched legacy codes of the digital infrastructure (Fischer 2000b). Other such essays were part of another collaborative endeavour: volumes that emerged from the decades long-running Friday morning seminars at Harvard led by Byron and Mary Jo Good, in which I participated (see Biehl et al. 2007), associated also with the journal *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry, Postcolonial Disorders* (Good 2008), and *A Medical Anthropology Reader: Theoretical Trajectories, Emergent Realities* (Good et al. 2010).

My essay in WC, carefully plotted with female and male voices, proved to be one of three studies on ethnicity, religion, and science, about how people give accounts of themselves through single-voiced meldings of split or multiple heritages ("postmodern arts of memory"), double voiced accounts of historical figures refigured as projective screens of contemporary dilemmas of religious facing new historical circumstances ("torn religions"), and formally homologous accounts of scientific fields and selves ("I/eying" the sciences).[3]

6. 1986

The times in 1986 were a-changing with an acceleration that was placing writing itself under an anxiety of being displaced by digital and multimedia circuits.[4] The year ACC and WC were published was two years after the year of Orwell's *1984* had quietly passed and the Apple MacIntosh was introduced with its famous Ridley Scott commercial: "You will see why 1984 won't be like *1984.*" It was two years after Bhopal had exploded, Indira Gandhi was assassinated, and the Ahmedabad communal riots contested affirmative action in engineering and medical school admissions. It was the year that Pixar Animation Studios opened, electronic trading on the London Stock Exchange (the Big Bang) was initiated, the first computer virus (Brain) infected MS-DOS personal computers, and

Selim Jehan "Eddy" Shah launched the U.K. newspaper *Today* forcing all UK national papers to abandon linotype and letterpress machines for electronic production and colour printing (involving considerable labour unrest and suppression). It was the year William J. Schroeder, the second artificial heart recipient, died after 620 days, the US space shuttle Challenger exploded and the Chernobyl nuclear power station exploded. More positively, it was the year Voyager 2 reached Uranus, the Mir space station launched, the Japanese Suisei probe flew by Halley's Comet studying its UV hydrogen corona and solar winds, and Ferdinand Marcos was ousted by massive demonstrations mobilized with the aid of cell phones.

7. Polyphony

I offer below a condensed light-hearted reading and critique of *Writing Culture* from an *Anthropology as Cultural Critique* point of view. I intend the good vibes of a lively School of American Research (SAR) conference to be audible, full of harmonics and differences. I intend to recover WC's enduring parts, fending off what I sense are misreadings, misapprehensions, misappropriations.

"Ear of the Other, Voices of the Pages": A Polyphonic Nine Canto *Singspiel*

> Ethnography is hybrid textual activity: it traverses genres and disciplines.
> —James Clifford (1986:26)

JC: OY! Mea culpa! mea culpa! I know, I know. I come from UC Santa Cruz. They are going to crucify me in *Signs* for not inviting (more) feminists. I think we've got two out of ten, but they haven't worn it on their sleeves.[5]

MP [*Lit Crit and Chick Lit Canto of Beginnings*[6] *and Arrivals*]: Oh come off it, all you wannabe alpha-males who think you are doing concept work and breaking into new epistemes. You are just repeating "arrival scenes" over and over, as we comp lit types have been pointing out, ever since the 15th century. Remember Vasco da Gama's Portuguese Jewish physican Garcia da Orta's (1563) "*Dialogue or Colloquies on the Simples*" in Kerala with the toddy tappers, pandits, and faqirs and his rival from the old country. That comparative interrogatory on botany and pharmacy is a virtual *pharmakon* of dialogic tactics. It provided a basis on which Linnaeus built his collaboratory, I mean classificatory system. [*Sotto voce, with saudade, the sadness of longing*: she recites a canto or two of *Os Lusíadas*, Luís Vaz de Camões' 1572 (1863) Homeric-style epic of Vasco da Gama's voyage to India.]

[*Refrain*] *Look for the women!* You guys are just too fixated on realism and denying singular phallic truth. Look to Irigaray or Cixous on polyerogeny. Remember Florinda Donner-Grau's *Shabono* (1982), which is or is not plagiarized from Helena Valero's *Yanoama: The Narrative of a White Girl Kidnapped by Amazonian Indians* (1970), and "is and is not based on fieldwork," "may or may not be true, is and is not ethnography, is and is not autobiography, does and does not claim professional and academic authority...and so on" (WC:30).[7] [*Sotto voce*: O it's disciplinary boundary work, who is authorized as professional anthropologist and who is not, and Carlos Castaneda's blurbing Donner's book does not help! O it's all a play of first-person experience ("subjective") framing third person description ("objective") and tropes of ethnographers as allegorical castaways, captives, of being a "suspected alien," and of the European visitor "welcomed like a messiah" (Valero 1970:36), shades of that later debate between Gananath Obeyesekere (1997) and Marshall Sahlins (1995) over whether the Hawaiians actually thought of Captain Cook as a god ("welcomed like a messiah," killed as a "suspected alien"). It's less about attribution of belief *per se* than a methodological querying of the force of discursive structures and ritual forms in strategically dealing with something new to experience (Sahlins), versus a resistance to seeing sharp epistemic boundaries (Obeyesekere).]

[*Refrain*] *O look for the women* and polymorphic multierogeny. I sing in memory of Marjorie Shostak and *Nisa*. [*Sotto voce*: Although Shostak's writing is as shot through with all the same problems as you guys, belly-aching too much about the tribulations of fieldwork and the craft of writing.] You make ethnography a "nightmare of contradiction" (Shostak 1981:44), "an awful scene of a real return of the repressed" (Shostak 1981:44), "one long frustrating master-servant feud" (Richard Burton, Evans-Pritchard), as if Evans-Pritchard and Maybury-Lewis were "frustrated and depressed" or Malinowski and Firth were "richly perceptive, but terribly unsystematic," and ethnography in general were "boring" (WC:33). You'd never know that the Shavante would send a representative to Maybury-Lewis' funeral as an expression of appreciation and emotional bonds built over the decades through both ethnography and advocacy for their cultural survival. You overlook that Malinowski had a self, "best understood not as a monolithic scientist-observer, but as a multifaceted entity" (39), and that the richness and openness of his texts provide the empirical evidence to allow reinterpretations as demonstrated particularly by Annette Weiner (among many others). Think of the crafting of the "being there" sensations so exciting to his students (Firth 1957),

and his systematic word-for-word translations, glosses and interpretations of Trobriand texts in *Coral Gardens* (1965). And anyway, whoever said that scientists are not full of passion, competitive drive, aggression, head over heels in love with their promissory fantasies and the never stable significance of discoveries they produce with their experimental systems? And what's this sloganeering against positivism as if knowledge produced piece-meal, contingently and uncertainly were bad?

RR [*Headhunter's Canto*]: Yes, she's right! In the Inquisition from which da Orta was fleeing, truth is made to appear in dialogue. The voice is Socrates' but the hand is Plato's; the voice is Jacob's but the hand is Esau's. In inquisitions, power relations are asserted and denied. Assertion–denial, writing–erasure, legibility–veiling, that's the dia-logue or dia-lectic. Historical ethnography and ethnographic history, they mirror each other. Evans-Pritchard (1949) tries to do ethnography financed by the military amidst a bombing campaign (human terrain anthropology [AAA 2007; Peacock et al. 2007], Project Camelot [Horowitz 1967], Laos). Le Roy Ladurie (1978) attempts to see the 14th century through the power position of bishop's questioning (think of how much good information we got in Abu Ghraib).

But guys, make it real: Garcia? Jerry Garcia is the only Garcia students know. [Reciting from Abelardo Delgado's 1969 Chicano anthem:]

> Stupid america, see that chicano with a big knife on his steady hand, he doesn't want to knife you, he wants to sit on a bench and carve christfigures but you won't let him...he is the Picasso of your western states but he will die with one thousand masterpieces hanging only from his mind. [Delgado 2011:28]

Stanford's undergraduates need to expand their curriculum to include Ilongot and Chicano perspectives. It's not just a sop to the growing diversity of the student body, but important to their orientation in a world of inescapable multiculturalism.

I know, I know. There will be rage. I'll be pilloried in the university senate. The culture wars will rage. "A Hard Rain's A-Gonna Fall." It's what's happening. [*Sotto voce*: I've learned the bitter lessons of head hunters' grief, and travelled the painful memory-charred trails, tracked and collated the different tribal-oral and army-archival modes of historical chronotyping.]

VC [*Canto of Ritual Forms*]: All these Hermes Ninja ethnographers claiming to "uncover the masked, the latent, the unconscious!" (WC:51). But it's all a ruse, this business of ethnographic reports, especially interpretive ones that claim to participate in native struggles to under-

stand, strategize, joke, speculate and wink, while asserting meaning, when it's all contingent, "determined by the moment of the ethnographic encounter" (51). It's all in the pronouns, deixics, and shifters. Take rituals. Circumcision makes you a man, bullshit. It creates a lifelong anxiety structure that can be mobilized periodically across the life course, not intentionally, but psychodynamically, metapragmatically, even mystically as in the Hamadsha trances, or through Lacanian slippages round and round the moebius strip of split selves and ever-substitutable objects of desire in chains of linguistic thirds. Take my Moroccan tilemaker Tuhami (Crapanzano 1980), who would withdraw into the hospital whenever he couldn't handle his subalternness in (post)colonial relations, and the Hamadsha *zikr*-trance didn't work. Rituals are trickster shows, they unman you while saying you are becoming a man. Like Walter Benjamin's translations, they are only "somewhat provisional way[s] of coming to terms with the foreignness of [ritual] languages" (51).

Take three exemplars (though I can't decide if they are *Muster* [master plan exemplar] or *Beispiel* [illustration example]): George Catlin's description of the Mandan initiation, O-kee-pah, he attended in 1832 (Catlin 1841 I:245-288), Goethe's (1992) description of the Roman Carnival he observed in 1787, and Clifford Geertz's (1972) accounting for the forms and layered significations of Balinese cockfights in 1958 (seven years "before the fact" of the 1965 massacres). Catlin was really thrown by the skin-piercing hanging of initiates, never having seen the Hamadsha and Rifa'i sufi piercing rites, or hook hanging at Kataragama in Sri Lanka. Actually despite all my suspicions of his reporting, the consensus is that with his sketchbooks and notes from his translator, he actually got it right. Similarly Goethe, that Protestant stiff, like Hawthorne and Henry James after him, just didn't get the lewd revelry of Carnival. I must admit, though, he did get a lot right: the trickstering (trying to blow out each other's candles while shouting "death to anyone not carrying a candle"), the inversions of the carpets and chairs from inside the palaces brought outside onto the Corso with the subalterns as movers and shakers while the elite sit and watch, the bawdy satire of status and procreation. For his general exams, Goethe still needs to read Rabelais or at least Bakhtin on French carnival, Max Gluckman on rites of rebellion in Swaziland, and Julie Taylor's analysis of the transformations of Rio Carnival from competitions based on dance steps to spectacle watched from reviewing stands complete with Disney figures. But Geertz is inexcusable: his description of a football game, I mean soccer, I mean buzkashi, I mean cockfight, is ludic, I mean ludicrous. You can't just describe a game in general, as if each game is not different. I don't believe his stuff about passion, how would he know? Red Soxx Nation, New England Patriots fanaticism. Ridiculous. What's the evidence? And you can't just describe how bets are placed, and people get in over their heads as if there were a pattern to the size of bets related to the matched strength and public or kinship alliances (Brazilians commit suicide, governments weaken, when they lose a World Cup, ridiculous). It's stereotyping to say it's a masculine game of homosocial bonding—what's all that about patting of rumps and exaggeration of shoulders, and codpieces? He's as bad as Goethe, using ethnography for mythic and philosophical meditation. Nonsense about the rowdiness and fleeting joys of life needing to be reflected upon during Lent. Nonsense using Bali to refute Bentham's "deep play" (gambling being irrational should be outlawed). Muster [type] versus Beispiel [example], it's a Kantian play; *Vorbild und Nachbild,* a Dilthey play; "models of, models for," the Geertzian version.

JC [*Canto of Allegory*]: Oh come on Vince, you of all people should appreciate allegory. Ethnography is performance, emplotted with powerful stories, describing real events through which they make moral, ideological, and even cosmological statements (WC:98). You yourself, Jim Boon, Mick Taussig and Steve Tyler are all explicit about this (100fn2). "Allegory (more strongly than "interpretation") calls to mind the poetic, traditional, cosmological...adding a temporal aspect...generat[ing] other levels, [interrupting] the rhetoric of presence...double attention to the descriptive surface and to more abstract, comparative, and explanatory levels" (100-101). Take Marjorie Shostak's opening transcript of Nisa's oral account of giving birth (1981). *Nisa*'s voicing immediately generates alternative norms as well as reflection on a common experience of women. Shostak's whole text braids together three, discordant, allegorical registers, providing a dramatic tension of polyvocality. Nisa speaks as a "person giving specific kinds of advice to someone of a particular age" (107). At the same time, Shostak's editing emerges from a crucial moment of feminist politics and epistemology: consciousness raising and the sharing of experiences by women, and of an assumption "newly problematic" of "common female qualities (and oppressions) across racial, ethnic, and class lines" (107).

The detour of ethnographic subjectivity is one of "belief-skepticism," and as Michelle Rosaldo taught in her "Reflections on Feminism and Cross-Cultural Understanding" (1980), we need to pay attention to uses and abuses of appropriations of ethnographic data. A recognition of allegory draws attention to the translations, encounters, and recontextualizations that compose ethnographies:

they are always already palimpsests. Ethnographic virtuosos use them with tact, tactically and tactfully, exploring the historically bounded and coercive constraints of stories, as well as using their juxtapositions and interruptions as tools of critique.

ST [*Canto of Evocation*]: Aye lads and lassie, no word of the post-modern yet? Forget representation. Evocation of participatory emergence, that's the key. Evocation frees ethnography from mimesis and "the...rhetoric [of]...'objects,' 'facts,' 'descriptions'" (130). Evocation leads towards poesis, ritual performance, and therapy. Post-modern ethnography will float like "the Lord Brahma in the emergent common sense world, motionless...all potentiality suspended within" (134), floating ever asymptotically approaching, withdrawing, without ever having arrived. Post-modern ethnography will evoke always unfinished emergent holisms out of the polyphony of participation.

Although its technological time of emergence, post-newspaper, post-radio, post-computer is correctly adduced by Lyotard's *Report on the Postmodern Conditions of Knowledge* (1984), neither he nor I can quite anticipate the workings of the emergent Internet and social media that will crowd source, empowering many-to-many disseminations of audio-visual-textual permutations, upsetting Foucault's disciplinary modernities with the new capillaries of code that shift governance to tracking, aggregating and targetting by marketers and by the commerce of simulations foreseen by the mesmerized Baudrillard and Chris Marker. Heil Walmart!, Google!, derivatives and structured securities, and the power of the Chinese market.

Our only defence: we need "a self-conscious return to an earlier and more powerful notion of the ethical character of all discourse, as captured in the ancient significance of the family of terms "'ethos,' 'ethnos,' 'ethics'" (WC:126), hence ethnography [ethosophy?]. We need to return to the ancient ethos of poiesis, ritual performance, and therapy. We need ethnography that "defamiliarizes common sense reality in a bracketed context of performance, evokes a fantasy wholly abducted from fragments," taking us into "strange lands with occult practices—into the heart of darkness—where fragments of the fantastic whirl about in the vortex of the quester's disoriented consciousness ... and then returns participants to the world of common sense—transformed, renewed, and sacralized" (126). Heidegger had his Black Forest (130), I've got my tribal Koya in India.

"Life in the field is itself fragmentary...and except for unusual informants like...[Marcel Griaule's] Dogon sage Ogotemmêli [or Victor Turner's Ndembu symbol analyst, Muchona], the natives [Koya,, Terence Turner's Kayapo, those who speak prose without knowing it, or produce more or less correct sentences without knowing the rules of grammar] seem to lack communicable visions" (131). Nonetheless what we learn from them is the importance of face-to-face dialogue, conversation of the everyday, the only ethical form of ethnography, where one can correct misunderstandings until one comes to a working agreement if never a full understanding. Post-modern ethnography privileges discourse over text, dialogue over monologue, the collaborative over the transcendental observer (126). "In one of its ideal forms, [it] would result in a polyphonic text, none of whose participants would have the final word" (126). "Post-modern ethnography builds its program [err, I mean, we need to abandon illusions of programs, the gramme, grammar, grammatology (130)] from the rubble of [Benjamin, Adorno, and Derrida's] deconstruction[s]" (131). It is a "return to the idea of aesthetic integration as therapy...of restorative harmony" (134). "Post-modern ethnography is an object of meditation that provokes a rupture with the common-sense world and evokes an aesthetic integration whose therapeutic effect is worked out in the restoration of the commonsense world" (134). "It aims not to foster the growth of knowledge but to restructure experience" (135). It embraces texts that stage the tension between inner paradox and deceptive outer logic, neither denying ambiguity nor endorsing it, neither subverting subjectivity nor denying objectivity ... making purposes possible (paraphrasing 136). As St. Bernard said, "to read with the ears to hear the voices of the pages" (136). [*Sotto voce*: Or was it Derrida's ear of the other?]

TA [*Canto of Unequal Languages*]: Can we get back to concrete examples of real ethnographers and the ways they translate and distort? This is a real problem in British social anthropology. "Mary Douglas puts this nicely" (160): When an anthropologist "draws out the whole scheme" of the cosmology of a group like the Lele, with whom she worked, that cosmology is rarely an "object of contemplation and speculation" in that way, but "rather has evolved as an appanage of other social institutions" (160; citing Mary Douglas). [*Sotto voce*: To simplify I will ignore the question of why some societies develop elaborate theologies as in Christianity, and other societies develop debate traditions as in Islam, while yet others stress orthopraxis as in Zoroastrianism. Let's just pretend (sorry Mike) that anthropologists only deal with illiterate societies, and ones with undeveloped cosmologies. I will write a lot about Islam and Christianity, but, after all, I did my original fieldwork with the Kabbabish Arab nomads.] So, I want to warn about the slippage that occurs when

anthropologists exercise the tendency to read the *implicit* in alien cultures.

Second, I want to warn about translation across unequal languages, the politics of language change. Arabic since the 19th century "has begun…to undergo a transformation (lexical, grammatical, semantic)" that makes it closer to European languages (154). There is a long literature in religious studies on the problems of appropriating the concepts of other societies into Christian formulations, nowhere perhaps more importantly than in the debates over African religions, whose languages were first translated by missionaries and who were under pressure to Christianize.

The most vexed of these translation arenas is that of rationality in which the struggle between sociological and Anglo-analytic philosophy accounts are often argued into *reductio ad absurdum*. This was the so-called "Other Minds" debate, which one would have thought would have been settled by Evans-Pritchard's two-spears solution (1976:25-28) for wit-craft, I mean witchcraft, among the Azande: moral or social explanations do not replace, but complement, pragmatic or material ones. But philosophers never leave "good enough" solutions alone, and Peter Winch and Ernest Gellner have been driving me crazy, especially Gellner who may be good on the problems of Czech nationalism and faux national epics, but is, as he ages, more and more insistent on portraying Islam as irrational. He's right, of course, to insist on the difference between explaining and explaining away. But his insistence on finding examples of irrationalities and falsehoods is perverse, certainly neither therapeutic nor ethical in Steve Tyler's sense of post-modern ethnography, something that, of course, Gellner finds anathema without understanding its technological, sociological, and philosophical grounds.

Just as Gellner grounds nationalism in the demands for literate workforces, so too computer society provides the grounds for Lyotard's post-modern and Bill Readings's *The University in Ruins* (1997)—governed by neoliberal performativity and hyper-capitalist rationality, not logical irrationality. For Gellner the hard-fought defense of secularism over the bloody course of European history is a red line in his understanding of the Islamic world. But this will become self-defeating without some commonsense post-modern openness to demographic changes, the struggles for education, self-determination and accountable responsibility for post-colonial relations. Wonder what he thinks of Salman Rushdie's chutney of Urdu and Hindi and English in *Midnight's Children* (1981), as a generational total revision of the nationalist liberation tale.

GM [*Canto of the World System*]: I want to go back to the notion of evocation and the typologies of ways micro-level ethnographies, either in single strategic locales or in complementary multiple locales, expose how larger political economies operate. It is a feature (maybe a bug, certainly buggy feature) of contemporary writing that there is "prominent metacommentary of the difficulties of doing ethnography in the modern world, while doing it" (195). The essay form, of course, lends itself particularly to this kind of writing, one that I practice quite frequently, and that was explored also in the *Late Editions* series I edited with a Rice-based editorial and writing collaborative. There are two major modes of doing this: first, ethnographically showing how the larger world system totally infuses and structures the intentional actions in local worlds. Paul Willis (1982) provides a truly flawed example based on only 12 lads, but it is my example of invoking a theory of political economy and plugging a locality into it. Vincent Crapanzano's *Tuhami* (1980) and *Waiting* (1985) are other examples of this modernist essay style. In *Tuhami*, Lacanian displacements provide a focus of mediation on the hermeneutics of fieldwork (more than the intervention of a translator, employer, doctor or others in the wider social context). In *Waiting*, the text evokes the mix of Afrikaner stuckness and irony about their position in what from their perspective are a classic "times out of joint" setback.

The other solution that we are propagating in ACC and monographs at Rice is the multi-locale ethnography. There are two practitioners. First, there is Michael Fischer's *Iran: From Religious Dispute to Revolution* (1980). "Though it is much harder to pin down as ethnography than Willis's explicitly labelled study" [*Sotto voce*: Sorry Mike, but for polemical reasons I have to make ethnography restrict itself in ways that can be easily criticized], it "nonetheless depends…on strategically situated ethnography, and self-consciously so" (190). And then in the wake of ACC, *Debating Muslims: Cultural Dialogue in Postmodernity* [*Sotto voce*: Not postmodernism] *and Tradition* (Fischer and Abedi 1990) [*Sotto voce*: Note the chronology] stresses the forms of media and genres of expression, and circuits of dissemination across transnational boundaries. The other is Kim Fortun's *Advocacy after Bhopal* (2001), which not only explores genres, but pursues the goal of doing repatriation of ethnography, doing it as seriously at home as abroad, really using the detour of ethnography to explore the chemical industry as it games national judicial and risk regimes.

MF [*Canto of the Vienna Waltz: Wien, Wien, nur du allein*]: Hey y'all, 'nuff now, why not experiment right down here in Texas with the ways in which gendered,

halfie, ethnic voices ventriloquize all these deep philosophical issues of lack of complete or explicit knowledge, sense of the buried coming to the surface, and compulsions of an id-like force, all these literary tactics of inquiry into what is hidden in language, what is deferred by signs, what is pointed to, what is repressed, implicit or mediated. Like travel accounts in the times of exploration, and the novel for bourgeois selves collecting bits of information scattered about in urban worlds where common shared experiences can guide no longer (Walter Benjamin, Ian Watt, Raymond Williams), perhaps the post-modern—postings back and forth among modernities, temporally and in different places, Derrida's postcards—arts of memory can not only create new identities (being Chinese-American has no model) but revitalize ethnography as a mode of cultural critique, probing, testing, contexting, experimenting, watching how disseminations and provocations, including suturing and textured elements of feminist and psychoanalytic stitching, male and female authors, males and female imagery work together to create third spaces of emergent forms of life. Some of these are talk-stories (Maxine Hong Kingston), transferences—"My ancestors talk to me in dangling myths, Each word a riddle"—Diana der Hovanessian (203)—multiple voices and perspectives that critique hegemonic discourses (Leslie Marmon Silk's young Native American men in uniform in southeast Asia "severely disturbed by the inability to distinguish the enemy from kinfolk" [213]), bilingual insistences, interferences, inter-references— Within the dark *morada* average chains rattle and clacking prayer wheels jolt, the hissing spine to uncoil wailing tongues of Nahuatl converts who slowly wreath rosary whips to flay one another" (Burciaga and Zamora 1976)— humour and satire.

So y'all, I remain bemused by (and resistant to) the insistence on reducing ethnography to the frame of a single text (e.g., Marcus is explicit on p. 168, but others are equally reductive). For me, ethnographies participate in a variety of overlapping, intersecting, juxtaposed, cross-checking and alternative (subaltern, non-guild, gendered, mediated) archives of forgetting and reinvention. These include the corpus of an ethnographer's work and driving questions over a lifetime, the depth of regional geographical-ethnographic-historical studies in comparative perspective gathered through multiple different national traditions of investigation, zoomings in and out of imagined worlds (both cultural constructions of personhood, and reworkings of local worlds by global ones), and gendered, class, status, linguistic and other contests of position, power, material-semiotic switches and mediations (oral, written, filmic, electronic).

I sing of the Vienna, I mean Rice, Circle's critique (not criticism) and pragmatism—practice, "meaning is the use in social context" [Wittgenstein], praxis (goal-oriented practice, often with unintended consequences [Marx]). I come from comparative ethnographic work on Jamaican stratification and religious styles and non-Protestant stratifications in several religious groups over historical time [*Zoroastrian Iran Between Myth and Praxis* (1973)]. Evocation, of course, description too, social theory as developed in different times and places for context (comparative study of revolutions being only one such frame) and much more. Polyvocality, affects, cultures of death and cultures of life, film and graphic arts, epics, rituals and parables, all that and more—'tis the mission of ethnography. Postmodern conditions, postmodernities (Japanese cool, Fredric Jameson's flattening [Jameson 1990:325], David Harvey's [1990] Big Bang of time-space compression, Donna Haraway's cyborg [1991] and companion species futures), postings back and forth among modernities—all are grist to ethnographies keeping up with the emergent forms of life.

PR: Oh come on, guys, forget ethnography! We've got to do concept work, break through like Foucault (the voice is Foucault, the hand is Weber and Kant) to an appreciation of productive power through discourses (hmm, Marx said that, no? Making things appear natural and universal). All this talk of interpretive, critical, political is irrelevant, it is (forgive me, Steve Sangren for stealing your thunder, but Talal Asad also said something like this; and just as Pierre Bourdieu would say) minor symbolic capital in academic tenure politics. Follow me and "study up." I work on French imperial urban planning of the 1920s ("studying up"? Or is it studying archives? 1920s?). I think we need to be critical cosmopolitans (oops, that was Kant again, no?). Lines of flight from ethnography (forget improving *Reflections on Fieldwork* [1977]) into *assemblage, equipe, problematique* (sounds better in French, no?).

Anyway, enough of this old stuff, I'm interested in the adventures of Reason, the core of anthropos (Greek is almost as good as French) in the contemporary, so I'm turning to scientists. I've got this friend Tom White, a science-manager type who has finally opened the door to biotechnology for me (his wife had read *Writing Culture*). His company, Cetus, produced a kit for PCR, polymerase chain reaction, a tool for amplifying DNA, which got Kerry Mullis (terrible guy) the Nobel Prize. So then I could get Daniel Cohen at the Centre d'Etude du Polymorphisme Humain (CEPH) to let me watch their fund-raising telethon and other efforts in Paris, including a ringside seat when their negotiations with Millenium in Cambridge,

Mass., to share CEPH's family data on diabetes and obesity collapsed amidst populist fears that French DNA would be somehow alienated. And then, though this didn't really work out, I could get Kari Stefansson to talk to me about deCode, the Genome company in Iceland that was at the centre of the 1990s controversies about privacy, property rights, and linking medical records to other data sets for exploitation by transnational pharmaceutical companies. Ethnography? Forget it, we have bigger fish to fry.

GM: "The work of the seminar was to unfix, by literary therapy, the narrow frames in which ethnographies have typically been read" (266).

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Notes

1 In the pre-Second World War period one thinks not only of Boas and Malinowski's seminars that seeded or framed comparative work, but of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute's regional agendas as well as those of other colonial Institutes for Social and Economic Development. The late 1960s saw the waning of the era of large team ethnographic projects which had flourished in the postwar period such as: the MIT-Harvard Indonesia project; Harvard's Southwestern United States Five Cultures Project; other Harvard projects in Chiapas, the Amazon, the Kalahari, and Polynesia-Melanesia; Cornell's Peru; and Chicago's Comparative Family and Kinship Project and the Islam and Social Change Project, in both of which the author participated. Area Studies Programs also were beginning to wane, though consulting for modernization projects continued (Harvard's Institute for International Development was dissolved in 2000). Funding for anthropology was increasingly individualized, both loosening previous agendas and opening space for new experiments.

2 Lévi-Strauss was present. Neville Dyson-Hudson "represented" anthropology albeit from an uncomprehending perspective. David Schneider was invited but at the last moment could not attend. Derrida presented "Sign, Structure and Play." Other participants included Jacques Lacan, Roland Barthes, Jean-Pierre Vernant, Georges Poulet, Tzvetan Todorov, Jean Hyppolite, Lucien Goldman, Eugenio Donato, Charles Moraze and René Girard.

3 See Fischer 2003; also see Fischer 1997 and 2000a.

4 On the technological limbo and the anxiety of future influence on experiments in writing between pre and post web-based communication in the 1980s and 1990s, see Fischer 2000c.

5 The article in the journal *Signs* by Frances Mascia-Lees, Patricia Sharpe and Colleen Ballerino Cohen, "The Postmodernist Turn in Anthropology: Cautions from a Feminist Perspective" (1989) was widely read and cited. WC stirred up a number of misconceived retorts, particularly from some feminists who could not see beyond the passage

parodied here in Jim Clifford's "Introduction" to WC. Ruth Behar wrote in her introduction to *Women Writing Culture* (1996:5), "The fact is that *Writing Culture* took a stab at the heart of feminist anthropology," and admitted that many could see WC only through this passage of his introduction. Indeed, she displayed this propensity by misreading my essay as simply focused on "ethnic autobiography rather than on ethnography," choosing to ignore the concern with genres, discourses, styles, and cultural forms that people use to create their sense of ethnicity, choosing to ignore the essay's careful attention to women writing ethnicity (to which Behar's own work significantly contributes), and choosing to ignore the demonstration that attention to genres and forms of "native" writing and expression in literate cultures can also be one of the tools of ethnographic work (we are not restricted to orality) and can perform theoretical critique (in that case of older theories of socialization and transmission). For a list of other feminist readings of WC, see footnote 12 to Behar's "Introduction." Other equally misconceived responses were Richard Fox's edited volume, pointedly entitled *Recapturing Anthropology* (1991), and Richard Fardon's edited volume *Localizing Strategies: Regional Traditions of Ethnographic Writing* (1990).

6 See Said 1975.

7 Please note that all page references in this text to passages in *Writing Culture* (Clifford and Marcus 1986) omit authors' names and the date for the sake of brevity, except where confusion would result.

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Anthropology's Ontological Anxiety and the Concept of Tradition

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"...one cannot think for oneself if one thinks entirely by oneself"
                                    —Alasdair MacIntyre (1988:396)

Following anthropology's epistemological and ethical anx-ieties, frequently collapsed under the epithet of a "crisis of representation," in which we worried both whether we could describe others' social realities and whether we ought to do so, looms another I portentously refer to as the ontological anxiety.[1] Does anthropology have a future? Will it continue to exist? Does the centre hold? I thought both the epistemological and ethical anxieties were some-what exaggerated, but chewing over the issues they raised undoubtedly produced some healthy gastric juices.[2] What of the ontological question? I argue that it is somewhat misplaced; what is under threat and how seriously to take it depends on how we define the context and ourselves. Such clarification may, in turn, suggest dangers rather different from those that excite the people who worry about our imminent demise.

The ontological question is limited both insofar as it presupposes a particular view of the world embedded in the material and political constraints of contemporary academic life in which disciplines are treated as so many competing, essentialized entities and insofar as it assumes the loss of an ethnographic object. On the first point, one cannot have read Handler's *Nationalism and the Poli-tics of Culture* (1988) without facing the very existence of such ontological questions with some skepticism. Anthro-pologists' worry about their collective survival is part of a process of self-objectification, akin to nationalist poli-tics. To be sure, this objectification stems largely from the material conditions of our social reproduction—gov-ernment and university bureaucracies and budgets—but it is also grounded in what Handler referred to as a logic of possessive individualism, a logic characteristic of capitalist modernity (cf. Macpherson 1964). Under this logic, entities are conceived as individuated beings on the order of natural species; they are bounded, homog-enous, and continuous—but also perpetually insecure

and threatened by what they conceive of as pollution and death.

A second way the question has been phrased concerns the loss of the ethnographic object. Loss of what once appeared to be autonomous polities, authentic cultural practices, or organic social formations, loss, in sum, of humanity's, and hence anthropology's, aura (in the situated sense of the original art object described by Benjamin [1968]), has proven critical in the minds of some. There is some truth here, though its degree and how to phrase it will surely continue to be contested. Not for nothing did Achebe (1986) call his novel *Things Fall Apart*. Where relatively autonomous ways of life were not entirely obliterated, as indeed the Igbo were not, this "falling apart" has been seen, in various modalities and with various original attempts at what we symptomatically once referred to as revitalization and subsequently as resistance, to characterize the modern condition. People everywhere have come to interpret the evidently post-lapsarian human state less as the opposition of culture to nature that Lévi-Strauss ascertained in so much Amerindian thought (1964-71), than as the opposition of culture to super-culture or local to global.

The post-lapsarian world is, in effect, post-Copernican. "Things fall apart," the poem goes, "the centre does not hold." So places and societies or cultures are no longer centres to themselves,[3] no longer innocent of wider systems in which they are but particles, of distant suns around which they now understand themselves to revolve. In the pre-Copernican world, to the extent that it ever existed, such societies were able to imagine themselves without having to draw from their imagination of us, or our imagination of them. These imaginings were—and I say this without either epistemological or ethical shame—anthropology's most precious objects, even if also our deepest fantasies.

The couplet with which all American textbooks once began about the relation of the universal to the particular has been displaced today by that of global to local. But the syllogism global:local :: universal:particular will take more than one volume of some future *Mythologiques* to work out. Our future mythographer may also wonder why we so often wrote about both the pre- and post-Copernican phases as though intermediary levels of connection and relation were irrelevant. And, if of Malinowskian bent, why people could write smugly and without any evident sense of contradiction about both the supposed immediate novelty of the global and the ostensible blindness or complicity of our intellectual predecessors towards or with it.

However, the two conversely positioned criticisms of this view of object loss—directed, from the one side,

against the myth of pristine origins, against the very idea of originally autonomous and unselfconscious societies, and from the other side, against the idea that culture and cultural analysis are somehow no longer relevant or that new centres no longer get produced—seem solid enough to me that I will move on to a characterization of anthropology that begins elsewhere than with its ethnographic object. I want instead to describe anthropology as a form of intellectual practice and locus of intellectual debate in which talking and arguing about certain kinds of questions, framed in certain kinds of ways within the broader context of Western thought, have been central. How might an historical ethnography of such debate—located in specific practices of reading, writing, teaching, and just plain talk about ideas—reframe or respond to the ontological question? Perhaps the question becomes whether anthropology too will "fall apart," its fragments drawn into a world of global and postcolonial theory.

Anthropology understood in this sense is a long, continuously unfolding conversation characterized by having placed certain ultimately irresolvable issues on the table: uniformity and difference, biology and culture, class and culture, structure and history, structure and agency, power and status, body and person, and so on. It is an inherently untidy conversation and in that untidiness lies one of its strengths.

* * *

In order to address anthropology's self-descriptions and the ways in which the conversation is regulated and specific interventions are granted authority, I begin with Alasdair MacIntyre's fascinating, but ultimately unsatisfactory, polemic, *Three Rival Versions of Moral Enquiry* (1990). This turn to a philosopher's account is not as far off the mark as it might seem since one of MacIntyre's subjects is the Ninth Edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica in which he refers frequently to Robertson Smith, Tylor and Frazer, as well as to the critique of their work offered by Franz Steiner, and to the historical ethnography of Valeri and Sahlins.

MacIntyre labels his "three rival versions of moral enquiry" Encyclopaedia, Genealogy, and Tradition. Encyclopaedia, drawn from the project of the early editions of the Encyclopaedia Britannica represents the confident Enlightenment, specifically here the "Second" (19th Century) Scottish Enlightenment, view of the world. Robertson-Smith is offered as an exemplar of the period and perspective. The position is one we could call objectivist (Bernstein 1988); it views anthropology as a section within the vast enterprise of comparative natural science, an enterprise in which reason is understood as "impersonal, impartial, disinterested, uniting, and universal" (MacIntyre

1990:59). Genealogy refers to the sceptical tradition from Nietzsche and Foucault, which argues that knowledge is always compromised by power. The position is one we could call postmodern. Tradition refers to an approach stemming from Aristotle, in which for MacIntyre, Aquinas is the central figure. Here reason can only be elaborated within moral communities. This is a position I would call hermeneutic and practical. One of the ways MacIntyre distinguishes the three versions is with respect to the temporality of their respective narratives:

> the encyclopaedists' narrative reduces the past to a mere prologue to the rational present, while the genealogist struggles in the construction of his or her narrative against the past, including that of the past which is perceived as hidden within the alleged rationality of the present. The Thomists' narrative, by contrast with both of these, treats the past neither as mere prologue nor as something to be struggled against, but as that from which we have to learn if we are to identify and move towards our *telos* more adequately and that we have to put to the question if we are to know which questions we ourselves should next formulate and attempt to answer, both theoretically and practically." [1990:79]

MacIntyre argues that although the encyclopaedists have been decisively defeated, fragments at least of all three approaches are presently to be found in the academy. I think most anthropologists would acquiesce; in fact, one could say that MacIntyre's "three rival versions" lucidly describe the alternatives within anthropology, providing ideal types for the main positions within contemporary debate.

The answer to the ontological question looks very different from each of these epistemological standpoints. It also varies depending on which version we use to characterize anthropology as an intellectual practice. Thus from the standpoint of a genealogist who sees what anthropologists do as a form of Encyclopaedia, anthropology has long since joined God in the realm of the Dead. If anthropological work is characterized as genealogical, then from the encylopaedist's standpoint it is equally dead, fallen apart in a failure of epistemic nerve and surfeit of postmodernist irony.

It is striking that pronouncements about the state of the field often do take one of these forms; in effect, MacIntyre's triad is reduced to two. The debate boils down to objectivism versus postmodernism as if these were the only two alternatives (Lambek 1991b). This is a mistake because if Tradition is the most discreet alternative, it has been and remained the most significant. It most accu-

rately characterizes anthropological practice over the long run and it can, in a sense, encompass the other two. However, as the last point indicates, my view of tradition is somewhat broader than MacIntyre's.

While agreeing with MacIntyre on the significance of Tradition, I part company with him as to how to characterize it. In fact, the word *tradition* is the source of some confusion in MacIntyre's account. MacIntyre sets up Tradition as a rival version of moral enquiry and a rival conception of rationality. But the other alternatives must be seen as some kind of traditions in their own right. Thus the genealogical tradition could be said to run from Nietzsche to Derrida. What distinguishes the "Tradition" that MacIntyre posits as one of the three rivals is precisely that it explicitly values and draws from the sort of "tradition" out of which it, and all forms of intellectual enquiry and debate must, by its own account, arise and flourish.

Phrased another way, we could ask MacIntyre, Tradition, Genealogy and Encyclopaedia are three rival versions of *what*? What is a "version" if not some kind of tradition? How could enquiry be carried out in the absence of tradition? MacIntyre might respond that these are the very grounds on which he challenges Genealogy and Encyclopedia, but this means only that what they say may be misleading with respect to what they do. If this were the case, the rivals are less different from each other than they claim to be and than he claims on their behalf.

It is a curious feature of MacIntyre's argument that although Tradition is the mode of inquiry that he champions, it is the least specified, or rather that Tradition varies between being seen as a general mode of enquiry and being characterized by bearing a specific content. His heroes are Aquinas and certain neo-Thomists but he has no problem in bringing Steiner, Sahlins and Valeri in on the side of Tradition against Encyclopaedia and he alludes there to precolonial Hawaiian tradition as well. He cannot really justify why he picks a Roman Catholic rather than an Islamic form of Aristotelianism. There is reason to suggest that the Islamic tradition of moral enquiry has survived a good deal better than the Thomist one. Why then should those who recognize the superiority of Tradition over Encyclopaedia or Genealogy not convert en masse to Islam? Why waste time bemoaning the passing of Tradition in Christianity when one can celebrate its presence in Islam? Indeed, the Islamic version would have the advantage that it is less hierarchical than the Church and possibly less burdened by extraneous intellectual problems like that of the Trinity. Aquinas's celebrated virtues of faith, hope, and charity find their parallels within Islam. But why, for that matter, opt for a theistic version of Tradition at all?

I apologize if I sound facetious. I suspect MacIntyre would say that Tradition is good in and of itself and that one ought to work within one's own tradition, if one is so lucky as to acquire one through accidents of birth and upbringing, before either trespassing on others or converting. MacIntyre's ideal "postliberal university of constrained disagreements" (1990:234) presumably subsists in a pluralist (hence liberal?) world containing equivalent universities engaged in pursuing other traditions.

In idealizing the Thomistic tradition, MacIntyre conveniently downplays the power of the Church. Leaving aside the heavy hand of the Inquisition, et cetera, it would be interesting to see his response to the work of Asad (1993) who shows the discipline entailed in this kind of tradition. Asad examines Medieval Christianity, but he has notably referred to Islam as a tradition (1986). Islamic discipline is beautifully explored in the work of his student Charles Hirschkind (2006) and also in that of Saba Mahmood (2005). The perspective in this work is not the Genealogical suspicion of power but rather the way in which tradition is reproduced and enlarged through disciplinary forms of ethical practice and the cultivation of particular dispositions. This work is particularly interesting insofar as it collapses simple oppositions between power and morality and shows the value and pleasure of disciplinary practices (which in the urban Egyptian context are largely voluntarily assumed).

It would be quite another matter to advocate turning Western universities in this direction. Both Thomism and Islam entail strong forms of discipline that sit uncomfortably with anthropology's profession in the liberal academy and with cultural relativism. But although our disciplinary practices may be less rigorous, exclusionary or totalizing, we still do speak tellingly of academic *disciplines* and training does entail the inculcation of certain forms of intellectual disposition. There is more to becoming an anthropologist than the hurdles of qualifying exams and dissertation. I will indulge in a personal illustration. When I first began teaching I found it difficult to intervene in seminars or ask questions in colloquia. I have become much readier to do so over the years. On reflection this is not simply the result of an increase in power and status, though that is certainly a factor. Nor, as students sometimes assume, does it have to do with being particularly intelligent. Rather, one learns to speak in such situations. One does not only come to acquire the knowledge of what to say; one becomes disposed toward having something to say.

As a disciplinary tradition, anthropology's future is seriously challenged neither by radical postmodern skepticism or critiques from positions of postcoloniality, cultural studies, political economy or sheer bloody-mindedness, nor by the collapse of either objectivist epistemology or the loss of the encyclopaedist's object. What would challenge the tradition would be the weakening of the means of its reproduction, the forms and loci for training in the craft of anthropology, for cultivating the dispositions to look, think and argue anthropologically. Such training includes learning to read our predecessors, and not only critically but with enthusiasm and respect. What would hurt anthropology would be constraints on an open tradition of enquiry in which teaching and learning are appreciated as moral practice, characterized by a judicious balance of intellectual openness and loyalty, allegiance (MacIntyre 1988:366) without constraint, respect for predecessors, and sensuous pleasure in argument and ideas.[4]

* * *

In his masterly exposition of the rival versions of moral enquiry MacIntyre also seems to suggest that their incommensurability is a source of some confusion, a point that, again, I would qualify. I do not find incommensurability either as troublesome or as unusual as MacIntyre seems to. This is perhaps in part symptomatic of the difference between the philosopher and the ethnographer and for two reasons. First, the philosopher seeks to clarify arguments while the ethnographer records the messiness of life. Second, the philosopher values consistency and agreement whereas the incommensurability of cultural difference is not only the anthropologist's bread and butter but also something that we celebrate.

For MacIntyre, the fragmentation of contemporary thought, composed of inconsistent principles and "too many half-convictions and too few settled coherent convictions, too many partly formulated alternatives and too few opportunities to evaluate them systematically" (1988:397) is evidence of the incoherence and anomie of post-Enlightenment modernity. While no doubt there is some truth to this, MacIntyre assumes a rather unreal historical alternative. I would argue that any tradition inevitably embraces and is perhaps rooted in incommensurabilities—without them there would be no reason to carry on conversing—and further, that identification with and within tradition can operate according to a segmentary rather than an objectifying logic. Hence I would place a good deal less emphasis on constraint and homogenization than does MacIntyre. Moreover, no tradition exists in a vacuum; its practitioners or adherents inevitably encounter other traditions, based on incommensurable concepts, and they will, in their practices, inevitably import or engage some. Indeed, as I concluded in *Knowledge and Practice in Mayotte* (1993), incommensurability is intrinsic to culture and language. And movement between alter-

natives is as much a part of practical reasoning as judgments produced within a single tradition.

Here it is important to understand, as both Gadamer (1975) and MacIntyre do (and contrary to strong forms of relativism), that incommensurability does not preclude dialogue. Indeed, it invites or demands it, though such dialogue may look rather undisciplined from the perspective of a philosopher or theologian. If we examine the history of our discipline we see how MacIntyre's three positions intertwine in practice. Evans-Pritchard has objectivist pretensions at one moment, deconstructionist at another, and hermeneutic at a third. The discrepancies are only so striking in Evans-Prichard because he wrote brilliantly in each mode.

This juxtaposition is not only a matter of a historical succession of alternate voices. Much as I observed incommensurable traditions conjoined in the day-to-day practice of local experts in Mayotte, I can see that anthropological practice easily incorporates genealogical and encyclopaedic moves and gestures. I lean to a hermeneutic position, yet I have found myself contributing to more than one encyclopaedia, including, of all things, an article on taboo (2002), the very subject whose deconstruction by Franz Steiner (1999) is seen by MacIntyre as decisive in the defeat of the encyclopaedist position! I often enjoy a deconstructive genealogical interlude as well. I suspect that most anthropologists are the same—flexible bodies/flexible minds. But of course it does not take great flexibility of mind to be inconsistent; it is, as I have suggested, a human characteristic (and not simply a product of the collapse of Medieval traditions of enquiry) and that is why we have to look at the pragmatics of thinking as well as at the structure of thought.

MacIntyre depicts us living amidst the flotsam left in the wake of (Catholic) tradition, a portrait that echoes nostalgia over the disappearance of the pristine ethnographic object. And curiously it places the same demands of interpretation as does any ethnography: has the author struck the right balance between difference and uniformity, between exoticism and banalization?

In sum, the various lines of my critique converge on the same point, namely that MacIntyre's conception of tradition is too narrow. Here it is useful to bring in a quick comparison with Gadamer (1975). Gadamer's narrative is not that of the loss or fragmentation of tradition. For Gadamer, it is the human inevitability of being located in tradition that is central. Tradition is understood as a condition for understanding, not simply as an object of historical knowledge, nor as the means for developing knowledge, but as part of one's being. Tradition becomes "the community of understanding that the participants in a

dialogue share through language" (Bernasconi 1999). Without necessarily embracing all of this we can see how we might consider anthropology as a relatively open tradition of this sort.[5]

This brings up one final balancing act that is a necessary part of anthropological practice. Reflecting on anthropological engagements with broader realms of theory, one can distinguish two polar ideal types: endogamous, even incestuous bodies of anthropology that attempt to construct or draw exclusively upon what is conceived as a specifically indigenous body of anthropological theory; and those cargo cultists, otherwise known as intellectual snobs, who find theory enlightening only when it comes from regions originally external to anthropology and more or less drops from the sky. I am weary and wary both of the proponents of insularity, who hold a kind of primordialist (and generally quadripartite) position with respect to the discipline, and of those perpetual reformers who automatically devalue that which is perceived to originate within anthropology. (What other discipline could support a long-running, popular, and in fact generally very good journal entitled not *Anthropological Critique*, but *Critique of Anthropology*?) If anthropology is to continue to flourish as an intellectual tradition it needs to strike a judicious citational balance between incest and auto-immunity, and to avoid the tones of moral self-righteousness with which both these positions are not infrequently burdened. The aim is to chart a path that embraces innovation without self-rejection. Perhaps exogamy is precisely the word I am looking for here, since exogamy, remembering Lévi-Strauss's formulation (1969), implies communication between equivalent parties, whether the intellectual exchange is envisioned as dual or generalized, symmetric or asymmetric, simple or complex.

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Notes

1   This paper was originally written for and presented at a panel in honour of Aram A. Yengoyan organized by Michael Peletz and myself on 18 November 2000 at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, San Francisco, and never subsequently submitted for publication. It stands at arm's length from the other papers in this section insofar as it is a reflection produced at a period midway between the call for papers and the period on which we are asked to reflect. I have added or updated a few references, added a further sentence about the relevance of MacIntyre's categories for anthropology and removed most of the remarks referring specifically to Yengoyan, although the sentiments behind them remain constant. My thanks to

2   The "crisis of representation" was itself best represented in Clifford and Marcus (1986), albeit found in many other works as well. My own response and that of several other Canadians, including Marcia Calkowski, Rosemary Coombe, David Howes, among others, can be found in Lambek 1991a. I ended my lengthy ethnography of 1993 with the phrase, "In conclusion, inconclusion." That about sums up the extent of the threat of so-called "post-modernism."

3   The phrase is Maurice Bloch's (1998).

4   This is precisely the sort of teaching, reading and talking epitomized for me by my own teacher, Aram Yengoyan.

5   Subsequent to writing this essay I have come to see Anthropology as a tradition characterized by the articulation of all three of what MacIntyre considered "rival," and hence presumably mutually exclusive, "versions of enquiry." Good anthropology moves judiciously among encyclopaedic, genealogical, and interpretive positions (Lambek In press).

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Postmodernism's Brief Moment in History

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Postmodernism was not the first perspective to attack the positivistic ambitions (or pretenses) of anthropology, or to take direct aim at the discipline's twin pillars: culture and fieldwork. Yet the postmodernists marched into battle with an array of weapons that had never before been assembled together with such devastating impact. Prominent among these were various faces of power—authority, discourse, resistance and representation—subsumed within a textual analysis derived from literary theory and joined by a call for experimental writing and a rejuvenated relativism, all of which were meant to rescue "the Other" from the rapacious designs of ethnographers, and to serve notice that the metanarratives of the West, especially science, were on the wane.

Like many of my colleagues, I was initially skeptical of the relevancy of a perspective that had its roots in literary criticism. That all changed when I sat down and read *Writing Culture* (Clifford and Marcus 1986). It addressed ethical issues in the discipline that for a long time had bothered me, not least of all the lingering colonial-like disparity between the power and authority of the ethnographer and "the native," as well as the two-faced character of fieldwork: building friendships for instrumental reasons, namely data collection and potential fame.

Certainly the blitzkrieg that was postmodernism overwhelmed mainstream anthropology almost overnight, winning converts and intimidating resisters. Yet a quarter of a century after the publication of *Writing Culture*, the revolution launched by what used to be known as the English Department has run its course, with only the odd combatant left to remind us what the battle was all about. Such has been the short-lived impact of postmodernism that if mainstream anthropology does not come to its rescue and attempt to salvage those aspects of its program that deserve to endure, it may fade from the scene with hardly a trace.

Promises, Promises

Let us examine how the major tenets of postmodernism have stood up to the test of time, beginning with authority. For much of their history, anthropologists assumed that they had both a capacity and a mandate to represent the lives of people in other cultures, who presumably were incapable of speaking for themselves. The anthropologist's authority, as Clifford insightfully revealed, is reinforced by a stylistic device intrinsic to ethnography. First, there is a personal, subjective account which establishes to the reader that the heroic scholar was actually in the field, face-to-face with "the natives." Then the brief personal remarks give way to the supposedly objective presentation of data and analysis, a scientific account unblemished by personality or idiosyncratic experience.

Challenges to the ethnographer's authority came from two directions. In a world that was increasingly literate, "the natives" began to talk back. At the same time the postmodernists argued that ethnographies actually have multiple authors: the field worker and the people under investigation whose voices are suppressed. Out of this analysis emerged a plea for dialogic texts or plural authorship in which "the natives" and the researcher become equal partners in the production of knowledge.

Had the practice of joint authorship caught on, a large chunk of the ethical dilemma that bedevils the discipline would have fallen by the wayside, but that was not to be. For all the talk about dialogue and multiple voices, the ethnographer remained firmly in control, determining the tone, content and organization of her or his monograph. Even Clifford's own texts, Rabinow pointed out (1986), are not dialogical. The verdict that the goal of plural authorship has not been realized becomes less surprising when we remember that Clifford himself (1983: 140) fully recognized that the author remains in the "executive, editorial position," and alluded to dialogic texts as an unattainable utopia.

Following the contributions of Foucault and Said on discourse and representation, postmodernists brought to our attention the political nature of language, deconstructed essences such as culture in order to expose the underlying power relations, and alerted us to the vested interests intrinsic to the practice of representation. There has, however, been a backlash against textual analysis associated with discourse. The argument has not been that discourse analysis is irrelevant. Instead, the contention is, first, that it counts for less than the sheer empirical reality of political relations, and second, that such political relations exist independent of the manner in which they are represented in texts. As Gupta and Ferguson (1992:17) have stated, "there is thus a politics of otherness that is not reducible to a politics of representation." In other words, discourse analysis only has a limited capacity to illuminate power relations and inequality. Once again, Clifford would not disagree. In his preface to *Writing Culture*, he candidly stated that a textual analysis can only partly explain institutionalized inequality on a global scale.

Resistance is an altogether familiar concept in anthropology, prominent, for example, in *African Political Systems* (Fortes and Evans-Pritchard 1940), but writers such

as Foucault (1980) and Scott (1985) turned it into a sexy topic. Resistance provides us with an opportunity to side with the underdog and celebrate the capacity to fight back. However, a sober second look has dampened our early enthusiasm. One argument is that the emphasis on resistance is tantamount to recognizing that large-scale rebellion and revolution are luxuries of the past. All that remains is resistance and its impact on power relations is minimal. Ortner (1995) put her finger on another weak spot: resistance has been romanticized. It has been interpreted as testimony to the human craving for dignity and freedom, evidence that the human spirit is indomitable. Abu-Lughod (1990), no fan of postmodernism despite her leading role in promoting power at the expense of culture, incorporated both criticisms: resistance is a romanticized form of small-scale subversions, the subject of interest because large-scale collective resurrections have become increasingly improbable. Yet just as we are about to nod our heads in agreement regarding the limited role of resistance, we are reminded that social change has a habit of confounding our theoretical musings. Witness the political dissension that has erupted in North Africa and the Middle East, toppling some governments and implanting doubt into others about their long-term prospects.

In *Anthropology as Cultural Critique*, the companion volume to *Writing Culture*, Marcus and Fischer argued (1986:32) that at the very heart of postmodernism, or what they referred to as interpretive anthropology, is "revitalized and sophisticated" relativism. One of their main goals was to integrate the interpretive and political economy perspectives, but for the most part their efforts fell flat and the stumbling block was relativism itself and the conception of culture that it implies. Unlike the usual charge that anthropologists have exaggerated the uniqueness of cultures, Marcus and Fischer contended that the discipline has greatly minimized cross-cultural diversity in order to legitimate universal generalizations central to the program of comparative anthropology. Equally curious, in view of their recognition that as a result of social change the very notion of authentic, unique, self-contained cultures is now an anachronism, they continued in Geertzian fashion to envisage the anthropologist's role as documenting the "distinctiveness among cultures" (1986:43) while encouraging conversations across them.

Two observations can be made about the several analytic dimensions of postmodernism that have been inspected so far. First, although none of them is quite as important as the literature crowd claims, all of them, including ethical rather than epistemological relativism, have something to offer anthropology, and deserve to endure. Second, none of them is by definition restricted

to the realm of literary criticism. Put otherwise, if the literary theorists disowned them, they still could flourish in the social sciences and other disciplines. This is not the case for the one dimension of postmodernism that most clearly evokes its origin in the English Department: the focus on ethnography as a type of writing, a type of literature, a text in its own right. All ethnographies are said to be fictional, not in the sense of being make-believe, but in the sense of being partial representations that have been fabricated, created. As texts, they can be analyzed using tools of literary criticism such as tone, style, metaphor and allegory. With the focus on ethnography as a type of writing, it was only a short step to the recommendation that ethnographers experiment with literary modes and mixed genres, such as inserting personal reflections about fieldwork next to the "objective" data. As Nader (1988:153) observed: "Anthropologists have moved from insisting that the anthropologist stay out of the ethnography to having the anthropologist's presence dominate the ethnography." Such self-indulgence has been condemned by the critics of postmodernism, and even Marcus and Fischer (1986:42) label it as a form of exhibitionism that is quite expendable.[1]

Rabinow has not only pointed out the parasitical nature of Clifford's work, feeding off the texts of others, but he has also wisely summed up the limited significance of the focus on ethnography as a type of writing (1986:243): "The insight that anthropologists write employing literary conventions, although interesting, is not inherently crisis-provoking." One of the unfortunate consequences of postmodernism was to pull anthropology under the tent of the humanities. This state of affairs is no less unhealthy than placing the discipline alongside physics. The literary imagination and the sociological imagination may well be equally illuminating but they are also different. To be indulgent myself for a moment, when I first visited Nigeria to teach in a secondary school, I had just graduated with a B.A. in English and philosophy. At that time I saw everything through the lens of creative literature and aesthetics. When I returned to the country about three years later after having switched to anthropology, it was as if I had entered an entirely new world; everything was saturated in anthropological theory.

Why did anthropology put up so little resistance when it was dragged towards the humanities? The quick answer is that a number of changes predating the literary perspective had rendered the discipline vulnerable. Behaviour and causality had given way to a focus on meaning and interpretation, to things said rather than done; and model-building, generalization and explanation had been replaced by an emphasis on particularism, individual choice and

unstable social structures. All of this went against the enterprise of science, and opened the door to the promotion of the ethnographic field setting and the texts fashioned from it as fragmented and incomplete, and to the replacement of value-neutrality by political agendas on behalf of "the Other."

Not to be overlooked was the role played by anthropology's most celebrated practitioner at the time, Clifford Geertz. With thick description as his slogan, and epistemological relativism as his methodology, he defined anthropology (1973) as an interpretive science in search of meaning rather than an experimental one in search of law. He also lamented the lack of experimentation in ethnographic writing, portrayed culture as "an assembly of texts," and compared ethnographic analysis to the penetration of a literary document. If this were not enough sweet music for postmodernists, Geertz also referred to anthropological texts as fictions, something fashioned.[2]

A broader question must be asked: why did postmodernism in general, not just its focus on writing, emerge when it did and sweep over the intellectual landscape like a tornado? During the past half century, anthropology has been hit by two major crises, each of them the consequence of massive social change. The first occurred in the 1950s, when the impact of two world wars, the onset of the information age and the end of colonialism caused such confusion among anthropologists that there was doubt whether the discipline could survive. Of course it did, thanks to fieldwork adjustments (including a nascent anthropology at home) and the appearance of a number of novel theoretical perspectives over the next two decades.

By the 1980s, crisis struck again. Globalization swept the world, and in the process transformed culture in two significant ways: local cultures partially crumbled and signs of a uniform global culture made their appearance. Emerging from the shock waves of the transformed nature of culture were two dramatic shifts in the intellectual direction of the discipline. One consisted of a devastating attack on the concept of culture. Instead of regarding culture as the apotheosis of human achievement and celebrating cultural uniqueness and diversity, scholars such as Abu-Lughod (1991) portrayed culture as a discourse that stereotypes, homogenizes and essentializes "the Other" for the benefit of the West. The solution advocated by many of the critics was to ditch the cultural concept and focus on concepts that profile power, such as Said's discourse and Bourdieu's practice.[3]

The other dramatic shift was equally devastating. For most of the discipline's history, the dominant problematic had been how to square the immense variation of distinctive cultures around the globe with the presumed underlying mental and biological unity of *Homo sapiens*. However, if local cultures have been fragmented, and if a global, uniform culture has emerged, the old problematic has lost its raison d'être. It no longer makes sense to ask how culture can be squared with underlying mental and biological unity if sameness also exists at the surface level. In view of the fact that both our key concept and our basic problematic had been rendered obsolete by the forces of social change, little wonder that the discipline was a pushover for the proponents of postmodernism.

Despite their opposition to grand statements and generalization, postmodernists have mounted some pretty hefty ones themselves. Trouillot (1991:20) announced that "the metanarratives of the West are crumbling," and Tyler (1986:123) wrote science off as "an archaic mode of consciousness." The important implication is that postmodernism is not merely a figment of the imagination of scholars or "academic sport" as Singer (1993:23) put it. Instead, it is paralleled by ongoing massive changes in the empirical realm. In other words, a postmodernist world exists independent of the manner in which it has been conceptualized. This explains why political science, sociology and geography have also experienced their postmodernist moments.

The postmodernists appear to be right on the money in arguing that the West's privilege and power are fading and in questioning the goal of unlimited economic progress, but it would be ethnocentric to think that the rest of the world has necessarily followed suit. In China and among its neighbours, science and technology and the economic growth that they produce are not on the wane. Instead they are the engines that are redefining the global stratification system.

Anthropology after Postmodernism

Knauft (2006) argued that a genuinely new kind of anthropology has emerged from the ashes of postmodernism. He calls it "anthropology in the middle." It is in the middle not only because it focuses on middle-range institutions, but also because it refuses to pay homage to any specific theoretical or methodological approach, dismisses the polarized exemplars of the past—the grand theoretical treatise and the data-rich monograph—jumps across epistemological divides and jumbles together the local and the general, and objectivity and subjectivity. Knauft suggests that this new style of anthropology can be described as post-paradigmatic. Yet it strikes me as a sort of anchorless eclecticism that attempts to convert disciplinary confusion into a virtue, one that is bound to be short-lived.

What will replace it, however, and provide the discipline with coherence and confidence is essentially unknown, at least in the long run, because future social change is itself unknown. The short-run is not quite as inscrutable. In addition to social change, our theoretical perspectives are influenced by internal conceptual oppositions such as meaning versus behaviour and subjectivity versus objectivity. Each successive perspective tends to reverse the conceptual package embedded in its predecessor. It would not be surprising, then, if positivism resurfaced, but hopefully in its softer guise.

Another clue about the direction the discipline will take concerns our old problematic. The same forces that undermined it gave birth to its replacement. Human beings share not only mental and biological make-up, but increasingly cultural make-up as well. Yet they remain divided. How to explain?

Under the old problematic, cultural difference was almost treated as a natural phenomenon to be documented and celebrated. With the new problematic, difference is a social and political product reflecting advantage and disadvantage. In other words, difference is problematized. Instead of taking for granted the existence of unique cultures and then encouraging conversations across them, as Geertz does, we ask how such difference was produced in the first place. Thus Gupta and Ferguson stated (1992: 14): "We are interested less in establishing a dialogic relation between geographically distinct societies than in exploring the process of *production* of difference in a world of culturally, socially, and economically interconnected and interdependent spaces."

With difference profiled, the discipline inevitably must concentrate on stratification and its principal components: class, gender, ethnicity and race. Power is also highlighted because it is embedded in these components. Indeed, such have been the numerous sources of power as a focus in recent years that it appears to have displaced culture as the discipline's new god-term, as D'Andrade (1999:96) put it so well. In my judgment, we are better off with power than without it, but it is not a magic bullet, and indeed no less ambiguous than other key concepts (see Barrett 2002). Nor does its high profile mean that there no longer is any room for culture, especially if its explanatory capacity is not exaggerated and if it absorbs the message in cultural studies (Rosaldo 1994: 525): "culture is laced with power and power is shaped by culture."[4]

We should not lose any sleep wondering whether fresh theoretical perspectives comparable to those that rejuvenated the discipline back in the 1960s and 1970s will emerge. The imaginations and ambitions of our colleagues will render new models almost as predictably as social

change itself. What we should be concerned about is the current state of ethnography and the global vitality of the discipline. Too many of our efforts go into recycling the ideas of our colleagues (I'm guilty), or producing ethnographies necessarily heavy on theoretical discussion because the data base is thin.

I advocate a new ethnographic wave (NEW). It will not be easy because fieldwork, whether abroad or at home, may be more challenging today than it was in Malinowski's era. We are no longer figures of unquestioned authority, nor can we expect to captivate our readers because of the stunning novelty and exotic flavour of our findings. Then, too, many of the most significant problems that we might want to investigate will require a battery of techniques, not just participant observation.

For example, I am very interested in the recent transformation of the Canadian military from peacekeepers to a fighting force, but cannot quite figure out how to approach it as a fieldwork project. Yet participant observation remains the key to our discipline's success and reputation. Imagine the impact had anthropologists produced a dozen or so outstanding ethnographies from all points of the globe on the banking system and the financial realm a decade or so ago. I am not advocating a mindless empiricism, nor do I wish to devalue the theoretical excursions of my colleagues. But I am suggesting that if we want to emerge from the postmodern era stronger than ever, and possibly even enhance our reputations as public anthropologists, we need to get back to what has always made us so special: impeccable ethnography.

Anthropology's early cross-cultural framework encouraged the pretense that it was a universal discipline, but of course its home base was the West. With colonialism a thing of the past, and globalization a reality, one would have thought that the discipline's universal ambitions were now within reach. Yet unlike the hard sciences, anthropology's academic centre continues to be in the West, and possibly the same can be said about all of the social sciences. Why should that be so? Certainly there are practitioners of anthropology and the other social sciences throughout the non-Western world. But their voices are not often heard above those of their Western colleagues. Perhaps the explanation is no more complex than Western arrogance, which devalues the contribution of others. Or possibly, anthropology and the remaining social sciences have been defined by elites elsewhere as ideological disciplines covertly expressing Western values, and thus as inimical to non-Western interests. Whatever the explanation, the prospects of anthropology may well depend on the efforts of the next generation of practitioners to revive the ethnographic

tradition and to furnish the discipline with genuine global credentials.

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Notes

1 In my judgment very little of value has emerged from either dialogical texts or mixed genres. Curiously, as I learned from personal communication with the authors, two of the most impressive examples of the former and the latter were not consciously intended as postmodernist texts: Julie Cruikshank's *Life Lived Like a Story* (1990) and Peter Carstens' *Always Here, Even Tomorrow* (2007).

2 The well-known irony is that Geertz and the postmodernists eventually ended up taking potshots at each other.

3 It should be pointed out that there is a remarkable similarity between the old consensus-conflict debate and the current controversy between culture and power.

4 In view of my generally unsympathetic appraisal here of the long-term impact of postmodernism, it is ironical that Cerroni-Long (1999:13) singled me out as the one contributor to her edited volume who was especially favourably disposed towards the perspective. Yet I continue to think that a focus on authority, discourse, resistance and representation enriches anthropology, despite the criticisms that have reduced their explanatory promise. I wish I could be as positive about dialogic texts, but regrettably the record suggests otherwise.

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The Paradoxical Legacy of Postmodernism

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Anthropologists, paradoxically including those most often identified by others as postmodernists, persistently have refused to identify themselves as such. The label usually is applied by detractors as dismissal without nuance; it attributes to the adherents of so-called postmodernism demonic efforts to undermine the authority and credibility of their own discipline, especially in its scientific aspirations. Despite such uncompromising critiques, however, the mainstream tenor of anthropology is not as it was before the advent of anthropological postmodernism, usually arbitrarily dated to the twin bibles of George Marcus, James Clifford and Michael Fischer and their associates in 1986 (Clifford and Marcus 1986; Marcus and Fischer 1986). Many, perhaps the majority, of us are grateful for some for the changes while lamenting others and declining to buy fully into the new dispensation. Like T.S. Eliot's Magi, many of the partial converts are not entirely sure what to do with themselves when they return home—has the world really changed or has it not?

A quarter century has passed, perhaps time for the dust to settle, sufficient time and distance that we can now begin to take stock. What have we gained? Has the gain come with too great a cost? Was it a "scientific revolution" offering a new paradigm statement? If so, has it evolved into what Thomas Kuhn called "normal science"? My own reflections run along the lines of "well there is this...but then there is that..." It seems clear that we need to question our interpretations and that we should not expect internal consensus; but this is a very postmodernist approach and perhaps a prejudgment. Whereas many of us are challenged by some of this stuff, others very definitely and vocally are not. There is minimal agreement about the exemplars of postmodernist anthropology or about the value of particular ethnographies and theoretical works. I am inclined to think that this is healthy, that the debates enrich our work regardless of our ultimate judgments about postmodernism, whatever that may mean to different people.

The 1986 prophets of the new era, primarily contributors to *Writing Culture: The Politics and Poetics of Ethnography*, called for innovative methods of conceptualizing the work of anthropologists as writers of ethnography that would foreground the agency and dialogic capacity of the ethnographer. They called for new experimental forms of interpretation drawn from literary studies that would create new genres of writing, as though no anthropologist had ever considered such issues before.

Although the exemplars cited in 1986 were few in number, thin in actual experimentation and oblivious to work published before the 1980s, the core contributors must have been onto something because there are far more experimental ethnographies that one could cite now. Many take up the challenge to incorporate politics and poetics into the ethnographic enterprise. As a frequent adjudicator for the Victor Turner Prize for Ethnographic Writing of the Society for Humanistic Anthropology, a constituent section of the very mainstream American Anthropological Association, I can attest to the literary quality as well ethnographic depth of much of the writing being done by Canadian and American colleagues. Much of this work could not have been done in the same way without the postmodern turn.

Nonetheless, methods of qualitative analysis have been conventional in the writing of ethnography since Malinowski, with postmodernism's much favoured life history taking prize of place among them. Malinowski's "imponderabilia of everyday life" and even Franz Boas' "native point of view" may be weighed differently today within the anthropologist's toolkit, but they have been there all along. Despite continuities, however, ethnographies look different these days: we put words in quotation marks to problematize the absence of shared meaning underlying their usage; we invent new words or hyphenate old ones to emphasize their etymologies or simultaneous but alternative senses; we attribute parity of analytic thought to consultants—promoted at least in rhetoric from being merely research subjects—who use quite different terms to express concepts that we choose to reword in "anthropological theory." Moreover, anthropologists wander further astray than we used to from the boundaries of our own discipline in search for theorists who can speak alongside our ethnographic insights.

Under the influence of postmodernism, anthropologists began to cite French theorists in preference to their own disciplinary ancestors. Foucault and his poststructuralist cohort entered into dialogue constructed by selected extracts from their written texts juxtaposed with quotations drawn from ethnographic interviews—all under the firm ethnographic authority, i.e., control, of the anthropologist as narrator. Voices from the margins were drawn by the ethnographer's pen into the discourses of the mainstream in an aspiration to disrupt Western society's long and arguably complacent conversation with itself. For most, however, logocentrism or metanarrative has remained the insidious and only superficially interrogated baseline of our conversations with the still largely incommensurable, unintelligible, mysterious "other" (assuming that an undifferentiated

postcolonial "other" is an inverse denial of genuine difference). Perhaps we have not gone far enough, rather than having gone too far, along the yellow brick road to a postmodernist Oz. Is the wizard a chimera or is the ethnographic journey itself the point, sufficient unto itself? Can postmodernism answer such questions, or must we return to the canons of more conventional ethnography for our answers?

The critics insist that postmodernism undermines science because its adherents deny the possibility of objectivity. In practice, anthropologists fall along a temporal continuum and lack consensus about the degree of subjectivity inherent in any interpretation. Positivist science has been under attack at least since its heyday after the Second World War. The turn to meaning and language in 1960s anthropology, across the social sciences and humanities, clearly prefigured the 1980s turn to postmodernism, although the precursors remained unacknowledged in the face of proponents' blatant rhetoric of discontinuity. Further, naysayers opposed the interpretive turn long before everything found to be threatening could be bundled and dismissed as postmodernism.

Borrowing methods from literary criticism and cultural studies seemed to many to trivialize the distinction between truth in the world and fiction as aesthetic construction. Critics argued that the social scientist must eschew the literary license open to a novelist or poet and ignored the lessons of those acolytes of the *sciences humaines* who could sometimes convey the quality and texture of cross-cultural worlds with an emotional power rarely found in conventional ethnography. In contrast, to do social science at all seemed to most of those who adopted literary strategies and genres to require a continued commitment to real-world accuracy—whatever the subjectivity of our possible relationship to it. Moreover, they argued that social scientists retain the right, indeed the responsibility, to evaluate alternative interpretations against one another. Some interpretations are better than others and few of us deny our capacity to decide which is which. Awareness of interpretive standpoint in our conclusions, reflexively acknowledged, allows other interlocutors, including both readers and ethnographic subjects, to offer their versions and to draw judgments that must themselves be interpreted in context. Infinite regress? Perhaps, but with a verisimilitude to the world that is too often lacking in macro-generalizations from more ostensibly scientific quarters of the discipline—at least in the opinion of this unrepentant sort-of-postmodernist with a commitment to foreground the everyday worlds of ordinary folk across surface barriers of culture and personal experience.

Postmodernism has been accused of denying the continuities and decisive conclusions of history. This myopia is our disciplinary business because the scope of anthropology has always encompassed human cultural and biological variability across both time and space. Past, present and future have been blurred and transfigured by the collisions and interminglings of postmodernist experimentation and by the insertion into historical reasoning of contemporary metaphors and preoccupations. Pastiche ostensibly replaces genealogy. If antecedents make no difference, then much of traditional scholarship becomes instantly irrelevant. Anachronism no longer matters. As an historian of anthropology, I argue to the contrary that there are multiple histories of anthropology, that they move in diverse ways into the anthropological present, and that it matters how we got to where we are now. I take for granted that ideas about the human come in cycles as well as lines and that we need not perpetually reinvent the same wheels. Moreover, we of the Western world are not the only ones to have ideas about such matters; our conversations across histories and worldviews open up a wider discourse whose reciprocal edification seems to me the goal of a humanistic and engaged anthropology and the core of anthropology's unique contribution to the social sciences and to an enlarged public discourse.

Some have charged that the purported nihilism of postmodernism smoothes out apparent conflicts into mere differences of standpoint, in the process obscuring systemic relations of power and masking social inequities. On the other side of this coin, just as identity politics was giving effective voice to minorities of gender, race, ethnicity, et cetera, some so-called postmodernists denied the political significance of the newly liberated voices. They have declined to prioritize multiple voices. A cynic might conclude that powerful gatekeepers had found yet another way to silence dissension despite the altruistic and egalitarian intentions of the would-be dialogists and the eagerness of their collaborators to be heard in their own terms. I suggest that acknowledgement of one's own standpoint need not preclude ethical commitment or political activism—indeed it may be the necessary precondition for principled action.

Much of the debate over postmodernism has proceeded in mutual recrimination and paranoia that the opposite camp will gain advantage, that their own work—whether traditional or postmodern—will somehow fail, if it has not already, to attract a new generation of young anthropologists. Do we still need anthropology in a world overtaken by globalization and neo-liberal capitalism? If so, do we need to label what I gloss as "thinking like an anthropologist" as "anthropology"? Maybe not, though I

would be sad to lose our tradition of defamiliarization, aspiration to coevalness in encounter, and two-way dialogue with initially unfamiliar and perhaps even alien-seeming persons and communities, only to learn that we can be at home, albeit away from home, there also. Then we come back and try to explain to colleagues, students and a larger public what we have learned in other places that they will never visit but in our globalizing world must attempt to meet with empathy. This is where we have to use every tool in our bricoleur's toolkit, as ethnographic writers and as theorists. I believe that our toolkit has been substantially expanded by postmodernism—as long as you let me define what it is. I promise to let you have your definitions also, as long as we both are clear about how you are using the term so we can talk about it productively.

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Fun with Fads: What Comes Next Was Probably Here Before (Plus Ça Change)

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Why "posts"? Why "-isms"? And why "modern"? In two places early on in *Anthropology as Cultural Critique*, Marcus and Fischer spoke of the times as "post-conditions," all coming after contrasting terms, and defined in Lyotardian terms as "incredulity towards meta-narratives" (1999:8, 24). Yet, when they wrote about new exemplary texts (1999:67-73) they wrote of these as "modernist." Subsequently, much criticism emerged on the whole concept of modernity, not to speak of modernization. And the congeries of viewpoints said to be postmodern themselves turned into postmodernism, which became its own meta-narrative after all. What price, then, the triad encapsulated in "post" "modern" "-ism"? Is it just the creation of a new school out of the ruins of old ones, this time rejecting the fragmentary ruins themselves? Marcus and Fischer's own work was actually re-constructionist, looking for new ways to push the envelope of ethnographic writing. After the first shocks and aftershocks of negative critiques, ethnography emerged again as a prime instrument of anthropologists, as it was before, but equipped to move in a more thoughtful and reflective way to achieve its goals. Skeptical responses to earlier grand theory were rooted as much in changing historical times as in any independent turns of theory and so illustrated the point that everything exists in a historical flow.

To this context belong labels for historical periods, such as post-Socialist, post-colonial, post-Fordist, a potentially endless proliferation of posts which carry the potentially valuable message that the past still constrains the present, but tend to obscure the point that new social and political formations arise and entirely new responsibilities emerge from these. New political conflicts may develop from struggles between leaders whose styles and sources of support may nevertheless harken back even beyond the colonial period. No political system, for example, Socialism or Democracy, is a panacea: it can generate new conflicts. "Neoliberalism" is currently blamed for many ills: but like all "isms," it needs to be factored into its specific parts and itself seen in longer runs of time. No panaceas again. Nor does it help to add neos to neos (what would neo-neo-liberalism be?) Finally, here, the times can coincide: post-Fordist production, for example, has not simply replaced Fordist but co-exists with it.

The most stultifying and pretentious versions of postmodernist critiques have sometimes been labeled "post-Toasty" or solipsistic. However, while extreme doubt and uncertainty regarding knowledge would ultimately be self-defeating, knowledge challenged on reflexive grounds can emerge on a stronger basis: what does not kill, strengthens. At the same time, one learns to be wary of fashions, of statements, like "blue is the new red," portrayed with brilliant irony in the film *Wall-E* (Stanton 2008)—or as stated in a recent academic interaction, Agency is now old fashioned and we must speak of Creativity only (i.e., what fits with that particular academic's current work which they wish to impose on others). And if we have never been modern, as Bruno Latour claimed, we cannot really have been post-modern either.

The "post-modern condition" is best seen as a temporary halting in the flow of things, a moment of trying to step back and think. As such, it remains a useful corrective: the transition from "Saussure to not so sure after all" is a necessary moment in any enquiry, but it need not mean coming to a grinding halt.

The re-constructionist theories that have emerged after the post-modernist hiatus include various attempts to grasp the contemporary historical scene, such as the local–global distinction, which Thomas Hylland Eriksen

and his colleagues have examined critically in Eriksen's edited collection *Globalisation* (2003). What is local and what is global, or are these matters all mixed up together? Local and global are aspectual terms, issues of perception, yet there is a tendency to persist with them as though they were a natural dichotomy (like the mistaken opposition between tradition and modernity). As anthropologists, we may tend to gravitate toward the idea of the local, while when we are looking for explanatory frames we may gesture to the global; yet what we are actually dealing with is a continuous pattern of networks and relationships. Local may be seen as an old focus, global as new: but everyone recognizes that globalization is not new, while localities are constantly being newly created out of older ones.

These considerations raise a related concern: how to define what is contemporary as against what is past? How to define the dead, the alive, the reincarnate? Anthropology as a professional discipline now has quite a long history, in which postmodernism figures as an example of a phase of flux versus other phases of flux and of fixity. Does postmodernism really mark a rupture or an alteration in sensibility? One thing is clear. It is now possible to go backwards and forwards in the history of our subject and rediscover works that are no longer currently used but may suddenly become relevant again, for unforeseen historical reasons. In the contemporary struggles in Afghanistan and Pakistan, for example, Fredrik Barth's 1959 monograph on the Swat Pathans is suddenly relevant, as well as his debates with Akbar Ahmed. In the struggles in 2011 in Libya, a fundamental understanding of the longer term political divisions can be put together from Evans-Pritchard's book on the Sanusi of Cyrenaica (1949) and Emrys Peters' (1990) extensive re-discussion and critique of this work by Evans-Pritchard (his old mentor). Who could have predicted this? And how much general attention has been paid to this return into relevance of these works? The vernacular Scottish poet William Soutar wrote of his project to express himself in the Scots language, that words can be like leaves in a heap "that arena' deid but sleep. Bring the licht o' your e'en, And they will süne grow green" (Strathern and Stewart 2001:265).

Soutar's sentiment can be generalized further again. If an approach or theory has long gone out of fashion, it may come in again or be revived. Retro-anthropology may have a future. While we are unlikely to share entirely the views of long-dead predecessors, they may still have something valuable to tell us if we look carefully—both at their work, ourselves and our work, and the work of our colleagues. And the great debates of the past may be worth revisiting just to understand the terms of arguments (or their futility). We have to look both backward and forward—while never allowing those who wish to cut-off intellectual discourse (often for self-promotion or self-interested causes) to kill the spirit of the discipline and the enthusiasm of those seeking to contribute to it. Cognitive science recapitulates the psychic unity of humankind theme; indigenous knowledge reminds us of ethno-science (of which Roger Keesing once asked "whatever became of it?"). New themes press on us from the world: disaster anthropology, sustainability, violence and peacemaking, as well as re-formulated old ones, such as the effectivity of ritual. What comes next probably was here before, but not in the same way and not with the same results: a play of the novel and the familiar helps to keep those leaves green—spring returns: *Solvitur acris hiems.*

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The Humanism of Postmodernist Anthropology and the Post-Structuralist Challenges of Posthumanism

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It is apparent now, a quarter of a century after the seminal works of *Anthropology as Cultural Critique* (Marcus and Fischer 1986) and *Writing Culture* (Clifford and Marcus 1986), that postmodernism and its effects in anthropology have been quite different from those of postmodernism more generally. I argue this by discussion of one of the "posts" unconsidered at that time, but which is currently of growing influence, posthumanism. Postmodernism in the larger sense is often seen as including authors such as Derrida and Foucault, as Andrew Lyons indicates in the Introduction. I see these authors more precisely as post-structuralists and as critics of humanism. In anthropology, however, the genealogy from interpretive and symbolic anthropology to Marcus, Fischer, Tyler et al. was fundamentally humanist. The meaning of humanism is contested but for my purposes here has moved on from the classic emphasis on ways of thought that attach prime importance to human rather than divine or supernatural matters; more important are arguments for the coherence and agency of the person, and anthropocentrism.

Postmodernism can be separated into post-structuralist and humanist strains, with most anthropologists in the latter camp. Post-structuralism in the forms developed by Derrida, Foucault, Althusser, Latour, Deleuze and Guattari, and Haraway suspects or brackets the coherence of the individual. People are instead seen as intersections of relations, contexts or actor-networks. Postmodern heirs to the interpretive anthropologists, on the other hand, appear to be very humanist in the anthropocentric and subject-based manner, although in ways that reject Eurocentric assumptions about Man in the classic tradition and its grand narratives of Enlightenment and so on. There were only two passing mentions of post-structuralism, one in each of *Writing Culture* and *Anthropology as Cultural Critique*. Anthropological postmodernism has had limited influence on posthumanist social theory, much less so than post-structuralism.

In encouraging representative practices that acknowledge polyvocality, postmodernists tend to assume the separateness of the speakers of the voices, and attribute moral value to delivering those voices and perspectives rather than privileging the authorial voice of the Western ethnographer. Anthropocentrism is clearly still operant here, whereas the post-structuralist position tends to the position that we perform our parts through chains of relations about which we have only dim awareness. Or perhaps more precisely, we are enacting performances only contingently animating this particular body and situation. Most postmodern anthropologists have in practice at least followed the path of those postmodernists who believe that "giving attention to either the marginal and excluded or to the new social movements" is not incompatible with the critique of metanarratives or the questioning of traditional assumptions about the subject (Rosenau 1992:57). Anthropological postmodernism tends to resemble postmodern architecture, which Lash (1990) argued was much more humanist than its modernist predecessors in promoting (if rarely achieving) the anthropomorphism, anthropocentrism and anthropometrism largely rejected by modernist architects.

Postmodern anthropologists tend to listen to narratives and to encourage disparate voices, but most particularly they emphasize the reflexivity of their research and that of their discipline. Their stance resembles postcolonialism, which also finds it difficult to reject anthropocentrism inasmuch as it demands equal space for non-Western subjects as resisting and transformative agents and knowers. Postmodern ethnographies tend to follow Geertz in seeing people as suspended in webs of significance. Even if they attempt to deconstruct culture as they do so, meanings and voices remain central, and the key issues revolved around writing and representation. Nature, production and material culture were sidelined from the analysis, to a much greater extent than in earlier realist ethnographies (Knauft 1996:23). Even fighting roosters are metaphors rather than *actants*, the term which Latour (2008) uses in his Actor-Network Theory (ANT) to refer to anything that makes a difference in an action or a controversy, human or non-human. Many of the methodological prescriptions at the core of ANT echo anthropological practice. In anthropology's traditional domain of the study of small-scale, non-Western societies, we did not have to carve out a division of labour with other researchers but could follow the lives of the people we studied wherever they led. Holism encouraged us to consider the associations between humans and non-humans (pigs, ancestors, ghosts, medicine, poison, totems, reindeer and forests) in ways that sociologists were not inclined to do as they sought to demonstrate the importance of "the social" in relation to distinct domains of nature and the economy. This local holism, however, was only made possible by the artificial bounding of societies or cultures (Leach 1964). To build on its advantages, anthropology needs to follow associations beyond our comfort zones, as anthropologists of science have done in the last two decades or so. Instead, the postmodern revolution

has encouraged a separation between those in our profession that pay attention to material relations and non-humans and those who study culture. As Ingold (2000:2) commented, there

> must be something wrong...with a social or cultural anthropology that cannot countenance the fact that human beings are biological organisms that have evolved...But there must be something equally wrong with a biological anthropology that denies anything but a proximate role for agency, intentionality or imagination in the direction of human affairs.

Important strengths that the discipline once had, and which are very much in demand in interdisciplinary research in science studies and posthumanism, are undermined by the postmodernist–materialist, science–anti-science divides that have permeated anthropology in the last 25 years. The splits between the four fields might be less threatening, and our much-mooted complementarities taken better advantage of, if we could encourage a less anthropocentric and humanistic perspective within social and cultural anthropology, and more engagement in social theory by biological anthropologists. If English professors can find esoteric debates in biology stimulating fodder for re-visioning their practice, surely anthropologists can benefit from greater conversation with our colleagues down the hall.

I have never been a postmodernist in the anthropological sense, although I have worked with a variety of post-structuralist ideas. It was too far from my training and my trajectory. Being trained in a social anthropological tradition, moving from Leach, transactionalism and ethnomethodology to Althusserian Marxism and later a wide variety of political economy approaches, experimental writing and interpretivism seemed less relevant for my general concern with social relations rather than with culture. My research issues, squatter settlements, Hong Kong-run factories and social change in reform China, and most recently the impact of mad cow disease in Canada, drew me to political economy. My reading concentrated more and more outside of anthropology, as urban anthropology and economic anthropology experienced relative declines after the exciting heydays of the 1960s and 1970s, and eventually to science studies and posthumanism.

Posthumanists have, in recent decades, criticized the social sciences for their exclusive focus on the human, a category that cannot be understand except by reference to the non-human (Wolfe 2010). The humanist attitude concerns most fundamentally the humanity–animality dichotomy. The "human" is "achieved by escaping or repressing not just its animal origins in nature, the biological, and the evolutionary, but more generally by transcending the bonds of materiality and embodiment altogether" (Wolfe 2010:xv). Posthumanism should not be confused with transhumanism or cyborg anthropology: technological enhancements and transformations of the "natural" human can be seen as consistent with, or actually intensifying, the rational humanist emphasis on the perfectability of the individual. Instead, it suggests that humans have always relied on "prosthetic" extensions of the self, most fundamentally language and culture, as well as more obvious technological prosthetic elaborations of human capabilities. What we see as fundamentally human is thoroughly dependent on non-human elements to operate. Posthumanism "allows us to pay proper attention, with Maturana and Varela, to the material, embodied, and evolutionary nature of intelligence and cognition, in which language, for example, is no longer seen (as it is in philosophical humanism) as a well-nigh-magical property that ontologically separates *Homo sapiens* from every other living creature" (Wolfe 2010:120).

Along these lines, Eduardo Kohn has proposed moving beyond anthropology to develop an "anthropology of life" which would situate "all-too-human worlds within a larger series of processes and relationships that exceed the human" (2007:6). Achieving this ambitious aim of multi-species ethnographies would be "insurmountable if we remain confined within our multiculturalist and dualistic framework"; instead we should look to a "multinaturalist framework in which culture—and, by extension, the human—ceases to be the most salient marker of difference" (Kohn 2007:18). Only 10% of our cells contain the human genome, the other 90% consist of the "genomes of bacteria, fungi, protists, and such," on many of which our lives depend (Haraway 2008:3). Our lives, societies, and cultures are inseparable from non-human life, yet the core of cultural and social anthropology in many ways has less to say about these issues than our predecessors before the postmodern turn.

The dangers of neglect of important issues resulting from an anthropocentric perspective became clear in a recent project where Josephine Smart and I explored the movement of non-human life across borders (Smart and Smart In press). These issues are remarkably almost absent from mainstream border studies, by which we refer to work that addresses both borders and the interdisciplinary literature on borders. For centuries, borders have been profoundly influenced by efforts to exclude or control the movement of animals, diseases and plants across state territorial limits. Contemporary borders are being restructured in response to new practices and ideas of

biosecurity. Outside of the specialization of border research, large numbers of studies provide evidence of the structuring and restructuring of borders by issues such as animal plagues, human plagues and pandemics, invasive species and transborder conservation efforts. An anthropocentric focus resulted in these crucial processes being obscured in the social science of the border, which concentrates on border disputes, identity issues, securitization, trade liberalization or restrictions and so on. Humanism attributes agency to people so that human choices and practices are the central focus for border studies. But the auto-mobility, self-replication and transformational features of non-human life challenge these assumptions (Bennett 2010; Blue and Rock 2010; Latour 2008). Following the controversies and the networks where they lead facilitates new questions in a field, and may help revitalize a discipline, particularly one where the science–cultural studies divide and the split between the four fields has done so much damage and undermined so much potential. Looking forward and sideways, though, may also facilitate looking back to the classic ethnographies critiqued by postmodernism. Singh (2011) finds resources for thinking about the contribution of relations between humans, animals and the divine in structuring ways of becoming human.

In conclusion, I have suggested that one of the consequences of the quarter-century-old postmodern turn in anthropology has been to reduce our discipline's centrality in some important debates because of the distinctive humanist strain adopted. I am not suggesting that anthropologists, including those who were at the forefront of the movement, have not made important contributions in the development of posthumanism, but that where they have done so they have usually become more post-structuralist and more materialist than "classic" postmodern anthropology. The anthropology of science is the best example. Posthumanism is, of course, only one thread in the complex tapestry of interdisciplinary social theory. However, I believe that anthropology has tended to become less central to many of the strands and fields despite the widespread need for the skills and perspectives that we richly possess. The reflexive turn and the separation between those who aspire to "science" and those who aspire to "social theory" are at least a part of the reduced importance of anthropology compared to, for example, geography.

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Anthropological Reflections / Réflexions Anthropologiques

The Accidental Editor: An Interview with Andrew P. Lyons

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In the Fall of 2010, and after three years at the helm, Andrew P. Lyons announced that he would not be seeking another term as the Editor-in-Chief (EIC) of *Anthropologica*. As he had retired in 2009 and is the co-author of two new edited collections, I thought it an opportune moment to ask Andrew to reflect on his work as well as his terms as Managing Editor and EIC of the journal of the Canadian Anthropology Society, which led to his receipt of CASCA's first Distinguished Service Award in 2010. We conducted the interview in the spring of 2011.

Jasmin Habib: Please tell us a little about your life in Britain, the environment in which you grew up, and the kind of things you feel most affected your sense of self and your future.

Andrew Lyons: I grew up in the city of Leeds, which is a city of half a million people in the north of England. It is known, mainly, because, before the takeover of garment manufacturing by East Asia, it produced 80% of Britain's trousers. The heavily polluted southern portions produced huge quantities of rhubarb, perhaps because nothing else would grow there. Some of my relatives were involved in the garment business, but had nothing to do with the rhubarb.

JH: [Laughs]

AL: And my father was a public health doctor, he was a Medical Officer of Health. My mother was a teacher who gave up teaching when I was five years old. I attended an all-boys high school, or, as it then called itself, Leeds Grammar School. It had a Latin motto, *Nullius Non Mater Disciplinae* which most of us couldn't translate but meant "the mother of no small amount of learning." Apart from being bullied there, I had a basically good time. I was hopeless at any form of athletics, but I did reasonably well academically. I specialized in Classics

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from the age of 15 to 17, prior to going to university. My parents were terrified that I might seek to pursue a career in it, as there might be no jobs. They encouraged me therefore to do Law. Going to Oxford University for my undergraduate degree, I quickly discovered the existence of other people of the opposite sex of which I had been almost totally unaware in high school and, also, I discovered I hated Law. The British system was not set up so that you could change your Major the way you can here. All the course work was in Law. I spent my third year having a nervous breakdown so that I would have to take an extra year over my degree, and then announced to my horrified parents that I had no intention of taking up the practice of law. I'd found something even more impractical than Classics to do, or so I thought: Anthropology. I had very little idea, actually, how many anthropologists are in this position when they first become anthropologists. I had very little real idea of what anthropologists did. I had two very contrasting ideas: of practical work in race relations, which you might do with an anthropology degree, and of very old-fashioned work in folklore, which was the only anthropology I was properly aware of. In fact, it was a kind of Frazerian atheistic impulse that pushed me, more than anything else, into Anthropology. Plus the fact that it was not Law.

JH: When would this be?

AL: I graduated with the law degree in 1966 and I did what was called the Diploma in Social Anthropology, which was a one-year post-graduate course at Oxford. Because they thought I must be clearly interested in legal anthropology they gave me a legal anthropologist as a supervisor, Jean Buxton. She turned out to be quite inspiring and a little disappointed when she found my interests were elsewhere. I looked like I was floundering in Anthropology too when I met one of the department's top students from the previous year, purely by accident. My date for the student ball had decided to dump me because she was looking for someone who could help her political career more. She was the daughter of a Tory M.P. And I went to a party at the Institute of Social Anthropology looking for a date. And my future wife, Harriet, went to look for someone to mend her motorbike. One of us succeeded. [Laughs]

JH: [Laughs] The motorbike remained unrepaired?

AL: For the time being. It was eventually repaired. Harriet with missionary zeal managed to convert the young atheist to a new religion: Anthropology. I did a thesis on racism. My supervisor gave me marvelous letters of rec-

ommendation based on the one chapter of the thesis that he ever read.

JH: Who was your supervisor?

AL: He was called Kenneth Kirkwood. He was the "Rhodes Professor of Race Relations." He was a very gentle person who was not a great publisher or a great reader of theses. I got to know him initially because of my involvement as a student in the anti-apartheid movement. He was a sponsor of the anti-racist student organization to which I belonged. But I really got very little academic criticism from him. Accordingly, when I eventually got my degree, in 1974, I had the knowledge that my supervisor had not read it completely. The supervisor was not on the committee. That was the Oxford practice.

JH: What do you mean?

AL: You had an internal and an external examiner, and the internal examiner had not usually read the thesis before submission—the supervisor was not supposed to be in the room when the exam took place. There had been seven students who had taken their doctoral exam the year before I came up, and the librarian, known for her tact, informed me just before the oral exam that they had all been referred or failed, except one.

JH: Oh my.

AL: The examiners couldn't face reading that one again. This was true of mine too. "Two *huge* volumes," said Godfrey Lienhardt who was my internal examiner and had the title of "Reader in African Sociology" within the Institute of Social Anthropology. The title, *Reader*, denoted a high status, a notch below the Professor. The thesis was entitled, *The Question of Race in Anthropology from the Time of J.F. Blumenbach to that of Franz Boas*. I approached the topic from the perspective of a social anthropologist with a passion for history. Lienhardt and Meyer Fortes (the External) said that, though they couldn't detect any errors in my treatment of physical anthropology, the distant and sometimes incredulous tone of my narrative made it clear that I had never really handled a skull. They said that the thesis was good, but my suspicion was that neither of them could face reading the 540 pages again, so they passed it. And my mother tried reading it and fell asleep. It's the only thesis written on the history of racism that caused people to fall asleep.

JH: [Laughs]

AL: Its problem, more seriously, was that it was a recitation of facts without a particularly original argument—except for the good side winning out over the bad side. And there was this is by no means innovative statement: ideas we think today are immoral were once prevalent among respectable scientists. Mind you there was some difficulty with saying that even in the 1970s, because when I tried to get the thesis published—and there were several reasons why it could not be published—one of the reviewers (who was clearly either very conservative in his academic approach, or much worse) attacked me for saying that Darwin was a racist. The reviewer said Darwin was quite enlightened for his time. I always worry about this kind of historicism, because Darwin did after all compare Australian Aborigines to his dog, with some intimation that the dog might be more intelligent. And I believe one could call this racist. [Laughter]

JH: Then and still, of course!

AL: It doesn't mean that Darwin was a bad scientist. We have to get out of these ideas that people who are good scientists in some respects are necessarily moral people. Meanwhile I had been encouraged to apply for a job in the United States and I got a job in early 1970 at a relatively unknown Ohio university called Kent State through a scheme operated through the English-Speaking Union and the Woodrow Wilson Foundation called the British Teacher Program. It allowed young British academics who had just got or who were about to get their doctorate to teach for two years tax-free with the understanding that they would return to Britain and on the premise that the U.S. was short of university teachers. The shortage had disappeared by 1970. I got the job at Kent State because the Dean of Arts and Sciences hadn't read the fine print and thought that Woodrow Wilson Foundation and English-Speaking Union would supply a British teacher for the anthropology program free of charge. He therefore named a munificent salary—didn't think why he'd been asked to suggest the amount. When I was already in the country he found he was unable to cancel the contract! That was my first job. [Laughter]

Meanwhile other things had happened at Kent State. I had been appointed in February 1970. Harriet had been given part-time work, though she was more qualified than I was. We had no idea what that meant, or how bad it would be. However on May 4th, 1970, the infamous Kent State shootings occurred, and we were asked, "did we still want to go?" I remember May 5th very well, because we went to the local newsagent on the Cowley Road in Oxford to pick up as many newspapers as possible to remind us of what had happened the previous day. And the gentleman at the counter said, "Why are you buying all these newspapers?" "Because we're going to teach at that place, Kent State next year" was our reply. "Pity they can't do that here," he said.

JH: Oh my!

AL: He was referring to student radicals, people who organized demonstrations. I once organized one. We occupied a cricket field in protest against a visiting South African team. We actually got onto the pitch…left wing demonstrations aren't supposed to do… you are *not* supposed to actually accomplish what you set out to do. [Chuckling] We actually out-foxed the police by pretending to be cricket fans, and then on two shrill whistles at five o'clock we moved onto the pitch and occupied it. And we'd have got off without an arrest, but for the fact that Christopher Hitchens seemed determined to get himself arrested. He also got his picture in all the papers, a rather famous picture by now.

JH: So what year was this?

AL: 1969. But anyway, so here we were at Kent State a year later.

JH: So, you arrived in September? Or July?

AL: September. And during that year, my first year ever of teaching, we had a visit from Jane Fonda, which caused a lecherous number of the sociology faculty to salivate. [Laughter] Joan Baez also visited, and spray-painted on the wall, "Would it hurt you very much if I told you I loved you?" There was also William Kunstler, the Chicago Seven lawyer. Phil Ochs who was a local boy sang "Boy from Ohio" to an excited audience. Allen Ginsberg came too. And the experience was strange not just because of the political climate but because I had never encountered any academic institution quite like Kent State before. In the same class you could find someone who could not spell elementary words in the English language as well as the son of a professor who became a colleague of Noam Chomsky at MIT, after an early excursion into the Oxford Institute in Social Anthropology. [Laughter] Our friend is called Richard Larson. He's now at Stony Brook. His main interest is in semantics and his fieldwork was on the grammar of Warlpiri.

JH: Is this at all related to Michael Jackson's work on the Walpiri?

AL: Well not quite. It preceded it. Its concern was whether Chomsky's ideas of universal forms of deep structure and linguistic competency could be applied to Warlpiri. And his conclusions were that they couldn't, which might mean that Chomsky's models were Eurocentric. I mainly associate Michael Jackson with work in West Africa, but that's because I was an Africanist and read and taught his work on the Kuranko.

JH: Okay, so, you're at Kent State and you have a classroom with students that couldn't spell and students who were sons of professors. What did that mean for you?

AL: It meant that you had to be able to pitch a lecture so that the people who were just literate could understand it, without turning off the person at the top. It meant developing the kind of skill that you never are taught at a British university, or in most universities. And it was an interesting adventure. It took me a while. At the end of two years I had a student-initiated teaching award and no job. [Laughs] I had several experiences of students who were sadly marginal...some of the stories about their howlers are funny after a fashion, but they're also very, very, very sad.

JH: Sad, yes.

AL: I took a year off to finish my thesis.

JH: Did you go back to Britain at that time then?

AL: No, no, no. Harriet took over a position at Kent State University for one year. And then we moved. We had long years of commuting, at first between Massachusetts and New Jersey, and then between Ontario and Massachusetts. Harriet taught at the University of Massachusetts, taking a one-year position, and then she moved to nearby Smith College. I taught at Rutgers-Newark for four years. It was then the least fashionable campus of the Rutgers system. Rutgers is simply the state university of New Jersey. So it's not just Rutgers College, in New Brunswick, New Jersey or Douglas College as the women's college was called. It's a state university system. So I was in the branch campus, rather like the equivalent of University of Toronto at Erindale [now Mississauga] or Scarborough, with privileges to teach at the graduate program in New Brunswick, which I did for my last two years, teaching theory and African ethnography. It was not a happy department at Newark. The anthropologists—my fellow anthropologists Janet Siskind, Alice Manning and Anne-Marie Cantwell—were superb, but the sociologists were

exceptionally unhappy and the school was exceptionally unhappy. The dean and my department chair were at loggerheads.

JH: Hmm, okay.

AL: A long dispute ended with the election of a committee to investigate the governance of the college to get rid of the dean.

JH: Oh?

AL: The department chair was peering into our boxes to see if we'd picked up our ballots and phoning to ask me which way I'd voted, long distance! The chair got rid of the dean finally when he threatened him loudly, "If you don't resign in 24-hours, everybody will hear of your sexual peccadilloes." And a female voice from the next room yelled back, "We all hear you." The dean resigned and committed suicide.

JH: Oh no!

AL: And that was the atmosphere in that department at that university, in the Newark campus... while I was there. I had, however, received some preference in part because an ex-Marxist, who was by then the most conservative member of the department, adopted me as a suitable specimen of the younger generation and invited me to his seminar, the Columbia Seminar on the Contents and Methods of Social Sciences. My conservative friend, Joe Maier, was a member of the Frankfurt School, the literary executive of Max Horkheimer and a friend of Herbert Marcuse...And my wife made a comment that my English tendency to wear ties—she thought I'd been born wearing a tie—had contributed to this image of respectability, which masked my remaining radicalism. [Laughs] So I mean, I...at the end of four years I was at a dilemma. I had taken too long on the thesis; I didn't know how to publish it. I had developed other ideas, some of which turned out to be fertile, including starting fieldwork in Nigeria. But I was nowhere—we were spending all our time commuting—I was floundering. I needed time; the tenure clock was beating. And I had two terrors: one was that I'd get tenure at Rutgers Newark and the other was that I wouldn't.

JH: [Laughs] Right.

AL: I decided to look for other jobs. I went to the American [Anthropological Association] meetings and I applied

for about half a dozen positions. I got three interviews at the American meetings in 1976. Two of them were for Canadian universities. In one case, someone had accidentally deposited my application for Indiana University-Purdue in the Simon Fraser [University] box. And I got interviewed for a job in cultural ecology at Simon Fraser [University], though I didn't do cultural ecology. [Laughter] They said, "Well you've got to be able to do it, you've been to Oxford, you heard Evans-Pritchard and Lienhardt lecture, you know all about the Nuer cows. You can teach ecology!" "Well, there's more to cultural ecology," I tried to explain, "than teaching Oxford functionalism and I think, if you respect cultural ecology, you don't appoint me because I don't do it." So, I did myself out of that job.

JH: [Laughter]. Oh.

AL: There was an interview with an American university that didn't take me, and in fact declared an unfilled vacancy for that position that year. That was Stanford. I did have the opportunity to be interviewed for an hour by the remarkable Renato Rosaldo. And then I was interviewed for a job in a place I'd never heard of in Canada, by someone equally impressive, Mathias Guenther. I went for an interview; it was a terrible February day when I gave my talk at Laurier, February the 22nd, 1977. There'd been freezing rain; one of the two cab companies refused to take me from the hotel. The other came. I skidded my way into a portable. There were only about a dozen people there. I had a couple of talks prepared and I gave them a talk called "Why Anthropologists Should Read *The Water Babies*," which was a talk about the racism and whimsical anti-evolutionism of Charles Kingsley, the novelist, imperialist, clergyman and Cambridge Professor who was intellectually attracted to Darwinism but was concerned about its lack of moral certainty. The talk was deliberately gauged to annoy people who were very conservative. I decided to give this particular lecture because I had quickly decided that Laurier was a rather conservative place and I wanted to see whether they were prepared to tolerate me. The talk was enlivened by unintentional sight gags. In those days you could smoke anywhere. And I smoked a pipe. It was my habit to put the semi-extinguished pipe in my pocket from which bits of smoke would occasionally exude.

JH: [Laughs]

AL: I also hate standing still when I talk. I move around the room. In this particular case there was a step leading to a platform in the portable and a lot of wires. People were speculating as to whether I would set fire to myself, trip over the wires, fall over the step, or do all three at once! [Laughter] I then went to…I met the dean, a genial classicist who had taught at McGill University several years on one-year contracts and I asked him what my chances at tenure were, and what I needed to get tenure. And he said, "With your teaching record it shouldn't be too difficult: Just don't pee in front of the class." [Laughter]

JH: What?!

AL: I took these sage words to heart [laughter]…and received tenure a year later.

JH: [Laughing] Oh my! And Harriet followed?

AL: Harriet and I were stuck commuting a thousand miles a week. We took planes everywhere. Harriet was in a department in a school where she enjoyed teaching. Smith is a good college. The department politics weren't pleasant and she was by no means sure of tenure, because there were tenure quotas. They were in fact never applied, but there were also nasty politics—departments divided into two factions and she was worried. But above all else, the commuting proved terribly stressful for both of us. She'd gotten her doctorate in the interim, but a key publishing opportunity was lost because of delays caused by doctoral work and the commute. So she paid a price, and we found ourselves stranded all over the place. Allegheny Airlines, the predecessor of U.S. Airlines, managed to strand us in Chicago instead of Buffalo when we commuted between Ontario and Massachusetts…it was just horrendous. The winter weather meant that the connections were horrible. On one occasion, our friends Mathias and Patricia Guenther were to come to dinner and Harriet came in late after a flight delay. After that the department decided that they might try to do something. We looked for a joint-appointment. We both wanted to be in anthropology, in a tenured position. And we didn't want to give up anthropology, but we couldn't take commuting anymore. So we put up with the reduction of income and made up some of the difference, with part-time teaching. Then Laurier President, John Weir, was interested in a model for joint appointments, so we sought advice. We found three examples: one at the University of Prince Edward Island, which interested John Weir because he came from that province, and another one that I forget, and the third, although they were by then full-time and no longer on the joint appointment, was that of Michelle and Renato Rosaldo at Stanford [University] who were very helpful by writing and describing the nature of their former appointment.

JH: So the commuting ended once Harriet came to Waterloo?

AL: The commuting ended. We had the joint appointment. The first few years went pretty well for both of us. Particularly when we adopted, had a young family, and did fieldwork. But when Harriet took over as Chair of the department it became quite clear that the university wanted more out of us than one person could really give on a full-time basis. They really wanted the work of two for a bargain price. We began to fret a bit. We had three years on a one-and-a-third position, but they couldn't guarantee us that, so Harriet, who had been teaching some courses in women's studies, applied for and obtained a job at the University of Waterloo. Meanwhile, however, I had taken over, with the help of Mathias and Harriet, the journal, *Anthropologica*.

JH: Ah, okay. So please tell us about that experience.

AL: It was an accident. My induction into journal editing occurred when I'd published relatively little. I was merely concerned about getting something into print. The article in question had been accepted for a Memorial Festschrift for one of the people who had been kindest to us in our academic careers, Victor Turner. He had greatly influenced my wife's work, and indeed he influenced some of work we did in the field in Nigeria, about which more later. I still think that his earlier ethnographic work, on the Ndembu, is some of the finest anthropology that has ever existed. But, what was most inspiring about Vic and his wife Edie was the help, and the amity that exuded from them to other young academics. I remember hearing a particularly awful presentation at one of Vic's sessions. And Vic came up to us and said,

> Now listen, Andy and Harriet, take this to heart. You think that talk was awful. I could tell by your faces. And you're probably wondering why this old fool was so kind. Well, let me tell you something. I listened very carefully to what was said and I picked out the one good thing in the paper and praised it. What's the point in doing anything else? You simply discourage a young scholar.

Vic was the father of a university friend of ours called Fred Turner, who is a poet. It was partly through Vic's and Fred's encouragement that we stayed in academia during the tough times of the commute. And Vic was a bit of our inspiration in the work we did on mass media in Nigeria, even though it was the kind of work he never did. We were interested in the way that politics and ritual played out in indigenous media. Sadly, while we were in the field, Vic died. We wrote an article called "Return of the Ikoi-Koi," and we contributed it to a Festschrift, which was being assembled by Paul Bouissac for *Anthropologica*, which was then under the editorship of Kathryn Molohon. Three years passed and the article did not appear.

JH: Right. Hmm, I didn't know you'd had the same experience that I did. [Laughs]

AL: It was not as long.

JH: No, it wasn't.

AL: But I still worried. This was not the first time this had happened to me. I'd already…I'd written an article with Harriet for a Festschrift for an elderly sociologist in New York City, Werner Cahnman. It took so long to come out that it turned out to be a memorial Festschrift. Of course, the Turner volume already was a volume of this kind. Anyway, I rang up the editor of *Anthropologica* to ask "When?" She commended me for my politeness and asked if I'd like to take over.

JH: And that was what year?

AL: Late 1987. What had happened was that *Anthropologica* had been run from Université St. Paul by a distinguished series of editors, many of whom were members of the Oblate Order. It was a private journal, but because of its prestige it had no rival in Canada. However, it depended greatly on efforts of a very small group of people. And in the end the stress and strain of running it at all was too much, so it collapsed. After a lapse of nearly two years, Kathryn Molohon took on the journal with the support of her university, Laurentian, who bought it. But what they offered her was not really adequate and Molohon ended up producing as many as five volumes, five or six volumes of the journal single-handedly, printing them herself.

JH: That's impressive!

AL: She did more than that because…many of the libraries had cancelled subscriptions when the journal did not appear for two years. She wrote to them one by one and restored the circulation. So a lot of what others took credit for since, was the work of Kathryn Molohon at Laurentian, who must be acknowledged and rarely is. All people knew was that it was taking a while for their work to appear. What they didn't know was that they were deal-

ing with a one-person operation. I took the idea of taking over the journal to the Vice-President Academic at Laurier, Russell Muncaster, and he said it was quite a good idea. They'd support it, provided that the press could take it on, and as I wasn't yet senior, provided Mathias Guenther would be the lead editor. Mathias and Harriet and I took the journal on. Mathias was Managing Editor; we handled the manuscripts. Then, when Harriet went to University of Waterloo and Mathias gave up the managing editor's job in 1992, I was left with the journal for five years, with some help from Karen Szala-Meneok who taught anthropology at Laurier, and two external editors, Stanley Barrett [who taught at the University of Guelph] and Regna Darnell [who taught at the University of Western Ontario]. And some help from Harriet. I did most of the work on the journal from 1993 to 1997. I kept it alive, but it really was too much. We'd also been turned down for a grant and we'd been told that there was room for only one journal in Canada. Both journals at the time had weaknesses. *Culture*, the journal which had been founded around the time *Anthropologica* temporarily ceased publication, had a basis in the CASCA membership, but had built up very little in the way of library subscriptions. We had the library subscriptions, but we had not enough individual subscribers. Together, I thought, we would make one viable journal. I had tried to persuade the then editor of *Culture*, Margaret Seguin to take over in 1993. She wasn't interested in any form of merger. In 1997, however, it so happened that because of printing difficulties the then editor of *Culture*, Christine Jourdan, approached Wilfrid Laurier Press with a view to having them publish it too. And it occurred to me here was a chance for merger. Consequently, Christine and I and the Press held negotiations and it was decided to have the merger.

JH: What were the articles published in that period, Andy? Can you say something about what was happening in Canadian Anthropology at that time?

AL: Well, in terms of what was published, I often think that we were the last source of Lévi-Strauss' structuralism in English. There was a heck of a lot of things we got which were structural analyses of myth, very much reflecting the tradition that *Anthropologica* had in indigenous studies—doing a lot of work not only on history or indigenous social organization, but on myth and folklore. We inherited some of that, but we did a lot of special issues on other topics too. David Howes did one of his first collections on the senses. David and Dorothy Counts and others did a volume for us on the anthropology of deviance. Karen Szala-Meneok edited a very good volume on women

in the fisheries. So what we did was fairly diverse. We struggled, because we had always just enough to publish but no surfeit, and the volumes were thinner than the current volumes of *Anthropologica*. *Culture* also had financial problems at that time, so the merger benefitted everybody.

JH: Okay, let's turn to your more recent involvement with the Journal.

AL: All right, a couple of things. When the old *Anthropologica* and *Culture* merged to create the new *Anthropologica*, I took a back seat, of course. I thought my involvement with the journal was over. And unexpectedly, I was called back in 2004 to 2006 when the Managing Editor's job became vacant. I took it for two years, because the journal was in a spot and was about eight months behind schedule. Then three years ago, when the journal could not find an editor and needed someone on short notice, I was called back to assume the job of Editor-in-Chief...it's been three years. That's where we are. The journal has presented me with some challenges. There is no reason why with a population basis of 30 million, with quite so many departments of anthropology, we could not be an absolute alpha-plus journal, but, although we do quite well, we are not yet in that first rank, in the top ten internationally. We quite simply need more articles. Not just thematic or special issues, but articles with something new to say theoretically, that describe the best research—fieldwork research, library research—by young and established academics, both in Canadian and other universities. We can tell potential contributors that we do endeavour to have everything reviewed promptly so they have a decision within three months. Furthermore, we are little bit more patient than some journals in allowing revisions and supervising the revision process. So, it's worthwhile going with us.

JH: What do you think explains this? I mean I have some ideas as to why people aren't sending us more work. If every time we sit on hiring or promotion committees and we say, "There's a piece in *Anthropologica* here," and our colleagues' response is, "But, this person's got an article in *Cultural Anthropology* or an article in *American Ethnologist* or the *JRAI*..."

AL: Yes!

JH: Don't you think that's where the pressure is applied...

AL: ...it's the Canadian inferiority complex and it's absolutely groundless! I mean, there's an assumption that if it's American, it's better. And...

JH: More prestigious...

AL: Yes.

JH: It holds prestige...or if it's published in the U.K., not just by an American press. Even in a European journal.

AL: And I don't think this is just a problem in Canadian anthropology. It exists in other disciplines. I think it's pervasive except where you have fields like Canadian history and Canadian literature, which are not yet controlled by Americans. You know, Americans and Brits don't actually dominate the study of Margaret Atwood, let's say. But, aside from Canadian lit and Can-studies, there's just about no field in Canadian social science or in the humanities in Canada where this inferiority complex isn't operating...and having taught in both countries, and being educated in a third I see no reason for it. But I tell you that if people don't consciously decide...

JH: To contribute?

AL: ...to do something about it, it becomes a self-fulfilling prophesy. It's no discredit to the excellent writers we have published to say that we could have.

JH: Okay, let's turn to your own research and writing. Could you tell us a little about your first fieldwork experiences?

AL: The first fieldwork experience was in Benin City, Nigeria briefly in 1976, and then in 1983 to 1984. In a certain sense, Benin City was an accident. It was where we had contacts but our initial destination was Onitsha in Igboland. We ended up in Benin City in 1976, and we became fascinated by the place and stayed there. The brother of someone who taught at Rutgers had a job in educational television. Our work on mass media was then a new kind of project, a new kind of fieldwork. We didn't think of ourselves as pioneers, but in a way we were among a group of pioneers in what was to become the anthropology of media. It was an accident in a way. I...we used to be friendly with Tom Beidelman at New York University. He was very much of an inspiration to us early in our career, because he'd done marvellous fieldwork in East Africa with the Kaguru, was extraordinarily funny, and was always sparkling with ideas. Now it so happened that

he had a collection of market pamphlets from Onitsha, in eastern Nigeria. They were published between 1940, late 1940s, and the 1970s. There's a famous book on them by Emmanuel Obiechina (1973), and they were literally, as Obiechina says, literature of the people, by the people and for the people, written often by secondary school students, young men fresh out of school, for people who, like themselves, are in the first generation of learning English. And some of them are educational books, for example, "How to Learn Proverbs and other Important Things." There were inspirational stories about historical figures—in later years, John Kennedy made the list. There's even one on Hitler, who was seen as an anti-imperialist hero. And there are moralistic stories such as: "Elizabeth My Lover" and "Mabel, The Sweet Honey that Flowed Away." Pamphlets like "Mabel" and "Rosemary and the Taxi Driver" would tell stories of "good-time girls" who go adrift. The stock plot of wholesome melodramas like "Elizabeth my Lover" (written as a play) is the young lady who is about to be married against her will to an ugly old polygamist, because that's her father's wish, but is in love with a civil servant who has a proper education. The good guys all speak in hypercorrect and snotty Queen's English and the bad guys all speak Pidgin. But in the end, virtue wins. Now you could view these a little ironically and superciliously, as you can any amateur effort containing a lot of malapropisms, but the fact is, there was a great deal of creative energy in these pamphlets. One of the authors, Cyprian Ekwensi, became a serious novelist. This is a very different Nigerian literature from the elite writing of Chinua Achebe and Wole Soyinka. Reading it gave us the idea that one way of studying people would be to study their expressive products not just in the field of ritual, but in the field of literature. And, in our short trip to Nigeria in 1976, we saw that the new medium of television was one in which some of the same creativity that had been present in the Onitsha pamphlets was now being expressed. So we went back in 1983 and 1984. One of our findings was that although much has been made of "coca-colonization" and the supposedly one-way impact of Western media in Nigeria, the most popular programs of all were local soap operas and farces created on a shoestring. One of them, called "Hotel de Jordan" was a particular focus of our work. Another program that we studied was produced right around the corner from us. It was the Church of God Mission's "Redemption Hour." It was the creation of one of the most successful televangelists in Nigeria, Benson Idahosa, who was in part funded by Jim Bakker's PTL Club in the USA.

JH: Hmm.

AL: So, we visited Bishop Idahosa and we could have made that into a fuller study, but his condition for consenting to such work was that we allow our young children who accompanied us to be admitted to his church and we were not sure about the ethics of doing that... Benin, you know, is a remarkable city. One of our friends, commenting on the few long pieces—we wrote about seven or eight of them—that came out of the fieldwork, remarked that we hadn't done postmodern ethnography. Our style wasn't postmodern, but the subjects were.

JH: Absolutely.

AL: One of our acquaintances was a witch-doctor, or traditional healer, who was a public personality and showed his patients videos of rituals before he treated them.

JH: Really?

AL: Yes.

JH: That's fascinating.

AL: We also got to meet one of the leading pop stars in Nigeria, who told us that all good music started with Bach and that it didn't matter whether you played a Bini melody on a traditional harp-lute or a synthesizer. It was an exciting period. But the chance to work in Nigeria took us from another project which Harriet had started and which we had continued, and which was on sexuality.

JH: And that's why you chose to write *Irregular Connections* then?

AL: Right, yeah. Harriet had written an article on female circumcision that ended up in the *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 30 years ago. It was called "Anthropologists, Moralities and Relativities" and it still is the article which she is justly most proud of (Lyons 1981). And it is probably the most cited thing that she has written. Now, it happened that she had been very, very upset by the writings of Mary Daly in *Gyn/Ecology* (1978). Daly attacks female circumcision in Africa in a chapter called "Africa: The Dreadful Rites." And Harriet felt that there's a thin line crossed here between the defence of women's universal rights and racism. She thought she needed to draw attention to the problems anthropologists faced reconciling feminism and relativism—something that had not been done up to that point. In doing the article she went over some of my research on Victorian attitudes to race, because many of them involved stereotypes about the sexuality of other peoples.

JH: Right, right.

AL: It wasn't Philippe Rushton who was the first to make connections here. Stereotypes of others as being over-sexed or occasionally under-sexed as well as less intelligent were rife in the 19th century and often linked to perceived threats. And so, reading my work, Harriet discovered some of the ruminations of Sir Richard Burton, which I quoted in my thesis on racism. We thought of the idea of working out a manuscript on the history of anthropological attitudes toward sexuality. We read Foucault's *History of Sexuality* (1979), which had just come out. I remember we organized a session at the American [Anthropological Association] meetings in 1981, and subsequently in 1983, I handed a badly typed 70-page oeuvre to the late Michel Foucault at the end of a lecture he gave. I wonder where it ended up. In his rubbish heap, who knows? [Laughter]

JH: Who knows?

AL: He was dead a year later. Meanwhile we got a fieldwork grant unexpectedly to finish the media project in Nigeria, which wasn't about sex, and we were also diverted quite sadly in another way. We had completed a lecture tour to present our early work on sexuality. On getting back we found that a close friend and ex-colleague from Kent State, who was gay, had been murdered in St. Louis. The police were *not* investigating. In a peculiar kind of psychological way the murder got associated with the lecture tour, and for about six or seven years while we were writing up the fieldwork we just didn't touch the topic. It seemed to be too painful.

JH: Oh, my gosh!

AL: When we ran dry on the fieldwork, we were about to consider going back to Nigeria in a situation that was dangerous politically, around 1990. However, there was also a crisis in our own family and we decided to return to the sexuality research. Friends of ours, including the late Arnold Pilling of Wayne State, encouraged us to do this. Meanwhile, Queer Studies in anthropology had grown apace since its early beginnings in the late 1970s and 1980s when we'd first started. The field was changing rapidly— it took us a while to catch up again and the kind of scholarship that was needed for a work which would trace anthropological ideas about sexuality and sexual moralities from the 18th century to the present involved a huge amount of work. I was, for part of the time, the department chair, and Harriet (who had also been a chair at Laurier) came to the University of Waterloo in 1991 as the

Director of Women's Studies. We had two adolescents in the family, parental death and illness. So it took us a while. But somehow the book got assembled. We read somewhere that Regna Darnell was putting out a new series, "Critical Studies in the History of Anthropology." We took it to her in 2002 and it was reviewed by her and by Steve Murray, who didn't know us. Murray saw a book in it, but he saw a hell of a lot that had to be done. There were eight pages of detailed critique. We thought, "do we want it done or not?" because it would take us a year to complete these changes. They were substantial but 90% of Murray's suggestions were sensible…and the other 10% weren't that bad.

JH: [Laughs quietly]

AL: And we followed them.

JH: Now it's a very successful book.

AL: Uh, well it hasn't sold that many copies.

JH: Nothing sells Andy. It's academia! [Laughs] But people are talking about it.

AL: It was successful in that it reached its core audience.

JH: Exactly.

AL: And it did get read by them. So, in that sense it was successful. I often wonder what would have happened if we'd have produced it ten years earlier. And what the effect would have been on the trajectory of our academic careers, but the answer is we couldn't and we didn't.

JH: So let's move the two books that you've just written, *Sexualities in Anthropology: A Reader* (2010) and *Fifty Key Anthropologists* (2011) that you edited with Robert Gordon, since we're talking about publishing. What drew you to these projects? Why do you think they are important? What gaps do you believe they fill, and what do you hope your readers will come away with?

AL: These are textbooks, but we believe that textbooks can be important in defining a field. Okay, I'll deal first with the sexuality reader. First of all, we think that sexuality is an exceptionally important topic within anthropology. And to the best of our awareness, there wasn't a reader that covers *all* of it as well as, say, some of the other readers like Michael Lambek's (2008) one on religion and Ellen Lewin's (2006) one on feminist studies. We

thought of the great AMS readers that John Middleton edited, like *Myth and Cosmos* (Middleton 1967) and one on marriage and the family (Bohannan and Middleton 1968). We needed a classic reader because the field is still relatively new. We wanted something that would have narrative, and because our approach was historical, we wanted something that would be historical. And, our chance to do it was an accident because one of our ex-students happened to give a copy of *Irregular Connections* to one of her supervisors at graduate school at Boston, Parker Shipton, who edited the series. We didn't know him till then. He approached us with a view to doing a reader. It's a curious thing that most collections on sexuality in anthropology are either extraordinarily hetero-normative or entirely gay or lesbian studies, whereas we try to integrate both. It is a fact that in anthropology, the anthropology of sexuality, there's not only the well-known essentialist–constructivist divide, but also a kind of mutual forgetting of the heterosexual side of sexuality studies and the gay or queer side. We do try, in a new way, to integrate them and also to compare and contrast them. The book is moderately Foucauldian, but it doesn't have Foucault exuding in every page. We think that the topic is sexuality and not Foucault, so we don't want to get into where Foucault was wrong. A lot of people misprize or misrecognize *Irregular Connections* that way, because in many cases where we did not explore Foucault more deeply, the reason was that we disagreed with him and we felt that we would lose our own argument by saying why. One thing we do contend is that the weakness or strengths of anthropology show up particularly with regard to sexuality. After all, we're discussing the most intimate kinds of acts, the most intimate kinds of feelings, which may or may not be varied a great deal according to culture. And we are discussing differences in practice, how to interpret them, how to feel about them if we are members of other cultures, et cetera. For all these reasons the anthropology of sexuality ain't easy. Moreover, it is particularly liable to the problem we call *conscription*. That is to say, people will use the sexuality of others to advance their own agendas. This is inevitable. It happened with the missionaries in the 19th century, as well as the people who opposed Victorian values, including both Richard Burton and Havelock Ellis, and continuing onwards to the sexual reform movement of the 1920s. Malinowski and Mead were both on the fringes of that movement. We carry on right through to Freeman's use of socio-biology to refute Mead while claiming that he has no agenda whatsoever. And on to, I suppose, current trends in gay-lesbian anthropology. We note that conscription could be for causes we approve of, or causes we disapprove of, but it's an inevitable tendency. We were criticized for that relativistic…

JH: [Laughs quietly] Aren't we always?

AL: …approach.

JH: Yes.

AL: In one of the reviews of *Irregular Connections*, the reviewer asked "Do they realize what they're doing?" Of course we realize what we're doing. *Fifty Key Anthropologists* is something which we've had a more minor role in. We wrote about just under a quarter of the articles, but this is a group project.

JH: Didn't you co-edit the work?

AL: We were co-editors with Rob Gordon.

JH: Yes, okay.

AL: But there are all-told about 25 or 30 authors, including a few from Canada.

JH: These are the *Fifty Key Anthropologists*?

AL: I'm talking about the authors of the articles. The Canadian writers are Regna Darnell on Boas and Sapir, Richard Lee on Eleanor Leacock, Tom Abler on Wallace, Karen Sykes on Marilyn Strathern, and Stanley Barrett, who has done work on Barth, Leach and Bailey. Harriet and I contributed, I think, a total of about eleven articles, a glossary and a timeline. And we selected some other authors. Rob Gordon is a good friend and a fine scholar, originally from Namibia, who had been contacted by Routledge and who approached us for assistance. He's at the University of Vermont.

JH: What were the pieces you wrote?

AL: Because the three of us didn't have the time to do all the articles ourselves in the time they wanted, we wrote about people we knew most about, and selected other specialists to do the rest. I wrote one on Lévi-Strauss, simply because I used to worship Lévi-Strauss, without seeing the flaws…I still have a lot of the structuralist in me. Except when I went to the field, how do I put it? I didn't do quite what I thought I might do. There was some fascinating stuff on mythology but other people had done it. We were looking at folklore and television, but I didn't end up taking a structuralist approach. I don't know why, but there you are. I did work on Tylor and Morgan because I'm fascinated by Victorian anthropology. That

stems from my interest in evolutionism and racism. And Tylor and Morgan are both mixed bags with respect to racism. I mean that I had great respect for what Morgan achieved, but he was flawed in his attitude toward Africans. However, I deal dispassionately with his contribution to kinship studies in my little piece. Harriet and I did a lot of work on Malinowski's research on Trobriand sexuality. So I did a chapter on Malinowski and I did the chapter on Mauss, which I greatly enjoyed. I had to do a lot of reading for that.

JH: Why did you choose Mauss?

AL: Mauss's *The Gift* (1990) is *sacred text* to anyone brought up in British anthropology. Not just in the 1960s but even now, I'd argue. Read *JRAI*, even today. I re-read Mauss of course, as well the collection edited by Wendy James and Nick Allen (1998) in addition to Fournier's (2005) excellent new biography, and that helped in piecing things together. A lot of work there… I enjoyed doing the article because a lot of people still need to know what else there is aside from *The Gift*.

JH: Right, right, which is the book we all know.

AL: I also did Radin. That's because I taught *The Trickster* (1987) many times and had great admiration for Radin, and I was intrigued to read in David Price's work *Threatening Anthropology* (2004) about the huge F.B.I. file on him…you'd never have guessed.

JH: The perfect segue. What are some of the issues that most concern you as a scholar in these times?

AL: As an anthropologist?

JH: As a scholar. A second and related question follows: what do you believe are some of the greatest challenges we face as anthropologists in these times?

AL: Racism and inequality are issues that all scholars face and I think that there's…listen, you know, I've not addressed a lot of my work as a teacher. I've mainly been an undergraduate teacher, except for the brief period at Rutgers and the last few years of teaching at Laurier. But I would say that anthropologists, because we're all involved in teaching undergraduates, must help them observe, question and combat racism and various forms of ethnocentric bigotry. We have to realize most of our students are not going out to become anthropologists. What we can do is to offer them, to apostrophize a title

by H. H. Munro (Saki), an "Unrest-Cure" (1961). We can create a disturbance…in received wisdoms.

JH: Wonderful!

AL: And that, I think, is an important role. Regarding anthropology, Canadian anthropology in particular, I think that we have to…we are facing, very obviously, a crisis. Twenty-five years after the crisis in representations there is a question mark as to exactly where we are and whether or not we are distinctive, separate from other disciplines. And at a certain level, I'm not sure that matters. Can we define anthropology by participant observation? Perhaps. Can we define it by the writing of something called ethnography, an art, which may not be entirely confined to anthropologists? Perhaps. At the same time there's a quandary, a lack of fit, because a lot of our core concepts were developed at a stage when we still went "out there" to study "that." Alterity was at the root of the anthropological impulse, and original fieldwork was the initiation rite. Indeed, in early years, before we did work in Nigeria, both Harriet and I did theoretical historical theses and paid a price, because we had not had our initiation into alterity. I think that anthropology faces a choice between redefining its subject matter and its content, which in part it will do. Or else giving up some of the fetish of fieldwork and looking back over the vast amount of data that has been accumulated in a hundred years of ethnography and trying to make more sense of it.

JH: Hmm.

AL: And that work in the library has never had the kind of legitimation that perhaps it should have in anthropology, because of the stress on empiricism.

JH: This is true of all the sub-fields of anthropology. Some archaeologists, for instance, have noted that there are caches of findings (some claim they are "loots") that have yet to be examined and they question the need to dig another site…

AL: We have a unique problem. Historians always have dead people, they're not going to disappear. Anthropology did have "primitives"…have we replaced them? Fully?

JH: Quotes around "primitives."

AL: Quote-unquote. We had "peasants." And you've got to realize something: there's this stage where people really were doing twin killing, human sacrifice…not to mention the Inquisition and the Witch Craze in Europe. There really were differences as well as resemblances in culture. And we can gloss over this with whatever we want to say about the limits of globalization, but those things have changed. Here I think particularly about my friend, Bert N., and our last interview in the 1976 trip as he made a vain attempt to take us to the airport. "I'm taking you to Nigerian Airways because it's the safest way to get from Benin City to Lagos, but they may not go. Nigerian Airways is the safest in the world because Nigerian Airways *never* flies." Before we parted, he asked us, "Are there any questions you've wanted to ask us?" And I said, "I can think of one." "Let me guess," he said, "It's how come my wife and I are so well-heeled, despite the fact that I'm humble civil servant and she's a teacher." I said, "Well I did have that question." "Well," he replied,

> there is a little family money left. My great-grandfather was the Obi of a little village on the banks of the Niger. He was a great man, a very wealthy man, and we would all be proud of him three or four generations later, except that he sacrificed *far too many slaves*. Of course, you people should not be too *haughty* about this, too *proud* of yourselves, a civilization that has created Auschwitz and Hiroshima, should not lecture *us* about human sacrifice. However, the fact of that matter is that we can't be too proud of our great-grandfather. But that's how I'm so wealthy. Now I have a question for you. Where are you from?

And I said, "I'm from a city in the North of England." "Leeds by any chance?" "Yes. How do you guess?" "I have my M.A. from there in linguistics. While I was there I taught at a funny little school up the hill where the students wore grey flannel trousers, blue blazers, and a crest with a Latin motto, *Nullius Non Mater Disciplinae.*" And I said, wait a minute, I'd come all way out here, I've taken a degree at Oxford, I've gone to North America to teach, and I've come to "the field" to interview one of the masters at my school! [Laughter]

JH: [Laughing] We're going to end it there, Andy. That's a perfect way to end this interview. Thank you.

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Book Reviews / Comptes rendus

Hastings Donnan and Fiona Magowan, *The Anthropology of Sex,* Oxford and New York: Berg Publishers, 2010, 216 pages.

Reviewer: *Andrew Lyons*
Wilfrid Laurier University

Courses in the anthropology of sex, sexuality and sexualities are finally becoming a standard offering in anthropology curricula in North America and Britain. However, there is a dearth of texts that can map the field adequately for both professors and students. The authors of this book (who have also recently (2009) published an excellent collection of essays on "Transgressive Sex"), have succeeded in filling some part of this gap with an intelligent and comprehensive discussion of much of the latest ethnography in the subfield as well as work in cognate disciplines such as history and sociology.

This reviewer found their chapters (4 through 7) on transgression—taken both literally (crossing of real borders) and metaphorically—to be most impressive. In other words, the reader can learn much about the problems raised by research on prostitution and sex tourism, and attitudes to liaisons that cross the lines of gender, religion, ethnicity and class (for example, Stoler's work on Indonesia). There are interesting discussions of military rape, sexual abuse, honour killing and female genital mutilation. There is also a chapter devoted to sex and the senses, which contains ethnographic material on dance (in Ireland, Greece, Arabia and Polynesia) and which explores the relationship between forms of dance, morality, gender and power. The last chapter discusses globalization with appropriate nods to Appadurai and Bauman and with an explication of recent work on cybersex.

Throughout the volume the authors endeavour to take account of intersubjectivity (where data are available) and individual agency, for example, in their discussion of work on child prostitutes in Thailand and middle-class Georgian "Natashas" who service uneducated Turks. However, they do not ignore the facts of political economy and the realities of oppression.

While no discussion of the anthropology of sexuality could ever be complete, there are some omissions which could be addressed before the book goes into a second edition. There is

no sustained discussion of the divide between essentialism and constructionism that has been of continual importance in this area for over 40 years. Foucault is invoked, but the authors could say more about his significance to some researchers in sexuality. They modestly note that they have not much to say about same-sex sexuality because they could easily fill a volume with such material. However, for 30 years, until very recently, the most significant research on sex was on this topic, for example, the work of Esther Newton, Gayle Rubin, Gilbert Herdt, Kath Weston and, more recently, David Valentine. All of these authors are mentioned, but only Herdt's work is really addressed. With regard to heterosexuality, there is no discussion of the Mead-Freeman debate. The brief opening section of the book dealing with the history of the discipline needs to be expanded because it might otherwise confuse those students who are unaware of the distinction between the evolutionary theorists and writers of the early 20th century such as Mead and Malinowski.

This book has many virtues, and I strongly recommend it because of its coverage of "transgression" in the central chapters, and, above all, because it does attempt to engage both the burgeoning literature on GLBT sexuality and the new literature on heterosexualities. So often, one has the impression that these two bodies of anthropological literature are indeed two solitudes. However, the text should be supplemented by other ethnographic and theoretical readings for classroom use.

David B. Murray (ed.), *Homophobias: Lust and Loathing across Time and Space,* Durham: Duke University Press, 2009, 240 pages.

Reviewer: *Susan Frohlick*
University of Manitoba

In 1993, in her groundbreaking article mapping out the emergent field of lesbian-gay studies in anthropology, Kath Weston announced, "homophobia has become a topic for anthropological investigation" (1993:359). Citing five references written by three anthropologists, Weston would seem to have

envisaged a body of research on the rise. However, as David Murray indicates, a sustained interrogation of homophobia has not materialized in the discipline. Yet at the same time, the term *homophobia* has become common parlance, and certainly a plethora of social relations that constitute sexuality-based discrimination, hate, aversion, intolerance and violence continue unabated. A decade and a half later, this volume offers a timely, provocative and politically far-reaching set of papers that, together, open up absolutely vital space for thinking through the ways in which discrimination and hatred based on (non-normative) sexuality continues to be legitimized, organized and expressed in very different places in today's globalizing world. I agree with Murray's evaluation of the current situation: while the anthropology of sexuality has produced a wealth of knowledge about cultural particularities of non-normative sexualities (as well as sexualities of all kinds in the non-West), the discipline has, for various reasons, been remiss to look at how discriminations against non-normative sexualities are perpetuated, that is, at "understanding the causes, dynamics, forces, structures, and 'logics' which work to create, oppress, marginalize, and/or silence sexual alterity" (p. 2).

Such an agenda presents a quagmire of difficulties insofar as anthropologists have shied away from studying societal anxieties around sexual diversity more generally and also normative heterosexuality, both of which remain "touchy" subjects. Moreover, the onset of fieldwork on this subject has undoubtedly been slow in coming because anthropologists tend to avoid studying with research populations with whom we feel antagonism. Despite these and other hurdles, the contributors have written a set of papers that, as a whole, make a persuasive case for a new direction in anthropology.

Based on richly detailed ethnographic research, the book aims to achieve three main goals: to analyze the assumptions underpinning homophobic discourses; to examine homophobia as socially produced discrimination; and, to generate an analytical framework for advancing more accurate and nuanced understandings of homophobia than currently exist. Each of these are satisfactorily achieved, although the first two more so than the third, in my view. Murray's introduction outlines the book's aims for "rethinking homophobia" and offers four key over-arching questions that guide an anthropological investigation of sexual discrimination and structures of dominance: Is homophobia a universal prejudice? Is homophobia produced through nationalism or globalization or both? Is homophobia a gendered discourse? How do we eliminate homophobia? These are provocative questions, for which each author does provide provisional answers; but given that the book's strengths lie in the ethnographic and theoretical foci, the last question is left for readers to contemplate.

The volume proceeds with Part 1, organized around the theme, "Displac g Homophobia," while Part 2 addresses "Transnational Homophobias." A chapter titled "Can There Be an Anthropology of Homophobia?" by Don Kulick, an anthropologist on the forefront of ethnographies of non-normative sexualities, starts off Part 1. Reminiscent of a treatise

20 years ago on feminist ethnography in which Lila Abu-Lughod (1990) sketched out the dilemma of applying (partial, subjective) feminist approaches to ethnography (purported to be objective), Kulick frames this book's subject matter, also a political project, as a seemingly paradoxical task: how is it possible to interrogate a phenomenon glossed as "homophobia" while simultaneously deconstructing and reframing it? He traces "homophobia" in psychiatric discourses in the 1900s to its emergence in liberal political agendas in the 2000s captured in the neologism *homonationalism* (p. 28), then suggests that an anthropology of homophobia can and should attempt to document, contextualize, analyze and fight against it even as "it continually re-opens what homophobia is" (p. 32). Kulick's recommendation is to situate homophobia within a wider anthropological inquiry of hate and hatred, a groundwork that makes a great deal of sense when the ultimate aim is, as Murray affirms, to eliminate homophobia.

In outlining the remaining chapters in the first part of the book, I suggest how each contributor utilizes "displacement" as a strategy for deconstructing normative discourses of homophobia and hence for productively re-framing and politicizing debates about same-sex sexualities and the associated rights, claims to normalcy, and belonging.

Chapter 2 draws on Martin Manalansan's extensive research in New York City's lgbtq organizations and transcultural spaces in the 1900s to reflect on how accusations of "homophobia" against certain members within lgbtq groups serve to uphold race, class, and gender hierarchies. This chapter, perhaps more than the others, suggests practical ways to change course by looking at frictions within lgbtq communities where deployment of the label *homophobia*, in Manalansan's view a term best completely displaced from queer activism, derails open dialogue about sexuality across cultures, generations and activist groups. In chapter 3, Constance Sullivan-Blum examines the major divergences in attitudes toward homosexuality between mainline and evangelical Protestant followers in churches in upper state New York to critique claims about Christianity as a timeless, homogenous homophobic discourse. Over-generalizations of homophobia are inaccurate, she argues. By supplanting them with specificity, modernity and national politics come to the fore as wider forces that shape local belief systems against and for homosexuality, which change over time.

In chapter 4, Steven Angelides looks at how various right-wing movements fed into the "homosexualization of pedophilia" trafficked in public discourses in Australia in the 1980s. Gay men and gay rights' activists, notably Alison Thorpe, were imagined, held up and persecuted as alleged threats to the safety of children. Such scapegoating blithely ignored evidence that linked risk of child sexual abuse to heterosexual masculinity and familial rather than "stranger" relations. Angelides does an excellent job of showing how the displacement of hegemonic anti-homosexual discourses perpetuating vile stereotypes about "deviant" homosexuality usefully re-frames the problem of child sexual abuse to power dynamics and delete-

rious sexual behaviour within normative institutions (hegemonic masculinity, heterosexuality, nuclear family). In chapter 5, Brian Reidel also displaces "homophobia" from a universalizing framework centred in North American public discourses but does so to reveal a completely different system in Greece where terms for racism and homophobia are used interchangeably. His chapter looks at why and how racism operates to reflect discriminations based on sexuality in contemporary Greek society, where changes in language, immigration and same-sex sexualities all contribute. His main point, that because racism is the language used to articulate anti-homophobic sentiments does not mean that critiques against homophobia are not taking place, reminds us that homophobia is not a discrete form of hatred and hostility but is entangled within wider societal anxieties and senses of threat, exclusion and displacement.

The second part of the book is organized around the overarching idea that transnationalism and homophobias are linked phenomena and processes, which allows for a framework to emerge that articulates the *social* production of homophobia (rather than reinscribing it onto the pathology of the autonomous individual) and also addresses the tensions between globalization and nationalism as underlying structures (rather than one or the other).

Suzanne LaFont's chapter on LGBT-hate in Jamaica begins Part 2, and picks up nicely on earlier threads including the problems of working with a research culture holding anti-homosexual values and also the double-sided nature of heterosexism and homophobia. She found that homophobia was not a "fear-based disorder" but rather a deeply entrenched societal intolerance at the level of national identity. LaFont shows very clearly how multiple factors intersect in the production of LGBT-hate (slavery, colonialism, international HIV/AIDS activists, national politics and transnational Jamaican dancehall music) and debunks assumptions about how intolerance is expressed within Jamaican society, which deters readers from making simplistic claims about Jamaica as a "homophobic" place over "there." Tom Boellstorff (chapter 7) demonstrates how a formation he refers to as "political homophobia" emerged in Indonesia in the post-Suharto years of nation-building, using the term to link "emotion, sexuality, and political violence" (p. 127) and to show the centrality of both national and global discourses in violence and political will exerted toward Indonesians who were transformed from tolerated subjects to "sexual deviants" (p. 126) over the course of less than a decade. Boellstorff suggests that "everyday heterosexism" (p. 140), as official Muslim doctrine, was reconfigured into homophobia when masculinist visions of the nation-state warranted emotional visceral responses from male citizens against apparent transgressors. This chapter, while dense in places, deftly diffuses such problematic notions as "primordial violence" and "homophobic Islam" that might otherwise be used to explain away violence against non-normative (but decidedly "gay") men.

David Murray's contribution, chapter 8, provides innovative vocabulary and research avenues for thinking critically about transnational homophobias circulating in a hegemonic Barbadian discourse that represents both the "good citizen" and the "bogeyman" homosexual (p. 148). "Feedback media" is the analytic Murray uses to show the recursive loop that occurs between national media representations of the immorality of same-sex sexuality, citizens' concurring responses, and the production and protection of national identity vis-à-vis impinging transnational and global forces on political economy and social mores; while a second term, *spectral sexuality*, articulates the way in which homosexuality (as a haunting spectre rather than embodied entity) has come to index immorality and instability as a threat against Barbados from beyond its borders. In the final chapter, Lawrence Cohen's intricate analysis of the weighty significance of "feudal" for residents in Lucknow, India—resonating as it does with notions of backwardness, criminality and sexual decadence—for making sense of violence against non-normative men, provides a riveting illustration of a non-Western context where homophobia does not exist yet anti-gay atrocities occur. Cohen shows, through beautifully crafted prose, the impossible translation of *homophobia* in the Indian context but suggests how other equally vitriolic categories become the logic for heinous crimes against sexual difference.

What I find most compelling about this book is that rather than invoke homophobic discourses at face value, each chapter draws out the material, symbolic and social practices through which negativity and intolerance for "the homosexual" are played out in local contexts that range from New York City, to the Caribbean, to Australia, India, Greece and Indonesia, and spaces that include churches, law courts, activists' meetings, magazines, music lyrics and Jamaican dancehalls. At the same time, with candor and a willingness to expose internal frictions within gay, lesbian and queer organizations and communities, each of the authors addresses the limitations and politics of "homophobia," a universalizing concept that, as each author suggests, can obscure more than it reveals, by drawing on ethnographic scenarios that each knows best. *Homophobia* and associated terms, *homophobic*, and *homophobe*, are shown to be triggers that can set off virulence in all manner of directions: toward mothers who are silent about their son's boyfriends, toward entire countries that deter the attraction of "gay" tourists; and, to "the" morally righteous Christians in the U.S. As "umbrella" and "pathologizing" terms, they are not ultimately very useful in queer mobilization and the struggle against sexual discrimination. I appreciate the sensitivity with which the contributors tread on murky ground to crack open new lines of conversation and analysis rather than simply reproach "others," which is never a solution to overcome prejudice and narrow-mindedness.

I highly recommend this book. It makes a fascinating and important contribution to the anthropology of gender and sexuality, queer/LGBT studies, as well as to the areas of nationalism, human rights and violence, and sets new directions in anthropology of homophobia and hatred—and, I might add, fear. Its major flaw is the lack of any significant attention

to discriminations and "phobias" against lesbian and other non-normative female sexualities (except in Angelides' chapter on Alison Thorpe, where a lengthy footnote could have usefully been included in the main body of the text; and also touched on by LaFont and Reidel). Masculinity is fairly well addressed, especially in Part 2, but otherwise we hear very little at all about gender, one of the key questions Murray poses as an over-arching theme. Together these gaps unfortunately create a rather troubling exclusion of women and femininities, which perpetuates what Evelyn Blackwood and Saskia Wieringa identified as "the silence in the study of sexuality" in anthropology (1999). Also, I would have expected more attention on heterosexual non-normativity, perhaps including the work of a scholar such as Katherine Frank (2008), whose research on anti-homophobic discourses among U.S. straight "lifestylers" would have fit exceptionally well. Aside from these concerns, which Murray does raise in the introduction, I found the book hard to put down as it provides penetrating glimpses into "cultures" of hatred, fear and self-loathing that have been sorely missing from anthropological accounts of social anxiety about sexual diversity and of "fear of the queer" more widely (Bhattacharyaa 2002).

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Marguerite Blais et Jacques Rhéaume, *Apprendre à vivre aux frontières des cultures sourdes et entendantes,* Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2009, 146 pages.

Recenseure: *Anik Demers-Pelletier*
Université de Montréal

Les auteurs Marguerite Blais, titulaire d'un post-doctorat en communication et ministre responsable des aînés et Jacques Rhéaume, psychosociologue et professeur associé à l'Université du Québec à Montréal, nous transportent dans un univers qui nous est généralement étranger, celui des CODAs (Children of Deaf Adults). Le lecteur découvre, au fil des six chapitres qui composent cette étude de type ethnographique, les parcours parfois éprouvants de dix CODAs devenus interprètes professionnels qui sont parvenus à vivre sereinement aux frontières des cultures sourde et entendante. Pour les auteurs, cela est essentiel pour qu'une société puisse « bien vivre ensemble », ce qui, selon eux ne peut se faire sans un cadre culturel marqué par la diversité.

Il existe bel et bien une culture sourde auto-définie, basée, selon Padden (1998), sur la vision et le toucher. Celle-ci se caractérise, entre autres, par l'usage d'une langue spécifique possédant sa propre grammaire et sa propre syntaxe, la LSQ (langue des signes québécoise). La communauté sourde a également ses loisirs, son humour propre et, selon les informateurs rencontrés par Blais et Rhéaume, les rapports entre ses membres se distinguent de ceux des entendants en ce qu'ils sont plus directs et plus concrets.

Adoptant une approche de constructivisme culturel, c'est-à-dire qui ne se limite pas à l'environnement social immédiat mais qui tient compte d'un contexte plus large, les auteurs ont procédé par entrevues individuelles semi-dirigées. Les questions « ouvertes » concernaient principalement la prise de conscience d'être différent en tant qu'entendant, les relations familiales, les expériences scolaires, les amis et conjoints et les loisirs. On y apprend que, de manière générale, les participants conservent de leur petite enfance des souvenirs plutôt positifs; les membres de la communauté sourde aiment se rencontrer, fréquenter les centres de loisirs et organiser des fêtes. C'est au moment de leur entrée à l'école primaire que le choc se produit. Ils prennent alors prennent conscience du fait qu'ils proviennent d'un milieu différent de celui des autres élèves et quelques-uns accusent d'importants retards de langage. De plus, ils sont souvent victimes de moqueries de la part des autres enfants qui imitent leurs parents qui « émettent des sons bizarres » et « gesticulent comme des singes ». Très tôt, ces enfants ont dû servir d'interprètes, ce qui leur a laissé un goût un peu amer. En effet, leurs jeux étaient souvent interrompus par leurs parents qui réclamaient leur aide pour intervenir dans des situations délicates et pour lesquelles ils n'étaient pas du tout préparés tels que renouvellements d'assurances, achat de maison ou de terrain, visites médicales, etc. À un sentiment d'incompétence s'ajoutait parfois un désir de protection à l'égard de leurs parents que certaines personnes malintentionnées tentaient d'exploiter. Devenus adultes, neuf des participants ont choisi un conjoint entendant. La raison le plus souvent invoquée pour expliquer cette décision est qu'ils n'ont pas envie d'être interprètes à la maison. Toujours soucieux de favoriser un rapprochement entre les deux cultures, il était cependant essentiel pour eux que leur conjoint soit ouvert à la communauté sourde et prêt à mettre au monde des enfants sourds.

Les parcours et les expériences de ces dix personnes présentent évidemment des différences, mais chacune est parvenue à se définir une identité. Les auteurs distinguent d'ail-

leurs trois constructions identitaires. D'abord, les « entendants sourds de culture ». Ceux-ci sont souvent issus de « familles riches en sourds », c'est-à-dire où l'on retrouve des sourds depuis plusieurs générations; ils se considèrent davantage de culture sourde. Il y a ensuite les « biculturels » qui s'identifient également aux deux cultures; ils « savent être sourds avec les sourds et entendants avec les entendants » (p. 138). La troisième catégorie est constituée d'« entendants au service d'une culture sourde » qui, bien qu'ils s'identifient davantage à la culture entendante, veillent à faciliter la communication entre sourds et entendants.

Aujourd'hui, malgré les nombreuses difficultés qu'ils ont rencontrées, ces participants s'entendent pour dire qu'ils possèdent une richesse et ils sont fiers d'appartenir aux deux cultures, d'être biculturels et bilingues. À l'exception de deux participants, tous ont conservé des éléments typiques de la culture sourde : ils sont davantage à l'aise dans des endroits bien éclairés et à aire ouverte et préfèrent les visites imprévues et les rapports directs et concrets avec les autres. À travers ces récits rapportés de manière spontanée et concise, les auteurs nous ont démontré qu'il est effectivement possible de vivre aux frontières des cultures sourde et entendante sans que l'une ou l'autre des communautés ait à renoncer à quelque élément de sa culture.

Blais et Rhéaume mentionnent dans leur introduction qu'ils sont conscients que leur échantillonnage est restreint et que le choix même des participants, du fait qu'ils soient tous devenus interprètes, constitue un biais. En effet, seuls les CODAs pour qui la notion de *biculturalité* est significative nous sont présentés. Or, ils se justifient en ajoutant que ceux-ci agissent comme « passeurs de frontières ». Ils permettent une interaction constante et tout à fait concevable entre deux mondes.

Cette étude qui n'a pas de prétention scientifique s'adresse à un large public. Elle peut être envisagée comme un complément intéressant aux ouvrages de Padden (1998) et Lachance (2003), par exemple, où il est également question de *biculturalité*, mais où les trois catégories identifiées par Blais et Rhéaume, qui apportent des précisions supplémentaires quant aux parcours-types des personnes impliquées, sont absentes.

Pour conclure, les témoignages recueillis par les deux auteurs pourront être utiles à tous les chercheurs en sciences sociales et humaines qui s'intéressent à la surdité, mais surtout aux enseignants qui connaissent souvent mal la réalité des sourds et qui, dans les années antérieures, ont contribué à leur exclusion avec leur attitude paternaliste, comme le mentionne Lachance (2003). À ce propos, il serait question en France d'une réforme scolaire « qui prendrait en compte la langue des signes et la culture sourde par l'application d'approches éducatives bilingues et biculturelles » (Padden, 1998:95-96 *in* Lachance, 2007). Il est à souhaiter que de telles mesures soient envisagées en Amérique de Nord, car les ouvrages sur la culture sourde, dont celui-ci, nous en démontrent la nécessité.

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Maria Manca, *La poésie pour répondre au hasard. Une approche anthropologique des joutes poétiques de Sardaigne,* Paris: CNRS Éditions/Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, coll. Chemins de l'ethnologie, 2009, 326 pages.

Recenseur : *Guy Lanoue*
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Cette ethnographie est réalisée de façon très méticuleuse et conçue selon un cadre épistémologique relativement classique. Il cible un phénomène sarde, les joutes poétiques, compétitions ritualisées où chaque participant improvise des vers sur des thèmes que les autres participants doivent affronter. L'argument s'organise, plus ou moins, autour de l'idée que la joute est une affirmation positive, car la poésie improvisée, fusionnant la structure de la narrativité et l'improvisation créatrice individuelle, serait une forme d'affirmation contre le hasard intrinsèque. Le poète serait comme un héros existentiel, comme le sont le berger et le saint patronal (Mme Manca lie ces trois personnages), et la fête serait l'occasion qui déclenche la joute. Malheureusement, cette position, qui cherche à universaliser la joute poétique, n'est pas suffisamment appuyée pour convaincre.

La Sardaigne est un pays colonisé par les Phéniciens, les Romains, les Génois, les Espagnols, les Savoyards et, enfin, par les Italiens. Un pays (ou région, selon son point de vue), donc, qui a connu peu d'indépendance politique. Il n'est pas surprenant qu'en Italie, pays célébré pour l'exubérance de son théâtre, de son opéra et de sa chanson populaire, les Sardes soient renommés pour leur réserve et pour leur discrétion, pour leur attitude où chaque mot et chaque geste peuvent dévoiler les faiblesses de la personne et ce, dans un environnement social hostile. Une attitude assez répandue dans le monde, mais en Sardaigne, avec son climat colonial et ses structures sociales et politiques toujours féodales, le savoir perd son avantage stratégique une fois dévoilé. Dans ce contexte, la poésie comme format où la structure poétique domine et même supprime la signification conventionnelle est très estimée. Dans ce sens, la poésie est une forme d'indirection dans la communication, comme l'est la langue de bois dans la politique.

Autant les Sardes sont peu bavards dans le discours explicite, autant ils sont des poètes loquaces, novateurs et éloquents, comme en témoigne ce livre.

Ce petit brin d'histoire qui aurait pu encadrer le phénomène des joutes n'est aucunement présent dans ce livre. Par exemple, il n'y a aucune mention d'une autre tradition d'improvisation verbale qui, après tout, ne se trouve pas à l'autre bout du monde. Les Romains sont également renommés pour leurs poésies et pour leurs chansons improvisées (*stornelli*) qui, dit-on, ont émergé comme une forme transversale de communication dans un contexte dominé par le régime idéologique oppressif de l'Église. Bref, l'indirection linguistique est une piste importante qui est malheureusement négligée par Mme Manca. Elle semble préférer l'image de la Sardaigne comme lieu où la « tradition » a une place importante dans la définition de l'identité sarde, sans trop approfondir pourquoi ces manœuvres passent obligatoirement par la poésie et surtout par les joutes, une compétition qui souligne l'individualité des participants et non la solidarité face à un ennemi colonisateur. Les situations analysées par James Scott (*Weapons of the Weak*, 1985) pourraient être des points de comparaisons importants dans ce contexte colonial. Il faudrait que cet aspect de l'histoire de l'île soit approfondi pour croire que la joute est représentative de la culture « sarde ». En fait, Mme Manca se limite à présenter certains détails historiques de l'évolution récente de la joute. Le passage du pastoralisme au lyrique politisé n'est pas expliqué.

Mme Manca est une excellente observatrice et ethnographe, mais elle semble survoler certains traits qui n'appuient pas sa thèse. Par exemple, les photos, ainsi que sa description du déroulement des joutes qu'elle a observées, montrent carrément que ce phénomène est loin d'être un simple passe-temps de bergers seuls en manque de leur communauté et de leurs familles (la « tradition », que Mme Manca prétend être à l'origine de ces joutes). Aujourd'hui, les joutes ont lieu dans une lieu publique, les poètes sont des semi-professionnels qui se font payer et qui viennent en voitures à gros cylindrée; même l'évaluation de la part du public fait partie de la performance. Justement, la réaction du public est fortement ritualisée et chaque performance individuelle est évaluée selon un ensemble de poésies devenues canoniques. Il s'agit d'un cercle vicieux, car la création d'un canon comme point de référence « crée » en fait la tradition. Bref, la joute est une manifestation de la folklorisation étatique, qui est sans aucun doute liée à un courant nationaliste qui veut souligner avec orgueil les réalisations purement, authentiquement, vraiment « sardes » (mais nous ne savons rien, sous la plume de Mme Manca, à propos des complexités de cette identité, sauf dans son sens élémentaire de personnes nées sur l'île).

Chose un peu ironique que dans ce travail détaillé et intéressant, Mme Manca ne mentionne aucunement l'idée que ces joutes peuvent agir comme foyers de résistance à la colonisation et à la domination étrangère, sauf indirectement: les poésies célèbrent la vie héroïque et le concept d'honneur. Pourtant, c'est Antonio Gramsci, Sarde, qui nous a laissé en héritage

la notion d'hégémonie, qui a mené directement aux idées contemporaines de la résistance et à la théorisation du monde postcolonial. Mme Manca préfère faire une connexion avec le domaine du sacré plutôt qu'invoquer celui du profane. Le concept d'honneur, ici présenté comme au cœur des valeurs sardes incarnées par la joute, est particulièrement problématique dans le contexte méditerranéen, comme l'a démontré Michael Herzfeld depuis quasiment trente ans, mais cette littérature n'est pas évaluée ici.

Étant donné que la joute est liée aux bergers sardes, il est curieux que Mme Manca ne semble pas être consciente des parallèles liant le rituel contemporain aux dynamiques et aux tensions de ce passé. Il faut noter, comme parenthèse, qu'il n'existe pas de « sociétés » composées uniquement de bergers; il y a des sociétés où il y a des bergers, c'est-à-dire des sociétés agricoles et paysannes où deviennent bergers ceux qui n'ont pas accès à la terre; ils sont donc souvent structurellement envieux de leurs confrères cultivateurs et potentiellement en conflit avec eux. Puis ils développent une culture qui va célébrer les conditions de leur exil: la solitude involontaire des bergers se transforme en individualisme héroïque; les rares manifestations de la socialité bergère sont en fait sabotées par le silence et par la compétition pour souligner l'individualisme; la communauté d'origine est substituée par la nature dans leur poésie. En fait, le berger comme héros est un trope occidental, pas sarde, qui insiste à visionner à travers un filtre rousseauiste. Dans les mythologies bergères, le « héros » n'est jamais un héros transformateur, sauveteur du peuple, un Asdiwal, un Robin des Bois ou un Gilgamesh.

Par exemple, Mme Manca mentionne la cérémonie d'accueil qui a lieu à l'ouverture de chaque joute et en fait une description détaillée, mais elle ne fait aucune référence au fait que les joutes sardes sont traditionnellement tenues quand les bergers se rencontrent après de longues absences, poursuivant une vie solitaire avec leur troupeau et leurs chiens. En fait, les joutes traditionnelles peuvent être vues non comme une célébration d'une « tradition », comme le suggère Mme Manca, mais comme une tentative de rétablir l'autonomie individuelle au moment de l'agrégation, quand émerge cette représentation de la communauté toujours en devenir mais rarement concrétisée sur la longue durée: soit l'occupation solitaire des bergers l'empêche, soit elle est bloquée par la dimension coloniale de la vie publique sarde. Autrement dit, 2000 ans de domination coloniale ont certainement laissé des traces; le vrai silencieux n'est pas l'individu, mais la communauté, qui a son parallèle dans le chœur rythmique et collectif qui accompagne l'improvisation individuelle. La joute est, avant tout, une compétition, et même si une compétition peut favoriser quelques formes de solidarité, elle reste, au fond, une dimension qui entraîne des divisions. Si la tradition de joutes est censée être si profondément représentative de la culture sarde, pourquoi doit-elle se baser sur la compétition et non sur la solidarité? Le repas d'accueil ne reproduit-il pas symboliquement la réunion de bergers, une occasion qui déclenche les mécanismes compétitifs qui affaiblissent la communauté? La joute tradition-

nelle peut être vue comme un moyen efficace de renvoyer le pouvoir à l'agir individuel.

Cet aveuglement au dissentiment et à la tension au sein de la culture bergère semble pousser Mme Manca à confondre la dimension individuelle de la composition poétique et la production de la solidarité sociale. La bonhommie qu'elle décrit ne réussit pas à cacher le fond compétitif du rituel. Le fait que les poètes reprennent des scènes de la vie quotidienne ne signifie pas, comme semble dire l'auteure, que la joute est incorporée dans la quotidienneté ou qu'elle émerge du vécu quotidien. Tous les éléments qu'elle décrit de façon détaillée sont, au contraire, fortement ritualisés et donc susceptibles d'être facilement politisés. De plus, l'ironie qui parsème les poésies est inexpliquée. Enfin, je me demande, dans le contexte du nationalisme évident qui nourrit l'appétit local pour ces joutes, si ce trait « traditionnel » (le concept de l'invention de la tradition brille par son absence) existerait sans le mécénat officiel et officieux. Autrement dit, sa réception parmi « son » public est-elle conditionnée par le nationalisme ou par le plaisir?

Même les figures qui parsèment le texte et qui sont censées nous aider à comprendre l'interaction entre poètes et public ne nous aident aucunement à déchiffrer ce phénomène, parce que l'auteure insiste pour le décortiquer en dehors de tout contexte théorique et comparatif. Les détails pour le comprendre comme phénomène isolé sont bien présentés, mais l'encadrement pour comprendre son évolution culturelle est absent (les faits historiques précurseurs des joutes contemporaines sont présentés uniquement sous forme de détails de l'évolution de cette forme très ritualisée de la joute).

Ce livre est une contribution importante à la description et à l'analyse de la joute sarde. Cependant, il contient certaines lacunes théoriques et comparatives, surtout dans un contexte occidental davantage dominé par l'individualité souple et novatrice, même dans les berceaux de la « tradition » tels que l'Italie et la Sardaigne. Ironiquement, la minutie accordée aux détails crée une vision assez restreinte du phénomène de la compétition poétique. L'improvisation individuelle et l'indirection communicative au cœur de la joute sarde auraient pu être jumelées à une analyse plus détaillée des tensions structurelles de la société bergère et ce, dans un contexte de marginalisation coloniale, pour mieux comprendre cette nouvelle manifestation de l'individualité « traditionnelle ». Bref, ce livre très impressionnant sur le plan ethnographique aurait pu bénéficier d'une théorisation plus nuancée.

Tanya Richardson, *Kaleidoscopic Odessa: History and Place in Contemporary Ukraine,* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008, 280 pages.

Reviewer: *Liesl L. Gambold*
Dalhousie University

Anthropologists pride themselves on taking everyday activities—people's street-level life—seriously and recognizing the importance of such quotidian situations in understanding and explaining culture. Tanya Richardson excels at this in *Kaleidoscopic Odessa*, a fascinating and rigorous examination of place and identity in this major Ukrainian seaport on the northwest shore of the Black Sea. By focusing on "the point of view of everyday life in particular localities," the reader is deeply immersed in Odessan history, localities and the identity-(re) formation that took place in many post-socialist settings (p. 4). One soon understands, however, that Odessa has a unique and even more complexly woven past than most former Soviet cities. Rather than bifurcating or shying away from this challenging setting, Richards finds a way to literally guide the reader through Odessa's cobbled and storied history in a manner that is ethnographically rich and theoretically invigorating.

Epistemologically, Richards situates her research in perhaps two of the most charged and complex places of enculturation: the school and the street. The first half of the book presents a nuanced examination of Odessan history. Richardson first introduces readers to Odessan *kolorit*, or the character of Odessa that her residents rely upon to help explain the distinctiveness of Odessa even in a global context. Due to its positioning and its utility as a port city at the crossroads of Asia and Europe, Odessa's history is one punctuated by international travellers passing through, settling in and subsequently claiming Odessa as their own resulting in a multicultural landscape long before neoliberal and globalization practices resulted in the expansion of national business and cultural practices. Thus, Richardson aptly refers to Odessa as a cosmopolitan city. However, she pushes our framework for cosmopolitanism by exploring its transformation "across time in particular milieu" (p. 19). In so doing, Richardson employs the "kaleidoscopic" adjective in order to capture some of this multiplicity of experience, identity and practice still visible and lived in the city today. But, as she points out, the kaleidoscopic also renders certain things invisible so a bit of careful exploration is required.

With a multiplicity of pasts, many of them challenged, the teaching of history in Odessa's schools is a delicate matter. Richardson makes a brilliant methodological decision, and gets permission (!), to attend history classes throughout the school year at a Russian-Ukrainian high school. Here the "fraught process" (p. 41) of interpreting and transmitting history lays bare the uncertainty with which history itself is generated. The intersection between home, street and school becomes tangled with the students' understandings of Ukrainian history,

their family members' lived *experiences* and interpretations of the history and the events of the past as presented by their teachers. Here the exemplary ethnographic material makes abundantly clear the fact that the multiple historicities are neither mutually exclusive nor united in agreement. Instead, the way that history appears as an intellectual, moral and emotional engagement highlights the power of creating and transmitting it, but also the way space, place and memory shape our handling of the past. This bifurcation of Ukrainian geography and experience is accentuated as one teacher presents lessons to the students and randomly switches back and forth between lecturing in Russian and in Ukrainian.

Throughout the book Richardson demonstrates the way that in emphasizing the *internationalism, cosmopolitanism,* and *non-politicized* nature of Odessa, residents can opt to nourish and promote a unique "living history" that more accurately reflects the "entanglement of memory, personal experience, and narrative history" (p. 76). Here individuals can situate their own past, whether they identify more with a Soviet, Russian, Ukrainian or Jewish history, within the kaleidoscopic history of Odessa itself. It is a way of recognizing while not privileging one piece of the mosaic over another. In chapter 3, Richardson presents several life stories of older Odessan residents which offer a divergence from the idea of "collective memory" as the histories represent the in-coherence of memory and history within a generational and geographic collective.

In chapter 4, Richardson elaborates on the multiplicity of interpretations about place and history by further exploring the kolorit, or "colour, character, carnivalesque, or an exotic quality" of the neighbourhood of Moldovanka (p. 107). This is a poignant site for exploration because of the divergent interpretations Odessans express about Moldovanka, from it being the site of the "real Odessa" to a "dark," "depressing," and "unenlightened" neighbourhood. Despite this conflict, the relationship between neighbourhood spaces, like courtyards and markets, and social relationships and communication are lauded as a factor in helping maintain "the distinctive communalism" of Moldovanka. Here Richardson adds to a post-socialist literature replete with references to nostalgia and historical reckoning by illustrating how history, experience and change extend beyond the individual out into the very streets and spaces of the community.

Chapter 5 presents another methodologically interesting tool Richardson employed to understand the experience and importance of place and space among Odessans. Joining the "My Odessa" club provided the opportunity to go along for regular group walks which usually focused on Odessa's history and were narrated by one individual but also included the experiences of other walkers and interaction and input from local residents along the way. Thus, the walking itself became an ethnographic experience mediating between individuals' interpretations and experiences and community spaces and architecture. This method links up with recent explorations of wayfaring in which it is argued that people lead lives *through*

rather than *inside* places. By taking the streets and architecture of Moldovanka as a rich ethnographic site for residents' wayfaring, Richardson creates a superior opportunity for the reader to better understand Odessans and their sense of place-making and personal historical interpretation.

In the final chapter, the concept of heterotopia is used to reconcile the kaleidoscopic reality of Odessa in Richardson's suggestion that heterotopia "opens up a way of analyzing how Odessa can be considered both distinct from and typical of something characteristic of the historical experience of the lands that comprise contemporary Ukraine" (p. 172). At this point the reader has little doubt that Odessa (and perhaps upon examination other sites outside of Ukraine) truly represents a kaleidoscopic, cosmopolitan and heterotopian city. Richardson makes a significant contribution to not only the post-socialist literature, but to literatures of anthropology in general, social geography, history and research methods. Richardson's methodology inspires the reader to move beyond conventional understandings of the temporal and spatial in ethnography. In graduate student teaching, *Kaleidoscopic Odessa* would be a welcome tool for students facing research projects in increasingly complex and contested urban environments.

John S. Long, *Treaty No. 9: Making the Agreement to Share the Land in Far Northern Ontario in 1905*, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010, 601 pages.

Reviewer: *Wendy Russell*
Huron University College

This book is the first comprehensive study of this treaty to create a space for the evaluation of the interplay of the official record of treaty negotiations and First Nation's understandings and analysis of the process. Long grounds the analysis in the formal record, and in insights drawn from well-regarded ethno-historical accounts of the region, oral histories and Long's own participatory research into contemporary and late-20th-century responses to the treaty. As the title suggests, Long takes treaty-making as a process that can be analyzed by isolating each of the socially, politically and culturally bound historical encounters in which the meaning of the treaty was made. He asks, "what were the Ojibwe and Cree told? What were they thinking? What did they say? What were their motivations and...what were the motivations of others?" (p. 38). Long's interrogation of the process of making the treaty casts overwhelming doubt on the possibility that the meaning of the treaty rests in the final document and substantiates the claims made by contemporary leadership that the final text of Treaty No. 9 does not represent the agreement made by Ojibwe and Cree. The study is motivated by the persistent awareness of this divergence, as Norm F. Wesley of Moose Cree First Nation puts it in the Foreword to the book: "We [First Nation lead-

ership] were, and continue to be, adamant that the treaty is a testament to our people's understanding, which is to coexist with the newcomers, to be protected, and to grow and prosper" (p. xv). The study is respectful to this persistent interest in Treaty No. 9, and adds to the conversation about its meaning by reproducing all of the available historical records of the treaty in their entirety. The book's middle section contains new, complete and verbatim transcriptions of the available records written by members of the treaty party, Daniel George MacMartin, Samuel Stewart and Duncan Campbell Scott (p. 6). This is the first time that MacMartin's newly re-discovered journal has been published, and the first published analysis comparing it with the better-known journals by Stewart and Scott. The three appendices ("Historiography", "Terminology" and "An Inventory of the 1905 Photographs") further describe all of the records of the treaty and formalize definitions of the key ideas, places and concepts relevant to the study of the treaty.

Part 1, "Historical Context" presents an analytical history of the treaty. The first three chapters identify the larger political, economic, cultural and social dynamics at play in the region when Treaty No. 9 was signed, and the following three provide a brief history of the impacts of the treaty on the region. In these six chapters Long is setting the stage for the analysis of the treaty-making process he interrogates in Part 2, revealing the key features of the larger context for the treaty party and Ojibwe and Cree signatories. Long identifies the shifts in political and economic context with the decline of the fur trade, the emergence of Canada as a settler nation focused on agriculture, the formalization of Provincial authority, the intensification of missionary activities, and the opening of resource extraction industries. Long shows that Ojibwe and Cree responses to these shifts sought to renew the peaceful coexistence that was the hallmark of relationships with the Hudson's Bay Company, and which had long provided indigenous peoples a robust territorial autonomy. Long identifies this autonomy with the Ojibwe term *bimaadiziwin* (Cree *mino pimaatisiwin*), a good life, formed in the interplay of cultural forms and the land base (p. 38-39). Long argues that Ojibwe and Cree signatories signed the treaty to sustain, and protect, bimaadiziwin and pimaatisiwin. The section concludes that this concern with sustaining a good life remains the struggle of regional leadership today.

Part 2, "Historical Documents" presents a fine-grained analysis of the process of making the treaty, drawing on all of the voices which describe it. Throughout the analysis in this section, Long looks for expressions of the divergent interests identified in Part One. This section is at once a record of all of the available information about the treaty, and a thorough examination of all the signatories' intentions at the moment they signed the agreement. Long presents the treaty-making process chronologically, and starts by identifying the members of the treaty party, continuing along to the details of each of the locations where they convened in the summer of 1905, and finishing off with the entire text of the three documents produced by the treaty party after the trip: Scott's Scribner's essay about the treaty; the party doctor's report; and, Scott and Stewart's brief unpublished report on education in the treaty area.

The two brief chapters of Part 3, "Trick or Treaty No. 9?" provide a comprehensive summary of the analysis conducted in Part Two with a special emphasis on understanding the importance of the treaty to today's regional leadership. In the first chapter of this final section, "Making the Agreement to Share the Land in 1905," Long describes the impact of the key issues that made treaty making a complex problematic, namely the influence of the linguistic, social, economic, political and cultural differences between Ojibwe and Cree signatories and the treaty party. In the second and last chapter of this section, "Parchments and Promises," Long presents a point-by-point summary of the differences between the two understandings of the treaty, and isolates the formal treaty text as "the parchment," clearly distinct from "the agreement" which Cree and Ojibwe signatories made. Long concludes that the signatures on "the parchment" affirm that "the Ojibwe and Cree had every reason to expect a future of enhanced indigeneity, given the promises and explanations that preceded touching the pen in 1905" (p. 359).

This work is a major contribution to the study of indigenous–settler relations in Canada, and in particular to understanding the persistence of territorial autonomy in northern regions. The study reveals Treaty No. 9 to be a living agreement that remains meaningful in the day-to-day lives of the people who live in the region today, both Métis who were excluded from the agreement and Ojibwe and Cree members of the Bands it created. By examining the entire life of the treaty, from 1905 to today, the study also underscores the political, cultural and territorial integrity of the region covered by the treaty, and the fact that it has persisted from before the treaty was made. This regional cohesion jumps off the page and is most evident in Long's analysis of the Nishnawbe Aski Nation, the regional government. The Nishnawbe Aski territory makes up two thirds of the land mass of Ontario (p. 10), and the regional government represents the majority of the Treaty No. 9 First Nations whose lands alone make up over half of the Province (p. 399-402). In this study, Long reveals this region's history and present as defined by the experience of land-based autonomy and negotiating the future of that autonomy.

Despite its length and complexity, this work is written in an accessible style which is suitable for undergraduate students in Native Studies, Indigenous Studies, Indigenous and Canadian History, Métis Studies, Canadian Studies and the Anthropology of First Nations. It will also serve a general audience as an introduction to the post-fur trade history of the region.

Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation and Shirleen Smith, *People of the Lakes: Stories of Our Van Tat Gwich'in Elders*, Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2009, 456 pages.

Reviewer: *Anna de Aguayo*
Dawson College

People of the Lakes is the result of ten consecutive years of work from a community of less than 300 Gwitch'in Dene from Old Crow, Yukon. Building on research begun in 1995, the First Nation Heritage Committee work was initially tied to the establishment of a national park on the southwestern part of their traditional lands. It has won nine prizes since publication, including a 2010 Canadian Historical Association Northern Clio and the Wheeler-Voegelin Prize from the American Society of Ethnohistory. It was designed to be the first official transcript of Old Crow history, the last village without road access in the Yukon. It is a 391-page distillation of over 350 transcripts, organized into three sections: The First Generation, those born in the 19th century; The Second Generation, those born in the early 1900s; and, those now in their 40s and 50s. The organization was meant to emphasize the people, their relationships, the land and the major changes in hunting and economics they have faced. The excerpted direct translations are interspersed with more academic historical and anthropological explanations by Edmonton-based anthropologist, Shirleen Smith. A span of 150 years of archived transcripts, audio recordings, photographs and film stills were also pulled together to add to the project. Then a University of Alberta Press editorial team took another year to carefully edit and polish, printing it in a glossy large format at the Friesens presses of Altona, Manitoba. Over a 130 mainly colour photographs, all carefully labelled and attributed, full colour maps of land use, and historic prints expensively grace every second page or so, it became as lovely as an illuminated manuscript. It is finished with a long well cross-referenced index as well as glossaries of Gwitch'in to English and back.

To ensure that readers differentiate between direct interviews and academic interpretation—important for courts—different fonts and colours are used. While the majority of those interviewed only spoke Gwich'in, interviews were deliberately translated into English to make sure as many visitors and future generations would benefit as possible. For those wishing to listen to the original interviews, the entire Oral History Collection, the most precious product, is now housed in the village museum. It was as if everyone involved wanted the history to survive and the project to succeed.

There is a political economy to be written about the transformation of oral history collection in Canada's indigenous communities. With Section 35 of the Constitution Act (1982) stating that only proven "existing" Aboriginal rights would be recognized and the courts' use of the Van der Peet test that a practice to be protected had to be proven to be "integral," oral history collecting has become serious political practice. Used in courts as a powerful tool in land and development battles

with large corporations and governments, rules of oral history collection were tightened. Following the *Delgamuukw* court case, similar rules now govern protocols for mining surveys, road development and oil and gas exploration, as each required formal Traditional Environmental Knowledge reports as part of government-mandated environmental assessments. This was often the only way that heritage or traditional usage spots could be protected.

In this context, the long development and community control demonstrated in *People of the Lakes* is quite remarkable and even unusual. Only short-term funds are usually available to communities, through governments or corporations, to collect and record state-mandated oral histories. At times, working to tight deadlines and narrow topic lists, the results can be cursory and hard to integrate with academic or local needs—particularly for use in pedagogical materials for local schools. Issues of copyright, publication and dissemination are at times problematic.

The book's copyrighted authors, the Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation of Old Crow, had finalized their land claims in 1995. But they have had to deal with pressure for oil and mining exploration, as well as gas development threats to the Alaskan calving grounds of the Porcupine Caribou herd upon which they have traditionally relied. The format of the book, with clear references to land use, toponyms and protection and with a concerted effort to arrive at a community consensus of their own history, is deliberate and pointed. This oral history is meant to be legally impregnable. The smart selection of a University of Alberta anthropology doctoral student, now Dr. Shirleen Smith, who had worked on the history of Treaties 11 and 8 negotiations among the Dene of the Deh Cho (Mackenzie Valley) and a student of long-time Dene expert witness and specialist, Michael Asch, also proved to be a highly forward thinking collaboration. She continues to work with them on land usage.

Academically, the book can be used in sections—using the analytical sections or oral history extracts alone or together—to illustrate specific historical transformations in modes of production and specific practices. There were some particularly strong sections tracing the impact of the 1911 demarcation of the Alaska border, the rise of free traders, wage labour and the role of the Anglican Church. Anthropologically, there are some very intriguing discussions on gender, hunting partnerships and marriage. The descriptions of the importance of "prize" or "smart women" (p. 48) and the use of caribou fences are particularly interesting.

The book might be useful in upper-level courses on Native History or Oral History Studies. One might want to supplement it with readings from Bruce Miller's *Oral History on Trial* (2011) or the oral history collections of Cruikshank (1998) and Goulet (1998) on other Yukon Dene groups. Shirleen Smith also co-wrote, with Michael Asch, an article on the Slavey Dene for *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Hunter and Gatherers* (Asch and Smith 1999). The National Film Board production, *The Challenge in Old Crow* (Payrastre 2006), might also prove useful.

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Reviewer: *Dan Jorgensen*
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Wogeo is a smallish island off Papua New Guinea's north coast and is well known to Melanesianists through Ian Hogbin's publications from the 1930s to the 1970s. Hogbin is also a large presence in island memory, and Anderson is acutely conscious of working in his shadow: islanders understood her task to be filling in Hogbin's account in recording *kastom*—traditional culture as locally conceived. Much of Hogbin's record survives scrutiny, and where there are discrepancies, islanders are often tempted to defer to his version. In other cases, however, Anderson is in a position to offer important correctives, as in her discovery of (rarely acknowledged) matrilineages.

The general picture of Wogeo kastom that emerges is both clarified and complicated by Anderson's treatment. Hogbin struggled for years with several different approaches to understanding Wogeo society. Many of his difficulties stemmed from an attempt to identify descent rules defining groupings and processes of succession. Anderson tackles these questions with the benefit of more recent approaches to Melanesian sociality, concluding that key processes are organized through diverse pathways of claims whose deployment is a matter of tactics and debate. Although she invokes Wagner and Strathern's ideas of composite persons with multiple identities ("dividuals"), it is not hard to see anthropology's more general shift to a focus on agency at work here.

Hogbin was tempted to see Wogeo flexibility as tantamount to the absence of a system, whereas Anderson shows that, if anything, it is the system's elaboration that enables intricate political maneuvering. Claims to land or title, for example, can be argued on the basis of patrifiliation, residence, ritual participation, histories of use, matrilineal descent or affinity. The fact that genealogical ties are in play only multiplies the options: individuals bear the names of deceased villagers, and a combination of astute naming, strategic adoptions and advantageous marriages ensures that there is no shortage of genealogically plausible candidates for any particular claim.

Anderson is at her best when describing the politics of rebuilding named houses, in which the full panoply of arguments is mobilized to lay claim to individually named roof rafters. Traditionally carved and painted, these rafters are the material register of rights to specific tracts of land, while the thatch contributed by supporters secures their subsidiary rights. Establishing prerogatives in house-building is one of the high points of Wogeo politics, and Anderson's material provides a rich catalogue of moves that effectively anchor selective local histories in place.

Anderson notes that this system is a far better match for Levi-Strauss' notion of "house societies" than any scheme of descent groupings, an observation that she develops with reference to parallels from Yap and Belau. In fact, one strength of her analysis is that she relates traditional Wogeo culture not only to the neighbouring islands of Kairiru and Manam, but also to the wider Austronesian world, ranging from eastern Indonesia through Micronesia to eastern Melanesia. Within this comparative frame, the Wogeo emphasis on replication in linking spatial and social identities over time—complete with recycled names, houses, estates and titles—begins to look less anomalous and more consistent with a widespread and possibly ancient pattern in which place is an important principle in its own right.

A strong point of Anderson's analysis is her demonstration of how perceived permanence accommodates an almost bewildering flexibility in social arrangements. Ironically, Anderson may herself have succumbed to the spell of permanence in her account of Wogeo culture as kastom. Having Hogbin as a forerunner and facing local expectations that anthropologists document kastom, Anderson seems—despite periodic disclaimers—to have taken tradition as her special brief. As a consequence, much of what we learn is couched in terms of *memory culture*—the recollections and emendations of elderly experts concerning the way things had been done in the past.

For example, there is a lengthy treatment of Wogeo initiations, which were abandoned well over a generation ago, as well as an account of obsolete ritual competences. But although we learn that people attend multiple prayer meetings each week, or that women speak in tongues and deliver messages that leaders parse, these receive little attention and there is no description of Wogeo churches comparable to that of the details of now-discontinued named houses. There are repeated references to prominent islanders who are living in various towns off-island, but little discussion of what their absence means

for local politics, let alone the role of remittances, rural-urban links, or the spatial conceptualization of Wogeo horizons on the national scene. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that many aspects of contemporary Wogeo life are not viewed as part of Wogeo culture.

Perhaps this does not matter very much: Anderson has done an excellent job of doing what she set out to do and has very likely satisfied Wogeo expectations in the bargain. But given contemporary arguments in Melanesian anthropology about continuity and rupture, it would have been refreshing to have an account of Wogeo life that, like the islanders themselves, looked beyond kastom.

Colette Braeckman, Jules Gérard-Libois, Jean Kestergat, Jacques Vanderlinden, Benoît Verhaegen, Jean-Claude Willame, *Congo 1960: Échec d'une décolonisation*, Bruxelles, GRIP, André Versaille Editeur, 2010, 160 pages.

Recenseur : *Bob White*
Université de Montréal

En 2010 il y a eu une foulée de publications, conférences et événements publics destinés à la commémoration des mouvements d'indépendance africaine. Dans la préface du livre *Congo 1960*, Collette Braeckman écrit : « il nous semble utile de vouloir raviver la mémoire de la naissance du Congo indépendant » (p. 6). Malheureusement, cette atmosphère de célébration cinquantenaire rappelle autant l'espoir que l'anxiété de la fin de la période coloniale, puisque comme plusieurs observateurs l'ont déjà remarqué, l'indépendance s'est avérée plus facile à réaliser que la décolonisation.

Le livre *Congo 1960* n'a pas un ton festif, ni même commémoratif. Au contraire, il s'agit d'un livre qui essaie de dresser un portrait réaliste des efforts pour libérer le Congo du joug colonial et nous ne sommes pas surpris que le bilan de ces tentatives soit globalement négatif. *Congo 1960* fait un retour aussi sur la recherche critique du GRIP, un groupe de chercheurs qui produisent des analyses historiques et politiques sur la paix et la sécurité depuis trente ans. Voici un extrait du site web du GRIP qui explique l'historique et la mission du groupe :

> Créé à Bruxelles en 1979, le GRIP (Groupe de recherche et d'information sur la paix et la sécurité) s'est développé dans un contexte particulier, celui de la Guerre froide. Très logiquement, les premiers travaux ont porté sur les rapports de force Est-Ouest et, durant les années 80, le GRIP s'est surtout fait connaître par ses analyses et dossiers d'information concernant la course aux armements, ses mécanismes, les intérêts en jeu. Après la chute du mur de Berlin en 1989, le paysage géostratégique a considérablement changé. Nos centres de réflexion aussi. Le GRIP se penche désormais davantage sur les questions de sécurité dans le sens le plus large en étudiant notam-

ment la prévention, la gestion et la résolution des conflits, surtout dans les pays en développement (et en particulier l'Afrique subsaharienne). [GRIP 2010]

Publié pour la première fois en 1990 par le GRIP sous le titre *Congo-Zaïre : La colonisation-l'indépendance-le régime Mobutu-et demain?*, ce recueil de textes représente un des ouvrages les plus importants sur l'histoire politique moderne de la R.D. Congo en langue française. La plupart des textes ont été rédigés avant le départ de Mobutu en 1996 mais aussi avant la guerre des années 2000 qui a déjà été décrite comme le conflit politique le plus sanglant depuis la fin de la Deuxième guerre mondiale.

Congo 1960 est divisé en deux parties : « La colonisation » et « L'indépendance et ses turbulences ». Dans la première partie, Jules Gérard-Libois explique quelques particularités de l'histoire coloniale belge, surtout le fait qu'initialement le Congo a été colonisé par la famille royale belge et non pas par le gouvernement belge (qui a assumé l'administration de la colonie seulement en 1908). Les conditions embarrassantes de ce transfert de pouvoir étaient dues non seulement à l'ingérence sur le territoire et aux atrocités qui s'y sont produites (voir Hochschild 2006), mais aussi au fait que l'État Indépendant du Congo de Leopold était au bord de la faillite. Jacques Vanderlinden fait ressortir les contours des structures de l'administration belge, mettant l'accent sur l'imposition d'un modèle de gestion du « bon père » (du point de vue des Congolais, l'affiliation était plutôt celle du *noko*, ou l'oncle). Il revient sur le triptyque classique du système colonial (État, Église, Capital), même si quelques-uns des exemples présentés démontrent à quel point il est difficile de séparer ces différents groupes d'intérêts et d'intervention. Vanderlinden signe aussi un court texte avec des mots clés de la période, une approche utile et originale pour comprendre l'esprit de l'époque et les enjeux de la présence coloniale. Après une chronique par Gérard-Libois au sujet des événements qui ont mené à la crise de 1959 et ensuite à l'indépendance en 1960 est placée une courte entrevue avec Justin-Marie Bomboko (ancien Ministre des affaires étrangères). Ce rajout n'est pas sans intérêt, mais pas assez approfondi pour justifier le titre de « Perceptions congolaises » (p. 79).

La deuxième partie du livre aborde la période turbulente de post-indépendance, avec un texte de Jean Kestergat qui parle des mutineries, de la sécession de la province de Katanga, et qui insiste sur le double jeu de la Belgique avant d'aborder le sujet toujours délicat de l'assassinat de Patrice Lumumba, selon lui un événement qui « ne résout rien ». Ensuite, on trouve deux textes (Gérard-Libois et Kestergat) au sujet des enjeux de l'intervention onusienne, surtout dans la région du Katanga, berceau de ressources minières importantes mais aussi de la contestation de l'autorité centrale de Kinshasa. À la fin du livre, l'illustre historien Benoît Verhaegen (malheureusement décédé en 2009) contribue par un texte important sur les acteurs des rébellions qui ont marqué la première partie des années 1960. Jean-Claude Willame, quant à lui, signe

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une postface qui fait la comparaison entre l'intervention onu-
sienne de la post-indépendance et celle d'aujourd'hui.

Congo 1960 est un livre important parce qu'il s'efforce
d'expliquer les enjeux nationaux sans négliger l'impact de plus
d'un siècle d'interventionnisme étranger, même si les analyses
manquent parfois de profondeur. Par exemple, on aurait aimé
lire davantage sur les dynamiques entre les communautés wal-
lonne et flamande et comment cette relation tendue aurait pu
influencer l'histoire du Congo, ou encore sur le rôle des socia-
listes en Belgique dans le processus de décolonisation. Dans
son survol sur la thématique du livre, Collette Braeckman
écrit : « Cinquante [sic] après l'accouchement douloureux de
l'indépendance, on peut quelquefois se demander si la Bel-
gique et le Congo sont guéris l'un de l'autre... » (p. 17). La
métaphore de cette expression est complexe. D'abord, qui a
accouché de l'indépendance et qui a assisté à l'accouchement?
Deuxièmement, quel serait le malaise qui nécessite la guérison
et est-ce vraiment mutuel? Posée dans ces termes, la question
ne problématise pas assez la nature exacte du rapport entre la
Belgique et le Congo et je ne pense pas que la métaphore
maternelle permet une meilleure critique que celle du père ou
de l'oncle. La question de Braeckman, une question primordiale
néanmoins, me fait penser plutôt aux travaux de Bogumil Jew-
siewicki et ses collègues à Lubumbashi sur la possibilité de
faire le deuil du passé colonial (voir par exemple *Cahiers
d'études africaines*, 48/2, septembre 2005).

Il est important de dire que le problème de la décolonisa-
tion est un problème du savoir aussi. *Congo 1960* soulève le
problème de la formation des Congolais et le nombre d'uni-
versitaires là-bas (seulement dix en 1960). Cette tendance de
la part des Belges à « protéger le savoir » (l'expression vient
des chercheurs à Kinshasa) semble toujours tenir, puisque
cette nouvelle édition du livre ne fait pas d'effort pour inté-
grer les recherches ou les perspectives de chercheurs ou com-
mentateurs congolais. Par exemple, on pourrait facilement
imaginer un livre plus long avec un ou plusieurs commentaires
après chaque texte par des spécialistes congolais de différents
âges et tendances politiques. Malgré le fait que les Congolais
font des études en Belgique depuis maintenant plusieurs géné-
rations, les chercheurs au Congo nous rappellent constam-
ment que la Belgique (ou pour le moins les institutions en Bel-
gique) n'a jamais vraiment voulu partager le rêve de la
modernité, ni son butin. La décolonisation est un processus
beaucoup plus complexe et exigeant que l'indépendance – d'ail-
leurs le sous-titre du livre en dit autant – et elle mérite une
réflexion aussi par rapport à la production du savoir.

Malgré ces lacunes, *Congo 1960* est une ressource impor-
tante pour ceux qui s'intéressent à l'histoire et à la vie poli-
tique du Congo, autant pour les étudiants avancés et les pro-
fessionnels que pour les spécialistes en études africaines. Le
texte de la préface souligne que l'intérêt du livre relève en
grande partie de l'expérience de ses contributeurs : « Les
auteurs réunis dans ce recueil ne sont pas seulement des bril-
lants analystes, ils ont aussi, pour la plupart, vécu personnel-
lement ces événements » (p. 6). Autant aujourd'hui qu'à l'aube

de l'indépendance, l'évolution des problèmes politiques au
Congo nous permet de comprendre les enjeux et les consé-
quences pour tous les pays de la région, voire du monde.

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Recenseur : *Enkelejda Sula-Raxhimi*
Université de Montréal

L'ouvrage *¡Viva Jerez!* emprunte son titre à une chanson fla-
menco intitulée *Soy de Jerez* (« Je suis de Jerez ») chantée par
Lola Flores dans les années 1980. Dans cette chanson, Flores
revendiquait d'une façon répétitive le fait d'être Gitane origi-
naire de la ville de Jerez de la Frontera située en basse Anda-
lousie en Espagne. Les paroles de cette chanson reflètent à la
fois un « localisme débordant » et la fierté ou l'orgueil des habi-
tants envers leur terroir. Elles laissent également sous-enten-
dre qu'autrefois le chant, et plus généralement le flamenco,
étaient résolument associés à la population gitane de Jerez.

Dès le début du livre, l'auteure nous fait pénétrer dans
cette atmosphère particulière de la ville de Jerez de la Fron-
tera, ce « lieu mythique » où l'errance gitane s'arrête pour
faire place à une sédentarisation qui passe par leur « intégra-
tion »; ce lieu culte traversé par les vents chauds du sud capa-
bles de faire perdre l'esprit – ce berceau du chant gitan, du
flamenco et du vin Jerez ou *Sherry Wine*. Mais l'intérêt de
l'auteure dans ce livre n'est pas l'exotisme du lieu *per se*. Ce sur
quoi elle s'attarde est le patrimoine culturel « immatériel »
des deux produits typiques de cette ville : le vin et le flamenco.

Dans un premier temps, l'auteure s'attache à expliquer
ce qu'est le patrimoine immatériel mis de l'avant par
l'UNESCO, à voir comment s'articule le processus de patri-
monialisation du vin et du flamenco à Jerez et à montrer com-
ment cette idée est réappropriée et se traduit par les instances
publiques locales (municipalités, ministères, etc.), en fonction
des stratégies de construction identitaires des institutions et
d'autres acteurs sociaux locaux. Dans ce cadre, elle met éga-
lement en évidence les enjeux politiques liés à ces processus
et les diverses perspectives inhérentes à la « mise en valeur »
du flamenco à travers divers projets au niveau local et régio-
nal, tout en montrant les difficultés en termes de représenta-
tion des minorités culturelles – particulièrement celle des
gitans qui est fortement associée au flamenco.

Dans un deuxième temps, à travers une ethnohistoire, Hélène Giguère présente le contexte historique de l'Andalousie où sont ancrés les rapports entre les classes sociales et les relations à l'ethnicité. Tout en analysant la stratification de la société andalouse s'articulant entre *señoritos*, gitans et *gachos*[1], l'auteure souligne la position sociale inférieure et marginale que la population gitane a occupée au fil des siècles en basse Andalousie – région où les Gitans représentent environ 50 % de l'ensemble de la population gitane de l'Espagne. L'auteure n'hésite pas à dévoiler un panorama des préjugés, des politiques d'assimilation, de l'expatriation et de la violence exercée envers les Gitans. Actuellement, on remarque que dans le discours jerezan, les Gitans de Jerez sont mieux représentés en raison de leur « intégration » comparativement aux Gitans d'autres villes qui, eux, sont vus comme étant plus marginaux et plus délinquants. Or, constate l'auteure, les Gitans de Jerez ne sont effectivement pas totalement intégrés à l'ensemble des sphères de la société et les préjugés à leur égard sont toujours bien présents dans divers milieux populaires et bourgeois.

Pour étayer ses arguments, l'auteure a privilégié l'analyse de deux secteurs d'activités propres à ce terroir, celui du *flamenco* et celui des *bodegas*[2]. Elle montre d'une manière très subtile comment s'opèrent à la fois la construction et les imbrications des groupes sociaux et culturels, ainsi que les différences entre les classes sociales toujours moins polarisées, mais néanmoins significatives et présentes. Il est à noter que les deux secteurs d'activités choisis par cette dernière renvoient à des groupes de populations bien distincts : la culture *bodegera* est associée à la classe bourgeoise alors que la culture *flamenca* est liée à la classe populaire et marginalisée.

L'auteure montre comment ces deux produits typiques du terroir andalou issus de rencontres culturelles – qui se renouvellent constamment et se recréent au fil du temps – deviennent des objets ou des chefs-d'œuvre du patrimoine culturel immatériel. Selon Giguère, si l'UNESCO faisait la promotion de cette idée de patrimoine « universel » ou « mondial » qui vise à reconnaître chaque culture et chaque particularité culturelle comme un héritage pour l'ensemble de l'humanité, les institutions municipales, elles, faisaient une tout autre lecture de cela. Elles ont attribué au flamenco un « rayonnement mondial », qui renvoie à son adaptabilité, naturelle ou forcée, hors de son berceau culturel. Cela présuppose une perte de la richesse des « métissages » propre au flamenco ainsi qu'une dilution, voire une évacuation, du rôle des Gitans dans le flamenco, en tant que pratique socioculturelle et expression des changements sociaux.

C'est en ce sens que les politiques locaux s'approprient facilement une pratique minoritaire des Gitans (le flamenco) pour faire de Jerez la capitale mondiale du flamenco, imposant ainsi le flamenco comme symbole d'une identité collective, alors que le flamenco constituait le principal emblème identitaire des Gitans de cette région. L'auteure décrit ce paternalisme comme un frein nuisible pour l'intérêt collectif qui mène vers l'essentialisme en produisant des images idylliques d'une ville. Cela va même jusqu'à provoquer l'aliénation de minorités comme les Gitans qui se dissocient et qui se reconnaissent de moins en moins dans les activités de la mairie. L'UNESCO, de son côté, de par sa structure et sa mission, n'a aucun pouvoir sur le territoire local pour répondre aux besoins des communautés spécifiques comme les Gitans.

En revanche, l'auteure nous fait part des tensions et des débats locaux assez vifs autour des questions de la « pureté », de l'« authenticité » et de l'« héritage » du flamenco par le sang et par la terre, tout en se questionnant sur la pertinence et l'ambiguïté de ces notions après tous les échanges culturels qui ont eu lieu en Andalousie. Ces traits, qui représentent également la fierté et l'une des particularités de la ville de Jerez, renvoient ainsi à la revendication de l'authenticité, par la population locale, de ces deux produits.

À travers une ethnographie fine des lieux, des acteurs (gitans, non-gitans, artistes, gestionnaires, intellectuels, etc.) et des débats locaux autour de ces deux produits authentiques de Jerez – le vin et le flamenco –, l'auteure nous montre comment se nouent des liens sociaux entre ces différentes catégories d'acteurs locaux et internationaux. Ces liens sociaux s'actualisent dans des lieux privilégiés où émerge et se transmet le flamenco, comme les bars, les *peñas* et les *casas de vecinos*, – cet univers de la classe ouvrière. Pour les *señoritos*, les petits bourgeois, ces liens prennent corps à travers l'organisation de fêtes privées, souvent improvisées, où des gitans sont engagés pour chanter et danser le flamenco. Le flamenco, vu en tant que phénomène social, en tant qu'espace rituel et autrefois en tant que forme d'expression d'identités culturelles pour les Gitans, est pratiqué aujourd'hui à la fois par les Gitans et les *aficionado/a-s*[3].

Le flamenco et le vin, intimement liés, représentent tous les deux la fierté de Jerez qui se reflète dans l'expression suivante : « Un verre de vin de Jerez met à l'aise et allège l'esprit ». Alors que flamenco est principalement géré par les structures municipales de l'État, le vin, lui, est géré par les structures privées. Le vin « généreux » de Jerez, contrairement au flamenco, est fortement marqué par son caractère urbain et collectif, il a davantage connu une renommée internationale de par son exportation à l'étranger. Ainsi, ces deux produits locaux – le flamenco et le vin –, à qui est désormais attribuée l'étiquette de patrimoine culturel, deviennent des « produits culturels » promus à des fins touristiques et économiques.

Certes, les transformations dans la sphère sociale du flamenco, mais aussi dans la culture vinicole, que l'auteur attribue toutes deux à la globalisation, mèneront-elles davantage à une politisation et à une marchandisation de la « culture ». On peut toutefois se demander ce qu'il adviendrait de la spécificité culturelle des terroirs comme Jerez si la culture en venait inexorablement à se transformer en marchandise prête à être consommée partout. Dans ce contexte en mutation, on pourrait également se demander si la signification des cris de Lola Flores *Soy de Jerez!* en viendrait, elle aussi, à subir une quelconque mutation à l'âge de la globalisation.

En terminant, soulignons que cet ouvrage est novateur à plusieurs égards, notamment pour l'étude de la culture sociale

de la ville de Jerez-de-la-Frontera qu'il propose à travers l'étude de la pratique artistique (Geertz 1973) du flamenco, pour la richesse des événements sociaux autour du flamenco et du vin du Jerez qui y sont présentés, ainsi que pour l'attention portée à la question du patrimoine culturel immatériel. Néanmoins, il aurait été souhaitable que l'auteure mette plus l'accent sur les transformations sociales de la région et sur la situation des Gitans en particulier, étant donné qu'il y a eu peu d'études faites à ce sujet. De plus, un positionnement clair et ferme à cet égard aurait pu dévoiler une autre perspective enrichissant davantage l'ouvrage.

Notes

1 *Señorito* signifie petit bourgeois et *Gachó* est un terme qui signifie non gitan.
2 Il s'agit d'un entrepôt, d'une boutique, d'un magasin ou d'un dépôt, où l'on garde et fait vieillir le vin.
3 Terme qui désigne l'amateur *gacho* de flamenco.

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Les manuscrits doivent être soumis sur support électronique et transmis en annexe de courriel en MSWORD ou WORD PERFECT. Veillez vous assurer de suivre les normes éditoriales de la revue.

PRÉSENTATION DES MANUSCRITS
Les manuscrits doivent être dactylographiés à interligne double y compris les notes, la bibliographie, les citations, les titres et sous-titres. Ils ne devraient pas dépasser 9000 mots ou 35 pages à interligne double sur papier 21 x 27 cm (8 1/2 x 11") au recto seulement, en utilisant une police de 12 points. Le nom de la personne qui soumet le manuscrit ne doit être indiqué que sur la page titre.
Page titre
Veuillez indiquer le titre, l'auteur ou l'auteure, l'institution, l'adresse postale et l'adresse électronique.
Résumé et mots-clés
Chaque manuscrit doit être accompagné d'un résumé n'excédant pas 100 mots. Le titre et le résumé du manuscrit devraient être placés sur une page à part. Une liste de 6 mots-clés devrait être placée entre parenthèses carrées à la fin du résumé. Les manuscrits acceptés pour publication doivent être accompagnés de résumés en français et en anglais. La rédaction peut se charger des traductions de résumés si la personne qui soumet le manuscrit ne le peut pas.
Notes
Les notes doivent être placées à la fin du texte, à interligne double et en caractères de 12 points. Veuillez limiter les notes à des sujets directement reliés au texte. Les notes doivent commencer sur une nouvelle page et correspondre à des appels consécutifs dans le texte indiqués par des chiffres en exposant.
Citations
La source des citations incorporées au texte doit être citée à l'aide de la méthode auteur-date (Godelier 1973:116-119). Veuillez noter que le nom de l'auteur n'est pas suivi d'une virgule et qu'aucun espace ne sépare les deux points des numéros de page. Si le nom de l'auteur apparaît déjà dans le texte, il est suffisant de n'indiquer que l'année de publication et les numéros de page. Les numéros de page doivent être mentionnés dans le cas des citations textuelles. Il n'est pas nécessaire de le faire lorsqu'une idée ou un argument général est rapporté. On distingue les renvois multiples à un même auteur pour une même année en ajoutant une lettre minuscule au bout de l'année (1973a, 1973b) Lorsque plusieurs ouvrages ayant des auteurs différents sont cités, la référence devrait apparaître comme suit : (Godelier 1973a, 1973b; Poulantzas 1978)
Références bibliographiques
La bibliographie doit être dactylographiée à double interligne et être insérée après les notes sur une page séparée. On demande aux auteurs de suivre les règles de rédaction suivantes pour la présentation de la bibliographie :
Articles de revues :
Augé, Marc
    1986   Anthropologie et la maladie. L'Homme 26(1-2):15.
Ouvrages :
Smith, Gavin
    1999   Confronting the Present: Towards a Politically Engaged Anthropology. Oxford : Berg.
Saillant, Francine, et Manon Boulianne, dirs.
    2003   Transformations sociales, genre et santé: perspectives critiques et comparatives. Paris et Québec: L'Harmattan et les Presses Universitaires de l'Université de Laval.
Chapitre d'un livre :
Muratorio, Blanca M.
    1995   Amazonian Windows to the Past: Recovering Women's Histories from the Ecuadorian Upper Amazon. *Dans* Articulating Hidden Histories: Exploring the Influence of Eric R. Wolf. J. Schneider et R. Rapp, dirs. Pp. 322-335. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Graphiques
Les cartes, figures et tableaux doivent être présentés prêts pour l'impression et ne pas dépasser 16 x 12,5 cm (5 x 8"). Ils sont placés sur des feuilles à part et leur place est indiquée dans le texte. Les images électroniques doivent aussi être fournies en format digital en haute résolution (au moins 300 dpi). Les images sur disque ou CD-Rom devraient être acheminées dans des fichiers TIF ou JPEG numérisés en haute résolution. Veuillez identifier chaque fichier selon le protocole suivant : jsmith_01.tif ou jane-d_fig3.jpg.

ÉVALUATION
Chaque manuscrit est soumis pour évaluation à deux personnes choisies en fonction du sujet du texte. On demande aux personnes qui soumettent un manuscrit de fournir une liste de personnes aptes à évaluer leur texte (en indiquant leur affiliation institutionnelle et leur adresse électronique). Le choix de ces personnes, n'est cependant pas limité à cette liste.

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